

***Regional Political Movements in India:***

***A Case Study of Telangana Movement***

*A dissertation submitted to the University of Hyderabad in partial fulfilment of  
the*

*requirement for the award of the degree of*

***Doctor of Philosophy***

***in Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy***

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### ***Declaration***

I, Lingaswamy Baikani, declare that the work embodied in this dissertation titled ***Regional Political Movements in India: A Case Study of Telangana Movement***, is the result of research carried out by me under the supervision of Dr. Sreepathi Ramudu at the Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy, University of Hyderabad.

I declare to the best of my knowledge that no part of this dissertation was earlier submitted for the award of a research degree of any university.

Hyderabad

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Date:

Reg.No 12SIPH06

**CERTIFICATE**

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled ***Regional Political Movements in India: A Case Study of Telangana Movement*** submitted by Lingaswamy Baikani bearing the Reg. No. 12SIPH06 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in the Center for Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy, is a record of the bonafide work carried out by herself under my supervision and guidance. The dissertation has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this or any other University or Institution for the award of any degree or diploma.

**Supervisor****Head of the Center****Dean School of Social Sciences****Dr. Sreepathi Ramudu****Prof. Raja Mohan Rao****Prof. P. Venkata Rao****University of Hyderabad****Date**

## ***Certificate for Publications and Presentations***



This is to certify that the dissertation entitled, “***Regional Political Movements in India: A Case Study of Telangana Movement***” submitted by Lingaswamy Baikani bearing Registration No. 12SIPH06 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in School of Social Sciences is a bonafide work carried out by him under my supervision and guidance. This dissertation is free from plagiarism and has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this or any other university or institution for the award of any degree or diploma.

(A) Paper (s) presented and published in the following Conferences/ Seminars/journals –

(1) I have presented a paper entitled “The Role of Marginalized Sections in Telangana Movement” in the International Conference on “The Politics of Difference: (Re)Locating Subalternity/Marginality”, during 22-23 Sept 2017, organized by the Department of History, Assam University-Diphu Campus, Assam India.

(2) I have presented a paper entitled “The Dynamics of Local Social and Political Structures and the Political Mobilization During Telangana Movement” in the national conference on “Emerging India”, during 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> December, 2017, organized by the Indian Political Science Association at Anna Centre for Public Affairs, University of Madras, Chennai, Tamil Nadu.

(3) I have published a paper entitled “Locating the Movement for Telangana’s Statehood: A Critical Enquiry” in the Journal Review of Research, Volume-6, Issue 10, July 2017 (ISSN: 2249-894X).

(4) I have published a paper entitled “The Role of Pilot Studies in Ethnographic Research: An Assessment” in the International Journal of Advanced Education and Research, Volume 2; Issue 6; November 2017; Page No. 37-42 (ISSN: 2455-5746).

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Lingaswamy Baikani

Hyderabad, June-2018



**DEDICATED TO**

**My Parents**

**Ramulamma (Mother) and Ramulu (Father)**

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**ABBREVIATIONS**

|        |   |
|--------|---|
| AP     | Andhra Pradesh                                |
| BJP    | Bhartiya Janata Party                         |
| INC    | Indian National Congress                      |
| JAC    | Joint Action Committee                        |
| KCR    | Kavalkunatala Chandra Shekhar Rao             |
| TRS    | Telangana Rashtra Samithi                     |
| TPS    | Telangana Praja Samithi                       |
| TS     | Telangana State                               |
| TGENCO | Telangana General Power Corporation Employees |
| TJAC   | Telangana Joint Action Committee              |
| TSJAC  | Telangana Students Joint Action Committee     |
| OUJAC  | Osmania University Joint Action Committee     |

## CHAPTER 1

### REGIONAL POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA: A CASE OF TELANGANA MOVEMENT

#### INTRODUCTION

An attempt has been made in this chapter to explore the dynamics of political mobilization and factors which have shaped the forms and nature of political mobilization with reference to the movement for separate Telangana. It particularly addresses the relationship between identity, relative deprivation of a region and the 'political opportunity structures' (Suan, 2018) with the creation of new political and administrative unit has shaped the nature and form of political mobilization in Telangana. It also attempts to explore the reasons why the movement for separate Telangana sustained itself for long and the factors for large mass of people.

The issues of regionalism have become a striking feature of Indian democracy since India became independent in 1947 supported by cultural diversity in terms of language, cultural traditions and religious beliefs. The linguistic, cultural and religious diversity<sup>1</sup> was made part of its fundamental rights. The attempts to build a strong nation from diverse cultural, ethnic and linguistic society has been struck with competing diverse claims related to cultural diversity and the distribution of resources.<sup>2</sup>

The acknowledgement of a multi-cultural diversity both constitutionally and politically, and the subsequent flexibility with which Indian state to accommodate demands for readjustments of administrative boundaries and political units in response to demands from various sections of society and parts of country have ensured that as a political unit Indian

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<sup>1</sup> D.D. Basu, *The Constitution of India: An Introduction*, Nagpur: LexisNexis, 49<sup>th</sup> edition 2016. p. 8-10

<sup>2</sup> Alfred Stepan et al, *Crafting State-Nations: India and Other Multinational Democracies* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 20110), chapter 1-2;

state have been a successful story.<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding this fact, regional identity and issues have played a major role in political processes and institutional development since the 1947. In this context, the current study aims to explore the political movement for the separate statehood for Telangana that was materialized in 2014 after more than 50 years of social and political movements waged. In particular, it aims to explore the nature and forms of political mobilization and the factors that have shaped the same.

## CONCEPT EXPLANATIONS

Regionalism is a phenomenon which has pervaded throughout the world. India saw from the beginning the assertion of regional identity and political movements for political demarcation of boundaries based on various facets of local identity like language, region, backwardness etc. The first such movement just after independence was the creation of Andhra Pradesh after movement for separate state based on language, Telugu and thus, started a flurry of demands which led to creation of many more states as part of Indian Union based on linguistic identity.<sup>4</sup>

In a sense, the demand for regional political movements for separate territorial claims for certain groups based on language and relative economic deprivation reflect the aspirations of these diverse groups with diverse socio-economic and cultural attributes to have their own share of political power and self-rule. In wider sense it denotes a movement directed against centralism. In narrow sense, it signifies the attachment of the masses with the local or regional interests. In this respect, it reflects similarity with localism or sectionalism. Keeping in view the above connotations H. Hintze remarks, "In a general way, regionalism may be defined as a counter movement to any exaggerated or aggressive form of centralization Regional

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<sup>3</sup> Ravinder Kumar, "India: A 'Nation-State' or 'Civilization-State'?" *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol.25, no.2, 2002, pp. 13-32.

<sup>4</sup> For detailed argument on the relationship between language, regional movements and central government's responses to such movements, see Asha Sarangi, *Linguistic Diversity in a Federal Polity: An Indian Experience* in Gupreet Mahajan (ed). *Accommodating Diversity: Ideas and Institutional Practices* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011).

problems arise only when there is a combination of two or more such factors as geographical isolation, independent historical traditionalism, racial, ethnic or religious peculiarities and local or economic class interests.”<sup>5</sup>

Regionalism has been an important tool to understand socio-economic, cultural and political dynamics in India. On the economic front, it was the regional disparity which led to concerns about extreme disparity leading to disintegration and unrest and therefore, successive reports and plans of the Planning Commission took special concern in this regard. On the cultural front, it is the multicultural and multi-ethnic character of Indian polity that has attracted attention from scholars and politicians alike. It is with the rise of regional political parties and their relatively higher importance in at the federal level that has received much attention after the 1990s. It is a social reality that has survived in a geographical backward.”<sup>6</sup> As Hintze argues that regionalism is a dynamic process and concept which “involves such diverse problems as those of minorities, administrative decentralization, local self-government and autonomy, the cult of homeland and earth and local patriotism which very often lead to separatism. In a general sense it may be viewed as a reaction against any exaggerated or oppressive form of centralization.”<sup>7</sup>

The demand for separate states based on other than language marks a shift in Indian politics. The first wave of political movements for separate states for linguistic groups which also forms a major part of the political landscape today gave way to the demands for separate states based on other criteria. In this respect, the movement for Telangana reflects is a shift in India politics (Tillin, 2013). It is part of what she calls “post-linguistic turn” in regional political movements. In this context, the rise of regional political movements and their

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<sup>5</sup> Hedwig Hintze, “Regionalism” *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vo. XIII (New York; Macmillan, 1924) pp.208-218.

<sup>6</sup> Vimala Rao, “The Regionalism of Richard Wright’s” Native Son., *Indian Journal of American Studies*, Hyderabad, Vol, 7, No.1, January, (1977), p.94.

<sup>7</sup> Hedwig Hintze, “Regionalism” *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vo. XIII (New York; Macmillan, 1924) pp.208-218.

sustenance makes an interesting case to study the dynamics of Indian politics through regional political movements and identities. The question arises here is if language is not the marker of identity as was the case earlier the what explains the rise and their sustenance of regional political movements in India. In the context, the focus of the study on the dynamics of the political movement for separate Telangana makes an interesting case as well as puzzle which may answer crucial questions of the emerging political scenario in the country.

As mentioned above regional political movements reflect an aspiration for self-rule which have implications for democratization and deepening of democracy. It also reflects the recognition of cultural and social diversity in political form in a diverse society like India. Therefore, the study of regionalism in present context in which the fundamental dynamics and factors shaping regional politics are changing would provide critical insights into contemporary problems in Indian politics. The regional politics in India has reached into “post-linguistic turn” in which primordial identities are longer salient. “The transfer of sovereignty from a colonial to an independent one is more than a mere shift of power from foreign hands to native ones, it is a transformation of the whole pattern of political life, a metamorphosis of subjects into citizens”.<sup>8</sup> These states had provided a robust resistance to the colonial rule from the vantage point of traditional values with modern democratic methods. It was, in other words, “at once a reassertion of traditional values and symbols against alien intrusions and itself an alien modern, untraditional phenomenon.”<sup>9</sup>

In post-colonial societies in the developing world regional disparity and the demand for separate statehood emerged as a consequence of policies that aimed at social, economic and political modernization. These policies as was expected would lead these countries in developing social, economic and political infrastructure in the image of Anglo-American

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<sup>8</sup> Clifford Geertz (ed). *Old Societies and New States: The quest of modernity in Asia and Africa*, (New Delhi; Amerind Publishing Co. Pvt. Ltd. (1971), p.119.

<sup>9</sup> H.F. Owen, “The Nationalist Movement”, in A.L. Basham, (ed.). *A Cultural History of India*, (London’ Oxford University Press, 1975), p.391.

world leading to overall development and prosperity. In the process, it neglected the cultural and social dimensions of diversity leading to frustration and disparity among groups and regions that fuelled the demands for separate statehood or territorial administrative units for self-rule.

The socio-economic and political change which the countries of the Third World faces today is very often attributed to the processes of modernization, a term used to designate the transformation of society and culture that began in Europe towards the fifteenth century and that by now has engulfed the rest of the mankind. The changes brought about by the processes of modernization in post-colonial societies have transformed the fundamental characters of societies and politics. The three major aspects of this change which need to be emphasized are: firstly, “the revolutionary change in the conception of community constituting the State.” Secondly, “the change in the nature of industrial production”; and thirdly, “the rapid social changes constituting a break in the immediate part”.<sup>10</sup> In political sphere, “the processes of modernization are identified with secularization, participatory democracy, structural differentiation and replacement of ascriptive loyalties to the rulers by achieved loyalties on the basis of elections or other mechanisms of participation.”<sup>11</sup>

The expression of regional sentiments and demand for separate territorial units have taken various forms in the post-independent India. The regional movements have vied for the demand for autonomy, decentralization and even separate nation-state as in Nagaland, and Kashmir. The forms of political mobilization have also varied from peaceful demonstration to violent means to achieve autonomy and separate statehood. In its extreme form, it has

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<sup>10</sup> Keating, M. 2001. “So Many States, So Few States: Territory and Nationalism in the Global Era.” In *Multinational Democracies*, edited by A.-G. Gagnon and J. Tully, 65– 89. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>11</sup> Majeed, A. 2003. “The Changing Politics of States’ Reorganization.” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 33 (4): 83–98; Manor, J. 1996. “‘Ethnicity’ and Politics in India.” *International Affairs* 72 (3): 459–475



appeared as a violent demand for secession of a particular part of the country from the Union of India generating centrifugal forces. The demands for an independent “Dravidland” and those of the insurgent Nagas may be cited as examples involving secessional activities.<sup>12</sup> All these demands, no doubt, pose a grave threat to the stability and territorial integrity of India but such demands relate to limited parts of India.

The large part of political movements has taken place for separate administrative and political unit in terms of separate state within the constitutional and federal framework. While the demands for secession from the Union are confined to certain parts of the Indian body-politic, the demands for a fresh reorganization of the constituent units in the federal system have been more or less universal in nature and constitute a recurrent theme in Indian politics. Such demands are not entirely new but a continuation of the demands made by the INC during the inter-war period.

The administrative divisions of India under the British rule particularly before and after 1905, were entirely based on military and administrative convenience. The report of Indian constitutional reforms clearly admits the “artificial and often inconvenient character” of the then administrative units. They then represented an administrative system which “disregarded to a large extent the natural boundaries of the various regional communities speaking different languages and following different cultural traditions.”<sup>13</sup>

Nationalism is related but different concept from regionalism. In other words, the distinction between nationalism and regionalism is important for several reasons. For nationalism, is a demand for separate identity and state while regionalism is demand for autonomy within the confines of larger and overarching national identity. Therefore, the former subordinates regional or sectional loyalties to the latter, whereas in the case of latter

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<sup>12</sup> Mawdsley, E. 2002. “Redrawing the Body Politic: Federalism, Regionalism and the Creation of New States in India.” *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 40 (3): 34–54; Mitchell, L. 2009. *Language, Emotion, and Politics in South India: The Making of a Mother Tongue*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, p. 45-50

local or regional loyalties are given precedence over national interests. Thus, sectional interests are furthered and the national interests are made to suffer. Regionalism can be differentiated from localism or sectionalism. The latter is motivated by very narrow interests of a class or a particular community, the former is founded on cultural or ethnic factors viz., linguistic or traditional peculiarities. It furnishes a ground for conceiving a sub-nationality. It is rather difficult to draw a line between regionalism and sub-regionalism precisely in the contemporary Indian political scenario. However, factually speaking, a sub region refers to a small area within a region having different characteristics. As such it can claim distinct identity. For example, the Telangana Movement for carving out separate Telangana state from Telugu speaking region of Andhra Pradesh may be categorized as sub-regionalism.

As a diverse society, the emergence of regional movements for autonomy and decentralized self-rule was inevitable to rise. It posed serious political and administrative challenges in the post-independent India leading to external observers to point out the impossibility of keeping the territorial integrity intact especially in the early period (Singh, 2006). But the political and constitutional flexibility provided the avenue to settle issues and made way for different response to the demands for statehood demands with recognition of decentralized rule and self-rule as one of the principles which was used to grant separate administrative units to different groups. The demands for smaller states within Indian republic are increasing in more regions.

Changing socio-political, and economic circumstances have enabled population from backward sections of society like the Dalits, tribals, and others to come to share power in many of the newly created states. Therefore, the national party system has become fragmented and moved from overarching national parties like the Indian National Congress which dominated electoral scene after the Independence have led to party system with many poles with regional parties having important role to play both at the state and federal levels.

As a result, the politics of regionalism have become complex due to the fact that the parties ruling at the two levels are different most of the time. Economic reforms and open market economy tends to have skewed distribution of resources with higher rate of investment in those states which provide better business opportunities and thus, results in regional inequality (Sinha, 2013; Kohli, 2007). The establishment of a market economy does not necessarily lead to equal distribution of resources as the open market economic principles would suggest. Rather it has led to increasing regional inequalities and, thus, resulted to formation of regional political parties in Telangana<sup>14</sup>.

Regionalism is a problem that every country face. Because every country has diverse population and some form of economic disparity between different regions and thus, a demand for various types of regional autonomy and in extreme forms it is demand for separate nation-state. Even the developed countries also facing these kinds of regional inequalities from the centuries onwards. Nonetheless, the problem of regional inequalities in development within nations is increasingly engaging the attention of social scientists all over the world. The issue assumes special significance in India, where the overwhelming majority live below poverty line.

This is all the more so because India's constitutional structure is federal in nature and considerable heterogeneity exists in terms of language and culture. The main focus of Indian planning has been on economic growth with social justice. All along, our capital-centered and urban-oriented approach has been unable to make us neither self-sufficient nor solve the poverty and unemployment problems. Many people are of the view that inter-state and inter-regional disparities are a product of our planning process. The remedial problems could be the optimum utilization of resources, dispersal of industries for balanced regional development and establishment of employment-oriented industries.

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<sup>14</sup> D. Ravinder, Rural development and regional imbalances: A study of IRDP, The center for Telangana studies, Hyderabad, 1997, pp.173-179.

The regional political movements are moving forwards at the main stream of political system. These regional imbalances are not new for the Indian political process but it was old kind culture continues from the colonial rules under the British. There has been a long debate on regional imbalances in India from several fronts, then it was particularly the question of culture, language, education, employment, irrigation and economic development. It may be said that the British colonial rule was itself one of the causes for underdevelopment. The reason was that some parts of the country were under the direct British rule, and some others were under the Princely states. Consequently, there was a regional imbalance in all sectors.<sup>15</sup>

Another dimension of the rise of regional movements is that the vast majority of population who lives in rural area are backward economically and the quality of governance is dismal leading to a feeling of deprivation and betrayal. The same is sought to be corrected through the creation of new and small states with the idea that self-rule would lead to better governance and better results for these sections. For the same reasons, some of the largest states in India like Uttar Pradesh are advised to be divided into smaller units which are supposed to deliver better governance and perform better for backward sections of the society. The exploitation of marginalized peoples also the major subjects to formation of regional political movements in India. The negligence of rural areas also on the of keys issues for the regional imbalances. The rural areas are described as backward and underdeveloped because their per capita real income is low compared to the urban counterparts and developed regions.

The Planning Commission defined underdevelopment as one “which is characterized by the coexistence in greater or lesser degree of unutilized and underutilized manpower on the one hand, and of unexploited natural resources on the other”. In addition to these, “the inadequacy of capital resources, and lack of skill and technology may be mentioned as the

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<sup>15</sup> *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission 1930*, Vol. II (Calcutta, Govt. of India, Central Publication Branch), Para 85.

causation of the backwardness in Telangana region. Apart from this, leadership of the state also is one of the main reasons for the backwardness.”<sup>16</sup>

As the debate on national identity more or less settles down after 70 years of relatively peaceful efforts, it is the regionalism that characterises Indian polity today especially after 1990s. For example, the demand for Telangana also one of the major challenges in front of the Indian government. “The increasing demand for new states apparently manifests this tendency cropping up in our country and unfortunately by creating more states, our government has further intensified the problem. The unfortunate part is that most of the times. The sectarian instinct of the ignorance (rewrite the incomplete sentence) masses is stirred up by the professional politicians to serve their narrow ends”<sup>17</sup>

The 1990s marks a watershed in Indian politics in many ways. For one, the party system got fragmented with the rise of regional parties and era of coalition both at the centre and state level (Nigam and Menon, 1996; Palshikar and Suri, 2015). Secondly, the introduction of economic reforms led to regional disparities between regions and states to rise because of divergent trajectories of investment flow and industrial development due to various factors like governance, ease of doing business, and better opportunities provided by state governments to attract investment. As a result, the regional disparity increased with some states like Bihar and others falling behind (Jenkins, 1996). Moreover, it gave rise to what scholars have pointed out to intra-regional disparity within states (Ashutosh, 2006). Regional political movements in India are characterised by many features which have continued from earlier period with recent discontinuity in the form of post-linguistic demands for separate states like Telangana and others which were created in 2000. “Language, control of resources and, preservation of culture and identity are among the characteristics shared with both

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<sup>16</sup> D. Ravinder, Rural development and regional imbalances: A study of IRDP, centre for Telangana studies, Hyderabad, 1997, pp. 184- ‘86

<sup>17</sup> Sidharth Sharma “creation of new states need for constitutional parameters” EPW, September,20, 2003, p. 3973.

present and past demands for statehood.”<sup>18</sup>

The inter-regional disparity assumed a slightly different dimension in the case of Telangana as there was not only regional disparity between Telangana and other two regions, it is the dominance of social and political elites in the life of Telangana that was at the heart of the debate and the rise of the movement for Telangana. Hyderabad is the heart and soul of Telangana region for creating culture and local identity. “The economical backwardness of Telangana as compared with the Delta districts had been a major element in the SRC's caution in recommending a period in which Telangana would be a separate state.

The integration of Telangana into Andhra aroused some immediate problems, and gradually public opinion in Telangana became convinced that their sub-regional interests were not being adequately cared for in the new state. Immediate problems arose in connection with the integration of the services. The new arrangements meant that “Telangana administrators were put on lower salary scales than previously, their prospects of promotion were impaired, and a large proportion of the more important positions in Telangana were filled by outsiders Non-Mulkis.”<sup>19</sup>

Despite its all the reasons, the movement for separate Telangana was slowly penetrated into rural and local pockets with participation of all sections of the population. In fact, it is the mass level participation of people from different walks of life that makes the case of Telangana distinct from other cases. “The trajectory of the Telangana movement for separate statehood is a long and tragic one. It has drawn the attention not only of scholars and politicians but also of much of the middle class of Telangana. Over time it has grown into a mass movement, perhaps unprecedented in the history of the region, spearheaded large by the youth belonging to economically backward sections of the society. The movement continues

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<sup>18</sup> Duncan B. Forrester “*Sub regionalism in India: The Case of Telangana*” Pacific Affairs, Vol. 43, No. 1, spring, 1970), pp. 12-13.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, p. 15-16.

to go through many trials and tribulations, carving out a place for itself in the political landscape of the nation.”<sup>20</sup>

Andhra Pradesh was the first state which was created based on language as criterion for re-organization of internal boundary in 1953. There was demand for separate state and an opposition to the merger with A.P. Therefore, it can be argued that Telangana region had been demanding separate state for long.

The historical background and the development of the movement is discussed in the chapter two of the thesis. But as language was the major criterion, Telangana region could not get separate statehood and was merged with Andhra and Rayala Seema to create A.P.

## **REGIONALISM IN INDIA**

Existing literature has identified three sources which lead to the rise of regional political movements in India. Firstly, the cultural diversity demands that people belonging to different groups have self-rule which is guaranteed through creation of political and administrative boundaries in such a way that correspond to where they live. Since the independence, various political movements have been waged to ensure that communities especially which share same language form a separate administrative unit because it gives them avenues to share power and reap economic benefits out of resources. Secondly, the administrative efficiency of small states is cited one of the reasons especially in the “post-linguistic turn” in the regional politics in India (Tillin, 2013).

Thirdly, the relative economic deprivation of regions within larger regions is an issue which have surfaced time and again in every regional movement. There are many more dormant and active demands for creating separate states based on the argument of relative deprivation in India today with Vidarbha being one of the salient ones. Even after the

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<sup>20</sup> Gautam Pingle, *Fall and Rise of Telangana*, Orient Black Swan, New Delhi, 2014, p.16

redrawing of maps of the states on the linguistic basis, some areas of certain states are keen for their regional autonomy. It has resulted in series of agitations for furthering their individual regional interests. A mention may be made of such agitations Marathwada in Maharashtra; a Saurashtra in Gujarat, a Jharkhand in Bihar and Orissa, Chhattisgarh in Madhya Pradesh, a Bundelkhand or Uttarakhand in Uttar Pradesh, Leh and Ladakh in Jammu and Kashmir and Telangana in Andhra Pradesh and Punjabi Suba in Punjab.

Language as a criterion for redrawing internal boundary have been a constant and salient factor especially in the earlier period just after the independence. Though, it has become a relatively settled issues since every major language has its own state, there are still many more languages which seek political status in in terms of separate state and administrative unit. For example, the criterion of minority language within larger states have not worked well and often the people belonging to these linguistic groups have flagged the issue of discrimination in jobs, economy and power sharing because of the privilege that larger linguistic group enjoys within a particular state.

In 1948, the report of Das Commission which opposed the creation of the states on the language basis earned appreciation at the hands of Indian National Congress. But soon after the top leaders of the Congress Sardar Patel and J.L. Nehru endorsed the creation of Telugu speaking state. There was a strong agitation in Madras and the eventual inception of Andhra state in 1953. It opened the Pandora Box. Henceforth political reorganization of the country on linguistic basis gained momentum. Economic disparities in the state resulting in injustice to a certain part of the state aggravates discontent among the people and resentment begins. The protection of interests of Maharashtrians was led by Shiv Senna (formed in 1967) to agitate against the non-Maharashtrians. Later the All Assam Students Union and All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad did the same in Assam to safeguard the interests of the original Assamese. The safeguarding of the interests of the sons of the soil as apparent in the



move for separate Telangana state out of Andhra Pradesh has become an essential ingredient of the politics of regionalism.

As mentioned above, relative deprivation has been one of the issues which led to the rise of demand for separate statehood. The tribals of Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh voiced their sentiments for a separate Jharkhand state as they were conscious of social injustices and poor economic plight. Likewise, people of Meghalaya and agitationists in Uttarakhand could not stand social inequalities and injustices and fought for separate states.

The Gorkhas of Darjeeling ask for Gorkhaland and Bodos of Assam demand Bodoland. Some local or regional leaders aspire to gain better positions in political hierarchy if they manage to get carved a separate state for catering to their interest. A minority in bigger state may become a majority in a smaller state. The agitations in Punjab for Punjab Suba and Nagaland in the state of Assam and Gorkhas asking for inclusion of Nepali in VIII schedule with an eye on Gorkhaland were governed mostly by the political reasons. The Party system of the country is affected by the impact of regional politics. Regional parties are gaining ground in National Politics. In the last four General Elections they have provided crutches to the National Parties to survive. They are the potent supporters of National parties.

## **THE STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

The problem of regionalism has undergone substantial change and have become more complex with the fragmentation of party system with importance role of regional parties and the introduction of economic reforms. Therefore, the issues of regionalism are more complex and multifaceted than in the earlier period before 1990. Any understanding of a regional movement in India has to take cognizance of cultural, historical, economic and political factors comprehensively. The complexity and persistence of regional issues are because of regional imbalances and perceived grievances for instance in Vidharbha, Bodoland and

Saurashtra, Haritha Pradesh all among other states.

Imbalance in economic development is surely the greatest single cause for the 1969 trouble in Telangana region, a feeling of injustice was deliberately created among the people of Telangana. The recommendations of the Regional Committee were not cared by the government and subsequently enlargement in the powers of the committee was demanded. “All the legitimate grievances could have been met by including planning and other subjects.”<sup>21</sup> “These developments have been responsible for a shift away from issues of language and culture which had shaped the earlier process of reorganization to those of better governance and greater participation, administrative convenience, economic viability and similarity in the developmental needs of sub-regions” (Tillin, 2013).

Therefore, Telangana movement in the same way represents similar complexity with factors which gave to the rise of movement are shaped historical and multiple factors like socio-cultural, economic and political. For example, relative discrimination in various forms including cultural in terms of the neglect of Telangana dialect, economic dominance of people from other two regions and the dominance of people from other regions in politics and administrative arena leading to a feeling of discrimination and regional feeling. Thus, the movement gained currency in rural areas and with more social groups.

As Prof Kondada Ram stated in his commentary on electoral success of the TRS in the run up to the creation of Telangana linking it to the ways in which the electoral success represented a deeper penetration of the moment. He argues that:

“The movement has now gained wide support among the people of Telangana. In the recent by-elections to the Karimnagar parliamentary constituency, located in the Telangana region, people voted for TRS irrespective of their political affiliations

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<sup>21</sup> Mawdsley, E. 2002. “Redrawing the Body Politic: Federalism, Regionalism and the Creation of New States in India.” *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 40 (3): 34–54.

only to show that they support the demand for separate Telangana. Even in the 2004 elections people expressed unambiguous support for the Telangana demand. In response to popular demand, 30 political parties, having strength of 299 members in Parliament, declared their support for the formation of the Telangana state” (Kondanda, 2007).

The creation of smaller states in India is thus a complex but an interesting area to study to understand Indian politics, economy and society in many ways. The demand for and creation of small states would always be there as an inevitable process because the democratic political process is flexible enough for people to express and organize better as they realize problems with existing system. This would amount to democratization of the polity since people would have self-rule and their own leaders. The formation of three new states in 2000, Uttarakhand, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand have boosted this process. In addition to that the changing dynamics of federalism in India has also contributed towards a confidence among local and regional elites to demand for new separate states. As the case of boundary reorganization within Telangana shows the local socio-political and economic structures and the changes therein can have major impact on the rise and nature of a regional movement.

A number of small states have been created since 1956 in all parts of the country which did not have any negative impact on the Union rather it facilitated better governance although in few states only. As smaller states like Jharkhand wherein governance has not improved even it smaller in size due to intra-elite competition. In the case of Telangana, “the centre exerted a continuing influence over all the administrative processes relating to the economic development of this region.”<sup>22</sup> Therefore, re-organization of internal boundary is

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<sup>22</sup> Kodanda Ram, “*Movement for Telangana State: A Struggle for Autonomy*” Economic and Political Weekly

dynamic process which cannot be settled down at one go.

The creation of smaller states does not guarantee that it would lead to better governance and make justice to the people. As the cases of Jharkhand and other smaller states show that governance in such states can be a real problem even after creation of smaller units due to intra-elite conflicts of interests and fractured mandate due to smaller size of electorate and the number of elected representatives being small. Therefore, “many critics have argued that the mere creation of smaller states out of the existing bigger ones does not guarantee good governance and faster and inclusive economic development” (Ibid, 2013).

There are several reasons/causes for the growing demand of smaller states in independent India. This is due to because of Socio-economic, geographical differences, Administrative, Cultural factors etc. The first SRC was appointed during the regime of the then Prime Minister Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru to re-organize the states on the basis of language. So, it was Andhra Pradesh which was the first state created on the basis of language. Thus, the organization of princely states was started and the people of India also agitated for their special states. At present we have 29 States and 7 Union territories.

Therefore, administrative efficiency of smaller states depends on multiple factors. But Telangana represents unique case in the landscape of regional politics in India. Among all these demands, the demand of Telangana is different factor which does not have anything on the linguistic basis, but its demand is only on the basis of economic, geographical, cultural factors which are making the people of Telangana a strong desire to have a separate state. It suffered from negligence in matters of allocation of financial resources for economic development, apportionment of resources for major and minor irrigation projects like Nagarjuna Sagar and Pochampad, provision of educational and training facilities, jobs for Mulkies etc. Telangana has been a symbol of most regional backwardness in terms of socio-

economic and political.

Therefore, the study makes an attempt to understand the complexity of the Telangana movement qualitatively to understand the reasons why it arose and the factors that led to different forms of political mobilization. It also looks at the ways in which it has taken off to assess whether it is making strides towards better governance, administrative and economic efficiency that smaller states are associated with.

## **REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

There are three approaches to the study of regional politics in India which is reviewed in addition to the new literature on sub-national comparative studies which have emerged as an enriching field for the study of regional movements in India.

The political economy perspective looks at the trends in economic development and its fall out in terms of economic disparity between regions (Rob Jenkins, 1997) and within regions (Ashutosh, 2009) leading to demand for separate territorial boundary to have self-rule to correct the problem of economic development. The sociological perspective looks at the way regional identity formation takes place leading to separate statehood demand for example Maharashtra, Assam, Punjab can be cited as representative examples of the same (Manor, 1999). The two perspectives have been modified and qualified by new theoretical framework mostly used in the “context of politics of separate statehood” in the “post-linguistic turn” period and argues that it is the local social and political structures that are central to the rise of demand for separate state because the creation of new boundaries changes the political power equations that benefits local elites (Tillin, 2013; Suan, 2018).

Louis Tillin in her book argues that though the relative discrimination and disparity between regions an identity play a major role, it is the change in local social and political power structures that is more important as her case studies from Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and

Uttarakhand show. The notion of boundary and its relationship with power is an important conceptual innovation in her which can be useful in examining the rise of political movement for separate statehood in Telangana.

Kham Khan Suan Housing in his article employs the concepts of recognition and accommodation in a multicultural polity to accommodate demands of various groups to satisfy their quest for self-rule. Therefore, he argues that the Telangana movement arose out of a mix of political interests of local social and political elites and the recognition for separate regional identity which is at the heart of the approach adopted by Indian state to manage ethnic and regional diversity. The concept of “Political Opportunity Structure” which he borrows from Sartori is insightful in examining the ways in which local social and political power and the changes therein reflects in the dynamics of the political movement for separate statehood (Suan, 2018).

James Manor in his book examines the formation of regional identity based on the interplay of economic and sociological factors that lead to formation and rise of separate regional identity. He examines the cases of Assam and Maharashtra to argue that it the change in the local ethnic composition due to migration that lead to threat to the interests of the local elites who lead the charge and thus, the formation of regional identity takes place.

Ambedkar reflected on the problems which can surface as well as complicate the already existing problems. Therefore, his ideas reflect a complex understanding of the issues of regionalism from legal and social justice perspective. His prognosis of perennial questions which have plagued the creation of internal boundaries in India. For example, his analysis of the problem faced by smaller communities who do not share common language with the larger group in state in terms of economic, cultural and most importantly political justice in terms of representation led him to doubt whether the problem could be solved through the creation of smaller states based on common language. But he was open for smaller states

based on language provided the minority groups based on language and caste could get equal share of power and resources. Therefore, his recommendation was to put in place checks and balances constitutionally so that the majority community could not use its dominance to discriminate the minority community and people from backward regions and groups within a state. For the same reason, his arguments in this respect are relevant to analyse the case of Telangana movement. He argued while supporting Maharashtra's case that "the constitution should provide that the official language of every province should be the same as the official language of the central government. It is only on that footing that I am prepared to accept the demand for Linguistic provinces."<sup>23</sup>

Thus, Ambedkar pointed out some of the problems arising out of the demand for separate states based on language but relevant for other cases too which have become common to most of the cases of regional movements. He cautioned against going by simple factors of language as the foundation for creation of a separate state and cited few conditions which, according to him, must be fulfilled to ensure that minority groups in terms of language, caste and other kinds are ensured no-discrimination and certain checks and balances are put in place constitutionally so that the rights of minority groups as well as the backward groups are not harmed.

In a simple analysis of the issues of regional disparity arising out of political, social, historical and economic regions, Duncan Forrester warned against the trends of economic and political developments which could lead to wider regional disparity leading to rise of many movements for separate states.

He identified historical trends which led to discrimination and backwardness of the region. Secondly, his argument reflected a complex and multifaceted problem that Telangana faced. He was "for linguistic homogeneity of a state in the sense of one state-one language"

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<sup>23</sup> Dr B.R. Ambedkar, writings and speeches, Vol.1 part II- on Linguistic states, (Education Department, Government of Maharashtra, 1979), p. 75-98.

and not one language-one state. He thus envisaged two Telugu speaking state, three Marathi speaking states and a large number of Hindi speaking states.”<sup>24</sup>

Ambedkar’s arguments on creating new states were based on the viability of the state as administrative and political unit as well as the fact that it must fulfil certain conditions to achieve the goals. One, “no single state should be large enough to exercise undue influence in the federation. Drawing from the American experience, he thought that “smaller states were in the best interests of healthy federalism.”<sup>25</sup>

On this issue, his views were similar to those of K.M. Panikkar, “set out in his note of dissent to the report of the state’s Reorganization Commission”<sup>26</sup> Second, he thought “that socially disadvantaged sections are likely to be subjected to greater discrimination in bigger states because of the consolidation of socially privileged or dominant groups.”<sup>27</sup> Thus, viewed in comprehensive manner, his arguments were largely in favour of creation of new states based on certain conditions.

The dynamics of intra-party power politics which affected the way politics of separate statehood was shaped by intra-party competition for power and rivalry as argued by K R Acharya. Thus, the functioning of the group was affected by many factors including leadership, electoral politics and competition among different leaders. The position and power of the “region could have been met by enlarging the powers of the regional Committee by including planning and other subjects.”<sup>28</sup> Later on the demands were accepted after long persuasion and deliberation with central government representatives which included “the powers of the Regional Committee were enlarged by the presidential Order of 1970, which

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p. 102-103.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, p. 105-106.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, p. 107-108

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, p. 110.

<sup>28</sup> Acharya, K.C: "Telangana & Andhra Agitations" in Reddy, G. Ram & Sharma, B.A.V (eds): *State Government & Politics: Andhra Pradesh* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1979), pp.514-516



also included some additional items in the first schedule of the principal order of 1958.”<sup>29</sup>

The dynamics of regional disparity among the three regions that formed United Andhra Pradesh were analysed by A K Vasudevachary. He Stated through analysis of economic development trends and resource distribution that Telangana was at receiving odds and was backward than other two regions. Therefore, he stated that “although the Telangana area contains over 40 percent of population of Andhra Pradesh, it compares extremely unfavourably with both Rayalaseema and Coastal Andhra. The inferior position it occupied in 1971, with 13percent, 8percent and 8 percent of the state’s industries, investments and employment, seem to have experienced a marginal increase to 16 percent, 7 percent and 9 percent, respectively. This is apparently an eye-wash. The increase is attributed to the concentration in Hyderabad, the state capital and cannot be said to be the regional share” (Vasudevachary, 2013).

Telangana faced discrimination on all fronts: political because it did not get proportional representation, economic in terms of skewed resource distribution and cultural in terms of the ways in which culture of Telangana was neglected as well as misrepresented in popular culture. Telangana people and their culture were locked down upon, Telugu spoken which was influenced by other languages like Urdu and cultural influences of migrants in Hyderabad, was derided, their customs and traditions mocked at in popular culture like films, and large parts of the region saw the land purchases by elites from other regions. They have been discriminated against in recruitment and development programmers.

P.L. Vishweshwer Rao examined the dimensions of inequalities in many areas, for example, budget allocation: in terms of budget allocations, the pattern is the same denial, deprivation and diversion based on area and population, “Telangana should get 39-44 percent of the state’s budget allocation, and its allocations exceed 30 percent. Yet Telangana contributes 42

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid, p. 518-19

percent of revenue to the state exchequer” (Rao, 2014).

According to Akhtar Majeed, a series of socio-economic and political changes have brought about changes in the perception of the elite who now look the questions and issues of regionalism in different and positive ways. He agreed that “regions established their identity on the basic of language, culture, administrative viability, economic progress, or lack of it.”<sup>30</sup> According to Guljit Arora, “the rationale for the demand was based on the common identity, backwardness of the region and massive exploitation of the tribal peoples.” In summary he argued that: “the common people of Chhattisgarh largely accepted the theory of marginalization of the region” (Arora, 2012).

As per the understanding of K Jayashanker, the cultural commonality based on shared language does not provide a basis for a separate state. In another work, he discusses the historical dimensions of the Telangana movement. The opposition for a united Andhra Pradesh was expressed at the early stage itself based on the regional differences. He makes a case for separate state for Telangana based not only on relative economic disparity against the interests of Telangana but also multiple factors. While contextualizing the region in its unique historical and economic, cultural landscape, he argues that the creation of Telangana would provide an opportunity for realization of legitimate demand of a people who comprise larger group than many groups who have their own separate state.

He also analysed the level of participation as well as the nature and forms of political mobilization. He recognizes the participation of people in the movement being broad based with people from all walks of life and groups like artists, women, Tribals, revolutionary groups, students and teacher associations involved in it. His analysis of the diversity within political parties and the consequent dilemma in their political stand makes it a relevant study

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<sup>30</sup> Akhtar Majeed (ed). Regionalism; *Developmental Tensions in India* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1984), p. 8-22.

to dwell upon. In addition to that, he argued that the movement has many dimensions – social, economic, political, culture, linguistic, backwardness, industry, agriculture, the sentiment of people of the region. Hence it is argued, in fact, it is not just the question of development, but it includes the self-respect of people and the demand for separate statehood reflects the quest for self-rule and governance.

As per Haragopal from a political economy perspective that Telangana would ensure a balanced development and equitable distribution of resource among Telugus. He argued that the data from the beginning on development, budgetary allocations and the resource distribution show the neglect of Telangana. He pointed out that the relative discrimination of Telangana region from political economy perspective and elite politics in which the elite from other two regions dominated cultural, social, economic and political arena of united Andhra Pradesh leading to resource scarcity for Telangana and cultural discrimination. For him the self-rule would correct the mistakes leading to balanced development.

In her book, Aseema Sinha revisits the concept of region in Indian context. She challenged the dominant view in politics that the centre represents a leviathan that shapes the contours of India politics. On the other hand, she argues that the political economy and the patterns of regional development is shaped by regional actors. She analysed three states: Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and Gujrat to assess the models of regional development and why some regions become divergent and lags behind in the context of economic reforms.

Hanumantha Rao C.H. argues that that it is the backward sections and middle class that faces the burden of regional disparity. He further states that students, teachers, NGOs and professionals have serious consequences of regional disparity. Participation of these groups in the movement can be explained by the increasing awareness of discrimination. Therefore, “the separatist movement has gathered momentum when the opportunities for such classes

have increased in the services sector.”<sup>31</sup>

Therefore, it should be understood “that the separatist sentiments are stronger in the relatively developed areas like North Telangana.”<sup>32</sup> He further argues that the economic reforms have resulted in growing regional disparity and imbalances based on the analysis of the data on different sets of economic criteria from Indian states. For example, according to the Eleventh Plan, “the per capita Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP) of Bihar – the poorest State in the Country-which had steadily declined to a little over 30 percent of the per capita GSDP of the richest State by 1993-94, dropped further to 20 percent in 2004-05” (GOI, 2008) What is true of rising interstate disparities in development would be true of regional disparities within some of the larger, State as the factors contributing to such disparities would be the same in both the situations. The neglect of agriculture, rural development the social sectors in the post – reform period the consequent rise in rural distress together with the concentration of private investment and proliferation of economic opportunities in the developed regions has brought into sharp focus the regional divide or the rise in inter-State as well as intra-State disparities in development.<sup>33</sup>

Kondandaram discussed the role played by middle classes, cultural activists, artists, students in the movement in the beginning till the establishment of the Telangana Sadana Samithi in 2001. He discussed the formation of TSS, the Jai Andhra movement, the Gentlemen’s agreement, the five point, and six-point formula.

He maps out the nature of participation and the forms of social and political mobilization. According to him, “in the first phase of the movement there was not much participation of artists and writer, and the movement was confined to elite leadership. No substantive development agenda and stratify state, they demanded implementation of the

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<sup>31</sup> CH Hanumantha Rao, Description for Regional Disparities, Smaller States and Statehood for Telangana. Academic Foundation, 2010, p. 90-92

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, p. 94-96

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, p. 98

Mulki rules; spend the budget for the development of Telangana region by the state government through the income, revenue and taxes coming from the Telangana.”<sup>34</sup> The demand for employment for the youth of Telangana was one of the prominent demand of the movement. NTR played with the emotions of people through issuing Government Order 610 which has provisions to ensure employment for local youth as well as certain priorities that were provided to the Telangana people.

According to M. Bharath Bhushan, N. Venugopal, a rise in the consciousness and higher participation of these marginalized groups is attributed to the historical marginalization. As such, “the Telangana movement was not only a political and economic movement also movement against the culture dominance; movement for self-respect, descent and dignified life. Hence the political parties like TRS started installing the idols of Talli Telangana (mother of Telangana), celebrating Natakamma festival, Telangana Sambaralu, Moharam festival.”<sup>35</sup> This reflected wide social and cultural diversity and participation in the movement.

Justice B. N. Sri Krishna Report argued that “sub regionalism is a movement which is not necessarily primordial but is essentially modern in the direction of a balanced and equitable modernization. It stated that cutting across caste, religion, gender, and other divisions, the Telangana movement brings a focus on the development of the region as a whole, a focus on rights and access to regional resources and further, it pitches for a rights-based development perspective whereby groups and communities put forth their agendas within a larger version of equitable development. The report projected strong indications that in case Telangana does become a separate state, a movement for separation is likely to follow in Rayalaseema” (Srikrishna Committee Report on Telangana, 2010).

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<sup>34</sup> M Kondanda Ram. Movement for Telangana State: A Struggle for Autonomy. EPW Vol. 42, Issue No. 02, 13 Jan, 2007, p. 2256-57.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, p. 2257

Therefore, it analysed the demand for separate state in holistic manner providing important insights with regard to the participation and the nature of political mobilization in the Telangana movement. In addition to that, it made a case for separate Telangana based on various factors and stipulated that “the Telangana movement can be interpreted as a desire for greater democracy and empowerment within a political unit” (Ibid, 2010).

It also stated that the political participation in the movement was elitist meaning it reflected elite aspiration by delving into the nature of consciousness among the marginalized groups. Among Scheduled Castes (SC's), “opinion has generally been articulated on an ideological basis-Ambedkar's views-that small states would be better for minorities – with the additional hope that in a smaller state the dominance of the upper castes could be overcome and the SC's and other minorities would get more political space and a greater voice” (Ibid, 2010). The Madiga caste, “which is predominant in Telangana and more numerous on the whole, has had less access to reservation benefits than the Malas who predominate in coastal Andhra. The former would certainly benefit from a separate Telangana” (Ibid, 2010).

## **THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TELANGANA MOVEMENT**

The Telangana movement represented an important milestone in the regional politics in India. First, it was one of those states along with Chhattisgarh, Uttara Khand and Jharkhand which represented the “post-linguistic turn” in Indian politics. Secondly, the movement lasted for more than 7 decades with continuous participation of all sections of society. Thirdly, the reasons behind the rise of Telangana have been shaped by historical factors as well as contemporary socio-political and economic developments.

The regional identity and the consciousness of the same have been shaped by historical trends that have shaped socio-cultural and economic contexts of the region. The annexation

of the Telangana region with Rayalseema and Coastal Andhra was opposed from the begging meaning there existed regional consciousness which time and again resurfaced pointing towards in important dimension in which Telangana represents a unique case in the study of regional politics in India.

Therefore, the present study is a qualitative study to find out the nature and forms of political mobilization through the opinion of different sections of society and uses both primary and secondary sources to collect data to answer the research questions. It includes a field work to understand the attitudes and emotional dimensions of identity that helped to sustain the political movement for a long time as well as shaped the trajectory of the nature and forms of political mobilization. The elongated period of the movement for separate statehood for Telangana makes it difficult to understand the dynamics of political mobilization through a descriptive historical analysis. That is why it is important that the methods of data analysis are sophisticated enough to capture the complex dynamics of various factors over a relatively long period in which the political movement was carried out.

Thus, the present study uses historical sociological and participatory methods of data collection to capture the social and political realities better. The advantage of this method is that it captures the complex interplay of various factors contextualized in particular time and space that explain the long-term outcomes of social and political processes (Tilly, 1974; Scopol and Murphy, 1984; Caar, 1941).

Thus, the present study started with exploration of secondary sources and the themes in social and political processes of regionalism and political movements for separate territorial boundary for a group of people. The preliminary stage of the research process included the examination of the relationship between various factors like identity formation and its impact on the emergence of regional political movements elsewhere in India. It also included the search for relationship between national identity and diversity and the rise of

regional identities from the very inception of Indian nation-state. After this, it advanced towards identifying why certain regions have seen the rise of regional political movements and demand for separate statehood while others have not.

For example, the states of Uttar Pradesh (U.P.) and Bihar have not seen the rise of regional identity even the geographical size of the states is largest among the states of the Indian Union. A comparative analysis led to identification of certain states as being unique in terms of the relationship among various factors and the nature of political mobilization and identity formation. In this context, it was noted that the demand for Telangana is unique in at least one sense, that is, the demand for separate statehood was raised despite the fact that Telangana shared linguistic similarity with two other regions which were merged with Andhra Pradesh. But question was why did the demand for Telangana was raised when there was a trend to demarcate state boundaries based on language as a primary factor? This also did not coincide with what scholars like Louis Tillin has called "post-linguistic turn" in regional movements in India (Tillin, 2013).

Thus, the study began with this puzzle to explore the political mobilization and the factors behind it and the reasons for its sustenance over a long period of time. It included unstructured and open-ended questionnaire, interviews of intellectuals, analysis of various Government reports and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), government surveys, budget documents etc. Primary and secondary sources have been used extensively to collect the data required for the finalization and completion of the study.

The field work was carried out to find out opinions of people from different sections of society. The districts were chosen after preliminary analysis of political movement on the basis of regional differentiation in terms of participation and issues with reference to demands. In addition, people from different walks of life who participated in the movement including politicians, intelligential, and cultural and political activists were interviewed. It



also deals with the response of the government towards the Telangana movement. This Study intended to find out reasons for the Telangana.

## **OBJECTIVES**

The study attempts to answer the research question in an exploratory and diagnostically. Because it attempts to seek for answer the link between the nature and forms of political mobilization, and the factors such as identity, relative deprivation and 'political opportunity structures' (POW). Thus, it is an exploratory in nature. It is diagnostic in nature because tries to map the issues of identity and political formations in the aftermath of the statehood achieved in 2014 after a long and sustained movement. Therefore, it seeks to diagnose the links between the complex interplay of factors in the past and the present scenario.

**The major objectives of the Study are as follows:**

- To examine the historical background of political movements in Telangana.
- To understand the reasons behind for emergence for regional political movements in India.
- To examine different forms of mobilizations for the political movement for Telangana.

## **METHODOLOGY**

The following section discusses the methodology adopted for the study. Research methodology is a key to research that shapes and guides the process of research from the beginning to the end. In other words, it can be understood as a systematic exploration of social realities through use of a range of techniques and methods of data collection and analysis to answer the research puzzle. It is also important because research methodology of a

study explains the rationale and utility of a study done not only for disciplinary advancement but also for policy making in the day to day life in society and political system. It also helps the reader and the peer in the discipline and policy makers to understand the particularities and application of the study.

The present study is basically an explorative research to find out the reasons for the Telangana movement. For the purpose of collecting data, it uses both primary and secondary data. The secondary data includes articles, books, journals, newspaper reports. Primary data includes participant observation, interviews of the people who participated in the movement who constitute intellectuals, employees, students, artists, political party workers and leaders. The questionnaire was open ended to qualitatively understand the different aspects of the movement through interactions with the above sections of the people. 100 members from different sections were consolidated to get information about the movement.

## **CONCLUSION**

The demand for separate state arise from three reasons: relative economic discrimination because of regional disparity as a result of socio-economic and political developments; cultural discrimination of one regions or group residing in a compact territorial boundary by another group; the lack of political representation of the group. The recent literature on the regional politics in India have suggested another dimension which points towards the change in social and political power structure at the local level which shapes and lead to demand for separate state. This dimension only can work in context of the g=factors that have been mentioned above are present.

The Telangana movement represents a complex case study which can be useful to understand emerging nature of regional politics in India as well as it helps us to understand the political landscape in the newly created state in the proper context. Therefore, the study makes an attempt to study what factors had led to the rise and sustenance of the demand for

separate state for so long. It also delves into the nature of political participation and forms of political mobilization during the movement which is the main focus of the study. The qualitative approach to study the movement allows it to explore various complex dimensions of the movement during various phases of the movement. It adopts historical sociological and interpretive methods to collect data through field work.

The Telangana movement has gone through various phases in terms of level of participation, nature of political mobilization, response of the central government and nature of demand in addition to the nature of leadership of the movement. Though, the opposition for annexation was there, the movement was intensified led by political leadership sensing the discrimination and lack of political representation at higher levels in the united Andhra Pradesh. In the early period, it was mostly urban centric and elitist in nature. But as the trends of economic development and political and cultural discrimination of Telangana continued, the support base of the movement widened to include people from all walks of life. One of the important dimensions that is important to mention here is the change in local social and political power along with resource distribution had important impact on the shaping the nature of political mobilization.

## **CHAPTERIZATION OF THE STUDY**

The study has been divided into five chapters.

The first chapter deals with an introduction about the issues, statement of the problem, review of literature, and methodology. An attempt has been made in the second chapter to understand Telangana movement in historical perspective. The third chapter discusses the different forms of political mobilizations during different phases of the movement. The fourth chapter analyses the qualitative data gathered from field work in light of the theoretical perspectives in the study of regional political movements in India. The last and fifth chapter presents the finding of the study and make suggestions for policy.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE TELANGANA MOVEMENT**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

This chapter deals with the historical background of the Telangana movement by dividing the movement into four distinctive phases based on the nature of demands, level of participation, and forms of political mobilization. Thus, the first phase discusses the dynamics of regional identity and region till the formation of united Andhra Pradesh, the second phase ranges from 1953 to 1969 when the demand for separate state was revived. The third phase starts with the rise of regional parties like the Telugu Desam Party in early 1980s which changed the dynamics of political competition in the state and the nature of movement. The last and fourth phase started with the change in leadership with the coming of KCR and the rise of various social and political groups with the Telangana RashtraSamithi as one of the most important in early 2000s.

#### **PHASE 1: TELANGANA A DISTICT REGION AND POLITICAL UNIT**

Telangana was the 29<sup>th</sup> State to be formed within the Indian Union with nearly 10 districts. The geographical location of the new State can be presumed nearly in the middle of Northern scopes of 15 degrees 55' and 19 degrees 56' and in the middle of Eastern Longitudes of 77 degrees 15' and 80 degrees 47'. The geological territory of the state is 1,14,863 Square Kilometres; standing at no.12 according to the geographical area within the country. The State also is at the twelfth place concerning population which is nearly 3,51,93,978 however when it comes to the literacy rate; Telangana has to improve as with this much of population

it is on the 28<sup>th</sup> position with nearly 66.29% literacy rate. Telangana State shares a decent space in the Deccan Plateau and it is located at a height of 480-600 metres above sea level<sup>36</sup>. The stature of the zone situated at Hyderabad-Warangal-Khammam is up to 730 meters. The State has Godavari and Pranahitha Rivers flowing on the Northern side, Krishna and Tungabhadra waterways towards the South. The state shares borders with Coastal Andhra locale in the East and Karnataka and Maharashtra States as outskirts extended towards the West (Hanmanth Reddy, 2014, p.5.).

### Political Map of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh:



### Political Map of Telangana:

Telangana state was distributed amongst 31 sub-states after the reorganization of the boundaries within the state due to the internal administrative distribution system in the year 2017.

<sup>36</sup> Anwar Quereshi. *The Economic Development of Hyderabad*. Vol. 1. Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1947, p. 10. See also Barry Pavier. *The Telangana Movement 1944-51*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishers, 1981, p. vii.



Hyderabad state was bifurcated in four main subhas aka sections due to the regulatory reasons namely as : 1. Viz Aurangabad, 2. Gulbarga, 3. Gulshanabad (Medak) and 4. Warangal, which came under the governance of Subehdaar. These subehdars were endowed with the obligation of income gathering and different obligations as indicated by the new framework presented in 1867 called "Zilla Bandhi". These Subahs or Sections were additionally partitioned into 15 locale headed by the primary Talugdar (Collector) with income and authoritative capacities. There was additionally one subdistrict supervised by an Amaldar. These areas comprised initially 101 (and later increased to 117 talugas) under a

Talugdar with a Peshkar (associate) and a Girdavar (income overseer) assisting his day to day activities.<sup>37</sup>

The land tenurial system was set up in the year 1873 by the department of land revenue and Survey. Telangana's land settlement department overall impacted (in the two subahs of Warangal and Medak) a total of four districts Warangal, Nizamabad, Medak and Mehboobnagar, while a fifteen-year settlement was passed for the special four districts located in Karimnagar and Nalgonda as it was partially assessed. The remaining districts were not surveyed due to the time crunch. In Hyderabad State, as a whole, broadly two land tenurial and revenue systems came into being one, Diwani (or Khalsa) lands and another non-Diwani comprising about 60 percent and 40 percent of the entire Hyderabad State respectively.

The settlement of Sarf-eKhas or crown lands amounted to roughly about 50 lakh acres in about 3335 villages of the State out of which 646 villages are in Telangana but mainly concentrated in the Hyderabad district. There were about 573 such villages in Hyderabad, 25 in Karimnagar, 15 in Nalgonda, 15 in Mehboobnagar, 13 in Medak, and 4 in Warangal districts which contribute about Rs. 2 crore per annum in a state with a budget estimated at Rs. 20 crores. The Land revenue collected by the officials in these villages was sent to the Tehsildar who was used to be the in charge of the tehsil office from where it was deposited with the Nizam's treasury. This settlement or collection was extracted mainly from the 15 lakh peasants who occupied these lands.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Puchalapalli Sundariah. *Telangana People's Struggle and Its Lesions*, New Delhi: Foundations Publications, Pp. 4-5.

<sup>38</sup> Qureshi, Anwar Iqbal. *Economic Development of Hyderabad*, Vol. I. Bombay: Orient Longman, 1947. pp 110-11.; Khusro, Ali Mohammad. *Economic and Social Effects of Jagirdari Abolition and Land Reform in Hyderabad*. Hyderabad: Osmania University Press, 1958. p. 5.

Next in the list of the Non-Diwani lands are Paigahs - lands granted by the Nizam to his close relatives (mainly because of the matrimonial engagement he or his relatives shared) or his army commanders of a high rank. Paigah, hence meant “prompt and high rank”. The land revenue in these estates amounted to Rs. 30-54 lakhs. These covered an area of about 4134 square miles of the state.”<sup>39</sup>

Samsthanas and Jagirs are the other major aspects of the Non-Diwani settlement. There are about 10 samsthanas located in Gadwal, Anegondi, Paloncha, Gopalpet, Wanaparty, Jatpole, Narayanapur, Medak, Amarchinta and Gurgunta. These Samsthanas were a result of collaboration or surrenderance of former Rajahs to the Nizam. In this settlement nearly 6 % was sent as peshkash to the Nizam and rest 94% they were used to retain. They also possess village grants on a fixed assessment.<sup>40</sup> Jagirs were granted by the Nizams to Pathans and Arab Jamindars and others for the services rendered to the state.

The Jagirdars in turn granted ownership rights in lieu of the payment known as Nazrana. These Jagirs acquired judicial and administrative powers. The number of the grants of these Jagirs increased from about 1,100 in 1992 to 1,500 in 1949 and so do the number of Middlemen leading to the “sub-infeudation” process. Some Jagirdars cultivated their land through forced labor or vetti and Bhagela while others employed people who were lenders.<sup>41</sup> These were Swantha Kamatham lands or seri lands. On the whole since the revenue to collect from the tenants was not mentioned in the grants, the land taxes and rents were exorbitant in these jagirs in comparison to the land tax in the Diwani areas.

The total number of taxes imposed on such jagirs was closed to 40 odd in numbers. Due

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<sup>39</sup> Puchalapalli Sundariah. *Telangana People's Struggle and Its Lesions*, New Delhi: Foundations Publications, Pp. 7-10.

<sup>40</sup> See for the conditions in these ‘Samsthanas,’ a research note by Nippani Ranga Rao “Misrule in Gadwal” in AISPC File No. 65, and 39, 1939, Pp. 1-5.

<sup>41</sup> Barry Pavier. *The Telangana Movement 1944-51*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1981, p. 8.



to the lack of knowledge and on the name of taxes , jagirdars, Samsthandars and other people on the powerful position were used to exploit and impose a greater amount of tax. On an average, nearly 10 families out of the taluka were used to acquire over 10 crores as revenue and taxes while the head known as Nizam was making nearly 2 crores out of the same. Along with the rental income the Nizam was also used to draw a personal income of 2 billion USD making him the richest of all across the world at that particular time.

In the Diwani settlement , Jagirdars and Deshmukhs were used to take a lot of interest as the revenue was quite inevitable wherein on the other hand the settlement known as Ryotwari a direct relationship could be seen b/w the landowner and tenure owners such as Pattadars, Jagirdars, Inamdars and so on. The pattadars enjoyed the services of Shikmidars who were there called partners. Their land occupancy was totally dependent on the sort of revenue he generated from the land and deposited in Nizam's treasure. To collect this revenue Shikmidars were used to extend help and collect the said amount from various debtors. Shikmidars can be labeled as permanent tenants since they partnered with Pattadars, while a group called Asami-Shikimdar or Kashtakars were tenants at will. A contract named Liara was undertaken for a tenure of 30-40 years with the vision of cultivating lands without any additional tax. Once this tenure was used to surpassed the rent also increased gradually.

A total of 465 such villages were there in Telangana ; which possessed nearly 95 lakh acres of land which was cultivated and rent and taxes were paid to Nizam and his designated people. The lands given in gifts were given away for the overall benefit that is why on such inam-lands no income was taxed as well as there was also an opportunity "quit lease" was made available on such lands. The next in incharge of such lands were called Patels and Patwaris. When Salar Jung canceled the arrangement of Income cultivating a new group called Sarbastadars evolved. The last settlement gave them an income in the name of Inams or Waitan. Deshmukh were left to monitor people directly hence Deshmukhs played which

was a settled income made to the state was gathered by them without being monitored. Moneylenders excessively joined their positions too and earned ample of revenue by taking up positions in the Department of Land and Revenue Department<sup>42</sup>.

Makta takes after the Jagirdari framework, with the special case that the concede holder needs to pay a settled lease. This framework won in around 664 towns. In spite of the fact that the goal here was to make the genuine cultivator a pattadar, practically speaking the Maktadar held the patta by ousting occupants at his will et cetera. Agraharas were awards made to Hindu sanctuaries and Brahmanas with no income installment. They numbered around 309. Banjardars developed the backwoods lands.<sup>43</sup> These Jagirdars, Samsthanadars, Deshmukhs, Banjardars et cetera applied the considerable effect on the rustic financial structure.

They have extensive powers in the towns including legal and regulatory capacities. Jagirdars who had small jagirs along with Deshmukhs enjoyed cash loaning, anchored abkari (today, alcohol) contracts. Despite the fact that they numbered around 0.5 for every penny of the populace, they as lease collectors and landholders trampled upon the country people by vetti and bhagel (a type of tax charged). Be that as it may, there were numerous designation within the Jagirdari system. For instance, from one perspective we see a Jannareddy Pratap Reddy having upwards of 1,50,000 sections of a partial land of the total land, a Visnoor Ramchandra Reddy with above 40,000 sections of land, a Suryapet Deshmukh with 20,000 sections of land, and a Kallur family around 80,000 acres<sup>44</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup> Quereshi, AI. "The Economic Development of Hyderabad", *The Rural Economy*, Vol.1, Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1947, Pp. 38-39.

<sup>43</sup> Iyengar, S. Kesava. "General Survey" *Economic Enquires in Hyderabad State*. Vol. 1. Hyderabad: Government of Hyderabad, 193, p.12.

<sup>44</sup> Puchalapalli. Sundarayya. *Telangana People's Struggle and Its Lessons*, New Delhi: Foundations Books Publications, 1972, p.6.

Beneath these segments are the "Lower" classes-rural specialists, who constitute generally around 10 for every penny of the populace (counting ranch hirelings and homestead workers however barring the individuals who perform general work and earthwork containing around for each penny of the populace, occupants of different degree who pay a land lease to the landowners framing around 31 for each penny and others, Caste-wise the separation is as per the accompanying example.<sup>45</sup>

There are around 21 castes and subcastes; they were generally Kapus or Kunbis (in view of the land) numbering around 26 for every penny of the populace. Next in quality were Malas or Madigas in Telangana or Mangs in Marthwad involving around 14 for each penny of the populace. The rest was possessed by different tehsils: Brahmana framed around 6.21 for each penny, Vaishyas or Komtis (Traders) 4.91 for every penny, Gollas (Shepherds) 7.47 for each penny, Gaundlas (hard stuff tappers and alcohol merchants) 2.55 for each penny, Koriwas 4.78 for every penny, Salas (weavers) 3.8 for each penny, Banjaras (vagabonds) 1.54 for every penny, Gonds (tribals) 0.49 for each penny thus in 1903.

Over the period of time, as the population of the state developed so did the quantities of these ranks however nearly in the same proportion. When overview settlements were made in the state; an area was also assigned for the washermen, hairstylist, malas, carpenters, metal forgers and masons so forth to perform work for the villagers yet without changeless rights over the land or dispensable rights. These sections were amongst the most helpless of all the communities, as the revenue of the farmland appeared to be diverted between zamindars and Mahajans from one end while on the other hand they were used to exploit in the hand of starvation and natural calamities on the other end<sup>46</sup>.

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<sup>45</sup> See Report of the Reforms Committee. 1938 (1347F.) (Hyderabad Deccan. Government central press, 1938), Pp. 62-63.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, p. 65-57.

## POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS IN HYDERABAD

Initially, the supremacy of taking the decision was in the hands of Nizam. This was the topmost authority came into existence just after the Mughals and Muslim rulers went and Nizam was made in charge to take care of the “political and Social Structure” initiated by the Mughal emperors. This was surely valid to the extent; the jagirs were concerned however it was additionally valid in another regard: the Nizam had what might as well be called a regal entourage, comprising of huge industrialists, managers and government authorities. Most of the Nizams were Muslim only hence demolishing the structure and political regulations were actually fighting against the These were generally Muslims;<sup>47</sup> however Hyderabad's populace was dominantly (81 for every penny) Hindu.<sup>48</sup> The Nizams of Hyderabad had ruled since 1723 when Asaf Jahi had established the tradition by splitting far from the Moghul Empire.

They had held close relations with the British who positioned a changeless power of 9000 troops in Secunderabad, on the northern edges of the city of Hyderabad. In the second quarter of this century, when British withdrawal from India was unavoidable, the Nizam was set in a shaky circumstance. His capacity base inside the state was less impactful, restricted to a little gathering of aristocrats in the urban regions, a couple of jagirdars in the farmland, and those Muslims in the city who profited straightforwardly from the State's Islamic character. Then again, the British were progressively hesitant partners. The coordinated endeavors of the common Majlis-I-Ittehad-ul -Musulman<sup>49</sup> to raise the trademark of Anaal Malik who

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<sup>47</sup> Anwar Qureshi. Anwar Iqbal. *Economic Development of Hyderabad*, Vol. I. Bombay: Orient Longman, 1947, p.28.

<sup>48</sup> In 1931 *Population Census Report* Muslims formed about 13 per cent of the State's population.

<sup>49</sup> Anwar Qureshi Iqbal. *Economic Development of Hyderabad*, Vol. I. Bombay: Orient Longman, 1947, p. 30.

believed on the statement (truly "I am the King") can be interpreted in this context.<sup>50</sup> With the Nizam's favors, the Ittehad (as it was prominently called) was occupied with the last discard legitimating effort yet it was to be short of what was expected.

Over the most recent couple of long periods of the Nizam's manage, the Ittehad was to play an inexorably vital part politically, particularly in the battle of arms. Therefore, it may be valuable to follow its source and character. It began in 1927 with a social association called the Anjuman-e-Tablighul-Islam, which connected with itself in changing the degraded untouchables to Islam.

The Jana Sangham thusly turned into an umbrella association standing for all other groups; at last, in March 1930, another association called the Andhra Mahasabha (actually "Andhra Convention") was shaped at a meeting in Jogipet. The rise of this association was noteworthy in formation of Andhra Pradesh: it showed some slippage of the Nizam's dominion. Already, there was strict control of libraries; open gatherings, even of an artistic sort, must be composed with earlier consent from the state; daily papers were firmly checked and after that controlled; and common freedoms were by and large few. Made to a great extent out of the urban petite-bourgeoisie to the thriving vendors and brokers, and experts like legal counselors, government authorities and educators - the Mahasabha spoke to the lower strata of the decision class, partitioned from the higher classes by etymological, social and different elements. Its class synthesis was reflected in its concern,<sup>51</sup> which comprised of passing resolutions went for social reforms.<sup>52</sup> From its origin, the Andhra Mahasabha intertwined phonetic and provincial worries with social and later social ones.

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<sup>50</sup> Smith W, Cantwell. "Hyderabad Muslims Tragedy", *Journal of Middle East*, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1953, Pp. 2-4.

<sup>51</sup> Anwar Qureshi. Anwar Iqbal. *Economic Development of Hyderabad*, Vol. I. Bombay: Orient Longman, 1947, p. 35-40

<sup>52</sup> D.N. Dhanagare. "Social Orgin of Telangana Insurrection (1946-51)", *Contribution to Indian Sociology*, Vol.8, No.8, p.118.

Ravi Narayan Reddy's depiction was what it all began with: It was 1922. A Hindu social meeting was held in Vivek Vardhini Theatre where every one of the discourses were in Urdu and Marathi. Just a single speaker attempted to talk in Telugu however he was hooted and yelled down. The quantity of Maharashtrians in Hyderabad city was little, yet they displayed their predominance in all strolls of life.<sup>53</sup> In the fourth meeting at Sircilla, a determination was passed requiring all addresses to be conveyed in Telugu.<sup>54</sup> This introduction remained with the Mahasabha well into the Telangana development.

At its 6th meeting, the Mahasabha chose Ravi Narayan Reddy, as of now a mystery individual from the Communist Party, as Secretary. By its eighth gathering in 1941, the Mahasabha was well on its approach to turning into a front association for the communists. Before we go on, it is useful to investigate the historical backdrop of the CPI. The CPI was established at Tashkent in October 1920 by a gathering of Indians in a state of banishment headed by M. N. Roy by July 1924, it had been conceded into the Communist International.<sup>55</sup> From the begin, the Communist convention has inclined vigorously on Moscow. From a little base in the Indian scholarly people, the illicit CPI working with the dynamic interest, and affected by, the Communist Party of Great Britain (consequently CPGB), gathered an all-India meeting in December 1928 of its "front" association, the Workers and Peasants Party. At this point, the Sixth Congress of the Comintern (an acronym for Communist International) had received its acclaimed determination entitled The Revolution and Movement of the Colonies and Semi-Colonies.

The pilgrim theory supported a forceful demeanor towards the middle-class national-reformist parties however did not preclude brief assertions for the sake of anti-imperialism.

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<sup>53</sup> Raavi Narayan Reddy. *Heroic Telengana: Reminiscences and Experiences*. New Delhi: Communist Party of India, 1973, Pp. 1-12.

<sup>54</sup> Pavier, Barry. *The Telangana Movement 1944-51*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishers, 1981, Pp. 65-67.

<sup>55</sup> Ravi Narayana Reddy. *Heroic Telengana: Reminiscences and Experiences*. New Delhi: Communist Party of India, 1973. p. 9.

After many years, particularly tending to the CPI, the Comintern's tenth plenum ruined the two-class Workers and Peasants Party.<sup>56</sup> On the Comintern's recommendation, the CPI decried the patriot development. Be that as it may, this exclusive prevailing with regards to separating it from any mass after. What's more, 31 of the CPI's most vital pioneers were imprisoned in the Meerut Conspiracy Case.<sup>57</sup> At the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in August 1935, the CPI was extremely scrutinized for its "left, partisan mistakes". The CPI was asked to work with the Movement originated by nationalist to make an anti-colonialist party.<sup>58</sup> The CPI politburo issued an announcement: The solid application to the present phase of the counter settler development in our nation of the line of the Seventh Congress is a notable issue.<sup>59</sup>

A two-dimensional methodology was settled on: singular CPI individuals were to support the Congress Party; in the mean-time the Party would keep on building a base of public support. The communists' endeavours to penetrate the Congress were incredibly supported by the Congress Socialist Party (from this time forward CSP), the "left" gathering inside the Congress. Working inside the Congress gave the CPI access to the understudies and exchange associations while liberating them from a picture arranged outwardly. At the point when the communists were at last ousted from the CSP in 1939, they as of now had huge support. In Kerala, for instance, the whole CSP framework reconstituted itself as the CPI.<sup>60</sup>

The communists had been dynamic in every front; especially in some areas of Andhra since 1934; in any case, it was not until the point that 1939 that an organization constituting Communists came up in Hyderabad. The Nizam State Communist Committee, which united

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<sup>56</sup> Mohan Ram. *Indian Communism: Split within a Split*. New Delhi: Vikas, 1969. p. 5.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>58</sup> M.R. Masani. *The Communist Party of India*. London: Verschoyle, 1954, p. 59.

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

<sup>60</sup> Pavier Barry. *The Telangana Movement 1944-51*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishers, 1981, p. 80.

four little gatherings, enrolled the ostensible beginning of the CPI inclusion. Notwithstanding, it was the Andhra Mahasabha that gave the principal generous pick up: in the eighth meeting in 1941, Ravi Narayan Reddy was chosen President. Resolutions were passed requesting the nullification of vetti, jagirdari, the assessment on tapping hard stuff, and the ousting of occupants; the lessening of land charges, rents, and obligatory review settlements was proposed, similar to the affirmation of land-titles.<sup>61</sup>

Before this time, the Mahasabha had done little to arrange the working class; they were substance to pass resolutions or at most make "portrayals" to government authorities. Presently they endeavored to devise battles around topics like training, hostile to constrained work, and so forth. Their best activity anyway was against the collect of sustenance grains specified before. Two different elements were vital for the Mahasabha's expanded prominence. The Congress had been prohibited in 1938 and was rendered for all intents and purposes frail, leaving the field to the Mahasabha. By differentiate, the CPI, which had likewise been restricted, was currently permitted to work legally.<sup>62</sup> The purpose behind lifting the prohibition on the CPI was an astounding about-turn in the Party's arrangements.

Detecting progressive open doors at home and looking to profit by Britain's distraction with the battling in Europe, the CPI began vivaciously restricting the British war exertion, calling it an Imperialist War. Even with the Congress' tepid restriction to the war, such activism significantly won help for the CPI however welcoming restraint from the British,

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<sup>61</sup> Sundarayya Puchalpdlli (1972). *Telangana People's Struggle and its Lessons*. Calcutta: Communist *Party* of India(M), 1972, p. 21. See also Pavier, Barry. *The Telangana Movement 1944-51*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishers, 1981. Pp. 80-85.

<sup>62</sup> Raavi Narayan Reddy, *Heroic Telengana: Reminiscences and Experiences*. New Delhi: Communist Party of India, 1973, p. 19. See also D.N. Dhanagare, D.N. "Social Origins of the Peasant Insurrection in Telengana", *Contributions to Indian Sociology*. Delhi: Vikas, 1974, Pp. 116-117.



and in Hyderabad, from their steadfast partner, the Nizam<sup>63</sup> (Masani, 1959:79; Overstreet and windmill operator, 1959: 171-190). At that point in June 1941, Nazi Germany attacked Russia, tossing the CPI into perplexity.

After some inside civil argument on the benefits of the anti-war patriot exertion and significant weight from the worldwide association, the CPI chose to relinquish its before position and bolster the People's War of the Soviet Union against the German assailant. The CPI joined the war exertion while the Congress was propelling the Quit India development and mainstream resistance to British lead was growing.<sup>64</sup> While the Congress was prohibited thus, the CPI was energized in its exercises. With all the Congress pioneers in prison, the CPI could unite its hierarchical additions; in any case, it had lost a lot of its validity. Indeed, even Ravi Narayan Reddy, in the wake of giving a weak support for the change, hosted to concede that The Communist Get-together dedicated certain oversights in actualizing the general population's war approach. It perceived the threat of one party rule yet thought little of the colonialist peril. Thusly it tragically characterized numerous loyalists as fifth columnists.<sup>65</sup>

Regardless of their slip-ups the CPI, "developed significantly amid the war period"<sup>46</sup> This was clear at the eleventh meeting of the Mahasabha at Bhongir in 1944 Membership charges which had before been diminished from Rs. 1 to four annas were additionally diminished to one anna.<sup>66</sup> An overwhelming participation drive had been propelled in the previous year; 100,000 individuals had been enlisted in the rustic zones, 8000-12000 of whom had come to Bhongir. Looked with relatively certain thrashing, the "right" wing of the

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<sup>63</sup> Pavier Barry. *The Telangana Movement 1944-51*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishers, 1981, p. 83.

<sup>64</sup> M.R. Masani. *The Communist Party of India*. London: Verschoyle, 1954, p. 79.

<sup>65</sup> Ravi Narayana Reddy. *Heroic Telangana: Reminiscences and Experiences*. New Delhi: Communist Party of India, 1973, p. 34-35.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p.23.

Mahasabha exited. The CPI presently had the association to themselves and chose Ravi Narayan Reddy President and Badam Yella Reddy Secretary.<sup>67</sup>

But the best picks up of this period were to be found in the expansion of grassroots association: area, taluka, and town panels were shaped and units prepared. The majority of these underlying frameworks originated from rich worker foundations. To debilitate easy chair progressives, they were requested that initially sort out against the landowners in their own towns. "Preparing" was for the most part savvy. They examined legislative issues and read interpretations from Lenin, Stalin, Palme Dutt,<sup>68</sup> other Marxist works of art, and Gorky's *Mother* and a neighborhood novel on the mistreatment of untouchables, *Malapalli*.<sup>69</sup>

The Nizam was against the merger of Hyderabad Samsthan into Indian Union. Sukhdev Singh (Singh, 2011) expresses that the Nizam declined to join the Indian Union. He attempted to accomplish this objective with the assistance of the Razakars, the private armed force drove by Khasim Razvi of the Ittehadul Muslimeen. The Razakars turned to plunders and assaults of individuals of the Hyderabad Samsthan and made unrest with the assistance of landowners. The State Congress bolstered the merger of the Hyderabad State into Indian Union and propelled a development against the Razakars. The Communists on their part composed town barrier squads against the Police of Hyderabad State and the Razakars. The transactions between the Nizam Rulers and the Indian Union fizzled.

The Government of Hyderabad State did not consent to the promotion to the Indian Union. Majlis Ittehadul Muslimeen speaking to Muslims and the Razakars inside the Samsthan represented a genuine risk to peace, lawfulness and agreement. Razakars

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<sup>67</sup> Raavi Narayana Reddy. *Heroic Telengana: Reminiscences and Experiences*. New Delhi: Communist Party of India, 1973, Pp. 20-22.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, p. 35-51

<sup>69</sup> Pavier, Barry. *The Telangana Movement 1944-51*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishers, 198, p. 88; Dhanagare, D.N. "Social Origins of the Peasant Insurrection in Telengana", *Contributions to Indian Sociology*. Delhi: Vikas, 1974, p. 118.

endeavoured to give a feeling that the general population of the district was against the increase of the Hyderabad Samsthan to Indian Union through brutality against the general population.

The Government of India influenced the Nizam to sign the Instrument of Accession with India. After convoluted arrangements, the Nizam at last went into a "Stop Agreement" on November 29, 1947, with India for multi-year to keep up existing conditions. This understanding gave Nizam time to acquire military equipment from various parts of the world and sneak them into Hyderabad. In the in the meantime the Nizam sent an assignment to the United Nations Association to allude the Hyderabad case to the Security Council. 2.4 Police Action With the spurt in viciousness by the Razakars and the Nizam's endeavors to be free, the Government of India on September 13, 1948 propelled "Activity Polo" – Police Action against the Nizam drove by Major-General J.N. Chaudhuri. The Nizam's powers surrendered to the Indian armed force inside just five days on September 18, 1948 and Mir Laik Ali, the Prime Minister of the Nizam, and Khasim Razvi were captured. On September 23, the Nizam pulled back his dissension to the Security Council.

The merger of Hyderabad Dominions into the Indian Union was declared. Along these lines the merger of Hyderabad with the Indian Union was finished with an official declaration after Hyderabad had stayed under the govern of Nizam for multi-year, multi-month and 4 days. Real General J.N.Chaudhuri assumed control as Military Governor of Hyderabad till the finish of 1949. In January 1950, M.K. Vellodi, a senior government employee was made the Chief Minister of the State and the Nizam was assigned "Raj Pramukh". After the 1952 General Elections, the main prevalent service headed by Burgula Rama Krishna Rao assumed the responsibility of the State. Telangana Jana Parishad's convener Prof. Keshavarao Jadhav, who saw every one of the developments of Telangana locale, expresses that "from 1948 to 1956, Telangana went through a few stages military run,

Velodi's control and the acceptance of a mainstream government after races in 1952 with Burugula Ramakrishna Rao as Chief Minister.

## **PHASE 2: INTEGRATION AND BETYRAL OF PROMISES**

The princely state of Hyderabad represents a unique cultural synthesis and historical context of political development which manifested in the demand of statehood after the independence of India. Technically, the state of Hyderabad witnessed Britishers rule, but the control and interference of colonial rule in governance were minimal as the government and revenue collection took place under Nizam 's government. The state continued to resist the inclusion of region under the indirect rule category of colonial government and succeeded in maintaining the sovereign rule of Nizam though at the cost of frequent confrontation and compromises on power and revenue.

After 1930s, the politics of Hyderabad moved away from the mainstream nationalist freedom struggle in British India and weakened ties with other forces to continue the autocratic rule of Nizam. The appointment of Aiyenger committee in 1937 was a progressive move to recommend constitutional arrangements and reforms in existing, situation but the execution was limited. The political intervention of 1948 by newly independent India followed by bifurcation of Andhra state in 1953 produced a lot of difficulties in the integration of Hyderabadis on the basis of linguistic, cultural and religious differences.

The division of Madras presidency and formation of the linguistic state of Andhra on the basis of Telugu speaking population prompted a significant discontentment among individuals from Andhra. The population, in general, was not willing to accept Madras as their capital as the masses were skeptical about the administrative and ruling power which was allocated majorly to Tamils and Telugus were left with a minimal stake in executive positions.

Later the merger of Telangana, the erstwhile Hyderabad state with Andhra was proposed in 1953 by the Congress's central leadership to then chief minister of Hyderabad, B. Ramakrishna Rao which was accepted by the assembly in 1955 with a promise to safeguard and protect the interest of Telangana. Eventually, the state of Andhra Pradesh came into existence on November 1, 1956, with the merger of Telugu speaking area of Hyderabad state.

The merger of Hyderabad state and parts of Telangana with Andhra Pradesh remained contentious since the beginning as the general population of Telangana felt that the civil administration and resource allocation are not justifiable and the people of Andhra are at the advantageous position. While the people of were exploited and suppressed by the authoritative regime of Nizam for an extended period and their dues were not shared with masses. On the contrary, the people of Andhra were benefitted out of British rules with English education, social movements and several irrigation projects resulting in the upliftment of the socio-economic and educational status of people. Indeed, the seeds of differences regarding unequal distribution of resources, entrenched caste & class hierarchy and rampant poverty in Telangana were growing before 1947, but people remained voiceless due to feudal culture in the region.

Within a few years of the merger, the general population of Telangana faced the similar issues as they were facing during Madras presidency. The activists and leaders from Telangana indicted the government over its failure to adhere to the Gentlemen's Agreement which was signed between Andhra and Telangana in 1956 during the unification of territory. An intensive protest led-by students was launched in 1969 to safeguard jobs and other rights of people of Telangana. Slowly, people started realizing the sparse representation in different sphere of economic activities.

Though based on the single unifying factor of Telugu language, the state merged, the difference on the basis of unique culture, religion and working style developed over the long rule of Nizam existed in social and economic aspects of the life of individuals. The distinction of the political and social setting of Telangana became visible within a decade of unification of the state. Despite bifurcation of Madras presidency and unification on the basis of common language, the issue of statehood remained unresolved with the continuation of demand of the separate state of Hyderabad. The pressure of settling the problem was piling up with more aggressive protests and unrest from different segments of the population. The central government led by then prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru could bifurcate the Madras presidency but was opposed from the party leader to divide the state into two parts.

While describing the historical context of Andhra and Telangana, Gautam Pingle has postulated that Nehru after consulting with members of Congress, announced to set up a committee on 16 January 1956 which will look into the possible reforms required in various state boundaries. The decision resulted in some modification in the boundaries which includes Vidarbha to be converged with Maharashtra and Saurashtra and Kutch to be united with Gujarat. The decision on Telangana was kept on hold and to be decided later. Once again, the political aspirations of people from Telangana were ignored despite repetitive voices of people for separate statehood. Since many pioneer people including J.L. Nehru, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Fazal Ali (States Reorganization Commission Chairman) who were against the merger of states, the general population of the state was enthusiastic and optimistic about the incarnation of new state after the state re-organization act, 1956.

The people of the state felt that their suffering and dependency on Andhra are due to lack of development. The officials from Andhra and parts of Madras presidency continued to have dominion position over decision-making in the region of Telangana as they had the privilege of English education. The youth from Telangana suffered deprivation and lack of

opportunities in employment and government services. Since the people were not in the position to influence the decision of ruling class of political parties, the legislatures and political representatives from the Telangana region were often silenced by the ruling governments by offering certain positions which continued the betrayal of people of the Telangana. The injustice continued in various dimensions of development. The water was diverted to the irrigation projects in Andhra while no significant new irrigation projects launched in Telangana which faced frequent draught and had very poor irrigation facilities. Cultural hegemony in terms of the imposition of food and linguistic homogenization with preference to the linguistic and food habits of Andhra region was propagated due to power and control over the government.

The democracy which was promised after the abolition of Nizam's rule in the region remained unfulfilled as the huge revenue and resource extraction was diverted to the other region while the Telangana continue to suffer from infrastructural paucity, industrial growth and lack of adequate opportunities to people in various services. Such largescale discontentment of people with the unfair treatment even after independence gave birth to the strong statehood movement.

The *Jai Telangana* movement was launched in 1969 with massive participation of students from Osmania University, Kakatiya University and other universities and colleges from the region. The student led movement turned violent and more than 300 students were killed in police firing and state action to control the agitation. To resolve the issue, the union government led by Indira Gandhi proposed 8-point plan in 1969 but it couldn't pacify the anger and hence failed to meet the aspiration of statehood.

The movement continued under the banner of Telangana Praja Samiti. In 1973, a Six-Point Formula was recommended which could reach to a reasonable political settlement of

the struggle which remained unresolved. While responding to the statewide protest of Telangana employees who complained about the injustice to the people of Telangana, Telugu Desam Party under the leadership of N T Rama Rao promulgated an order named Government Order No 610 to protect and safeguard the interests of Telangana people for their fair representation in the government services. Though the movement got weakened as many of the confronting issues were resolved by the united Andhra government, the demand of creation of separate Telangana remained alive.

### **PHASE III: POLITICAL DYNAMICS AND REVIVAL OF STATEHOOD DEMAND**

While a group of agitating students who were leading the movement agreed to the implementation of agreements including Six-Point Formula and Order No 610, Many who participated actively in the movement felt it crucial to agitate and fight till the demand of separate statehood is met. The feeling of patriotism and agitation was fueled by the political parties and leaders from the region who invoked the identity of statehood in every election. Under the leadership of Madan Mohan and a team of journalists, the Telangana Praja Samiti launched a campaign in 1969 to bring back both the groups to a mutual consensus to decide the future of movement and demand of statehood.

Channa Reddy emerged as a strong young leader to head the movement while K.V.Ranga Reddy assisted the further development. The movement succeeded in raising masses across the state to protest against the government as it failed to implement the Gentlemen's Agreement decided at the time of the unification of state. The efforts of central government to implement Eight-Point Formula also failed and couldn't convince the leaders of agitation.

Two major committees headed by justice Wanchoo and justice Bhargava for separate cause to study the demands of the people of Telangana and propose effective intervention to



address the knot of statehood submitted their report to central government. Since the protest took the political turn, the Telangana Praja Samiti(TPS) contested for all the 14 parliamentary seats in 1971 general election and succeeded in winning 10 out of 11 seats in the Telangana region. Later TPS entered into a coalition with Congress party on its own term for the region which includes continuation of Mulki Raj, separate expenditure plans and records for Telangana, different Pradesh Congress Committee for Telangana and sacking of the chief minister Brahmananda Reddy for Telangana region. TPS signed the two major agreements with the state government on behalf of people of Telangana.

The appointment of a common administrative officer for the surplus and expenditure as well as relieving of Andhra executive officer from Telangana region and employing them in their region was settled after this agreement. The decision of the government was not accepted by many people from Andhra region who challenged the order of employment rule act in Andhra Pradesh high court which was struck down by high court on the ground of curtailing the fundamental right of equality in opportunity to all citizens.

Later the order of employment act and rule was presented in the Supreme Court under the leadership of A.V.S. Narasimha Rao to challenge the legitimacy of the government order. The Supreme court rejected the order and thus the chief minister of Andhra Pradesh was made the head of Telangana surplus assets. Brahmananda Reddy had to surrender chief minister ship and thus signaled an important triumph for Telangana people. This increased the stake of Telangana in the assembly of state and P.V. Narsimha Rao was elected as new chief minister with a substantial share to the members of TPS in the cabinet. It was the first occasion since independence when the political leadership of Telangana region overweighed the Andhra.

After the presidential order of 1975 to implement the Six-Point Formula to provide significant safeguards to people of Telangana. This formulation largely settled the grievances of people from both the regions, and it was expected that there would be proportional sharing of resources and power in future. However, the contestation erupted again in 1985 when employees from Telangana region went on state-wide strike against the injustice and misappropriation of appointments giving more privileges to people from Andhra region which was later settled by N.T. Rama Rao government with a special resolution. In 1999, the Congress again raised the demand of separate statehood and thus re-opened the chapter of Telangana movement. Following this, the Central Committee of Congress in 2001 passed a resolution to then NDA government to constitute another state re-organization commission to accomplish the demand of Telangana state.

#### **PHASE IV INTENSIFICATION OF ASSERTATION FOR STATEHOOD**

After settling the aspirations of both the region in 1975 through Six-Point Formula, there wasn't any aggressive movement for statehood barring few instances where the voice was raised against the violation of the agreement and not for separate state. Before the general election in 1997, the demand was again invigorated by Bhartiya Janta Party through a resolution at Kakinada for the formation of separate Telangana if it comes to power. This awakened the sentiments of people and students in particular to re-assert the demand of Telangana. Simultaneously, Kalamunda Chandrashekar Rao, also popularly known as KCR, floated the Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) in 2001.

Within a decade after the revival of movement, more than 1000 people sacrificed their lives for the statehood. From 2001 during the IV phase of movement TRS led the drive and appealed all the political parties to admit and support the demand of the separate state. During the general election 2004, the Telangana Rashtra Samiti entered into alliance with UPA,

which promised to award separate state if they come in power at centre which was settled with common minimum programme. In 2008, Telugu Desam Party passed a resolution to support separate Telangana and thus formed an alliance with TRS to contest 2009 election jointly.

Immediately after the 2009 general election, KCR went on indefinite hunger strike which further intensified the agitation and movement turned violent at many places. State-wide close down and aggression was observed among the common public of the region. With the demand to immediately announce the roadmap and plan of formation of Telangana state. The central government delayed the process as the Member of Legislative Assembly(MLA) and Member of Parliament(MP) from Rayalaseema and Andhra opposed the move and submitted the resignation in huge number to protest against the bifurcation of the state. Later in February 2010 a committee under Justice Sri Krishna was constituted by Home Ministry which after consultation with various stakeholders in the region submitted its report and suggested six measures to resolve the issue of statehood.

Meanwhile, the TRS strengthened due to its consistent demand and support for the cause of separate Telangana. In almost all the By-election held during 2010-12, TRS won single-handedly and left no scope for other parties to gain electoral victory. Parallely, the agitation was intensifying under the aegis of Prof. Kodandaram who was unanimously selected as the chairman of Telangana Joint Action Committee(T-JAC). Under the competent leadership of Prof. Kodandaram, the agitation got strengthened. Political, non-political and civil society organization from the region came together under one umbrella during 2010-14 and pushed the demand of statehood. The TJAC held continuous protests and strikes across the Telangana region and kept alive the movement.

Seeing the nationwide influence of the protest on electoral results and significant impact on the results of the forthcoming general election of 2014, the Central leadership of Congress Working Committee approved the demand of separate Telangana. The government constituted a committee of a Group of Ministers(GoM) on October 3, 2013 who after the comprehensive consultation with regional parties of Andhra Pradesh and leadership of both Telangana and Andhra Pradesh region submitted its recommendation to union cabinet.

On December 5, 2013, the Andhra Pradesh Reorganisation Bill 2013 was presented by union cabinet after incorporating the inputs and recommendation of Group of Ministers thus approving the formation of the separate state of Telangana. Finally, during the winter session of Parliament in February, 2014, the bill was tabled in both the houses and approved by majority thus sanctioning of the formation of Telangana as the 29<sup>th</sup> state of India.

## **CONCLUSION**

The chapter discusses the Telangana movement in historical perspective. It is divided into four phases based on the nature of political mobilizations, issues and level of participation of the people in the movement. The first phase discusses in detail the socio-economic background of Telangana region before it was merged into Andhra Pradesh to create united Andhra Pradesh state in 1953. The second phase discusses important landmarks in the period between 1953 to 1969 during which the relations between Telangana region were institutionalized, though in relatively marginalized position, through a series of agreements and political understanding and in the period the elites from the other regions strengthened their position in social, economic and political life which later became the ground for renewal of demand for separate statehood in 1969. The last phase of the movement started with the emergence of new political formations like the TRS and other outfits with heightened demand and high level of participation of people.

## **CHAPTER –3**

### **TELANGANA MOVEMENT: THE FORMS OF POLITICAL MOBILIZATION**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

The chapter attempts to look at the nature and forms of political mobilizations during the movement for separate statehood for Telangana. It probes the factors that have shaped the forms in which political mobilization took place as well as the composition of different political groups to map the ways in which relative deprivation of Telangana as a region, regional identity and “political opportunity structures” have played the role. It particularly looks at the changing social and political scenario at the local level and relationships among different groups at the local level historically since the 1950s and the ways in which it has shaped the nature of demands and reconciliation among these demands which often conflicted with each other to form a consensus over regional identity.

As it has been discussed in the chapter one that changing local social and economic structures along with elite interests in the form of political opportunity structures once boundary is reformed have had tremendous impact on the nature of political formations and mobilization. Therefore, the elites (social and economic) spearheaded and provided crucial link in the political mobilization which then was carried out and sustained by political elites that emerged from social and economic elites and their support at the local level. For example, the organizations, Joint Action Committees (JACs) were headed and led often by local social and economic elites who belonged to upper caste and upper class.

The links and social networks that they had because of their social and economic location within the social hierarchy provided them crucial support through which lower castes and classes were mobilized. This does not mean that the political movement did not see any

frontal contribution from groups and organizations headed by lower castes and other people who did not form mainstream social and political elites. Various Dalit organizations and groups had contributed towards spreading awareness about the economic deprivation of the region since it affected them disproportionately because the upper castes and classes did not have similar negative impact.

From the beginning of the Telangana people's struggle, the several regional political groups had emerged with basic demand for separate Telangana and with different ways and understanding of the reasons of the backwardness of Telangana. Thus, different understanding of the regional backwardness and identity led various groups to recommend several ideological and political stances why it was necessary to form a separate state. The reasons ranged from purely economic aspects mostly radical left groups advanced to more emphasis on sentimental issues and identity which had greater focus in the later part of the movement. Therefore, the critical discussion of the different political formations and their emergence would provide a critical insight into the ways in which different factors and their combinations have shaped nature and forms of political formations in the movement for Telangana as a separate state.

We can interpret the history of the Telangana movement from the perspective of regional sentiment to make sense of how socio-political movement brings together or balkanize smaller groups. Issue based socio-political movements grow in strength as people's participation grows in number and size. On the other hand, motivated political movements tend to fail for various reasons. Sometimes, the political parties take advantage of these socio-political struggles and bring to bring about a socio-political change in the society. The growth of the regional political movements is also interconnected with the socio-political parties on the basis of democratic principles.

The most of the Telangana political movement has been focused in urban areas such as Hyderabad, Warangal, Karimnagar and other parts of the Telangana region in the initial phase. It was only after 2000s that the participation of people from rural areas became intense and larger. In the initial phase, it was largely urban based and elite centric movement because of their aspirations for leadership and share in power.

It was not a coincidence that the trigger for renewed demand for separate state was raised when Chana Reddy, a dominant caste politician from Telangana was disillusioned because he did not get share in political power the way he wanted. Therefore, because of its urban and elite nature of the movement in the initial phase in terms of participation that was limited that it could not achieve successes it could do much faster in later part of the movement after 2000s when various groups from different parts of Telangana emerged especially greater participation of rural population. As Keshav Rao Jadhav has pointed out that:

“The weakness of the movement was that it was largely an urban movement, failing to effectively penetrate the countryside. Communalism too is a part of the problem, albeit a small part, being basically an urban phenomenon bound up with history and race memory. The basic problem of the Deccan, of which Telangana is a part, was and is total denial of participation to local people in the affairs of the state”.<sup>70</sup>

It is important to understand why a regional movement emerged within a state which had shared same language in its different parts. Since Andhra Pradesh was the first linguistic state that was created after independence in 1953, it has been a puzzle why regional movement for separate state for Telangana emerged. It leads to other factor that shaped the inter-sub

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<sup>70</sup> Keshav Rao Jadhav, *Towards A History of The Telangana Movement*, (Telangana Dimensions of underdevelopment, Centre for Telangana studies, Hyderabad, 1997), 5-14.

regional relationship. The dominance of politicians and economic elites from Andhra and Rayal Seema led to relative deprivation of Telangana in terms of unequal allocation of resources in budgets over a long period of time. But more importantly, the relative deprivation was a reflection of political opportunity structure in which Andhra and Rayala Seema elites had upper hand. It was this dominance that social and political elites from Telangana region started to challenge which led to raise demand for separate state.

“The Hyderabad State could have continued its happy existence but for the decision to form linguistic states. But, as on so many occasions in the past the people of Telangana were betrayed by a section of its leadership...the Andhra leadership still smarting at the ill-treatment meted out to them by the Tamil ruling class in the old Madras Presidency, transferred the injury to the people of Telangana....What was important was the lust for power and money of the feudal classes of the Andhra area, Kammas, Reddys and Brahmins.”<sup>71</sup>

The caste and feudal dominance of Andhra region has been misused against the Telangana natural resources.

“While both the feudal system and the caste system in Telangana have become extremely weak, they have been strengthened in the Andhra area with the influence of film capital and misuse of Telangana resources for agricultural development. A marauding capitalism has been superimposed on a casteist and feudal society. The ill-gotten film wealth and

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid, p.5-14



colonial exploitation of Telangana water and power resources  
have created an insane society.”<sup>72</sup>

The cultural discrimination of Telangana region was also one of the main causes for Telangana regional political movement. The Andhra people's attitude always against the Telangana culture and language.

“Telangana language is no Telugu. Telangana people are lazy, they are also fools and criminals at the same time. Such are the officially sanctioned Andhra attitudes. While the entire country lauds Hyderabad and its way of life the Andhra rulers are never tired of saying that Telangana people are uncultured”.<sup>73</sup>

The “Andhra elite in their linguistic chauvinism of regarding Guntur Telugu as the only Telugu have tried to ride roughshod over Telangana Telugu and Daccani as also Hindi, Urdu, Marathi, and Kannada. Similarly, tribal language was sought to be destroyed. New Telangana will nurture all these languages are part of our cultural and literary heritage.”<sup>74</sup>

The regionalism is not the Indian problem but it was the global problem. Even the developed countries also facing these kinds of regional inequalities from the centuries onwards. For example, the USA and UK and URRS and others parts of the world<sup>75</sup>. Nonetheless, the problem of regional inequalities in development within nations is increasingly engaging the attention of social scientists all over the world. The issue assumes special significance in India, where the overwhelming majority live below poverty line. This is all the more so because India's constitutional structure is somewhat federal in nature and

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid, p. 20-25

<sup>73</sup> Forrester, D. 1970. “Sub-regionalism in India: The Case of Telangana.” *Pacific Affairs* 43 (1): 5–21; Gray, H. 1971. “The Demand for a Separate Telangana State in India.” *Asian Survey* 11 (5): 463–474; Haragopal, G. 2010. “The Telangana People's Movement: The Unfolding Political Culture.” *Economic and Political Weekly* 45 (42): 51–60.

<sup>74</sup> Jadhav, K. R. 2010. “‘Backwardisation’ of Telangana.” *Economic and Political Weekly* 45 (13): 15–20.

<sup>75</sup> Stephan, Alfred, Linz, Juan and Yadav, Yogendra. (2011). *Crafting State-Nation: India and other Multi-national Democracies*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University; Adeney, K. 2007. *Federalism and Ethnic Conflict Regulations in India and Pakistan*. London: Palgrave.

considerable heterogeneity exists in terms of language and culture among the people of the different regions of India. The main focus of Indian planning has been on economic growth with social justice<sup>76</sup>.

All along, our capital-centered and urban-oriented approach has been unable to make us neither self-sufficient nor solve the poverty and unemployment problems. Many people are of the view that inter-state and inter-regional disparities are a product of our planning process. The remedial problems could be the optimum utilization of resources, dispersal of industries for balanced regional development and establishment of employment-oriented industries.<sup>77</sup>

The regional political movements are gradually moving forwards at the main stream of political system reflected in their importance in national and state politics<sup>78</sup>. These regional imbalances are not new for the Indian political process but it was old kind culture continues from the colonial rules under the British. There has been a long debate on regional imbalances in India from several fronts, then it was particularly the question of culture, language, education, employment, irrigation and economic development. It may be said that the British colonial rule was itself one of the causes for underdevelopment. The reason was that some parts of the country were under the direct British rule, and some others were under the Princely states. Consequently, there was a regional imbalance on all sectors.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Kohli, Atul. (1983): Regime Types and Poverty Reform in India, *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 56, No. 4 (Winter, 1983-1984), pp. 649-672; Harris John. (1999) Comparing political regimes across Indian states: A preliminary essay, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol - 34(48), November 27, 1999.

<sup>77</sup> B. Satyanarayan, *Regional Disparities in Andhra Pradesh: Need for Balanced Development*, (Telangana dimensions of underdevelopment, center for Telangana studies, Hyderabad, 1997), 124-130.

<sup>78</sup> Yogendra Yadav and Suhas Palshikar, (2008) Ten Thesis on State Politics, *Seminar* 591 November [http://www.india-seminar.com/2008/591/591\\_y\\_yadav\\_&\\_s\\_palshkar.htm](http://www.india-seminar.com/2008/591/591_y_yadav_&_s_palshkar.htm); Patrick Heller, (2011). The great transformations of Indian states, *Seminar* 620, April [http://www.india-seminar.com/2011/620/620\\_patrick\\_heller.htm](http://www.india-seminar.com/2011/620/620_patrick_heller.htm)

<sup>79</sup> Ravinder, D. *Rural development and regional imbalances: A study of IRDP*, (Center for Telangana studies, Hyderabad, 1997), 173-179.

The exploitation of marginalized peoples also the major subjects to formation of regional political movements in India. The negligence of rural areas also on the of keys issues for the regional imbalances. The rural areas are described as backward and underdeveloped because their per capita real income is low compared to the urban counterparts and developed regions. The Planning Commission defined underdevelopment as one “which is characterized by the coexistence in greater or lesser degree of unutilized and underutilized manpower on the one hand, and of unexploited natural resources on the other.”<sup>80</sup> In addition to these, inadequacy of capital resources, and lack of skill and technology may be mentioned as the causation of the backwardness in Telangana region. Apart from this, leadership of the state also is one of the main reasons for the backwardness.<sup>81</sup>

Telangana would secure justice in all matters of socio-economic development. Thus, lack of the leadership concerning from different outfits and splinter groups besides the Congress are now mounting pressure for the creation of a separate state of Telangana as part of a package deal with other undeveloped areas in the country. The net result is the emergence of regional political movements in India.

The first Telangana political movement in India was started for emancipation of economic and cultural development of Telangana region.

“Telangana now stands on the verge of another movement for liberation from aliens and for participatory politics. What the people of Telangana do now and how colonialists react will decide the future course of Indian politics. The demand for small states is a demand for responsible and participatory politics. The Telangana movement of 1969 was the first Indian

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid, p. 180-185

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, p. 185

struggle for economic and cultural economy. The movement going on now has added a demand for social emancipation. This is at it should be. The whole world is moving towards liberation from racism, sexism and casteism. Telangana has stood in the vanguard of such movements for the last fifty years and awaits correct leadership.”<sup>82</sup>

## **FORMS OF POLITICAL MOBILIZATION IN THE EARLY PHASE OF THE MOVEMENT**

Two kinds of exploitation were faced by the Telangana people from the beginning of the regional political movements in Telangana. Under the British rule after that the Nizam's rules, the people of Telangana had betrayed by the various discriminations forms. The emergence of the State of Andhra Pradesh in 1956 occurred as a consequence of the historic movement that was led by the Telugu speaking people that were living under two different political regimes, namely, the British and the Nizam of Hyderabad. However, “The roots of popular movements for redrawing and regrouping of provincial boundaries lie in the divergent socio-cultural awakening, which can be traced to the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century”.<sup>83</sup>

The Jagirdari and Deshmukh systems are main reasons for regional disparities and economical backwardness in Telangana region. The socio-economic disparities within the macro-region as well as to under-play the long-term damages to the backward sub-region. The sub-regional distinctiveness was also motivated by factors like caste, cultural, linguistic and politico-historical differences. It can also be said that such sub-regional feelings had

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<sup>82</sup> Jadhav, *Towards A History of The Telangana Movement*, 5-14.

<sup>83</sup> A. Satyanarayana, *A note on Land, Caste and the 'Settler' in Telangana*, (Telangana dimensions of underdevelopment, The Center for Telangana studies, Hyderabad, 1997), 30-34.

been a part of the popular psyche for a better part of their social history, for the Telugus were separated into two distinct political units. Thus, Telangana has a separate political history and socio-cultural experience of more than two centuries. Needless to say that the present day state of Andhra Pradesh is divided into three well-defined sub-regions, the coastal Andhra districts, Rayalaseema and Telangana. Among them, the Coastal area, mainly the deltas with fertile and well-irrigated lands is the most prosperous and wealthy; Rayalaseema is the “stalking ground of famines”, and Telangana is economically backward, which can be attributed mainly to its land tenure system based on Jagirdari and Deshmukh systems.<sup>84</sup>

Telangana agitation of 1968-69 emerged as a much-predicted consequence of such developments in Andhra Pradesh. The sharp decline in employment opportunities and flouting of mulki rules, brought back the focus on the underdeveloped region’s plight. The emergence of a Telangana’s economic corporatist group – students, employees, professionals who found their opportunities being throttled in their infancy agitated in one of the longest and tenacious movements of its kind – the Separate Telangana Agitation. A couple of years later, Telangana lost even the legal protection that it had, as a consequence of a reactionary Andhra state movement aimed against Telangana legal protection, i.e. Mulki Rules and Regional Committee.<sup>85</sup>

In the subsequent years, colonization of Telangana lands had started. The expansion of the state bureaucracy both in government and corporation sectors increased rapidly. This quantitative leap of Andhra in state bureaucracy led to the tendency to bend them to partisan Andhra purposes. State financing was increased manifold and the cornering of state largesse by Andhra’s became a norm. By now, the colonizer’s mentality was internalized thoroughly by those who manned the various government sectors. The control of input, output prices

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid, p. 45-48

<sup>85</sup> Ibid, p. 48-49

and cost subsidies to Andhra bourgeoisie their debt cancellation figures reached mind-boggling proportions during the 1970s.<sup>86</sup>

The oppression, inequality and hegemony of one group in social, political, cultural and economic life are the root for many struggles that have taken place in erstwhile Hyderabad and Andhra Pradesh. Andhra Pradesh has a unique place in history for social and political struggles. Till 1956 the Hyderabad state also known as Telangana, or Nizam Area, had a long history of political and social struggles. The Telangana region under the Nizam rulers witnessed brutal suppression of people. The people of the region revolted against the Nizam, known as Razakar movement, or Telangana arms struggle or the peasant 's struggle that has come to be considered as a historical struggle in Indian history (Sundarayya, 1972). People from different parts of the Telangana region got united in defeating the Nizam 's army (known as Razakars); the Communist Party of India played a vital role in the revolt and stood with the common peasants.

The Communist Party of India strengthened its presence in the peasant movement of Telangana. The Communist Party of India inspired many peasants and rural youths to join various such movements; under the Party 's guidance many organizations were formed. These organizations moved into the country side and other states making the ordinary masses to revolt against the suppression. The Communist Party of India and its cadres played a vital role in propagating and influencing the people with the communist ideology. Till date the communist ideology and its ideals influence the people of the region for a common cause; it unites the people of the region specially to resist the hegemony of the ruling classes and the dominance of the Andhra people over Telangana. The division of the communist party in to two groups – one in favour and the other against the armed struggle, was in fact a blow to the Telangana region. One of these groups favoured the Vishal Andhra Communist Party of India

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<sup>86</sup> P. Harinath, *Telangana: the Peripheralisation, Colonization and Marginalization of a Region*, (Telangana dimensions of underdevelopment, The Center for Telangana studies, Hyderabad, 1997), 35-41.

(Marxist) (combining all the Telugu speaking regions into one). The other wanted a separate Telangana.

The political, cultural and economic power of the Andhra people dominated the Telangana region for the last six decades (Kodanda, 2007). The agreements that were signed between the two parties while merging the two regions were ignored and overwritten by the powerful political and economic classes belonging to Seemandhra region (Pingle, 2010). The gap that existed between the three regions especially in terms of caste, culture, economy, education, and lifestyle widened in the last sixty years of unification. In the 60 years of movement for separate statehood, many agreements and special development councils were granted to protect the legitimate rights of the people of Telangana, by the state and the central governments through various amendments and acts in the constitution, but none of the agreements guaranteed were followed in principle by the state and centre. People of the region were left with no choice but to fight for their rights till the end for a separate state. It all started with the Singareni employees in 1968 as G. Innaiah states in an interview that:

“The Telangana agitation first started in Singareni in Kothagudam and Palwancha in 1968. It started there because people who were working in the mines, especially the sons and daughters of lower grade employees were not getting seats in the local colleges. In contrast, the wards of higher salaried employees, who incidentally belonged to other districts (from Andhra), started to get more seats. On paper the Mulki rules were still applicable in the Telangana region; however, these rules were violated and the locals started to fight for their implementation.”

The Naxal movement is also known as the Naxalite movement, the People's War movement, or Maoist movement. The history of the Naxal movement in India, starting from Naxalbari (1967) in West Bengal, to the present shows an increase in strength and has become a threat to the Indian state. The communist ideology attracted the youth not just in India but throughout the world in the period 1950-60. Without going into its history and operations with regard to Telangana or the Hyderabad state the communist ideology and its support was crucial in fighting against the Nizam and the Razakars.

The communist movement had grown in strength but later got divided into various groups based on their ideological differences – the CPI (Maoist) and the CPI (Marxist-Leninist). In Andhra Pradesh it got divided into People's War Group, the Janashakti and various other groups. The groups led a movement against the Indian government for over more than five decades. As said earlier, it was an offshoot of the initial Telangana Sayudha Poratam (Telangana armed struggle or Telangana peasants struggle or Razakar movement). People in the Telangana region got attracted to the movement for various reasons. One reason was the suppression of the individual rights by the Nizam and the Razakars and the lack of basic amenities. The second reason was the merger of Telangana with Andhra. The third reason was the Patel, Zamindar, and Reddy domination of the backward communities in Telangana. Finally, it was the domination of the Andhra people in employment, education, and jobs which led to the 1969 Telangana agitation.

## **REGIONAL DISPARITY AND POLITICAL MOBILIZATION FOR SEPARATE STATE OF TELANGANA**

The Lack of policy implementation and local people negligence are the main causes for emergence of regional political movements in India. The following theses, put forward in support of the demand for small states, are in the form of abstract formulations and



generalizations meant to broadly capture the context and text of the socio-economic processes that inform both the popular aspirations/struggles and the political necessity/desirability of small states as democratic form of political organization. The theses thus highlight the politico-historical necessity of re-organization of Indian federal system.

Needless to say, given the sub-continental territorial dimensions of India, given its socio-cultural and economic diversity and variation and further given the vastly divergent historical trajectories of regions and their concomitant complexities, detailed concrete analysis of each specific case may necessitate the application of these formulations with certain amendments. Thus, these theses, though provisional in nature, are put forth with a view to generate debate on such politically important question and specifically facilitate the analysis of concrete questions like Telangana within a larger and *long duree* perspective.<sup>87</sup>

The analysis reveals that a majority of the districts of Coastal Andhra are identified as developed and the districts of Telangana as backward areas in almost all sectors, except industrial sector as four districts of Telangana are identified as developed or medium developed ones. In case of Rayalaseema, a majority of its districts are found in the developing category with reference to education and other infrastructure facilities. In regard to overall development of the districts, it is summarized that in respect of Coastal Andhra six out of nine districts are identified as developed and the rest are developing.

In Rayalaseema two districts are found in developed category and two as backward. The study identified six out of 10 districts of Telangana as backward, three districts as developing, and one district developed. The overall development reveals that the Telangana region emerges as backward when compared to other two regions of Andhra Pradesh. This amply proves that the ruling forces of Coastal Andhra along with that of other regions have

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<sup>87</sup> K. Srinivasulu, *Nine Theses on the Question of Small States: Telangana dimensions of underdevelopment*, (Center for Telangana studies, Hyderabad, 1997), 52-55.

successfully collaborated in rendering Telangana backward and underdeveloped. Therefore, there is a need for the conscious intervention of developmental policies coupled with people's articulation for democratizing development to erase the pattern of uneven regional development.<sup>88</sup> On 16 January 1956, Nehru wrote to his chief ministers that the government had issued a communiqué on the reorganization of states. In the radio broadcast that was later deemed to one of most critical moments in Indian history, "he announced that Bombay city would be centrally administered, Vidharbha would be merged with Maharashtra and the territories of Saurashtra and Kutch merged with Gujarat and lastly, Hyderabad would be split. The communiqué added that the future of Punjab and the Telangana area of Hyderabad would be decided later on." (Pingle, 2010).

The splitting of Hyderabad and the merger of Telangana region with Andhra did not go well with the people of Telangana region. During the period 1948-1956 when Hyderabad was an independent state there was widespread displeasure among the people of Telangana as officers from the costal and Madras Presidency dominated them in the local governance and in other issues. Ravi Narayana Reddy says, "After Police Action, officials were brought here from the coastal districts and the districts of the then Madras Presidency, for administrative convenience" (Kodanda, 2007).

"The 1952 agitation is significant because it majorly influenced the attitude of the people towards the issue of state re-organization. Although the demand for a separate Telangana state have had its roots in the Mulki Movement, it was not as evidently articulated by the political groups until the question of state re-organization became a reality. The States Reorganization Commission (SRC) was constituted by the government of India in 1953" (Kodanda, 2007).

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<sup>88</sup> T. Rajender Kumar & P. Padmanabha Rao, *Regional disparities in Andhra Pradesh: A socio-economic study of Telangana*, (Center for Telangana studies, Hyderabad, 1997), 246-252.

However, in every sector people from the Telangana region continued to feel neglected and deprived with regard to agriculture, irrigation, water allocation, culture, and the private sector. Prof. Kodanda Ram says:

“Telangana has thus been converted into an internal colony as a result of the economic development process pursued by successive governments. Its resources have been diverted and utilized for the development of other regions. The movement for separate statehood seeks to articulate the demand for a fair share in the resources. It is an outcome of injustice meted out to the region by the successive governments in Andhra Pradesh. The movement has now gained wide support among the people of Telangana. In the recent by-elections to the Karimnagar parliamentary constituency, located in the Telangana region, people voted for Telangana Rashtra Samithi irrespective of their political affiliations only to show that they support the demand for separate Telangana.”(Kodanda 2007)

In several decades onwards, the sub-regional aspirations of the people have been growing on the basis of language, culture and regional imbalance. The burning motivation that “drives such aspirations for (Sub) regional autonomy in India is the fact of uneven development. Uneven development in multi-dimensional – economic, social, political and cultural dimensions seen in their inter-relationship. Uneven development is not only historically determined”<sup>89</sup>, but it is also a politically enforced process. The colonial state was a major historical factor that sought to integrate India into the international division of labour

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<sup>89</sup> K. Srinivasulu, *Nine Theses on the Question of Small States*, 52-55

as a primary commodity producer to serve the needs of the industrializing West England. It also reproduced the hierarchy of developed center and backward periphery.

Thus, colonialism inaugurated the structuring of lopsided/uneven development with colonial centres of development in the midst of hinterland of backwardness. The state and ruling classes of post-colonial India further reinforced the logic of unevenness. The centres in three presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, which experienced the process of modernization during the British rule, retained their pace and remained ahead of other regions while the rest (especially the erstwhile princely states) which was marginal to the colonial commercial and economic activity remained backward even after independence.<sup>90</sup>

Most of the newly emerged states are based on the linguistic problems or geographical problems in India. “The large linguistic states, as the experience of the last four decades shows”, have only gone on to strengthen the influence of dominant “castes/classes of the advanced regions over the economy”, as well as “social dynamics and politics of the states, including the backward regions”. By utilizing the resources, “both material and cultural-ideological, at their command- the historically dominant social groups have furthered their hegemony over the backward areas and the increasingly impoverished subaltern castes/classes.”<sup>91</sup> The singular linguistic principle cannot be taken to be the sole legitimate norm for the formation of states. The agitation in Telangana and Uttarakhand demanding separate states clearly show the limitations of linguistic states as obtained following the Fazal Ali Commission recommendations.

For the large linguistic states have not only perpetuated regional imbalance, but in fact become hindrance to the popular aspirations for political autonomy and for democratic

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid, p. 55

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, p. 56-57

decision-making. Thus, small states are answer to the larger questions of development, democracy and social justice.<sup>92</sup>

The world's largest democracy has not giving rightful share of national natural resources. Only some metro-Politian cities are taking better benefits from the state and central government since Indian independence. If the political economy of dominant classes and the state policy framework are the causes of backwardness, the role of the dominant castes-classes of the backward areas is no less insignificant, for they not only complied with the former as subordinate partners so as to enrich themselves on the wealth accessed by the entire state but also sought to 'trade' in the backwardness both economically and politically. The backwardness of the regions and the resultant drought/famine, poverty and even displacement and migration are found useful by the dominant castes of the backward areas in perpetuating their feudal politico-economic hold and as contractors by supplying cheap labour to the advanced areas.<sup>93</sup>

The Indian constitution has promised for the equal development of all the states and all Union Territories. But in the implementation process, the all states and central also fail to deal the societal development in India. As the nation-state, defined and understood up till now as the legitimate paradigm of democratic politics, has been witnessing challenges both from within and without. While the contradictions within the ruling class bloc between the big bourgeoisie and regional classes and between the dominant castes/classes of the advanced regions and the dominant castes/ classes (as well as the popular masses) of the backward areas within the linguistic states (consider the case of Telangana) on the one hand, and the movement of capital in the present era of globalization achieved by the multi-national capital by subordinating/allying with the national capital, on the other, has initiated the process of

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid, p.58

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, p.59

dilution of territoriality and sovereignty of the nation-state. Globalization thus represents the dilution/weakening of the received conceptions of nation-state and national sovereignty. The weakening of the nation-state has heralded a new era of democratic politics characterized by the assertion of identity and autonomy.<sup>94</sup>

However, the seven decades of Indian independence had forgotten the local people interests and aspirations. The sub-divisional disparities also playing very crucial role for building of regional political movements in India. In the present political context of India, i.e. the constellation of political forces and power configuration at the national level, conducive for the struggles for small states (sub) regional autonomy movements? This question is important given the collective feeling of frustration/ apathy logically springing from the past experience of repression, leadership betrayal and defeat (Telangana is a classic case).

The crisis and erosion of the dominant Congress party system signaling the decline of the centralizing political culture and the emergence of regional parties to the center-stage of Indian politics and with this coalitional governments becoming a necessity it could be said that a new phase has emerged in the political history of India which is in consonance of the pluralistic ground realities. This scenario presents positive prospects for the democratic demand of autonomy for regions.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid, p. 62-3

<sup>95</sup> Ibid, p. 64

## REGIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES IN TELANGANA: 1956-2017

Telangana was the witness for historical political struggle. The economical backwardness and cultural exploitation are the main cases for regional political movement in Telangana. According Kumar Yadav observation “Telangana is known for the heroic deeds and the historical struggles. Telangana happened to be the cradle of revolutionary movements. This land witnessed historical struggles waged against the domination and the exploitation. The ongoing separate Telangana struggle is one such Socio- Political movements in India. It is the first Indian struggle for economic and cultural autonomy. The demand for Telangana is a demand for responsible and participatory politics. It is the demand for small states. The demand for small states is a demand for democratic governance.”<sup>96</sup>

Basically, the Telangana was the not agreed for formation of Andhra Pradesh in the year of 1956. But the dominance of Andhra region politics has granted central government support for the first linguistic state in India. “In 1956 people of Telangana waged an agitation against the merger of Telangana with the Andhra. But it was also betrayed. In fact, Telangana movement of 1969 actually commenced on 6th December 1968. Students took out a procession from Vivek Vardhini College in Hyderabad. The procession was attacked by rowdies recruited by so-called integrationists as well as the police. Soon demonstrations were organized in Khammam and Warangal, which later spread to Nizamabad and other parts of Telangana.”<sup>97</sup>

Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS): Apart from the Telangana armed struggle the 1969 movement is considered as the defining movement in the history of Telangana. It was the socio-political and cultural upheaval in the state of Andhra Pradesh. The 1969 movement showed to the world the consequence of undermining the rights of the 75 minority; rights that

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<sup>96</sup> Dr. Y Prabhanjan Kumar Yadav, *Socio-Political Movements & Communication: A reflection of Telangana Movement*, 2.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid, p. 4-5

were guaranteed by the state are ignored by the ruling class. As said, the agitation started with the employees in the Singareni coal mines demanding justice for their children in colleges in 1968; later, students and politicians joined the protests demanding the continuation of safeguards (Mulki rules) for the Telangana people, along with demanding jobs, education and budget allocation. It started in the district of Khammam and later spread to other parts of the Telangana region as many students started to participate in the agitation demanding a separate state of Telangana.

The Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS) contested the general elections in 1971; the party won an overwhelming majority of 11 parliament seats out of 14 in the Telangana region. As the central government headed by Indira Gandhi was not in favour of the Telangana state the movement slowly disintegrated when elected representatives from the Telangana region joined the ruling Congress party. Though the government of India reached an agreement to correct the injustice that was done through the 1973 Six-Point Formula, the people of the Telangana region were not satisfied, as the apprehension still continued. The following governments in the state of Andhra Pradesh did nothing to implement the 6-point formula and this gave an opportunity for other political parties to take advantage of the situation. First it was the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in 1997 with a slogan of one vote two states '. Then the Congress in 1999 and Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) in 2001 raised the single point agenda of realizing the Telangana state.

Telangana Praja Samithi was one of the regional political organization was started for demanding of separated statehood. These political organization of 'Telangana Praja Samithi' has played very crucial role to mobilize the local student force.

“Under the banner of Telangana Praja Samithi, the movement spread to all corners of Telangana. A remarkable feature of this movement was its totally decentralized character. Praja Samiti



and Students' Action Committees were formed everywhere without any direction from above. Whenever funds were required collections were made at the local level. By March 1969, organization was in shape to take on the Andhra Government.”<sup>98</sup>

### **TELANGANA POLITICAL MOVEMENT: THE ROLE OF STUDENTS**

The Telangana movement is deemed to be the first Indian struggle for economic and cultural autonomy. The initial moments of Telangana movement took place at Osmania University, where the process of mass education brought many people together. It became centre stage for Telangana Students Front (TSF) and Telangana Liberation Students Organization (TELSO) as the parties organized demonstrations on and outside the campus. A national seminar on small states was also organized at Osmania University in August 1993. Surendra Mohan, Justice Madhava Reddy, George Fernandes and other delegates from various parts of the country including Vilas Bhongade from Vidarbha. Forum for Freedom of Expression, a group of Journalists and Writers, had organized a daylong conference in Hyderabad in 1996.

### **NON-PARTY POLITICAL MOBILIZATION: THE ROLE OF ARTISTS, PROFESSIONALS AND EMPLOYEES**

Besides the TRS, another party played a significant role in the movement. Gadar, a left cultural and political activist, founded Telangana Praja Front (TPF) on October 3, 2010. As many people in Telangana had come to believe that TRS had become a platform used by K.

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<sup>98</sup> Keshav Rao Jadhav, *Towards A History Of The Telangana Movement*, 5-14.

Chandra Sekhar Rao family solely for advance of its political interests, the Telangana Praja front was being viewed by those people that it will be able to bring a new dynamic into the demand for Telangana state hood. Gadar is a revolutionary Telugu balladeer and vocal Maoist activist from Telangana whose original name is Gummadi Vittal Rao. He earlier took part in 1969 Telangana agitation. With the resurgence of Telangana movement, Gadar once again began to express his support for the cause of Telangana and expressed his strong vocal support for all those fighting for a separate Telangana state with the motive of empowerment of masses.

Gadar is the first Telangana intellectual who was able to establish a link between the productive masses and the literary text and, of course, that text established a link between the masses and educational institutions. His songs managed to cut across the barriers of region, religion, dialect, caste and social status. His massive influence on the movement was adequately recognized as one of his songs "Amma Telanganama Akalikekalagaanama" came to be selected as the state song of Telangana.

T. Devender Goud, who resigned from Telugu Desam launched a political party called Nava Telangana Praja Party (NTPP) on July 11, to espouse the cause of separate statehood. The Nava Telangana Praja Party “changed” the name of the State from Andhra Pradesh to Telangana (TG) on all the signboards and the boards of all the government offices across Telangana. Devender Goud demanded that the Government needs to adopt a resolution either in the Assembly or Parliament, for “creating separate Telangana” by November, the State Formation Day. Nevertheless, he abolished NTPP later and joined Chiranjeevi’s Prajaraajyam Party and ultimately, he went back to pavilion to TDP for several reasons. However, his act is nonetheless revolutionary and remarkable in the history of Telangana Movement which has a tremendous impact at length and breadth of Region.

In the history of social movements in India, Andhra Pradesh has a very peculiar

position. Andhra Pradesh had been almost a laboratory for international institutions or experimenting with economic reforms. The state simultaneously also witnessed the movements against the reforms where different social groups have participated, ranging from the extreme left to autonomous groups. The Dalit and tribal movement in the state were the first in the country in demanding reservation within reservation among Scheduled Castes (SC's) and scheduled Tribes (ST's).

Table -1

### Historical background of Telangana struggle

| Year | Timeline of Landmarks of the History of Telangana  |
|------|--|
| 1956 | Nov 1: Telangana region was merged with Andhra and Rayala Seema, which were earlier part of carved out of Madras Presidency<br>Based on a common language and shared culture |
| 1969 | 'Jai Telangana' movement under the leadership M Channa Reddy was started<br>More than 300 students and youth were killed in police firing.                                   |
| 1972 | 'Jai Andhra' movement was started in response to Jai Telangana in Coastal Andhra   |
| 1975 | Issuance of President's order as agreed during six-point formula to implement the same   |

|                |   |
|----------------|---|
|                |   |
| 2001           | The Telangana Rashtra Samithi, a regional political party, started with the aim of separate state for Telangana   |
| 2004           | TRS contests the General Elections 2004 in alliance with the INC winning 5 Lok Sabha Seats and 26 Assembly Seats.<br><br>The demand for separate statehood was included in the Common Minimum Program of the UPA. |
| 2009           | TRS fights the General Elections 2009 in alliance with TDP winning only 2 seats with reduction of seats   |
| October 2009   | Chandrasekhara Rao sits on fast unto death for separate Telangana state.  |
| formation 2009 | The Central Government announced the initiation of the process of the of Telangana state at the earliest  |

|                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 3<br>February<br>2010              | The SriKrishna Commission is set up by the central government  |
| December<br>2010                   | The Srikrishna Commission submits its report with six suggested options  |
| 5-<br><br>December<br><br><br>2013 | <p>The approval of the Draft A.P. Re-organization Bill 2013 as per the recommendation of the Group of Ministers (GoM).</p> <p>The Bill was forwarded to A.P. legislative assembly by the President for its views on Article 3 of the constitution.</p> |
| 16-<br>December<br>2013            | The introduction of Telangana Bill, 2013 in state legislature  |
| 13-                                | <p>The A.P. State Re-organization Bill introduced in Lok Sabha</p> <p>The Bifurcation of A.P. and Telangana with Hyderabad as the capital of the later</p>   |

|                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| February<br>2013        | proposed.  |
| 18-<br>February<br>2014 | Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha (20 <sup>th</sup> Feb.) passed the Telangana bill.<br><br>Telangana becomes 29 <sup>th</sup> state of the Union of India |
| June<br>2,<br>2014      | Telangana State formation day  |

### **UNION HOME MINISTER'S ANNOUNCEMENT ON DECEMBER 9, 2009**

TRS leader and chief K Chandrasekhar Rao sat on an indefinite fast for forcing the central government to announce the formation of Telangana. As it has been suggested that there had been a consensus among major leaders like the prime minister Manmohan Singh, Sonia Gandhi, Home Minister P Chidambaram among other leaders and ministers on the formation of Telangana. Only thing which became issues was the ways in which it can be done so that there are no untoward incidents and the process of creation of new state goes peacefully. In this context, the announcement by the then union home minister P Chidambaram for the formation of Telangana and the formation of Sri Krishna Committee to look into the ways of doing it is a major landmark and turning point in the history of Telangana movement.

On December 9, 2009, the Union Home Minister P Chidambaram had announced the process of formation of a separate state was being set into motion and that a resolution to this effect would be moved in the Andhra Pradesh assembly shortly. The decision and announcement led to the end of indefinite fast by KCR and positive environment in Telangana region. The decision was received with mixed reactions. It was received with joy and happiness in the region with politicians and leaders among people celebrated it as the achievement of 70 years of struggle of Telangana people. While on the other hand, it led to ripples within the INC and leaders from all parties criticising the announcement. People across the Andhra Pradesh except Telangana region protested the move.

Pro-Telangana supporters celebrated the central government decision while those from the Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions protested. In fact, within a short time of the Home Minister's declaration, irrespective of their political affiliation 147 Seema-Andhra MLAs including 22 State Cabinet Ministers and some Members of Parliament submitted their resignations in protest of the process of creation of Telangana state. On December 23, the Government of India took a 'U' turn and announced that no action on Telangana would be taken until a consensus is reached by all parties. The TRS reacted by calling for another general strike on 24th Dec '09, an action aimed at stalling the regional economy.

Subsequently, Seema-Andhra MLAs withdrew their resignations, while MLAs and ministers from Telangana submitted their resignations, demanding the Centre to take immediate steps to initiate the process of bifurcating Andhra Pradesh. The Home minister conducted an all-party meeting on the 5th of January to elicit views of all parties in the State. Further, on the advice of Congress party's central leadership, all of the Ministers from Telangana withdrew their resignations. Rallies, hunger strikes, suicides continue, sometimes turning violent, throughout Telangana to protest against the delay in bifurcating the State. The all-party Telangana Joint Action Committee (JAC) started relay hunger strikes and

threatened resignations of all legislators on Jan 28, demanding the Centre to spell out its stand on separate Telangana and start the process of creating the State within a timeframe. The Union minister announced on 3rd February that a five-member Justice Sri Krishna Committee would look into the issue of Bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh state.

## **JUSTICE SRIKRISHNA COMMITTEE IN 2011 AND THE REALIZATION OF THE OBJECTIVES**

The then Union minister announced subsequently that a five-member Justice Srikrishna Committee would look into the issue of Bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh state. Justice B.N. Srikrishna Committee constituted on 3rd February, 2010 to examine the situation in the State of Andhra Pradesh with reference to the demand for a separate State of Telangana as well as the demand for maintaining the present status of a united Andhra Pradesh. Since then it had a wide range of consultations with parties, organizations and individuals and submitted its report on 30th December which led to a political as well as social chaos in Andhra Pradesh.

## **CONCLUSION**

The history of Telangana after India's Independence is riddled with false guarantees and betrayals. Telangana remains marginalized, reduced to minority in their own state, victim of partisan politics, inept democracy and blemished system. Telangana remains backward, in education, in agriculture, in trade, in infrastructure, working, and in prosperity. Even today, Telangana individual's area unit discriminated in their own region. They're seen as inferior, lazy and illiterate. Even the Telangana language is ridiculed and its speaker's area unit butt of the many humiliating jokes.

The individuals of Telangana have a definite culture, completely different completely differentia special unique distinct history and different temperament additionally to different



social and economic standing. once one state has 2 economically and culturally totally different regions, one being prosperous and therefore the alternative backward, if corrective measures aren't taken to uplift that backward region, there's an excellent danger that solely the prosperous region gets all the eye, funding, new industries, canals, and opportunities, whereas the individuals of backward region keep losing out, even in their own region. Once such a condition prevails way too long, robust corrective measures area unit to be taken, and if that doesn't work, a replacement state is one in every of the simplest solutions.

Under his leadership political parties and various non-political and social groups worked together and added steam to the movement. Various protests were held under his leadership and under the umbrella of Joint Action Committee (JAC) from 2010-2014. In February 17, 2011 they had a non-cooperation movement for sixteen days, and in March 10, 2011 they had Million March in Hyderabad, including the Sakala Janula Sammya (All people's strike) on 13 September 2011. All these protests and strikes had a severe impact on the state government, the political parties and also on the central government.

Sensing the mood and the political will of the Telangana people after witnessing the intensity of the movement, the national leadership of the Indian National Congress and Bharatiya Janata Party kept their promise and in July 30, 2013 the Congress Working Committee took the decision to support the Telangana state. On October 3, 2013 the union cabinet appointed a Group of Ministers (GoM) to listen to the political parties and other stakeholders of Andhra Pradesh. Based on the recommendations suggested the union cabinet approved the draft of the Andhra Pradesh Reorganisation Bill 2013 on December 5, 2013, paving the way for the Telangana state. Though the Andhra Pradesh assembly rejected the bill sent by the President of India, the central government passed the Andhra Pradesh Reorganisation Bill 2013 in the Lok Sabha on February 18, 2014 and in the Rajya Sabha on February 20, 2014 making the Telangana the 29<sup>th</sup> state in the Indian Union

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **TELANGANA MOVEMENT: FORMS OF POLITICAL MOBILIZATIONS AFTER 2001**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

The understanding of Telangana movement in terms of context, process and challenges requires an exploratory investigation of the history of the region, institutions involved in the movement and various agencies or stakeholder who participated at various stages during the demand of separate state of Telangana. This chapter is designed in such a way that it incorporates the theoretical underpinning as well as lived realities obtained by the rigorous data collection from the different parts of the state. The qualitative analysis will also help in exploring the diverse narratives about the struggle of common people for the separate state.

By connecting the different context and circumstances with the proper explanation, the study envisages to produce a cross-contextual version of the reality of Telangana movement. Further, the discourse and content analysis have also been used to bring the multiple dimensions of the movement which continued for almost 50 years till the demand of separate statehood was accepted. The qualitative analysis in this chapter also looks at the injustice and challenges faced by people of Telangana region and how this was portrayed by media, politicians and other key institutions in public domain. In the chapter, the researcher has followed the interpretivist philosophical position where it has been tried to explain how the social and political aspect of Telangana movement was constructed, interpreted, experienced, produced and lastly the state was constituted. Thus, the qualitative analysis with the help of in-depth interviews, observation, and analysis of existing literature is used to produce a thick description of the research problem.

## **FORMS OF POLITICAL MOBILIZATION: CULTURAL FORMS AND EXPRESSIONS**

### **ROLE OF MEDIA**

Contextual factors such as lack of political will, pauperization of large population due to feudal rule for almost 200 years, weak political and economic position of people from Telangana region, constraint of civil society to support the demand of separate state were the major impeding factors which influenced the media activities in the area. The movement survived majorly because of penetration and utilization of traditional media for communication and mobilization of masses. Indeed, the conventional media such as folklore, trumpet, etc. acted as a backbone due to rampant poverty and illiteracy in the region. Since literacy rate was very minimal as well as the penetration of mainstream print and electronic media was very less in the most parts of Telangana region during the 1970s and 80s, the involvement of people in the movement was ensured by using one-to-one communication and traditional form of media. Indigenous media acted as a catalyst to create awareness about the exploitation of people by landlords and helped ordinary citizen to understand how the resources are unequally distributed. The traditional form of communication also invoked rural population of the Telangana region to challenge Patels, Patwar and Zamindars from Reddy community in 1970s and demand for their entitlements and land rights.

During a later phase of Telangana movement in 1999s, when the mainstream media distanced itself from giving coverage to the agitation and curtailed the time for the news from Telangana region, indigenous media from Telangana filled the gap and kept alive the agitation coverage. The indigenous media substituted the void created by biased media of Andhra region which openly supported the idea of one state. In fact during the later stage of movement, the indigenous media became the symbol and voice of Telangana statehood and broadcasted the news fairly in favour of the people of the region.

The glorification of language dialect, cuisine, festivals and culture of Andhra region by media owned by politicians and other business groups was questioned openly by various leaders of Telangana movement and on numerous occasions, people boycotted the biased representation of Telangana. Despite this, the rhetorics of development of state if it remains united were often aired whenever the demand of separate statehood came into light. On many occasions during the primetime shows and debates, it was concluded that how a united state will ensure the welfare of people of Telangana region by bringing into light the welfare schemes launched by the government. In print media, the discussion often revolved around the loss of revenues due to movement and importance of united state where often the examples of separate states of Chhatisgarh, Jharkhand etc. were quoted in editorials and opinion pages. In order to circulate a message among common masses that the agitation is politically motivated in nature and the past experiences of India don't suffice the idea of development if a separate state is created.

A lot of debate and discussion happened regarding the political standpoint of major political parties such as Telugu Desam Party, Congress Party, Bhartiya Janata Party and Telangana Rashtra Samiti on the demand of statehood. It was a frequent discussion topic where each party was asked to explain their course of action if the government at centre go against the demand of separate Telangana. These media debates often ignored the aspiration of common masses and students who struggled and kept alive the protest over the past many decades. The politicization of movement was a major agenda of media than representing the aspiration of people from the state. Once in an exclusive interview, Mr Govind, a singer and artist who was very active in the movement mentioned that:

“It is people and not the media that make movements. The people have to rise on their own and fight; media can't do it if people are not interested in the issues. In Telangana, people

from all walks of life have participated in the movement. The media had to obey the public; the mainstream media or any other media has to report the issues they see and hear. If they are not doing it, then they are going to perish. Many corporate channels are against the formation of the Telangana state.”

This clearly shows that despite media being a major stakeholder cannot ignore the voices and aspiration of common public of Telangana.

Another well-known person, Mr G Ravi Kumar, a judge at district court alleged media of not doing justice with the ambitions and emotions of the common public and presenting one-side of the story. He said:

“The media owned by the Andhra leaders and industrialists was full of fictional stories and allegations against the movement. They degraded the movement; if the people's turnout for a meeting or an event was poor, they would say that the bubble of the Telangana movement would burst very soon.”

During the final phase of the movement (1999-2014), mass media witnessed a substantial change due to technological advancement and emergence of a large number of media groups as a result of liberalization and privatization. The number of media houses especially, the electronic media increased at a very rapid rate and doubled within a decade. With this, the penetration of media risen also in Telangana region. Many of the media groups owned by Andhra based business group could penetrate and attract a decent number of audience from Telangana region. Some of these channels were owned by the political leaders of regional political parties and acted as a mouthpiece and used these media houses to propagate their political agenda. These channels often ensured that they create a political base for the specific

political party as well as attract a good number of viewers. The presence of large number of media houses created a competition among news channels to telecast the news as “Breaking News” at their own channel. This increase in competition resulted in paying attention to the smaller events and issues happening in the region. Since the agitation was a burning political issue with a huge mass of people following the movement closely, the media had to give good coverage to increase their viewership.

Such a faster transmission of 24x7 News increased the possibility of coverage of smaller events happening in the epitome of agitations such as Osmania University, Warangal University. This motivated the people from other parts in Telangana region to support the movement and participated actively to kept the movement alive. The major city centres and sites of protesters were filled with people across the region and continued the agitation for a prolonged period to demand the separate Telangana.

The new media and technologies such as Internet and mobile phone also penetrated at very faster rate. The youth population especially the students could access the updates of movement with the help of internet and mobile phone. Since it was a student-led movement , the access to information and communication technologies to this group boosted the intensity of the movement. Any incident which happened in any part of the Telangana region got spread within minutes among people and it helped them to organize themselves to protest against the state forces. The new media technologies alerted state machinery to be conscious while using the physical forces against the protesting student as it may create more anger among common public if it goes viral and reaches to people.

In an interview, Prof. Bangya Bhukya of University of Hyderabad while expressing his opinion about new media said:

“The modern communication tools and technologies like mobiles and internet have played a major role in the movement. I think with the help of cell phones people were able to connect with each other immediately and also mobilize huge gatherings whenever required, especially in the Osmania University.”

### **DHOOM DHAM AND OTHER CULTURAL FORMS OF MOBILIZATION**

On numerous occasions, when the protest was invisible and the movement was not very powerful due to political dynamics, the ordinary people and masses kept the aspiration alive by using the indigenous method of communication. Various cultural and folk groups from the region continued expressing the ambitions of people through art form by performing the Dhoom-Dham, a day-to-day folk performance where people of the region gathered in thousands to participated enthusiastically to assert their voice in the form of entertainment. All segments of the population including children, youth, women and old people participated in this Dhoom-Dham march of people. Since a huge number of people participated for a cause which was a concern of whole Telangana region, media including print and electronic had to cover these events for their publicity and readership among the people in the region.

Dhoom-Dham became a popular medium and platform for expression of culture, language and history of Telangana region. People of the region felt more connected to this indigenous form of media than any other mainstream and participated in a huge number. Since the Dhoom-Dham exposed the corrupt practices of politicians and leaders from Andhra region in terms of diverting resources of Telangana region to Andhra region, inadequate allocation of financial resources for the people of Telangana, rampant social injustice and deprivation of people from basic services, the acceptance and reliability of this form of media increased more among common masses. With the blend of folk songs, dance performance, mimicry and theatre art, the performers of Dhoom-Dham promoted the Telangana culture and

lifestyle, uniqueness of the region, local festivals and glorified the celebration of separate Telangana. During the study, it was found that, all the sections of population across the region have heard about the Dhoom-Dham and recognized the popularity and importance of its contribution in Telangana movement.

Dhoom-Dham remains the ubiquitous and popular medium which prevailed in the region for the cause of statehood. The performance by dancers singers and artists from the region not only entertained local people but also kept alive the spirit of statehood. Mixing the humour and entertainment with a serious cause to reach out to masses successfully worked in the case of Dhoom-Dham campaign. Local people from the region also got chance to express their opinions, art-form and songs through this platform. Additionally, the martyrdom and sacrifices for statehood was recognized and celebrated to encourage people to continue their demand and spirit of separate Telangana. This indigenous form could also succeed in creating a huge literature in local language, folk stories and a large number of songs which slowly percolated to every nook and corner of the region. It energized the people who lost the hope of separate Telangana and reiterated the message to carry forward the legacy and sacrifices of hundreds of people from the region. During the interaction with people from Telangana region, the researcher found that many people still remember the folklores and songs which used to be recited during the Dhoom-Dham performances. The reverberance of songs of JAI TELANGANA, JAI BOLO TELANGANA can be heard in every corner of the region. Spaces such as roadside tea stalls, restaurant, transport vehicle including auto, local bus were found to be playing the songs of celebration of separate Telangana. Recorded songs and speeches for the demand of separate Telangana were circulated over mobile phones and were played at almost every public function in the region. University and college students enthusiastically played this songs in gatherings, public meetings and celebrations to assert their demand.



Despite mainstream media's ignorance and partiality concerning the coverage and representation of statehood movement, the talks and discourse of searate Telangana remained alive in public sphere. The social differences on religious, caste and class line were overlooked and a united movement was disseminated to express the willingness of people to fight for the statehood and express common connection with regards to the statehood demand. Therefore, it can be inferred from the numerous instanced mentioned in the text that the Dhoom-Dham movement not only formed the common popular culture of Telangana but also expressed the aspirations and standpoints of ordinary people of region on the demand of statehood.

The popular music and art form played a crucial role in raising the social consciousness of people. It remained instrumental in creating collective identities and mobilization of people for that collective identity of statehood throughout the Telangana movement. As Michael R Real says: "Popular music was not mindless, tasteless, and useless but was capable of complex, sophisticated, subtle, popular expression within its social context" (Real, 1996). Technology enabled people to convey the message loud and clear and it also helped in disseminating the message to the larger audience.

The songs in local language defined the Telangana movement regarding the emotional attachment of people to their region, culture and state identity. Famous singers such as Gaddar sang popular songs such as "Podusthunna Poddu Meeda..." which helped in encouraging and igniting passion for Telangana. Another popular singer Vimalakka's songs were so emotional and appealing in nature and brought tears to many for the separate state. Mobile phones having their ring tones and caller tunes of songs sung by loncal popular singers also disseminated the sentiments of masses. Infact, it was the cultural uprising with the help of songs and dance which took the Telangana movement to villages and motivated the ordinary people to participate in the movement than the political efforts and mobilization

by politicians. Majority of these singers who came from backward sections of the communities and became the leading figure of movement with the help of the songs and inspired thousands and lakhs to join their hand with the demand of statehood. Various groups such as Jana Natya Mandli, Praja Natya Mandli emerged in their districts with huge participation of local youths. Almost each household contributed in producing an artist or singer with the help of the popular movement.

Political parties also used these opportunities to use platforms like Dhoom Dham and local folklores to expand their reach in the region. Telangana Rashtra Samiti(TRS) which came into existence after 2000 got enormous popularity and support since they recognized and effectively used local songs and indigenous forms of media. In the political rallies and gatherings of political parties it was not merely speech but the popular songs which got more public turnout. A famous singer and artist Shanker Rao recalls how songs filled the gap of appealing masses which speeches couldn't do. He said:

“In the political meetings and the movement, it was not the speeches that added to the enthusiasm of the audience but the songs of 4-5 minutes by the balladeers that could give a complete picture of Telangana from its merger to the present. Many songs by Vimalakka, Gorenti Venkanna, Sudhala Ashok Teja were more popular than any film songs in the Telangana region.”

Major singers from the region including Gaddar, Vimalakka, Rasamai Balakishan and Venkanna were very popular among all sections. Even children knew them and could connect to them due to the similar lifestyle and simplistic way of living. The appeal to keep alive the aspiration sustained due to the sincere efforts and contribution of songs, folklores and stories created by these artist which multiplied with time passed from one individual to

another through the indigenous form of one-to-one communication. The common man also felt connected to the movement as he/she felt that his voice is being represented through these songs and thus participated in the movement for its sustainability. Telangana Rashtra Samiti (TRS) after 2000 continued to urge masses by using these indigenous methods of Dhoom-Dham and conveyed to people that they need to be united and firmly believe that the separate state will be created soon. Thus, people across the region after 2000 believed and realized the importance of these singers and artists as well as the need of political organization through TRS. The popularity and strengthening of movement and singers helped each other in supplementing and complementing the cause of statehood as well as creating individual cult of various singers in the region

Later in 2009 Telangana Joint Action Committee (TJAC) was constituted as an umbrella organization which attracted members from employees of Telangana, students, working class people and political parties from the region to organize themselves revive the demand of statehood by organizing protest across the region. During the meetings of TJAC from local to district level, artists and balladeers like Gaddar, Vimalakka, Gorenti Venkanna, Rasamai Balakishan and many other writers, singers were called for the performance as they were very popular and could attract and motivate public with the help of their skills to participate in the agitation and support the movement of separate statehood. Mike Edwards in his work on the

*Key Ideas in Media and Cultural Studies* narrates Atton who said that: “

People who 'turn to themselves, to their own lives, their own experiences, and turn these into the subjects of their writing ... at the heart of the Zine culture is ... the study of self, of personal expression, sociality, and the building of community.’’  
(Edwards, 2002)

In the similar manner many of these artists, singers and writers turned to zines in their own lives due to the fame and publicity received during the movement. These subaltern poets and singers were imperative to the survival of the movement. The songs of Martyrs of Telangana and their struggle for statehood mobilized masses. At the same time many singers narrated the feelings and actions of marginalized who were often neglected by historian and denied coverage in mainstream media discourse over the centuries. These subaltern folk narratives helped in the construction of the homogeneous cultural history of the region and projected it as a region of its own identity and historical background. The people of the region were introduced to their past and historical neglect by Nizam before independence and by the later governments during the post-independence era. Since majority of population was illiterate, the folk songs, poems and stories acted as a most effective medium to educate them about their past. Using the personal life experiences and common example familiar to common man, these writers and poets could successfully create authenticity and reliability in their stories while the mainstream media failed to convince because of the popular opinion of biased and one-sided views towards the problems of Telangana region. Further with the expansion of new media, these folk stories and songs were disseminated on Youtube and other social media for outreach. In this way, those unheard heroes and their contribution which remained absent in mainstream media could reach and circulate among large population with the help of folk songs and new media platforms and technologies. With the help of folk artists and popular figures, the non-violent and democratic form of protest dominated over the aggressive and violent protest which happened on some instances. In fact the songs and dances became the expression of dissent with the existing form of government and strongly conveyed and spoke the language of separate state for the people of Telangana region.

Women's participation in the movement was another unique feature of Telangana movement which continued since the beginning of the movement. The Bathukamma songs inspired thousands of women who participated and came collectively to protest on the streets for statehood. The songs and poems were composed and written by many women activist who narrated the everyday struggle of women in the field and villages. Dhandooru, a popular form of folklore and songs became the most commonly used art form during the protests where women idealized Bathukamma as a symbol of their representation and folk songs as their voice. Many protests organized by Joint Action Committee and TRS witnessed huge participation of women at city centres and district headquarters to support the demand of separate Telangana.

The tribal population of the state was equally enthusiastic about the separate statehood and participated actively in various parts of the Telangana region. Protest by the people from the Nizamabad, Adillabad and Khammam with large tribal populations witnessed the demonstration of tribal attire, culture and folklore which was unique and got the attention of various media during the agitation. Major tribal groups including Lambadas and Yadavs participated in all major rallies and procession organized for the separate state of Telangana.

Many tribals dressed as as Potharaju, Mallanna, Polayruamma, and Misamma, the local god and goddess of tribal people and attracted the attention of people which helped in mass mobilization of population for the protests. They sang their own folk songs and played drums and music which helped in the successful organization of rallies and protest at a different location in the region. While write about the participation of Scheduled Tribes and backward communities in the Telangana movement, Dr. Bhangya Bhukya, Professor at University of Hyderabad have told that the popular movement helped the downtrodden sections of the society to express their anguish and dissent against their subjugation by upper

caste and class people in the community. The statehood movement acted as a platform for the downtrodden section from the region who born the historical exploitation and never got the chance to express it due to authoritative rule and weaker position in the society. The movement provided the regional sub-nationalism to the people of Telangana to unite and fight against the deprivation from resources and demand a separate state. The movement helped in raising the political consciousness among masses which is envisaged to act as a resource in future for the democratic function of government in the state.

Predominantly, the statehood struggle carried forward the cultural dimension in the form of folk music, songs, poetry and popular songs which played a crucial role in mobilizing people from all the communities. The distinguished tradition, life style, dialect, food habits and way of life of people from Telangana region which faced negligence and step-motherly treatment during 1956 at the time of the merger with Andhra Pradesh was revived with the help of indigenous form of cultural movement.

Another significant feature of the Dhoom-Dham was that it could express cultural and social diversity which had great impact on arousing feelings of people because the programs were help in different parts of the regions. This helped people to express their own feelings and be part of a united movement at larger level. In other words, it allowed people to express feelings and attitudes in their own ways. Singer-activists were very well versed in local dialects and socio-cultural traditions at local level. Therefore, these activists could give voice to the people at local level in their own languages and cultural repertoire which they could easily understand. Also, because these singer-activists were well versed with local traditions and cultural values, they highlighted common people's problems in easily understandable ways. They memorialized the local heroes and traditions among those included people who sacrificed lives for the cause of separate statehood and liberation and justice of local groups.

Themes and subject matter of these songs and plays were not only related to local problems and aspiration for separate state but it also touched the themes of internal-colonialism and domination by other regions. It also touched the problems faced by people due to globalization and commercialisation which gave upper hand to those who were already dominant.

In this context, Murali Madhu, a balladeer, poet and singer opine in an interview that:

“In my opinion the Telangana culture has been revived and had reached its peak because of the movement. Through the Dhoom-Dham we were able to revive the language and the local traditions; these traditions were missing amongst the younger generation, and some are completely unaware of such traditions. People have abused the Telangana language and culture in cinema and television; but we were able to revive the culture, the language and were able to create political and cultural awareness through the Dhoom-Dham. People appreciated the work of the balladeers and singer in the Dhoom-Dham and also felt proud to participate in the movement. Interestingly, the movement also witnessed the merger of old and new cultures.”

K Narsinga Rao, a prominent expert of art and culture of Telangana argues that:

“I was under the feeling that the Telangana Kalalu (Art) would be extinct; it was almost on the verge of extinction because of the mainstream popular culture.”

But various artists and singer activists like Gaddar, Gorenti Venkanna, Arnodhya Vimalakka, Maboomi Sandhya, Sudhala Ashok Tej, Dr Ande Sri, Deshapathi Srinivas performed throughout the regions for over a long period of time which helped keep the art

and cultural traditions of Telangana region. Not only that, it also helped the uniqueness of art and cultural traditions of Telangana to take root and spread awareness at the local level which inspired masses to embrace and understand their own traditions and ultimately identity.

Dr. Bhangya Bhukya, Prof of History at the University of Hyderabad and expert on Telangana history argues in an interview that:

“After the merger of Telangana with Andhra there was a cultural discrimination especially against the Telangana culture; the government has standardized the language affecting Telangana identity and dialect. The movement has also brought the dialect forward as leaders and people again started to take pride and started talking in the local dialect.”

Balladeer and singer-activist Vimalakka also argues on the same line and says that:

“The culture was revived to a large extent by the movement, especially the language, the local culture, the age-old traditions. The participation of women in large numbers in local events and festivals helped the movement and also the culture of the Telangana region. Vimalakka and others singers and artists including the political and cultural analysts feel that the Telangana culture was revived to a great extent and this was visible during the movement.”

The change as a result of the movement on cultural and social attitude of people was visible in day to day life of people. For instance, people like university students started wearing traditional attires particular to tradition and culture of Telangana on special occasions like university fests and social gatherings so that they could relate to social and cultural particularities and traditions of the region. In other words, these acts at ground level



by a significant number of people could change the perceptions of people while higher awareness of cultural and social traditions of Telangana. Young and adult girls, as the researcher observed participated in festivals like Bathukamma at large levels by carrying Bathukamma, and dancing. Interestingly, it is the same people who participated in large numbers in the movement which used modern democratic political processes and ways.

Scholars and artists agree on the point as MLC K. Dilip argues in a personal interview that

“The movement has revived the Telangana culture and it was successful in reviving the entire culture of Telangana, men and women have equally participated in the movement with their traditional cultural and livelihood tools; women during the movement participated and showcased the Telangana culture; college students and elderly women may have done so because they are asked by the student leaders and other JAC members but in the process, this has revived the Telangana culture. And seeing these images on television many such processions and activities were held throughout the ten districts, and all these events have helped the Telangana culture to revive.”

In this context, it would be imperative to mention that the movement in this way could bring egalitarian and social justice points of view in the culture of Telangana to the fore with regard to both internal social and cultural dynamics of Telangana region as well as with regard to inter-regional cultural discrimination of the Telangana cultural and social traditions by the hegemonic domination of the other two regions with elitist bias in the favour of the upper classes and castes. The film industry which was dominated by the people from two other regions helped in last more than sixty years to hegemonize the cultural space with the values and ways of the elites from other regions which resulted in the relative marginalization

and even demonization of cultural traditions of Telangana region. This is despite the fact that these regions were merged together on the basis of shared language which forms a fundamental part of cultural milieu of a society.

Thus, the Telangana movement could help the people to subvert cultural hegemony in particular ways which represents a unique model for movements in other regions. Though, the regional movements based on cultural hegemony have subsided in recent period in India once almost all language groups who could form viable territorial unit have been granted statehood.

Therefore, the cultural issues and feeling of relative discrimination Telangana culture was one of the major patterns throughout the region since the beginning which had created feelings leading to mobilization of people. It was done through not only cultural performances like Dhoom-Dham but also through the distribution of large amount of literature related to Telangana regional history, culture, arts and literature. This helped the cultural artists, singer-activists and political activists to reach out to the common people at mass level with effective impact on the attitudes and their chances of participating in the movement.

The information related to regional history and cultural traditions with important landmarks like historical places, temples, buildings and the events in history of the region were circulated and recycled over and over again which reached to the people at larger level with an increased sense of unique identity and history which was different from other regions of the United A.P. There was also feeling that the socio-cultural traditions of Telangana region were marginalized in official history books at school and college level which reduced the awareness about the regional history and culture.

In this sense, the Telangana movement fits into the classical definitions of socio-political movements which are characterized by leader lessness and lack of institutionalization of the movement at least till the last phase started. In this respect, the

information technology also played a major role because the information like speeches and performances among others could spread in minutes with large sections of society reacting in different ways to the same but having impact on their attitude towards a united Telangana identity.

The same view is shared by Dr. Bhangya Bhukya in an interview and he say that:

“when slowly the arts were dying with the rapid invasion of the capitalist and commercial media the movement has once again brought the various traditional art forms to the forefront and was able to give recognition to the writers, poets, singers and other artists.”

On the same lines, Govardhan says that

“It was first in Karimnagar that Gaddar in a Dhoom-Dham program that he introduced many other artists to the public; many of these artists were not known to the public. Artists got recognized due to the Telangana movement as all the political parties started to use the artists for their meetings specially to promote their party agenda, but still we were happy to do so because we are doing it for Telangana cause.”

Murli Madhu, another prominent singer-activists who had mass following in the movement states that:

“It is indubitable that the Telangana movement has given life to many poets, singers, and writers. The people who we see today were neglected and ignored by the mainstream media. Telangana art was suppressed, but things started to change

when the movement picked up, and every artist got a new lease of life through the movement.”

From the field work, I noticed that it is these artists and singer who recognized the importance and role of such activists who played crucial role. On the other hand, the common people do recognize and accept that these performances and activities had shaped their attitudes and inspired them at large extent, but most of them could not understand the role and significance of such tools from the strategies adopted by the movement. In addition to that, this led to cultural renaissance of a sort in Telangana in which hundreds of artists and singers emerged in the process who played major role in different parts of the region to mobilize and create suitable environment for the political mobilization at large level. Also, the transport and communication technology which has led to large number of people having mobile phones and laptops with internet connections helped these artists and activists to reach out to people easily with least resources, time and energy. Thus, people could instantly listen to news songs and watch live performances at large level in real time. The songs, plays and short movies related to regional history, art, culture could be watched at platforms like YouTube etc. even after the live performances were over enabling these artists to reach out to people at unprecedented level.

The majority, almost all, the people who were interviewed for the purpose of thesis had responded positively saying that they had watched or participated as well as influenced by Dhoom-Dham as this instigated feeling of common and shared identity.

The people, almost all including both literate and illiterate as well as urban and poor, who have been interviewed have stated that they have used media like TV channel debates, newspapers and internet to collect information about the ongoing movement. Interestingly, majority of people even illiterate in remote areas could recognize and had some information regarding prominent personalities and leaders of the movement. As the rate of satellite and

cable connections has been high even in rural areas, the impact of media and internet has been very high in terms of dissemination of information. Respondents used to watch marooning and evening debates on TV channels with prominent politicians and cultural artists. As mentioned above, there was a surge in TV channels and newspapers owned by Telangana people especially in the last phase of the movement after 2000. Many political analysts and TV anchors became household names as found through the field work. This was reflected in the amount of time respondents and people who the researcher had interacted during the field study invested daily in watching news and information related to the movement. It became a fashion as few respondents termed to watch debates and news on TV daily during prime time and having discussions with friends and family members. In this whole process, the role of indigenous media, the media houses owned by people from Telangana, played a crucial role because of their favourable reporting of the movement which led to large scale of people having urge to participate in the movement even if they had to leave their work.

### **THE ROLE OF STUDNETS, WORKERS' UNIONS, EMPOYESS AND OTHER GROUPS IN TELANGANA MOVEMENT**

The students have always been an important part and group who have played major role in the Telangana movement from the beginning. It was students who formed one of the groups during the 1969 protests that faced the brunt of police but participated in large numbers. It is one of those constituencies which have participated consistently with high numbers. In this regard, G. Innaiah argues that:

“The early Naxal leaders have formed mass organizations to bridge the gap between party activities and the common people,

this is the period when you had student's organization, youth organization, peasant organization, cultural organization, writer's organization that later became the revolutionary writer's organization was the first organization to be formed.”

With the concerted efforts of various groups, the impact of the movement spread and it also helped in democratizing the society at large. Groups like Employees Union, Workers Union, Farmers Union, Backward Class Union, Schedule Caste & Schedule Tribe Union, the Writers Group, the Jana Natya Mandali and later Praja Natya Mandala, the Women's Union, Tribal Unions, and many others asserted their rights and also actively participated in the various other movements. The caste-based movements were the offshoots of the Telangana movement. These groups and unions became a part of the Telangana agitation and they played a vital role in highlighting the problems and achieving certain rights.

The youth leaders and the radical group leaders of the 1969 movement who got associated with the Naxal movement became the top leaders of the Maoist movement. Over the years they have been very supportive of various movements in central India especially in states like Odisha, Chattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, and Bihar apart from Andhra Pradesh. They have been fighting for people's rights in these states, especially for the tribes and the lower caste communities. They have supported many farmers' movements, land movements, tribal movements, caste movements, women's movements and various other movements. The group is still fighting against state atrocities and injustice for the last four decades. People in different parts of the country have thus drawn their inspiration from the earlier movements that have taken place in Telangana.

The students groups which played a vital role in the Telangana agitation especially highlighted the lack of education and employment in the region. This made the government

to establish a few good colleges and institutes in the region. Later many groups involved with the agitation turned into full-fledged organizations. Today we have the Dalit movement fighting for the rights of Schedule casts, the Tribal Movement fighting for land/forest rights and development, the civil liberties movement, and the women's movement 'fighting for equal justice for women in family and at workplace. To a large extent these groups were all the offshoots of the Telangana movement and the Naxal movement and they completely transformed the political and social systems in Andhra Pradesh.

## **WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN MOVEMENT**

The subjugation of women is a common trait found in many societies, but revolts by women are probably not as common. Though women participated and contributed a lot in India's freedom struggle many of these narratives are missing in the history books. Very few people have written and acknowledged women's participation and contribution in the freedom struggle of India. The women in Telangana have shown remarkable strength in taking on the mighty Razakars along with the men in 1946-47.

They were active participants in the movement; they fought in the frontline, carrying arms and ammunition. The women stood their ground when their men were killed or had to take shelter elsewhere. Women fought till the end to liberate themselves from bonded labour, abuse and sexual exploitation. P. Sundarayya explains in detail how the women in Telangana revolted against Razakars, police, and feudal land lords (Sundarayya, 1972).

The first revolt of Chakali Ilamma in the small village of Palakurthi in Jangaon Mandal inspired many women to stand for their rights and to protect the lands, even when women were raped by the Razakars (Nizam army) and the landlord goons; the women of Telangana

were not deterred even when their husbands were killed in front of them. Mallu Swarajyam who was an active member of the Telangana movement mentions the experience of thousands of women like her who participated in the Telangana struggle. She says “I was part of an armed struggle, but arms did not come into our hands in the beginning. Initially the weapons that we used for the struggle were sticks, sickles, chilli powder and knives. Only the military division was given arms. We were in the political struggle. Women, however, participated both in the military division and in the political division at leadership levels as well as at the level of the cadre (Swarajyam, 1998).

Fanon elaborates “how the movements can sustain for longer periods from the narratives that are told and retold about he says in order to maintain their stamina and their revolutionary capabilities; the people also resort to retelling certain episodes in the life of the community. The outlaw, for example, who holds the countryside for days against the police, hot on his trail, or who succumbs after killing four or five police officers in singlehanded combat or who commits suicide rather than give up his accomplices, all constitute for the people role models, action schemas, and heroes.” (Fanon, 1961).

The stories of brave village women such as Acchamma of Parsaipalli, Lingamma of Chilapakuntla, Lachamma of Nadigadda, Jainabbi of Rajaram passed through word of mouth and in the form of songs inspiring thousands of women to come out and fight during the struggle. Hundreds of women have been raped and killed but the inspiration did not die. Women seized the opportunity to break the shackles and to liberate themselves. P Sundarayya says:

“It is not surprising that we had women participating in large numbers in all agricultural labour strikes, or in seizure of grain from landlords' and deshmukhs' warehouses and gadis.”  
(Sundarayya, 1972).



Many women saw the opportunity of liberating themselves forever in a do or die battle of the Telangana armed struggle. This gave an opportunity for the women to move outside their domain that was largely confined to household kitchen and agriculture. But the majority of the women who participated in the struggle were from the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe communities (as Telangana has a large population of these communities). Another reason for the large participation of women was that it enabled them to liberate themselves from the abuse that they had to face regularly, especially the sexual abuse by the landlords. Mallu Swarajyam says:

“One of the reasons why women came in was the fact that at that point, no beautiful woman, in the village was spared by the landlord. If a landlord saw a beautiful woman in the village or someone he was attracted to, she had to be immediately sent to him. So among the girls, who came and joined the movement as Karyakartas, were girls, who were likely to face this kind of harassment. There were also destitute women, who came into the movement as karyakartas, because they also would not be spared by the landlord. Young girls who had been married to old men and found no meaning in their lives came and became karyakartas in the movement because here they found some cause for which they could dedicate their lives. At that time, we also had a consciousness of women's issues.” (Testimonies of Struggle, 1998).

Vimalakka the balladeer, a revolutionary leader who heads the Arunodaya Samskritika Samakhya (ACF) who fought on various issues concerned with women said in a personal interview, no movement IS successful without women and women's participation; women

today are saying that we are one-half of the sky and we are one-half of the struggle. Aarootla Kamama Devi, Chakali Ayilama MaUu Swarajam, fought against the Nizam, and today in the

ongoing movement thousands of women have participated. Women's role has become vital in the first and the present phase of Telangana movement but the opportunities provided for women continue to be far less compared to men.

The large participation of women in the Telangana armed struggle paved the way for the formation of many women's organizations; the Communist Party of India also encouraged women's participation. And this encouragement has also led them to the forests along with men to wage armed rebellion against the government. Many women were active participants of the cultural groups like Iana Natya Mandali, Praja Natya Mandali, and other groups like Arunodaya Samskritika Samakhya (ACF).

Some of the other women became active participants, wielding guns as members of the banned People's War Group. Women became the unknown and unseen strength in many movements that took place in India, playing a vital role in sustaining the movement and providing the required support. "Women had participated equally along with the men and due to this, it became easier for the Gram Committees, Sangham and Party to campaign against the age-old ideas prevalent in the society that women were inferior to men. Gram Raj Committees proclaimed and campaigned that, men and women had equal rights." (Sundarayya 1972)

The 1960-70 period is crucial in terms of women's participation as many of them joined the Naxal movement that saw an increase in numbers after the second phase of Telangana movement of 1969-72. In this phase women's role increased and the left parties were ready to accommodate the women and also assign them roles and responsibilities. The women became

very vocal and also the left party leaders and groups brought the issues of gender and gender equality within the official discourse of the party; this gave the opportunity for the women in Andhra Pradesh to fight patriarchy and violence against women. Gradually women started to lead the movement in women-centric issues; the political parties took note of the strength of women in Andhra Pradesh during the anti-arrack movement (1992).

The anti-arrack movement mobilized women like never before; the literacy drive that was started by the state National Literacy Mission helped the women in relating to the issues. The anti-arrack movement that started in a small village of Dubagunta in Nellore district by Rossamma started to spread like wild fire. Many women in Andhra Pradesh were victims of domestic violence and most often than not such women were married to alcoholic husbands. Women easily identified with the movement and opposed the auctions for liquor sale in their villages and district headquarters. The women who were part of the Self-Help Groups in Andhra Pradesh took an active role in the antiarrack movement.

The political parties took advantage of the movement and the main opposition party went one step further and said that it would impose prohibition the day it comes to power. This was a major victory for women as the government imposed the ban on liquor sale and production in Andhra Pradesh. The upper and middle-class women along with women of the villages (especially women who were part of the Self-Help Groups) played an active role in mobilizing the masses and few of them became presidents of political parties at the district and state level. Prof Katyayani Vidmahe, Sahitya Akademi awardee 2013, while speaking at the sixth general body meeting of Progressive Organisation of Women (POW) said “SHGs stalled women's movements; the women's movements had always seen ups and downs. Whenever there were atrocities against women, agitations were taken up but with the introduction of Self Help Groups (SHGs), the women's movement took a backseat for some time as political parties viewed women just as a vote bank.” (The Hans india, March 3, 2014).

Though women in Andhra Pradesh have made some progress in the political, social and economic arenas they are still lagging behind with regard to achieving equal rights. Prof Rama Melkote says "Religion and culture played an adverse role in the forward movement of women's struggle. The mindset of the people had to change." (The Hans India, March 3 2014).

Women in villages are ready to fight male dominance and violence through courts and police stations. Many women in the recent past have been bold enough to lodge protests and fight for justice; women's organizations have supported the individuals on several occasions. There have been a few cases of justice to the individual with the help of women's organizations. Celebrating the One Billion Rising awareness campaign III Hyderabad, Vasant Kannabiran, co-founder, Asmita Resource Centre for Women remembered the women who sacrificed their lives fighting for equal justice and rights and the prominent women leaders of the Telangana movement: "Ailamma's name was engraved in the history as the woman who started Telangana Peasant Struggle." (The Hansindia February 15 2014). Women in Andhra Pradesh, especially the urban middle class educated women, who were part of the Andhra Mahasabha, fought on women issues related to wages, land rights, violence at work place, and domestic violence; it gave the women an opportunity to assert their presence through participation in various struggles. Talking about the leadership qualities and the awareness that has been created by their group and other women's organizations Vimalakka said in an interview:

“Women leadership has grown over the years; women are no longer a show piece nor do they want to do things for media attention; the movement has given the strength to move forward and question the system. They do not wait for orders and they are bold enough to take their own decision. Women who

participated in the movement are bold enough now and they are ready to fight for their rights.”

Today there are numerous women's organizations in Andhra Pradesh that are working on issues concerned with women in fields ranging from empowerment to education for women. The Progressive Women's Association is the leading women's organization in Andhra Pradesh. The Progressive Organization of Women (POW) and its leaders, including the president V. Sandhya, asserted their power by highlighting women's issues on various platforms and in seeking equal justice, thousands of women participated in the ongoing Telangana movement. Taking the past experience into consideration, the women's organizations in Telangana are demanding Women's Reservation Bill to be passed by the Telangana assembly now that statehood is a reality; various organizations are demanding for recognition and equal justice along with men in all fields. The women's organizations are careful and are ready to record the history with the help of the academia and Telangana intelligentsia.

## **CASTE-BASED MOBILIZATIONS**

The Dalit movement has a long history in India; many great leaders and social reformers have fought for their rights. “Unlike other Dalit movements in India seeking justice and equal rights, the Dalit movement (MRPS) in Andhra Pradesh was fighting for sub-reservation within the SC community (15%) based on their population. Madigas (forming around 47 per cent) and the Malas (36 per cent) are two dominant communities” (Balagopal, 2000). The Madiga population is large in Telangana when compared with the Andhra region; the lack of opportunities, backwardness in education and employment when compared to the Mala community led the Madiga community to fight for justice starting from the early 1980s.

It was in 1995 that the Madiga Reservation Porata Samiti (MRPS) came on the scene. It declared that the scheduled caste quota of reservations was being availed of disproportionately by the mala community and demanded that the 15 per cent quota allotted to the SCs in the state be sub-divided and fixed quotas allotted to properly identified subgroups of the 59 dalit communities. The demand the madigas raised was plain, simple and easily understood: “divide up the SC reservation quota and give us our due. It was moreover felt to be unproblematic since the backward class reservation in the state has long since been subdivided into four subgroups, which subdivision has been upheld by the Supreme Court.” (Balagopal, 2000)

The Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MPRS) founded in 1994 by Manda Krishna Madiga had a great influence on the political and social system in Andhra Pradesh. The movement fought for the community and their rights on various issues with regard to their self-respect. Seeking proportional justice based on the population was its goal. The Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS) was able to get support from various political parties in the implementation of the reservation policy under the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) government in Andhra Pradesh but the Supreme Court objected to it and rejected the implementation of the sub-reservation within the SC community.

Over the years the Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS) has fought for the upliftment of the Madiga community in Andhra Pradesh. The political parties have used the reservation card in every election to gain votes. The Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS) used every opportunity to its advantage to use the political parties in achieving certain goals. The government of Andhra Pradesh has recently implemented the sub-plan for schedule caste and schedule tribe (SC/ST) communities. The Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS) was a strong supporter of the Telangana movement and it was instrumental in various strikes organized by the caste based Joint Action Committees which were in the

forefront of the Telangana movement. The MRPS or the Madiga community could benefit with the division of Andhra Pradesh as it believes that it can get all the benefits in various sectors including the local and general body elections of the government.

## **TELANGANA MOVEMENT AND THE ROLE OF REGIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES**

1969 proved to be watershed moment in the history of Telangana movement. At the fundamental level, it triggered new forms of political movement in the form of regional political parties as well as it renewed the demand for separate statehood after a hiatus of more than a decade when the region was merged with united Andhra Pradesh. It was a reflection of growing domination and discrimination of Telangana by the elites of two other regions in socio-cultural, economic and political realms leading to impoverishment of Telangana. For instance, large chunks of land were being bought in the Telangana region by wealthy politicians, capitalist farmers and rich class who mostly belonged to upper castes<sup>99</sup>.

The events of 1969 were triggered by the sense of a relative discrimination in economic terms as well as in educational institutions. As the movement started, more sections like students, railway employees and other groups joined the protests which actually rocked the railways and other industries and mines for example the workers in the Singareni Coal mines had protested and participated in the movement at large scale halting the production for months together<sup>100</sup>.

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<sup>99</sup> Haragopal, G: "Dimensions of Regionalism, Nationality Question in Andhra Pradesh" in *Seminar Proceedings on Nationality Question in India*, op.cit., pp.360-392.

<sup>100</sup> Acharya, K.C: "Telangana & Andhra Agitations" in Reddy, G. Ram & Sharma, B.A.V (eds): *State Government & Politics: Andhra Pradesh* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1979), pp.510-12

The protesters demanded that Telangana people must be provided safeguard in the region as a special privilege so that their interests can be guarded against in educational institutions, government employment and above all they demanded for special budgetary package for Telangana region to distribute the resources fairly. In other words, the trigger for the movement in 1969 was a sense of discrimination and relative discrimination of the region viz a viz other regions.

M Chenna Reddy emerged as the flagbearer of the movement leading protests, rallies and giving speeches across the Telangana region which helped mobilize people from different sections of society especially students, employees in railways and coal mines. This led to the formation of a regional party in Telangana. It is interesting to note that at the same time, the political party system in India had started to fragment as the new governments at the state levels started to be formed with the alliance of regional factions and smaller players<sup>101</sup>.

The newly formed political party, the Telangana Praja Samithi, won eleven Lok Sabha seats across the region in the subsequent elections in 1971 sending a very strong message and signs of deep feelings among people for separate state of Telangana<sup>102</sup>. As mentioned above, the political parties at the centre have always tried to accommodate, placate with some populist measure and appropriate movement's demands in the election manifesto so that the movement subsided at many points throughout a relatively long period of time. As a result, new central university, the University of Hyderabad, came about along with many industries and defence production units which were all located in the region. It must be noted that "new party which came into power after a landslide victory under the leadership of NTR in 1982 did nothing better to correct the regional imbalance and discrimination at large policy level which could placate the people of Telangana through structural reforms." (Jagan, 2009).

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid, p. 511

<sup>102</sup> Ibid, p. 513-14



The researcher interviewed many people who participated in the movement during the period and have found a variety of responses which are all directed towards a united voice in favour of statehood. For example, Govardhan, a Cultural Artist states that:

“During the period between 1969 and 1972 the people of the region were still lingering in the shadows of the Nizam Saiudha Poratam (armed struggle). It was the communist movement and the people's war party which made the Telangana resolution for separate state and also helped the Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS) to win the majority of seats in the Parliament from the Telangana region. The Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS) won because of the students and their sacrifice.”

S. R Venkateshwar Rao, a railway employee who participated in the strike of railway employees during and after the 1969 events says that:

“Channa Reddy became very popular in the Telangana region as he supported the movement. Also, the Reddy community was very powerful and popular in the Telangana region as they were the "elite class" and had command over the people at the village level.”

Here, it is important to note is that the movement and especially its leadership was from urban and upper strata of society, socially and economically. For example, the sense that it became the stronghold of the Reddy community, the movement was divided into many factions and schisms took place due to which the ruling party could easily accommodate political leaders and elected representatives. The result was disintegration of the movement with all the political leaders coopeted by the ruling party.

Also, the central government and the protesters during the 1969 came to conclusion with a six-point agenda which was aimed to correct inter-regional imbalances with a special package which included economic assistance as well as agreements at the political level which included sharing of power at the highest levels among Telangana and two other regions. But as the most of the leaders were co-opted, the six-point formula reached in 1973 became practically redundant soon with the business as usual.

After that, during the period between 1973/4 to 1990, there was hardly any activity in the movement which included people at large scale pressuring the central government to consider the demands and problems of the region except sporadic demands from politicians or a certain section of population who sustained the demand in public realm. It was in 1991 that the Indian National Congress again revived the demand when it was out of power at the central level. The 1990s decade went peacefully without any major push from people which again was revived in 1997 when the B.J.P. came with the slogan “one vote, two states”.

## **THE RISE OF TELNAGANA RASHTRA SAMITHI (TRS) AND DIVERSIFICATION OF POLITICAL MOBILIZATION**

It was after 2000 that the movement picked up pace with the emergence of new political parties like the TRS under the leadership of KCR was an MLA from the TDP from Siddipet constituency and was probably anguished over being denied a cabinet birth by the TDP government led by Chandra Babu Naidu. It was KCR after a long period of time who could provide leadership at political level to a large number of people. As the lack of leadership had been a major factor which could lead to de-escalation of movement. Majority of people who have been interviewed by the researcher believe that it was KCR who raised the demand loudly and nobody after 1969 could do so. It was one of the reasons that many

respondents felt the reason why the TRS was elected to power after the region was given statehood.

However, The Telangana movement found its lost momentum after the launch of the Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) by Kalvakuntla Chandrashaker Rao who in the year 2001 launched the new party aimed at spearheading the separate Telangana cause. The alternative media became an integral part of the Telangana society, even more effective than the mainstream media. The year 2010 turned to be the year of Telangana as the central government was forced to concede to the demand of separate state after six decades of struggle. When the centre delayed in delivering the demand for the separate state of Telangana, the people of the region were compelled to adopt various means to achieve their goal for separate statehood. All peaceful methods that were available to them, from street protests to non-cooperation, hunger strikes to fast-unto- death, were employed by the people of the Telangana region during the movement period. The Telangana movement was successful because it became the people 's movement and one motivated by self-interest by an individual or an organization.

Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS), a new political party, was formed in 2001, with the single point agenda of creating a separate Telangana state. The Telangana movement gained the momentum with KCR's political and communication strategies. KCR is one of the best articulators and orators, with the capacity to express in the local idiom and dialect that worked as a major motivational factor. In addition, KCR is also known for his political and communication strategies. Despite of their political ideological differences, Telangana people supported the party whenever contested elections, regardless of whether they were local bodies, State Assembly or Parliament Elections and bye-elections for the sake of Telangana, with thumping majority.

The event of hunger strike by KCR on November 29, 2009, demanding a separate Telangana state was a pivotal moment in the history of Telangana movement. His arrest, and then the turbulent situation in Telangana following his arrest received wide publicity both in print and electronic media. Eleven days after TRS chief K Chandrasekhar Rao began an indefinite fast for Telangana, Union home minister P Chidambaram announced that the process of formation of a separate state was being set into motion.

To provide momentum to the Telangana movement and its wide spread, several communication methods and strategies were adopted by various political parties and the organizations. All the possible communication methods-traditional folk and modern mass media, big and little media, print and electronic media, web and wires, vertical and horizontal, linguistic and non-linguistic communication were used optimum. Their potentialities were explored extensively to reach the messages not only the length and breadth of Telangana, but also overseas and across the nations. Now the Telangana movement is in every heart and every hut. This credit goes to each and every person and organization that contributed their best, particularly literary, cultural, legal, socio-political organizations and parties.

Govardhan, a cultural artists states that:

"very few people dared to talk about Telangana. People in the Telangana region were afraid to protest as the region has the past history of fake encounter killings and state atrocities."

Thus, with the emergence of the TRS under the leadership of KCR started a new phase in the Telangana movement which saw new forms of political mobilization in terms of political parties at regional level, civil society groups, cultural groups, caste-based mobilization and tribal groups who played a major role in the movement (Kodanda, 2007). K Dilip, a Member of Legislative Council, in this context says in an interview that:

“KCR seized the opportunity to bring back the Telangana cause to limelight. When he started to fail and saw that the movement was being hijacked by the other political parties, he floated the Joint Action Committee that constituted all the political parties.”

The entry of the TRS as a powerful competitor in political arena along with strategic decisions taken by KCR led to acceptance of separate statehood by all major political parties including the INC and the BJP.

### **THE ISSUES AND THE VARIOUS DIMENSIONS OF THE MOVEMENT**

Social and Political movements can inspire and trigger similar movements in other parts of the country. In other words, a socio-political movement can have far-reaching impact not only within that particular region or society but also in other regions or societies as others also see similar tool to achieve goals and remedy their own respective problems. It is this spill-over effect of a regional movement that has led to hesitation on the part of central government to accept demands for separate statehood since the acceptance of a single demand would lead to similar demands from other regions and states which might not be always viable to do so.

Also, the Telangana movement was different from other regional movement as it was not based on ethnicity, religion or language in particular but a diverse society demanded a separate state for self-rule at local level leading to so-called “post-linguistic turn” in regional political movements in India. In this context, G. Innaiah argues in an interview that:

“Movements are of two types - one is issue-based and the other is motivated for personal interests. We find people using caste, religion, region, and gender in motivated movements. These

movements have a very limited life; we have seen such movements in a few states of India. In motivated movements emotions are not sustained for too long.”

Thus, the sustenance of the Telangana movement can be understood in terms of its inclusive nature which provided basis for political mobilization irrespective of ethnicity, religion or language which might have triggered schisms within the movement. On the other hand, the movement was issue-based which focused on every community with an inclusive agenda that became the fundamental strength that could help the movement survive for it allowed all sections of society to participate in the movement with the feeling of equality.

The inclusive nature of the movement with the use of methods of protests and political mobilization derived from local socio-cultural repertoire had a major impact because the leaders and activists could reach out to large number of people at less time and with less resources. Along with that the rise of communication technology and internet provided ground for what Manuel Castles has called a “networked society” leading to easier communication which facilitate networks among different sections of society (Castles, 1996). In addition to that, the movement was inclusive in another sense too as the methods and techniques of protests were derived from every sections of society since strategies of political mobilization differed according to local language, culture and social tradition which eased the people from different localities to participate in the movement.

Though many people died in police firings, protests and especially committed suicides for the cause of a separate Telangana state, the movement was largely non-violent for the methods adopted were non-violent at the core. In this respect, G Innaiah says that:

“According to me no philosophy is violent or non-violent; this concept is introduced by the state when they want to divide a movement and frame it from their point of view.”

Some issue-based movements, though initially confined to a particular region, can slowly spread to other areas. The freedom movement in India, the trade union movements, the Naxal movement, and the latest anti-corruption movement are issue-based movements because we don't find discourses of religion, caste, gender, or region dominating in such movements. There has been a setback for issue-based movement in India in the last 15-20 years. We see a decline in such movements that are of common and universal concern.

We can see that issue-based movements that are of general concern for the larger population has more chance to be successful; the participation of people irrespective of religion caste and creed make a movement successful. For example, while the antiarrack movement, the Telangana movement, and the anti-corruption movement are issue-based movement became successful, on the other hand the reservation movement (sub-quota) movement carried by the Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS) was a failure till date because it is concerned with one community and it is very limited.

The Telangana movement, right from its origin in 1956, was peaceful and adopted a non-violent approach to achieve the goal within the framework of the Indian Constitution. In the six decades of the movement's ups and downs, many students died in police firings or self-immolation for the cause. There were no incidents reported of attacking the non-locals (people from Seemandhra). The people of the Telangana region have adopted various means to protest against the government.

The socio-cultural and historical traditions have major role to play in the study of the Telangana movement. Because the techniques and forms of protests used during the movement clearly reflected the use of local social and cultural ways of life in addition to symbols, and narratives. Not only that, it is important to understand cultural and social values which have been fostered historically over a long period of time to understand how the leadership of the movement which was not monolithic but was diverse and included various

sections of society like political leaders, cultural artists and students used same techniques to mobilize people and reach out to people in their own ways which paved the way for large scale participation of people in day to day protests and rallies.

The state of Hyderabad has been a true melting pot for people coming from different countries and other parts of India. It had policies that did not discriminate among people of different religions. Though, towards the end of the Nizam rule, the elements like the Razakars played a major role in instigating religious feelings and conflict to the events that were purely political in nature to keep the state beyond the limits of newly emerged Indian Union. Therefore, the religious conflict among communities was result of political struggle which involved extra regional players like the Hindu Mahasabha etc. becoming one of the players towards the end of the Nizam rule. The inclusive nature of the Nizam's rule reflected in the fact that many top-level posts in administration and judiciary were held by people other than the Muslims. In addition to that, non-Muslims had right to worship and celebrate their own festivals in which the people from all sections of society participated. In this sense, Telangana culture and society have seen signs of egalitarian and inclusive culture to an extent which became topic of common identity among Telangana people during the movement.

The culture of Telangana has certain unique characteristics. For example, people are addressed to each other not by their names but in terms of their relations to the person who is addressing. The social relations and their nature along with the factors that shape the same play a major role in construction of collective identity as well as the social, economic and political processes that produces collective identity through a complex dynamics and inter-play of various factors.

In this context, Francesca Polletta and James M. Jasper (2001) have argued that "collective identity is an individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution. It is a perception of a shared status or



relation, which may be imagined rather than experienced directly, and it is distinct from personal identities, although it may form part of a personal identity" (Polletta and Jasper, 2001).

Region and identity based on regional culture and feelings can have positive impact on national identity in the sense that it strengthens the collective sense and feelings of community. In other words, regional identity may not be anathema to national unity and integrity. Indian state has responded favourably to the demands of separate statehood based on self-rule and autonomy rather than those based on secession from the territorial unity of country (Singh, 2014). In case of Telangana, the feelings of common and shared history and culture has always been major factor leading to united regional feelings and attitude which have been the bedrock of the Telangana movement. Dr. Bhangya Bhukya opined in an interview that "the factor which unites the people of Telangana is the rule of the Nizam under whom peasants and laborers, irrespective of their caste and community, constituted a homogeneous class. The British rule was a landmark in Indian history as it brought modernity to India."

Moreover, the rule of the British never touched Telangana region directly as was the case with other two regions which were part of united A.P. Because of the British rule, English language and education spread relatively better in these regions in comparison to Telangana leaving the later with huge impact of local dialects like Deccani and Telugu which produced a unique combination producing a hybrid language with all sections of society understanding the same. This facilitated communication as well as administration as the Nizam rule had Urdu as the dominant language of the administration. The cultural plurality is visible in the public spaces in Telangana region as places of worship which are built closer to each other without any major inter-religious conflict till the period the state was merged with the other two regions.

In this context, G Chakarpani opined in an interview that “the movement has not only united the people of the region living in Telangana but it has united people of Telangana wherever they live around the world, irrespective of their socio-economic backgrounds. The programmes initiated by its leadership as part of the movement contributed for cultural unity among the people of different classes, castes and religions.”

Telangana movement in sense was issue-based movement in the sense that it was economic and cultural discrimination of the region which consists of many castes, religions and tribal groups by other regions. It was unique because no one group based on language, religion or ethnicity demanded separate state but it was host of population and groups which united fought for separate state for a long period of time. When one compares and contrasts the Telangana movement with other socio-political movements of India in the recent past, it is undeniable that it has been unique in terms of its inclusive nature. Thus, the participation of different sections of people without highlighting their sectional identity made it an inclusive movement at larger level. This is reflected in the opinions of people from all sections like students, employees, artists, women and common people who were interviewed for the study.

## **CONCLUSION**

The movement started with sporadic events and in certain areas only. But the historical background wherein there were strong current of protest against domination and hegemony had played a major role in instigating the feelings of people immediately. For example, the Telangana arms struggle as well as the protests against the merger of the region with Andhra and Rayal Seema had positive role. The movement triggered off with the Naxal movement in the rural areas while established political parties and leaders like Marri Channa Reddy revolted against the discrimination of Telangana in political, social and economy life of the United Andhra Pradesh.

From the field work, it was clear that culture had played a major role in the mobilization of people with the help of technology the activists and singer-activists could reach out to a larger number of people leading to a convenient platform created for political parties and leaders like KCR to take charge and concretize the demands and voices of the people.

Thirdly, the media especially regional media played a major role in the movement in its crucial role to form strong opinion in favour of separate statehood. The role of media became crucial and significant especially in the later phase of the movement wherein many media houses and TV channels came about which were owned and staffed by people from Telangana region. Thus, the media reporting became obviously biased against the two other regions by these regional channels in terms of heightened theatrical representation of the movement at the same time representing issues and problems in hyperbolic terms. Different sections of population like women, students, artists, employees and caste and tribal groups played a major role in mobilizing large number of people in respective localities.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSIONS AND FINDINGS**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

Accommodation, factionalism and populism were main features of Andhra Pradesh politics which have impacted the nature and intensity of the Telangana movement in different phases. The nature of party system at national level, regional economic dynamics and the patterns of development through planning, federal dynamics are main external factors that shaped regional political movements. Therefore, the intensity of any movement could be impacted by accommodating leaders and representatives of a regional movement through appeasement and populist policies. The central government has accommodated the demands and appeased sections of population through populist policies like reservations, land reforms and other similar policies that could placate people for some time.

Factionalism is another major factor which have shaped the dynamics of political competition and movement for Telangana statehood. It is this dimension that kept the ruling class focused on their own political survival rather than development aspects of Andhra Pradesh with balanced and equal opportunities for all regions of the state. The appropriation of caste and class leaders of different sections by the ruling parties has been a major hurdle to develop mass movement for the leaders which only could be somehow broken after 2000 when there were new socio-political groups which mobilized people on mass scale making it difficult for ruling elites as well as leaders to accommodate through populist policies.

#### **Regional Movement in India: Telangana Movement in Perspective**

In India, several regional movements since Independence have been initiated by various people based on socio-economic and political disparities. They demanded for various benefits, among which separate state is one. Generally, demand for smaller state is one of the major challenges to the nation. Initially, new state came into existed based on linguistics. For

example, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Orissa have been formed as separate states based on their languages. Dravida movement started by non-Brahmins was to resist oppression of the Brahmins who held all positions in the public sector. This movement fought against implementation of Hindi language which was mandatory during that time for all students to pursue in schools. The prominent leader of this movement was Naicker, the president of Justice Party. The Justice Party was renamed as Dravida Kazhagam. Its aim was sovereign independent Dravidian republic.

Regionalism in context of India is a vague concept and has both positive and negative dimensions. In positive terms, it refers to self-rule and governance which helps country to develop since different regions have different geographical, social and economic capacities. Seen in this perspective it constitutes a true expression of federation and democracy and therefore it is not to be suspected and considered as an alibi for the balkanization of the country. This aspect of regionalism was even appreciated by the report of the States Reorganisation Commission (1955), when it points out that regional consciousness, not merely in the sense of a negative awareness of absence of repression or exploitation but also in the sense of scope for positive expression of the collective personality of a people inhabiting a state or a region may be conducive to the contentment and wellbeing of the community. Common language may not only promote the growth of such regional consciousness but also make for administrative convenience. Indeed, in a democracy the people can legitimately claim and the government have a duty to ensure that the administration is conducted in a language, which the people can understand.

Negatively, regionalism 'reflects a psyche of relative deprivation' on the part of a people or an area. It is not always possible to analyse such deprivation in rational economic analysis. This 'deprivation psyche' is exploited by the regional elite, who taking the benefit of this negative consciousness whip up the feelings of the people in the region and

manufacture the ideology of regionalism. Taking advantage of the culturally heterogeneous society in India, the regional elite articulate a regional identity and later on use it for strengthening their own political position such regional movement if not tackled by the political-bureaucratic elite may result in the demands of secession if the quest for regional identities are satisfied at the managerial level they may mean relative autonomy for the region.

Regionalism is a multi-dimensional phenomenon and is composed of several components such as geographical, historic-cultural, economic, politico-administrative and psychic, which very often overlap with each other. Geographical area or a territory is one component on which regional identities are formed, and it is this which differentiates peoples of an area from that of any other, if not in kind at least in degrees. After independence several old princely states were merged in the neighbouring big states in India. For example, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa were formed by the merger of old princely states, such states bore a 'split personality', even if for the time being. The people and even elite and civil servants of merged princely states maintained 'their regional identities on the basis of their loyalties to old territorial units (Real, 2002).

This loyalty of old territories helped the ex-rulers to win in the elections in the area of their old territories in the new states. However, such territorial orientations are only symbolic. Their survival now, require support of economic and political factors. The old memories are yielding place to new territorial identities of states. History and culture constitute yet another significant component of regionalism. History buttresses regionalism by way of cultural heritage-myths-folklores, and symbolism. Radha Kumud Mukerji emphasising importance of culture observes "the supreme end of the state is to promote culture because culture is one's country and the country is one's culture. India's culture is a

synthetic complex made up of a number of diverse elements, each of which makes its own contribution to the comprehensive whole.

The best components of this type of regionalism in India are the rise of Dravida Kazhagam (DK) and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) in Tamil Nadu and Shiva Sena in Maharashtra. However, history also have to sometimes submit to the onslaught of political and economic factors. The DMK which originally stood for secession had to come down to more autonomy within the federal framework of the Indian Constitution due to political and economic reasons. Religion and caste by themselves are not potential forces generating regionalism but become dangerous when combined with other variables like language. The case of Tamil Nadu and Punjab highlights the combination of religion and language.

Thus, regionalism is a secular phenomenon because it tends to encompass caste, faiths and varied caste affiliations to work together for common objectives. This is best illustrated by the establishment of a separate state of Andhra Pradesh. Language is one prominent component of regional politics in India, the languages are not an artificial creation but a natural growth and formation of its inner springs of thoughts pure and undefiled. Each language is unique in its own way. It has the propensity of unity as well as causing disharmony, emotional frenzy, and de-establishment of the political system. Language is an expression of shared life, thought structures and value patterns has the potential to unite people emotionally and make them work to improve their common destiny as also to add to their bargaining strength. The story of creation of Punjab Suba and division of Bombay provide testimony to this. However, intra-state regionalism surpasses the bond of common language where economic grievances of a sub-region takes precedence over language as is illustrated by the Telangana issue. While language helps a group to form an emotional

identity it also helps to make it highly inflammable, as is illustrated by the language riots in Tamil Nadu and Assam.

The importance of language component is well established by the reorganization of states in 1956 on the recommendations of the State Reorganisation Commission. Linguistic and cultural homogeneity was considered desirable for according statehood the linguistic reorganization of states gave ascendancy to linguistic regionalism and as a result there were demands for according statehood from different parts of the country. However, it ought to be submitted that together with language many variables and critical factors like ethnic-*cum*-economic considerations (Nagaland, Meghalaya, Manipur and Tripura), religion and script and sentiments (Haryana and Punjab), language-*cum*-culture (Maharashtra and Culture), historical and political factors (U.P. and Bihar) integration of princely states and the need for viable groupings (M.P. and Rajasthan), and of course, language-*cum*-social distinctiveness (Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Mysore, Bengal and Orissa) have played a decisive role in the composition of the Indian federation.

The thrust of linguistic regionalism can be minimized if not neutralized altogether by removing economic imbalances, a tactful political and administrative management and firm dealings by a nationally oriented leadership.

The crux of regionalism lies in economic underdevelopment of the country. Despite the development since independence much leaves to be done. The scarcity of technical knowhow, the alarming rate of population growth, corruption deteriorating law and order situation have created a dismal mosaic of politico-economic life in the nation coupled with this the new developmental schemes have generated a race among different groups and regions for acquiring more and more economic gains. This has also resulted in the emergence of local leadership who very often raise the bogey of regionalism to strengthen their



bargaining posture with the centre. In this period of nation building some regions of a state may acquire an advantage over the other. Thus, economically:

“Regionalism is the outcome of some real or perceived sense of internal colonialism, the result of mal-development or a symmetrical development. Regionalism is the response of unequal sharing of benefits of developmental activity.”

The economic imbalances are exploited by the regional elite, who engineer regional movements taking benefit of the economic grievances of a region and demand distributive justice for their region. According to the report of States Reorganisation Commission, demands for creation of new states were mainly based on a perception of unfair and unequal distribution of development benefits and expenditure. Telangana movement is the best example of this type of regionalism. Feelings of discontent in the backward and depressed regions of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Bihar, UP., Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan further support this argument. There had been agitation for the location of steel plants, oil refineries and heavy industries, irrespective of the fact whether the State has the necessary paraphernalia to establish and manage them and the centre is accused of partisan attitude, the conflict between the migrant and the ‘son of the soil’ also called ‘nativist movement’ is a manifestation of the economic factor. The Assamese Bengali conflict in Assam and Shiv Sena movement to oust non-Maharastrian from Maharashtra are motivated mainly by economic compulsions.

Despite pulls and pressures for distributive justice, economic integration is at work. The National Five-Year Plans have provided economic development to many backward regions. The impact of this economic benefit is that even economically backward regions, have developed their separate identity and demand separate state but they do not want to secede from the Union. Because they have realized that their economic well-being lies in

continuing as a part of the Union. Thus, it can be argued, “that regional pressures emanating from economic compulsions are mere bargaining centres than secessionist moves. The balance of economic advantages in India at any rate is still in favour of Union rather than secession. This is further buttressed by the safeguards for cultural autonomy.” The current phase of Punjab regionalism, demanding ‘Khalistan’ too is guided by economic reasons and supported by cultural safeguards (Singh, 2014)

The other component of regionalism is politico-administrative, the political factor is not very important for creating regionalism but it can accentuate and exploit the situation of regional feelings. The regional elites foment regional movements, just to create base for their political survival. In the beginning the ideology of a regional movement, remains vague, however, later on some key personality of the region defines and puts arguments for the justification of regional movement. The regional elites legitimize the movement on regional ideology. Thus, “regionalism is in fact a conflict between national elites and regional elites”.

It was the infighting in the Congress Party that generated Telengana agitation similarly Shiv Sena agitated in late sixties at the connivance of the Congress bosses. The regional political parties like the DMK and AIDMK (Tamil Nadu), Akali Dal (Punjab), Jharkhand Party (Bihar) are thriving by exploiting the regional sentiment of the people. This also applies to Shiv Sena in Maharashtra and Gopal Sena in Kerala. Even national parties like Congress and Janata have to depend on regional influences and therefore they recruit regionally influential persons in the party who can mobilize support for the party.

Regional aspirations are fulfilled by power and patronage. The political elite favour one region at the cost of the other. “Thus, regionalism always thrives on real or fancied charges of political discrimination which has, in fact, become an important facet of politics of regionalism itself.” () Administration too has in its own way contributed to the development

of regionalism very often regional feelings dominate national sentiments. This phenomenon is applicable to both All India and state services.

In the ultimate analysis of regionalism its roots are to be found in the minds of men. It's a psychic phenomenon. Every individual is partly regional and partly nationalistic. Thus, he carries a split personality. There is a tendency of regional sentiment taking primacy over the nationalistic sentiment.

Rasheeduddin Khan maintains that:

“to be Indian” is not necessarily not to be a Maharashtrian.”

Similarly, “national loyalties do not demand that other loyalties should be eliminated.”

The split personality phenomenon can be best illustrated by an observation of M.P. Lokenath Misra:

“My first ambition is the glory of Mother India. I know it in my heart of hearts that I am Indian first and an Indian last. But when you say you are a Bihari, I say I am an Oriya. When you say you are a Bengali, I say I am an Oriya, otherwise I am an Indian.”

Emotional overtones are attached to regionalism and it becomes a manifestation of emotional and sub-national socio-cultural forces, that is why it is also regarded as a quest for self-Identity. Regionalism can be classified into three categories, supra-state regionalism, inter-state regionalism and intra-state regionalism. The boundaries of states are not necessarily coterminous with region yet this type can be illustrated through the example of states.

The supra-state regionalism is formed by forging an identity by a group of states against other group of states or even against the Union. The group identity formed here is

usually negative in character. Such type is also 'issue-specific'. Its example can be cited by South *versus* North on the language issue again the demand for location of steel plants illustrate this type.

The inter-state regionalism is conterminous with state boundaries, here one state identity or group of states identities are juxtaposed against the identities of other states on certain issues that 'clash with the interest of one another. The Maharashtra-Karnataka border dispute and the river water dispute illustrates this.

Here a part of a state develops the quest for self-identity and self-development positively, and negatively, it expresses a psyche of deprivation of exploitation in relation to the other parts of the same state. This phenomenon is also called sub-regionalism.

"The main considerations behind the sub-regional movement, however, are economic development and an anxiety for a proper share in political power. It cuts across the linguistic loyalties and other cultural similarities and emphasizes the finer and subtle differences in the historical background and cultural patterns."

Telangana in Andhra Pradesh, Vidharbha in Maharashtra and Saurashtra in Gujarat explain this. Thus, regionalism in India is a complex amalgam of economic, geographical, historical-cultural, politico-administrative and psychic factors. Often the major types of regionalism overlap each other.

"The basic issue is not of Regionalism *versus* Nationalism but one of right ordering of loyalties between the regional and the national identities. This is the crux of the problem of management of regionalism in India, to the resolution of which

the political elite, administration and educationists have to join hands and work.”

The need, therefore is to discard this notion that regionalism is unpatriotic and possess threat to national integration. Regional sentiment is an important factor in the political ordering of affairs, in a democracy.

“For proper management of regionalism, administrative institutions can be set up at regional level in the states and for proper regional coordination units of political parties should be set up at regional level also.”

Regionalism in India manifests the genuine democratic ethos of the country and needs its proper accommodation in the Indian federation. The attachment to one's own region, language, culture and other societal loyalties have deep roots in the soil and history of India.

Indian Constitutional Reforms (1918) report suggested that the present map of British India was shaped by military, political, or administrative exigencies or conveniences of the moment with small regard to the natural affinities or wishes of the people. The authors of India Constitutional Reforms Report were aware of artificial character of then existing provinces and that is why they were in favour of reorganization of provinces so as to make them more homogeneous.

The Indian National Congress to enlist popular support favoured the ideas of constituting political units on rational and linguistic basis. As a result, in 1917, Andhra and Sind became separate Congress provinces. Gandhi who entered Indian politics in 1919 thought it imperative that units of Indian National Congress be organized on linguistic basis then alone his message could be transmitted to people at large. In the 1920 Nagpur Session, the Indian National Congress accepted the principle of linguistic redistribution of provinces.

Accordingly, in 1921 it organized the existing provinces into twenty-one Congress Provinces on linguistic basis. The concept of ‘Swaraj’ of C.R. Das and Bhagwan Das also envisage the formation of linguistic provinces, and the division of large into small units.

Again in 1927 the Congress adopted a resolution that the time has come for the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis and beginning could be made by constituting Karnataka, Sind, Utkal and Andhra into separate provinces. The right of self-determination on the basis of language, tradition and culture was supported. The same principle was reiterated by the Nehru Committee. The British Statesman in 1930 also admitted that in India there were only a number of administrative areas” which had grown up almost haphazard as the result of conquest and suppression of former rulers or administrative convenience.

The Indian Statutory Commission of 1930 endorsing the view of earlier Reports of Constitutional Reforms of 1918 on artificial and inconvenient administrative units also supported the proposal for linguistic province. Prof. Alaxandrowicz has rightly said that provinces based on the principle of administrative convenience:

“disregarded, to a large extent the natural boundaries of various regional communities speaking different languages and following different cultural traditions.”

The Indian National Congress between 1927 and 1947 reaffirmed its commitment to the linguistic principle at its Calcutta session of 1937 and recommended the formation of the Andhra and Karnataka provinces. Again, at the Wardha Session of 1938 and in its election manifesto of 1945-46, it repeated the view that administrative units should be constituted as far as possible on linguistic and cultural basis.

In view of repeated demands in the Constituent Assembly for redrawing of boundaries of linguistic principle, an announcement in June, 1948 was made for the setting up of a Linguistic Provinces Commission, under the Chairmanship of S.K. Dar, to examine the case

of formation of certain new provinces. The commission submitted its recommendations in December, 1948 and argued that homogeneity of language should enter into consideration only as a matter of administrative convenience. Among many other factors which should be given due weight the Commission mentioned history, geography, economy and culture.

The Jaipur Session of Congress held in December 1948 appointed the Linguistic Provinces Committee consisting of Vallabhbhai Patel, Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Jawaharlal Nehru. It is also known as JVP Committee. The JVP Committee admitted that if public sentiment insisted on linguistic redistribution, it would have to be respected subject to the good of India as a whole. Other political parties also supported the language and culture-based redistribution of the Indian provinces. The Socialist Party expressed itself in favour of the redistribution of States on linguistic basis consistent with geographical contiguity and economic viability. The Communist Party stood for nation states enjoying wide powers including the right of self-determination. The Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party advocated the appointment of a high-power Committee to go into the whole question of bilingual border areas. The Hindu Maha Sabha believed in the policy of formation of provinces on a linguistic basis but was of the opinion that due regard should be paid to the problem of defence and to other factors like area and economic stability.

The Constituent Assembly could not reach any decision on the question of the linguistic provinces and hence it kept that option open by providing Article 3 in the Constitution by which by a slight majority of those present at the time of voting in Parliament can create new States. Such a blanket power to union *vis-à-vis* the States is certainly inconsistent with the spirit and principle of federation and it is difficult to find a provision of similar nature in other federations.

The first phase of reorganization of states in independent India was undertaken by merging some princely States in the neighbouring provinces or consolidating some into fewer

number of States while some others were kept separate on strategic or political grounds. The trend was in favour of bigger States. In 1950 at the commencement of “the new Constitution there were in all twenty-nine units, classified into Part A, Part B, Part C and Part D States.

The 1951 election manifesto of the Congress Party, while emphasizing the importance of language did not ignore economic, administrative and financial considerations in the reorganization of the States. The regional feelings came to the forefront first in the Madras’ Presidency that comprised of the Telugu, Tamil, Kannada, Malayalam and Odissi speaking people. Among these Andhras were in majority both in number and area-wise. But the politics of Madras was dominated by the Tamil Congress leaders, therefore, Andhra Congress leaders felt suffocated. They wanted to make an Andhra Congress but the National Congress leaders did not pay heed to it. Despite, they formed Andhra Congress Committee in May 1913 and ultimately even Congress granted permission for the establishment of Telugu unit in April 1917.

This provided a trigger to the regional sentiments, created Telugu identity and fostered an awareness of linguistic autonomy. This led Potti Sriramulu, a Gandhian Congressman to sit on fast unto death. After 56 days of fast, he died on December 15, 1952. The death of Sri Ramulu resulted in widespread violence all over the Telugu speaking areas of the Madras Presidency. Many people were killed in police firing. On December 19, 1952 Nehru announced the formation of Andhra Pradesh on the principles of the J.V.P. Committee. Accordingly, the first linguistic State of India consisting of Telugu speaking areas of composite Madras State but excluding the Madras City, was established on 1 October 1952 which was endorsed by the Parliament on 12 September 1953. The newly created State consisted of Circars and the Rayalaseema districts of Kurnool was made its capital.

In December 1953 the Central Government announced the setting up of three-man States Reorganisation Commission to examine objectively and dispassionately the



reorganization of the States of the Indian Union, taking into account the historical background, the existing situation, language etc. Accordingly, a commission consisting of Sajyid Fazl Ali, Hirldaynath Kunzru and K.M. Panikkar was constituted.

The Commission submitted its report based on four governing principles on 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1955 with two dissenting notes on Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh by Fazl Ali and K.M. Panikkar respectively. It removed “the old four categories of States, the post of Rajyapramukh and recommended sixteen States and three centrally administered areas as the Constituent Units of Indian Union.

The Commission did not find any ground for the formation of separate States of Punjabi Sikhs, Haryana, Jharkhand and Maru Pradesh (Present Western Rajasthan) and separate Hill State in Assam rather it suggested the merger of neighbouring Tripura in the State of Assam. It recommended the retention of Bombay as a bilingual State and the demand for its bifurcation into States of Maharashtra and Gujarat was rejected. Fazl Ali favoured the continuation of Himachal Pradesh as centrally administered area, instead of its merger with the Punjab on the ground of difference of plain and hills, language and different levels of economic development. Similarly, K.M. Panikkar in a dissenting note favoured bifurcation of U.P. because of its unmanageable size and large population and domination in all-India matters resulting in imbalance between different units of Union.

Lanka Sundraman M.P., from Visakhapatnam, speaking in the Lok Sabha expressed his dissatisfaction on the report of S.R.C. for its rejection of the linguistic principle as the sole criterion for the reorganization of States, and for not ensuring a suitable balance of power between the North and the South. He further observed that the Commission did not adopt a uniform set of norms in their proposals for creation of States by making their recommendations for the creation of Vidarbha and Telangana (Hyderabad) State side by side

with the new Madhya Pradesh State and the suggested retention of the present Uttar Pradesh State.

The Parliament accepted the recommendations of State Reorganisation Commission, with modification here and there, and the State Reorganisation Act, 1956 was enacted. It provided fourteen States and six Union Territories (a new nomenclature to old centrally administered areas). The State of Vidarbha was merged in Bombay and Tripura was kept separate against the recommendations of the Commission. Himachal Pradesh too was kept as Union Territory against the recommendations of its merger in the Punjab. The areas covering Hyderabad state were annexed with A.P. In between the recommendation of the Commission and the enactment of the State Reorganisation Act, there was a proposal before the Parliament to create two states of Maharashtra and Gujarat and to convert Bombay City into a Union Territory but owing to public agitation, the proposal was dropped. C.D. Deshmukh, the then Finance Minister in the Nehru Cabinet resigned on the issue of Bombay City being made Union Territory. Ultimately, bilingual Bombay State with Bombay City as its capital was accepted as compromise formula. Thus, the State Reorganisation Act made clear deviations from the recommendations of the State Re-organisation Commission.

Though SRC took cognizance of the growing regional consciousness, it failed to envisage the territorial dimensions of regionalism. This led to regional movements whereby historical and attitudinal sub-cultures registered their protest against a pattern which perpetuated rather than negated imbalances.

The Commission, however, could not complete the task of reorganization, as envisaged in its Report because of the uneven pattern of social, cultural, linguistic and administrative development, diversity of administrative structures, economic and cultural imbalances and lack of scientific approach keeping in view the development plans. It failed to accommodate regionalism in the new structure. It ignored the basis of size and population

and left linguistic pockets in every State. It failed to take note of plan needs of developing economy that led in some cases to negative economic regionalism. It sought to offer linguistic solutions to the problem of regional consciousness. It could not provide solution to migrant communities and multilingual regional societies.

In case of Andhra Pradesh, as a result of Tamil people dominance Telugu people had been neglected in education, employment, political and economy, so on. So, a demand was initiated by Telugu people and had reached to a peak stage when *Patti Sriram ulu* undertook fast unto to death. Hence, Andhra Pradesh was formed after bifurcation from Madras State, with capital city of Kurnool in 1953. Later, Andhra Pradesh and Hyderabad state were merged into one state called Andhra Pradesh with capital city of Hyderabad on 1<sup>st</sup> November 1956. For the second phase, there were three states formed based on economic backwardness in the year 2000. Such states are Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, and Uttarakhand, which are separated from Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, respectively. Yet, there are many states in India which are still demanding for separate state. In some of the states, there are demands for separate states that include Bodo-land in Assam, Vidarbha in Maharashtra with capital city of Nagpur, Bundelkhand in two states Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, Gorkha Land in West Bengal, Ladas in Jammu and Kashmir.

Telangana Movement has broadly consisted of four phases. The first phase of this movement is considered the events related to the run up to the integration of the region with Andhra and had started in Khammam District during the month of January, 1969 to against discrimination and violation of the agreements and exploitation by Andhra and Rayalaseema politicians. They realized that they are neglected in economic empowerment, education, political power and employment. In addition, they also felt their culture has been treated belittle. Initially, this movement had no leader to lead the people but was led by people themselves, primarily by employees, students, lawyers, teachers and doctors so on. As a result,

students had lost one academic year during this phase. Over a period of time, Madhan Mohan a lawyer in high court formed Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS) which was subsequently taken over by Chena Reddy. During this phase, police fired 370 students to death who agitated for separate Telangana state. As a result of this movement in this phase, Indira Gandhi prime minister of India announced eight and six point's formula to safeguard for Telangana people.

K.C Pant's six-point *formula*, also known as six-point *formula* was announced by Indira Gandhi when the TPS party merged with the congress as an agreement between leaders of TPS and Indira Gandhi's congress government. These six points are as follow.

1. To establish planning boards and sub-committees at the state level for backward areas;
2. A new central university to be established and efforts must be made to augment the educational standards in the state. In addition to that, the local students must be given priority in admissions to the educational institutions in the region;
3. Locals must be given priority for the recruitment in the following positions provided that it considers the requirement of the United A.P.
  - a) Non-gazetted posts (other than in the secretariat, officers of heads of department, other state officers and institutions, and Hyderabad City Police)
  - b) Corresponding posts under the local boards and
  - c) The posts of Tehsildars, Junior Engineers and Civil Assistant Surgeons. In addition to that, promotion policy also must prioritize local candidates at least for some groups of posts which can be considered at the first level to start with as it would be convenient administratively.
4. To deal with problems of the employees regarding appointments, seniority, promotion and other allied matters, an administrative tribunal must be established.

5. These changes may lead to higher rate of litigation in judiciary leading stalemate. To avoid this, the constitution must be amended to incorporate changes with appropriate powers be conferred with the President of India.

6. It was expected that this would lead to eradication of Mulki rules and regional committee in Telangana (Kistaiah, 1997)

As a result of this agreement, there had been new institutions established in this state, such as Hyderabad Central University, and Bharath Heavy Electrical Limited (BHEL), so on. And also, Telangana movement of this phase became silent. For the same reason, educated youth joined the Naxalite movement in large number.

The fourth phase was started in 1996 but generally people believe that it was in 2001 when K.C.R. started Telangana Rastra Samithi (TRS), a political party to demand for separate state. But, it was started prior to KCR's party formation and carried out by academicians and social activists. The academicians who actively participated in this movement are Prof. K. Jayashenkar, Prof. Simhadri, Prof. B. L. Janardhan, P.L. Viswesworao, and kancha Illaiah. Social activists are Maraju veeranna, Gaddar, and Belli Lalitha. They conducted various meetings in support of demanding the separate state. For instance, Gaddar, Maraju Veeranna, Belli Lalitha and Illaiah had conducted Bhuvanagiri and Surya Peta meeting for this cause. The government also tried at its level best to suppress the movement.

Consequently, Bharath Janata Party had passed out a resolution of 'one vote-two states' during the assembly elections in 1998. In 2000, NDA government formed three new states such as Uttrakhand, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand. They were bifurcated from Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar, respectively. The government had not bifurcated Telangana from

Andhra Pradesh as Telugu Desam Party which was in power during the time was also in the alliance of NDA government formed by BJP.

Kalavakuntla Chandrasekhar launched a political party, by name Telangana Rastra Samithi (TRS) on 20<sup>th</sup> April 2001 to carry this movement further as he couldn't get a cabinet berth in the government headed by Chandra Babu Naidu. Generally, he is articulate, and good orator well versed with Telangana dialect, and knew pulse of the people and can speak out his ideas in local idioms and dialects. During the election in 2004, Chandrasekhar had an alliance with congress party with aim of separate state. Congress won the election and TRS party joined in the government at both the central and state.

Due to this alliance, KCR became a union cabinet minister. Two years later, he again resigned to this cabinet position due to the congress party did not fulfill his demands. Since then, he continued his demand of separate statehood until the year 2009. In the general election of 2009, he had an alliance with Telugu Desam Party and won two MP seats and Ten MLA seats. But, he did not achieve anything until the death of Dr. Rajashekar Reddy. KCR started indefinite hunger stick at Siddi Pet in Medak District on 29<sup>th</sup> November 2009. Polices arrested and shifted him to Khammam District hospital to suppress the movement. He later went fast unto death, started in Khammam District.

His movement had started getting support of students from Osmania University and Kakatiyas University, employees and common people. Subsequently, students formed joint action committees (JACs), such as OU JAC and KU JAC. These two JACs were later merged into Telangana Students Joint Action Committee (TSJAC) in support of KCR hunger strict and demanding for separate state. Students fought rigorously for this movement although they faced police *lathicharge*, illegal arrest and tear gas. Many students were injured and hospitalized. As a result, Osmania University became a battle field. Many students gave up

their lives by themselves committing suicides. Few of them by name are *Srikantha chary*, *venugopal reddy*, *yadaiah*, *krishnaian* and so on.

Union home minister Chidambaram made a statement on 9<sup>th</sup> December 2009 that the process for Telangana state formation would be initiated. People of Telangana after listened this had celebrated and expected that it would be happened soon. But, there was a huge opposition arisen from Andhra and Rayalaseema leaders by resigning to their MP and MLA posts. TDP president, N. Chandra Babu Naidu opposed the formation of Telangana State. They all demanded for united Andhra Pradesh (*Samakya Andhra*). Immediately, Union Home minister made another statement that a committee would be formed to collect the people's opinions on this issue. In counter to this, all political parties in Telangana formed a 'joint action committee' under the chairman Kodandaram, a professor of political science in Osmania University. Political parties which were part of this JAC are TRS, Congress and BJP. In addition, many non-political parties formed JAC. For example, they are Telangana Praja fount of Gaddar, United Fount of Vimalakka, and Telangana Praja Sangala Samithi, SC *Kulala Aikya Vedika*, BC *Kulala Aikya Vedika*, *Minorities Aikya Vedika*, *Muslim Aikya Vedika*, *Lambada Aikya Vediaka*, *Girijana Aikya Vedika*, and so on.

Union government formed Justice Sri Krishna committee on 3th February 2010 to look into this issue, under Chairman Justice Sri Krishna a retired judge of Supreme Court. This committee' members were Prof. Ranbir Singh, Dr. Abusaleh Shariff, Prof. Ravinder Kaur, and Shri V. K. Duggal. It submitted the report with six points on 30<sup>th</sup> December 2010 for the consideration of the Government of India. These six points recommended by the committee are as below;

- 1) Status quo may be maintained or;

- 2) The United A.P. may be bifurcated into Seemandhra and Telangana. Hyderabad can be established as an Union Territory with the both states would require to develop their own territory.
- 3) The United A.P. may be bifurcated into Rayala-Telangana and Coastal Andhra. In this scenario, Hyderabad would be part of Rayala-Telangana.
- 4) In fourth scenario, it suggested the bifurcation of A.P. into Seemandhra and Telangana. In this case, Hyderabad metropolis with enlarged territory would become a separate Union Territory. The Union territory would be properly linked geographically and economically with other regions. For example, it can be linked with Coastal Andhra via Nalgonda to Guntur. In the same way, it can be linked with Telangana region via Mahaboobnagar.
- 5) Or A.P. can be divided into Telangana and Seemamdhra with pre-existing boundaries. Hyderabad, in this case, would be the common capital of both states.
- 6) Finally, it suggested that few concrete measures can be taken to remedy regional imbalances. For example, through an amendment to the constitutions certain policy measures can be institutionalized which would provide safeguard against the violation of the same by other regions.

### **DIFFERENT STREAMS OF TELANGANA MOVEMENT**

They demanded for Telangana is two types of Telangana such as social Telangana and Political/Geographical Telangana. Majority people, fought for separate Telangana are of marginal sections that included Schedule Caste, Schedule Tribe, Backward Class and Minorities. They carried out social Telangana movement. They demanded for equal share as per their population in all aspects, including economic, political and administrative positions. Because of which, they felt that they would get social justice in this region. The prominent leaders of social Telangana movement are Gaddar, Vimalakka, so on.



Political/Geographical Telangana: The leader of TRS demanded who only fought for geographical Telangana which consisted of ten districts. He always talked about negligence of seemaandhra politicians towards Telangana culture, language, employment and etc., but never talked about social justice to marginalized communities of this region.

## **FORMS OF POLITICAL MOBILIZATION**

In this movement, JACs played an active role are namely Telangana Joint Action Community (TJAC), Osmania University Joint Action Community (OUJAC), Telangana Students Joint Action Community (TSJAC), Layers Joint Action Community (LJAC), Teachers Joint Action Community (T JAC), Employees Joint Action Community (EJAC), Singareni Employees Joint Action Community (SEJAC), Doctors Joint Action Community (DJAC), Auto Drivers Joint Action Community (ADJAC), RTC Joint Action Community (RTCJAC), Non-gazetted Joint Action Community (NGJAC), Gazetted Joint Action Community (GJAC), and so on. They worked all under a single roof called TJAC. They followed a method of non-cooperation to the state government.

Caste and Tribal Associations: Caste also played a vital role in bringing people under a single identity and united all for the case of separate Telangana. Generally, caste association works for their caste issue alone but for the first time, had come forward and fought for this cause. Some caste-based associations are by name Kammari sangam, kummari sangam, Mangali sangam, chakali sangam, mala sangam, Madiga sangam, yadava sangam, gouda sangam, munnuru kapu sangam, mudiraju sangam, padmasali sangam, reddy sangam, velama sangam, muslims sangam, girijana sangam, lambada sangam and so on. They all worked by cooperating each another for Telangana state.

Cultural Forms: Folk singers included Gaddar, vimalakka so on had stated a programme called 'Dum-Dam' to enlighten people about injustice done to Telangana,

through their songs. Subsequently, activists and political leaders of this region had conducted many meetings in support of Telangana state. There could be a drum-dance programme prior to each of such meetings. They used different instruments, among them, drums are significant.

*Sakalajanula samma* (Non-cooperation of all people in this region against the government): This non-cooperation movement had been continued for 40 days. As part of this movement, employees of the public sector downed their pens, known as 'pen-down', that means they did not work but attended duties. In 2011, TJAC called for protest called 'million march'. They gathered at tank-band and protested for separate statehood. *Vanta-varpu*: they cooked the food on streets in solidarity of Telangana movement. Many common people also came out of their homes and cooked the food on streets and expressed their demand of separate statehood.

Reasons for creation of Telangana State:

- 1) There has been a sustained movement in Telangana carried by people for a separate state for more than seven decades.
- 2) People of Telangana region believed that the landlords of both Andhra and Rayalaseema are being responsible for the backwardness of this region.
- 3) There was a common notion among the masses of this region that their jobs are being grabbed by people of seemanthra.
- 4) They have also believed that their identity in connection to language, dialects, literature, culture, tradition is humiliated, insulted, derogated by people of seemanthra.

Findings in nutshell: the study concludes the following major points,

- a) Regional imbalance has been a problem that led to poverty, backwardness and deprivation. It is primarily associated with geographical and political reasons.

- b) Certain reasons in India remains backward when the they were logging behind due to political bias against them they would develop a sense of gap with the developed regions such kinds of convictions often leads to unrest that could take violence forms at times. Therefore, it is always desirable on the part of government maintain a regional balance with regards to allocation of funds developments in agriculture industries, transportations, educations and employment opportunities etc.
- c) The large magnitude of suicides by students for the employment opportunities and massive backwardness of Telangana indicates to these facts.  
  
Therefore, instead of considering these as law and order issues, government should concede them as issues of development.
- d) The changing dynamics of local social and political structures has shaped the nature and forms of political mobilization in Telangana throughout.
- e) The themes of self-rule and regional identity has been shaped by local political opportunity structures and the changes therein, national party system, regional imbalances among other factors that triggered the regional feeling which had already been there at the time of merger of Hyderabad state with Rayal Seema.

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## **APPENDIX -A**

### **APPENDIX A**

#### **THE SRIKRISHNA COMMITTEE REPORT ON TELANGANA FORMER MEMBER, PLANNING COMMISSION**

The Committee headed by Justice Sri Krishna, constituted by the government of India to examine the situation in Andhra Pradesh with reference to the demand for a separate State of Telangana as well as the demand for maintaining the present status of a united Andhra Pradesh, has submitted its Report after holding wide-ranging consultations with all the stakeholders and carrying out a comprehensive analysis of the relevant data on socio-economic aspects. Among other things, the Committee examined the three basic issues bearing on the formation of a separate State of Telangana, viz., its economic viability, social inclusion and cohesion, and wishes of the people of Telangana, and found them strongly favouring the formation of a separate Telangana State with Hyderabad as its capital.

But the Committee has been deterred by fears on three counts: Vehement opposition from the influential sections of Seemandhra, particularly to Hyderabad becoming the capital of Telangana; similar demands for creation of smaller States cropping up in the country; and the impact on internal security situation with the anticipated growth of Naxalism and religious fundamentalism - discussed in Chapter 8 of the Report but withheld from public at large and submitted to the Ministry of Home Affairs in a separate cover along with the Report. The Committee tended to regard big States as strong and small as weak which could undermine national unity. It saw Naxalism essentially as a 'law and order' problem (which presumably can be 'faced effectively' in bigger States), rather than a socio-economic problem calling for inclusive development which can be better accomplished in smaller States.

Balancing various considerations, the Committee recommended keeping the State united by creating a statutorily empowered Telangana Regional Council, a Water

Management Board and an Irrigation Project Development Corporation, as the most workable option under the circumstances (option 6 in the Report).

As the second-best option (option 5 in the Report), the Committee recommended the bifurcation of the State into Telangana and Seemandhra as per existing boundaries with Hyderabad as the capital of Telangana, and Seemandhra to have a new capital. This option is to be exercised only in case it is unavoidable and if the decision can be reached amicably amongst all the three regions by instilling confidence in the people of coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema and others who have settled in Hyderabad and other districts of Telangana with regard to the safety and security of their investments, properties, livelihood and employment (Ch.9, PP.450-8).

The ‘most workable’ option recommended by the Committee basically amounts to restoring status quo ante, experimented but failed miserably as documented by the Committee itself. The Committee did not face the question squarely as to why this particular arrangement and several other assurances given to Telangana failed to work in the past and what prompts it to believe that a variant of such an arrangement would be workable in future. The Committee did seem to take note of the basic lesson from the experience that in a democracy like ours such ‘safeguards’ cannot withstand the pressures exerted by the ‘interest groups’ from the politically dominant region but, apparently on balance of considerations, chose not to allow this to influence its recommendations.

Surprisingly, in none of the two options did the Committee recommend safeguards for Rayalaseema – rightly regarded by it as the most backward region in the State. Further, whereas in the case of the ‘first best’ option it elaborated the recommended safeguards for Telangana in great detail, in the case of the ‘second best’ option it did not recommend any plan of action and a road map in regard to the assurances for the people from coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema settled in Telangana.

## **Growth and Inequality**

At the time of the formation of Andhra Pradesh, average per capita GSDP (Gross State Domestic Product) for Telangana was significantly lower than for coastal Andhra as well as for Rayalaseema. Starting with a low base, Telangana showed a ‘catching-up process’ resulting in a higher growth rate than the other regions but the level of its per capita GSDP continued to be lower than in the other two regions for at least four decades after the formation of the State. It is in the post-reform period that it overtook Rayalaseema, and now its per capita GSDP (excluding Hyderabad) stands above that for Rayalaseema and is next to coastal Andhra (Rao and Shastry, 2009). The analysis of growth by the Srikrishna Committee indicates a similar trend. The Committee does note, however, some continuing concerns in Telangana regarding public employment, education, and water and irrigation.

An important factor contributing to the catching-up process in Telangana is the in-migration of capital, enterprise and skills from Seemandhra - more so in the post-reform period - especially from coastal Andhra, into different districts of Telangana, prominent among them being Hyderabad and the adjoining areas. This is amply borne out by the data on interregional migration (Rao and shastry, 2009).

Therefore, an analysis of how the benefits from rising GDP growth and employment have been shared between different social groups is essential to understand the rising discontent in Telangana, especially in the post-reform period. It is also necessary to understand the other qualitative aspects of growth such as costs of investment, uncertainty of returns and sustainability. For example, as pointed out by the Srikrishna Committee, agriculture in Telangana has become heavily dependent on well irrigation which is both costly and uncertain. This indeed accounts for the disproportionately large number of suicides by farmers in Telangana (Galab, Revathi and Reddy, 2009) - also documented by the Srikrishna



Committee.

The Committee notes the rising inequality in rural Telangana in the post-reform period (between 1993-4 and 2004-5, based on the sample surveys conducted by the National Council of Applied Economic Research) when the SCs, STs, and minorities have suffered a decline in income: “Such deepening inequality in Telangana can not only sustain the separatist agitation but it can also carry it further and increase its intensity.....Contrastingly, the evidence suggests that the inequality in income has, in fact, declined in coastal Andhra” (Ch.2, P.119.).

But, over this period, the affluent farming sections from the rural coastal Andhra have been increasingly shifting to non-farm occupations by leasing out their land, thanks to their command over capital and proliferation of lucrative non-farm opportunities. On all accounts, the area under tenancy has increased phenomenally in coastal Andhra in the recent period. This out-migration could well have led to a decline in rural inequality there, while at the same time contributing to the rise in inequality in areas of their destination, including Telangana and Rayalaseema.

### **Economic Viability of Telangana State**

Viability of a State is usually assessed in terms of its area, population, and size of GSDP and public revenues. Area and population assume particular relevance from the governance angle, whereas sizes of GSDP and public revenues have a bearing on economic viability. Tax and non-tax revenues are largely determined by the size of GSDP. In the early years of development with low levels of per capita GSDP, the compulsions of a critical minimum of public revenues for maintenance of general administration, police, judiciary and other essential services did not, in general, favour smaller States.

In fact, at the time of the formation of Andhra Pradesh, a strong consideration favouring integration of Telangana with the Seemandhra was the persisting revenue deficit of

Seemandhra and existence of revenue surplus for Telangana. Over the last half a century, however, with the steady growth in per capita income and tax revenues, economic viability in terms of public revenues is no longer a binding constraint in many cases. Therefore, the Srikrishna Committee has done well by focusing on GSDP and not getting into the issue of public revenues (except for a passing mention in the Report) while discussing viability.

The Committee observed that “Telangana region (excluding Hyderabad) ranks 15<sup>th</sup> in the list of 28 States (excluding A.P.) in terms of the absolute amount of GDP, and is listed above the States of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Himachal Pradesh, Goa and all the North eastern States (Appendix 2.25). In terms of per capita income, Telangana (excluding Hyderabad) ranks 13th in GSDP as well as in per capita income...Thus, from the point of view of sheer size of economy, Telangana as a new State can sustain itself both with and without Hyderabad” (Ch.2, P.121).

Having said this, the Committee duly noted the apprehensions of Seemandhra concerning its own economic prospects and viability in case Statehood for Telangana is conceded: Fear of local entry taxes and cess scuttling free trade and enhancing cost of business and increasing prices of goods and services; local laws constraining physical movement of goods and services between neighbouring regions and States; and losing a major market inherent in huge population, business and market concentration of the city of Hyderabad (P.122).

The Committee after simply observing that, “on this count, separation of AP can be a negative factor which inhibits economic growth of newly formed States” (P.122), goes on to suggest that “it is important to keep the city/district/urban agglomeration of Hyderabad accessible to people and businesses from any of the regions of AP or for that matter from any part of India and abroad. This can be accomplished irrespective of whether the political control over Hyderabad is wielded through a united AP or otherwise” (P.123).

As it is, we have a common national market in the country in which people belonging to several regions and States participate for mutual advantage. Restrictive practices in trade and business equally hurt those practicing them and, in any case, the Union Government cannot remain a mute spectator to such practices. There can hardly be any basis for these fears when there is no evidence of restrictive practices in trade and business between the existing States in the country, including those recently created.

### **Social Inclusion**

The Srikrishna Committee Report contains an illuminating analysis of the issues bearing on social inclusion, based on the data assembled by the Committee from the authentic sources on several indicators of development according to regions, castes, religion and gender, supplemented by the extensive field visits and interviews by the members of the Committee(Ch.7). An important fact emerging from these data – not widely known so far - is that the upper or high castes account for as high as 32% of total population in coastal Andhra and 24.2 % in Rayalaseema, as against a low level of 10.7% in Telangana (including Hyderabad). Thus, the socially disadvantaged sections comprising SCs, STs, Muslims, Other Minorities and OBCs constitute as high as nearly 90% of total population in Telangana, a little over three-fourths and two-thirds of total population in Rayalaseema and Coastal Andhra (Table 7.1, P.360).

Since the upper castes would, in all probability, predominate among the migrants from Seemandhra into Telangana, this may be contributing to reinforcing the existing inequalities in Telangana, characterised by feudal antecedents. It is pertinent to note, at this stage, the following observations of the Committee:

“The Upper castes in Rayalaseema and coastal Andhra are vehemently against the idea of dividing the State; their greatest fear being the loss of Hyderabad. The accommodation between these two regions has been in terms of political domination by Rayalaseema and

economic domination by coastal Andhra. Together the two regions have ruled the State through Congress and TDP political formations. Telangana feels dominated by the upper castes of these regions and its struggle is primarily to shake off their yoke” (P.390).

According to the Committee, Telangana separatists argued before it that because of its higher proportion of disadvantaged social groups, Telangana will be a more socially, economically and politically equitable and inclusive State (P.389). Dalit groups from all the three regions, citing the viewpoint of Dr.B.R.Ambedkar, argued before the Committee that splitting of the State would break the domination of upper castes and provide opportunities for the SC, ST, and OBC communities in both the States (P.368).

But the Committee tries to counter this argument by saying that the division of the State may reduce the proportion of the disadvantaged groups in Seemandhra when compared to the unified State. They could thus lose out in Seemandhra (P.389). The Committee overlooks that even after the division, the socially disadvantaged groups would constitute over 70% of the population in Seemandhra. The basic point, however, is that given their large numbers, the weaker sections would be better able to articulate their problems and assert themselves in smaller and relatively homogeneous States because of their shared history and easy communicability (Ambedkar, 1979; Rao, 2010).

Telangana groups argued before the Committee that political power is necessary for channeling resources and development benefits towards the region, that political domination by Seemandhra has adversely affected their prospects and that the only way out of this domination is to have a separate State. The Committee examined this argument by merely counting the number of years for which the posts of CM, Deputy CM, and important portfolios were held by representatives from different regions, and observed that Telangana side cannot claim total lack of representation as it held important portfolios of Home, Finance, Revenue and Irrigation for fairly long periods (PP.406-9). However, the matter is

not so simple, as, even when the position of Chief Minister was held by ‘strong’ persons from Telangana, plenty of anecdotal evidence suggests that they felt helpless on vital issues and had to bow down to the wishes of Seemandhra. Political power for different regions flows basically from their respective numbers in the State legislature and not so much by the type of portfolios held or by the time period for which they were held. The latter are in fact determined by the former.

The following observations of the Committee are telling on how Telangana, as conceived by its protagonists, can be socially inclusive, modern, progressive and even trend-setting: “the Telangana movement can be interpreted as a desire for greater democracy and empowerment within a political unit. As Stated earlier, sub-regionalism is a movement which is not necessarily primordial but is essentially modern – in the direction of a balanced and equitable modernisation. Our analysis shows that cutting across caste, religion, gender and other divisions, the Telangana movement brings a focus on the development of the region as a whole, a focus on rights and access to regional resources and further, it pitches for a rights-based development perspective whereby groups and communities put forth their agendas within a larger vision of equitable development. There are strong indications that if Telangana does become a separate State, a movement for separation is likely to follow in Rayalaseema which remains the most backward region in the State” (P.413).

When there are such strong grounds for constituting separate Telangana State, it is not fair to withhold its formation simply for fear of its consequences for other regions in the country. Rayalaseema is backward, but its elite – political, bureaucratic and professional – is much stronger than its Telangana counterpart, thanks to its shared history with coastal Andhra and indeed with the rest of the South over a long period in the struggle for freedom, exposure to modern education and progressive land tenures when compared to Telangana. Rayalaseema can be assertive and succeed in protecting its rights and safeguards in the

truncated and less heterogeneous Seemandhra after the separation of Telangana. But if it too fails in this and separation becomes inevitable, then this need not be a cause for alarm. The country, in any case, is in for an era of smaller States.

### **Hyderabad Metropolis**

The two major issues of concern for Seemandhra in the event of creation of Telangana State with Hyderabad as its capital are: (a) the possible impact of its separation from Hyderabad on Seemandhra's economy (b) the prospects for education and employment of youth in Hyderabad; and security of investments, properties, jobs and livelihoods of those from Seemandhra settled in Hyderabad and other districts of Telangana.

The growth of Hyderabad is marked broadly by three phases: The first phase ends with the formation of AP when the new State inherited the city which ranked fifth and continues with this rank even to this day, among the major cities in the country with its unique location and a highly developed infrastructure built during the Nizam's rule. In fact, this was a major attraction and determining factor behind the integration of Seemandhra with Telangana. It may be recalled that Marathwada and Karnataka which were constituents of the Hyderabad State for a long period contributed, in no small measure, to the development of Hyderabad city but had no claims to it because of its organic link with Telangana. Over the second phase stretching up to the start of globalisation, Hyderabad continued to grow linked basically with the regional economy.

In the third phase covering the period of globalisation over the last two decades, the character of the city underwent a major change with its phenomenal growth and increased links with the national and global economy which, as brought out by the Srikrishna Committee, now predominate over its links with the State economy.

This on-going third phase is of special interest. A striking feature brought out by the Committee is the concentration of information technology (IT) and information technology

enabled services (ITES) almost solely in Hyderabad accounting for 99% of the total exports from the State (Ch.6, P.315). While, there are local investors in IT and ITES sectors, the composition of the firms established in the city is largely national and international in character. Of the ninety-four groups identified separately for investments in Hyderabad and Ranga Reddy, seventy-four are from outside Andhra Pradesh, testifying to the breadth of investment linkages in the region. Even in Construction and Real Estate, Finance, Business Services, it appears that private A.P. based investors are not dominant. As such, the industry is connected more to the national (through investment) and global economy (through the market) than it is to the regional economy. Its private investments would be driven by the overall climate of certainty and availability of infrastructure, labour and other services. (PP. 316, 330,332).

As regards labour, the traditional out-migrating States of Eastern India, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, which accounted for 23% of the migrants earlier, are now contributing 40%. Thus, according to the Committee, Hyderabad's pattern is beginning to look more like Mumbai's. This is consistent with Hyderabad's greater integration with national and international markets and its growth as a national and global city (PP.323-4).

The Committee's narrative of key cities in AP State suggests that the economic interdependence between them may be limited. Hyderabad and each urban centre in coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema appear to have their own economic base hinterland and growth drivers. While Hyderabad is much larger than the other cities in the State, it appears that other cities across AP do not seem to be solely dependent on it for market linkages and other services (PP.336-7).

It is clear from the Committee's findings that the adverse impact, if any, on the economy of Seemandhra on account of separation of Telangana with Hyderabad as its capital is not going to be significant. The second issue, viz., the protection of the interests of

Seemandhra migrants in Hyderabad and other districts of Telangana is going to be extremely important and challenging. As the Srikrishna Committee points out, migrants from the three regions, especially from coastal Andhra, have contributed substantially to the economic growth of the city and continue to hold a stake in important businesses (P.338).

Access to educational institutions and employment in Hyderabad is important to youth from all the three regions of the State. Small trade persons and semi-skilled workers from all over the State also find a niche in the city. People from the three regions have developed strong material and emotional attachment to the metropolis and fear loss of access in case of changes in the State's contours (P.339). In view of this, the Committee's suggestions in the second best option (option 5) regarding the protection of the interests of Seemandhra migrants in Hyderabad and other districts of Telangana deserve serious consideration.

#### Summary and Conclusion

According to Srikrishna Committee, Telangana has shown growth dynamism but income inequalities have been increasing. There are also continuing concerns about irrigation, education and employment. Telangana can be economically viable as a separate State with or without Hyderabad. Telangana would also be socially inclusive, facilitating equitable development. Statehood for Telangana is demanded by a large majority of people in the region cutting across caste, religion and gender.

Hyderabad Metropolis has acquired a growth momentum of its own, driven largely by investments from the rest of the country and serving the national and global market. Hyderabad becoming the capital of Telangana may not adversely affect the economy of Seemandhra.

Given these findings, it appears the Srikrishna Committee has very narrowly missed recommending Statehood for Telangana with Hyderabad as its capital, as the 'first best' option. Scales of justice got tilted against Telangana on account of vehement opposition from



Seemandhra and Committee's own fears about the demands for smaller States cropping up as well as Telangana becoming a stronghold for Naxalism and Religious Fundamentalism. Above all, it shows that in our system opting for a radical change by moving away from status quo is not easy.

Of all these fears, the concerns of Seemandhra, especially those centering on the prospects for its youth in Hyderabad, are most legitimate. Addressing these concerns seriously is critical to the resolution of the crisis so as to pave the way for the formation of Telangana State. This calls for a constructive dialogue between the leaders of both the regions with understanding, spirit of accommodation and Statesmanship.

**Appendix B: ‘A Critique of the Report of the Sri Krishna Committee’ By Dr. Gautam Pingle, the Director, Administrative Staff College of India**

**“A much talking judge is an ill-tuned cymbal”**

**-Francis Bacon**

**Introduction**

The five-member Srikrishna Committee (SKC) (“Committee for Consultations on the Situation in Andhra Pradesh”) under the Chairmanship of Mr Justice B. N. SriKrishna, former Judge of the Supreme Court of India was constituted by the Ministry of Home Affairs, to bring clarity to the Government of India, over the issue of separate Statehood for the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh.

The Government had earlier acceded to the All-Party request and support for such a separate State backed up by a unanimous resolution of the Legislature Congress Party leaving the decision to the central Government. However once that decision to accord Statehood to Telangana was announced widespread agitation by the Andhra region resulted in a stay of execution and status quo was ordered pending the Srikrishna Committee ‘s report which was to take 11 months. That Report of 505 pages of the main Volume with another 183 pages of Appendix Volume has now been issued and this is an analysis and critique of it.

**Part I. Honesty within Dishonesty: SKC makes the case for Telangana**

The Srikrishna Committee report is a product of eminent persons told to decide what in all honesty they could not; as a result, they have concluded in confusion - which serves no one. Among 505 pages and 146,071 words, they had to say some honest things even then, which were obvious to all.

It is difficult for an ordinary person to obtain, let alone read with patience and understanding the Report. The following is a set of 25 extracts in inverted commas (with

page references, important parts highlighted by me) from the Report which when placed in sequence. Readers need to understand that SKC was under extreme pressure to do the wrong thing and while so doing it still could not avoid stating the case for Telangana. It did leave out significant issues, which will be highlighted later, but what it said is enough to make a solid case for separation. Read on and decide for yourself!

### **Status Quo Opposed- Telangana Deprived**

1. “Overall, in spite of 50 plus years of policy protected planning and execution, one finds regional variations in the economic development of AP” (p.118).
2. The SKC noted that the Planning Commission notified as backward nine of the ten Telangana districts – with the exception of Hyderabad and resources have been allocated under its Backward Region Grant Fund (BRGF). These districts contain, as the SKC says, 87% of the population of Telangana (p.81)
3. Considering the allegation that, “Telangana has low per capita income, lower access to employment, lower business opportunities and low access to education and so on”, SKC says, “At the outset, some or all such allegations appear true when absolute amounts, numbers and percentages are reviewed” (p.117).
4. (In Telangana the), “net irrigation by canals has increased only slightly from about 1 lakh hectare to around 2.5 lakh hectares. Tank irrigation has reduced from 4 lakh hectares in 1955-56 to around 2 lakh hectares at present.” (p.189)
5. “The implementation of G.O. 610 during 1985 to 2005 was, at best, tardy, which remains a grievance of Telangana employees. This issue continues to be highly contentious even today (p.48).”
6. “However, the data received from the State Government shows (Appendix 3.16) that the combined amount released to government and aided colleges together is Rs. 93 crores in

Telangana while

it is 224 crores in coastal Andhra (with college going population similar to that in Telangana) and 91 crores in Rayalaseema (with population share being less than half that in Telangana)” (p.153)

7. “The real income of the agricultural wage labourers has declined considerably in Telangana whereas it has increased considerably in coastal Andhra region. Similarly, the SCs, STs and minorities in Telangana region have suffered a decline in income during the past about decade or more, whereas these communities have gained substantially in coastal Andhra (p.119).”

### **The Movement**

8. “The present agitation, however, shows that the demand only lay dormant and could get re-ignited under specific circumstances. While the issue of rightful shares in public employment remains the key point of discord even in the current agitation, a new turn has been given to the demand by Telangana region asserting that it has a separate cultural identity which is distinct from that of Andhra and Rayalaseema regions (p.342).
9. “The movement has also successfully performed the function of educating the people about Telangana’s grievances to the extent that even school children have now been made conversant with issues around the demand for a separate State. Equally helpful to this cause have been NRI Telanganites (NRIs from the opposite side have participated by opposing formation of Telangana) who are known to be supporting the movement in several ways and who have also represented to the Committee. The present movement is considered to be much more extensive than the one in 1969 (which was mostly confined to urban locations), a process in which modern technologies of communication and modern ways of conducting politics have surely helped” (p.352).

10. "While the JACs have sprung up in all the three regions, the most vibrant and numerous are in Telangana region with their reach going down to Mandal and even village level. The JACs have successfully mobilized the common people who have articulated their particular interests through the movement" (p.359).

### **Power Groups**

11. "The dominant upper castes, the Reddys, Kammas, Velamas and Kapus, continue to hold the reins of power in the State. The Brahmins are much less influential politically due to smaller numbers; however, coastal Andhra Brahmins played a historic role in forging a Telugu identity through their writings, eventually leading to the birth of Andhra State. They were equally important in intellectual articulation of the cause of economically oppressed social groups and contributed to the extreme left movement to which major support was provided by coastal Kammas" (p.380).
12. "The upper castes in Rayalaseema and coastal Andhra are vehemently against the idea of dividing the State; their greatest fear being the loss of Hyderabad. The accommodation between these two regions has been in terms of political domination by Rayalaseema and economic domination by coastal Andhra. Together the two regions have ruled the State through Congress and TDP political formations. Telangana feels dominated by the upper castes of these regions and its struggle is primarily to shake off their yoke." (p.390)
13. "Large scale involvement of students including those from Dalits and Backward Castes in the current movement for Telangana seems to testify to this. A large proportion of student leaders of the movement located in Osmania and Kakatiya Universities is known to be from Dalit/BC background. According to many sources, purported student suicides during the course of the agitation are also largely by Dalit and Backward Caste students" (p.163).

14. “The Madiga caste, which is predominant in Telangana and more numerous on the whole, has had less access to reservation benefits than the Malas who predominate in coastal Andhra. The former would certainly benefit from a separate Telangana but then their brethren in the coastal State would lose out without sub-categorisation. The economic disaffection of SCs in Telangana versus their rapid strides in education form a potent mixture for agitation politics as is seen from the extensive participation of Dalit youth in the student movement. This is the very same constituency which may feel attracted towards and become co-opted by extreme left ideologies.” (p.415)
15. “The Muslims in Telangana, contrary to common belief, are doing well on consumption (improvement by 76%) and poverty reduction levels (33 points)” (p.363).
16. “In 2007, literacy rates for the youth population aged 8-24 for SCs and Muslims in Telangana are ahead of or at par with those in the other two regions” (p.131).
17. “For example, it is possible that the ST community and the Muslims in AP may get a relatively better say in governance on separation in the State of Telangana” (p.122).

### **The Logic of the Movement**

18. “Although as a sub-regional movement, the Telangana movement does not pose a threat to national unity” (p.344).
19. “The Telangana movement can be interpreted as a desire for greater democracy and empowerment within a political unit. As Stated earlier, sub- regionalism is a movement, which is not necessarily primordial but is essentially modern – in the direction of a balanced and equitable modernization. Our analysis shows that cutting across caste, religion, gender and other divisions, the Telangana movement brings a focus on the development of the region as a whole, a focus on rights and access to regional resources and further, it pitches for a rights-based development perspective whereby groups and

communities put forth their agendas within a larger vision of equitable development” (p.415).

20. “However, given the long-standing history of the demand for a separate State, the deep penetration of the sense of grievance and the widespread emotion around the issue, unless genuine steps are taken to address both real and perceived disparities, the demand is unlikely to go away permanently even if it is subdued temporarily” (p.417).

21. “Thus, from the point of view of sheer size of economy, Telangana as a new State can sustain itself both with and without Hyderabad. The other combination of regions – coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema together can also sustain themselves as a State; in fact, they can also sustain themselves separately” (p.121).

### **Summing Up**

22. “In view of the complex background of the situation and the rather serious and sensitive emotional aspects involved, the Committee is of the unanimous view that it would not be practical to simply maintain the status quo in respect of the situation” (p.442).

23. “Given the above first-hand observations of the Committee during its tours of the regions, the Committee feels that the issue of sentiment has to be considered only as one among several factors to be evaluated. While not discounting people’s wishes or sentiments, the overall implications of bifurcation (or trifurcation as the case may be) have to be carefully delineated to arrive at a responsible recommendation” (p.352-353).

“The Committee is of the view that given the long history of the demand for a separate Telangana, the highly charged emotions at present and the likelihood of the agitation continuing in case the demand is not met (unless handled deftly, tactfully and firmly as discussed under option six), consideration has to be given to this option. The grievances of the people of Telangana, such as non-implementation of some of the key decisions included in the Gentleman’s Agreement (1956), certain amount of neglect in implementation of water

and irrigation schemes, inadequate provision for education infrastructure (excluding Hyderabad), and the undue delay in the implementation of the Presidential order on public employment etc., have contributed to the felt psyche of discrimination and domination, with the issue attaining an emotional pitch. The continuing demand, therefore, for a separate Telangana, the Committee felt, has some merit and is not entirely unjustified” (p.453)