CONCLUSIONS
From our study in the preceding chapters, it is evident that out of eleven Telugu districts as they existed in 1920s in the erstwhile Presidency of Madras, only three coastal districts of Guntur, Krishna and Godavari (East and West) played an active role in the Non-cooperation movement. The remaining eight districts were on the periphery and with the exception of Nellore their role in the movement was marginal. This is not surprising as the different Andhra districts were not equally developed and modernised since they came under the control of the British over a long stretch of time extending from 1766 to 1802.

During the last decade of its rule from 1848 to 1857 the East India Company succeeded in restoring law and order and brought about reforms in the revenue and general administration. More than these, the anicuts over Krishna and Godavari rivers constructed in 1854
by the Company paved the way for the modernisation of the social and economic life in the districts on either side of these two rivers. But at the same time in other Andhra districts agrarian economy declined due to the lack of adequate capital investment resulting from the policy of *laissez faire* adopted by the British government. The underdeveloped economy resulting from the British capitalist colonial rule suppressed the natural aspirations of the people to catch up with modern trend of modernisation taking place in other Asian countries like Japan.

However in the central Andhra districts the British rule had some beneficial effects on the socio-economic life of the people. In the years following the construction of Krishna and Godavari anicuts agriculture in these districts received unprecedented boost and a new affluent middle class emerged. The elite section of this class harbingered the national consciousness of the people by championing social reform in the caste-ridden conservative Hindu society. Social reformers like Veeresalingam and his ilk had to struggle hard to bring about regeneration of the society.
By his personal magnetism and organizing ability, Veeresalingam succeeded in making the people receptive to modern ideas. His journals *Vivekavardhini* and *Satihita Bodhini* opened up new vistas to Telugu journalism. By the closing years of last century the twenty and odd Telugu journals whetted the interests of their readers in the national developments.

The partition of Bengal in 1905 and the visit of Bipin Chandra Pal to coastal Andhra towns in 1907 kindled the interest of the people in the momentous developments elsewhere in the country. The collapse of the Vandemataram and Swadeshi movements following the annulment of the partition of Bengal in 1911 did not create a vacuum in the Andhra political scene. On the other hand, during the years 1913 to 1920 political awakening in Andhra was at its zenith due to the involvement of the Telugu people in the issues nearer to the heart like the creation of separate Andhra province and also the Home Rule movement. By the time Gandhi launched his Non-cooperation movement, Andhra especially the central coastal districts were
fully geared up to take a plunge in the struggle for the emancipation of the country from the foreign rule.

The Non-cooperation movement synchronized with the victory of the Justice Party at the elections to Madras Legislature held under the Government of India Act, 1919. The Justice Party which championed the cause of the non-Brahmins rode to power mainly due to the default of the Congress party which boycotted the elections as a part of its Non-cooperation programme. It looked at askance the Non-cooperation movement and tried to prove its credentials of being more loyal than the king. It tried to project that the Non-cooperation movement was the handiwork of the briefless Brahmin barristers and alike, forgetting the fact that Gandhi was a bania—a non-Brahmin par excellence.

Justice Party's attempts to denigrate the Non-cooperation movement as anarchy were received with derision. The Andhra public was well aware that the top leaders of the movement like Konda Venkatappayya, A. Kaleswara Rao, T. Prakasam and Duggirala
Gopalakrishnayya were Brahmins, who castigated the worst aspects of Brahminism. Prakasam and Gopalakrishnayya imbibed the liberalism of the West during their stay in England for higher studies, and were able to establish easy rapport with the down-trodden masses. The Non-cooperation movement clearly demonstrated that the relations between the different castes and especially between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins were more harmonious in Andhra than in other parts of the South, especially Tamil Nadu. This happy state of affairs was made possible due to the efforts of the social reformers like Kandukuri Veeresalingam and Raghupathi Venkatarathnam Naidu.

Another fact that emerges from our study is that the women of Andhra were more emancipated than their counterparts in the North and the South barring Kerala. Ponaka Kanakamma, Maganti Annapurnamma, Oruganti Mahalakshmmamma and Unnava Lakshmibayamma hailing from Reddy, Kamma and Brahmin castes respectively made their presence felt in the movement and were instrumental for the success of the programme of constructive work. Further, these women were
able to motivate the male members of their families into Gandhian ideology.

Yet another interesting fact is that women who were largely instrumental for the success of Khadi and anti-liquor campaign were not enthusiastic for the eradication of untouchability. They were too conscious of their social status in the rural hierarchy.

The study brings to light another interesting aspect of the Congress party, namely its endemic internal squibblings. The Chirala-Perala struggle was sabotaged by some of the Congress leaders of the Guntur district who were envious of the popularity of Gopalakrishnayya. Similarly the Palnadu Forest Satyagraha and Pedanandipadu No-tax campaign achieved fair amount of success in spite of the machinations of some Congress leaders who carried tales against these movements to Gandhi.

Another important fact that emerges from our study is that Andhra unlike Tamil Nadu welcomed the propagation of Hindi under the constructive programme of Gandhi. As a matter of fact some of the Hindi
schools like the one at Eluru had to function in three shifts from 7 AM to 9 PM to cope with the rush for enrolment of students to study that language. This fact has to be kept in mind to understand the prevailing situation in Tamil Nadu where the attempts of the Government of India to make Hindi the sole official language of the country is opposed tooth and nail.

The Telugu press has not acquitted itself creditably while propagating the Non-cooperation movement. It failed to evaluate critically some moves of Gandhi like the boycott of schools by the students which in the long run wrecked havoc on the academic life of the country. Even journals like Krishna Patrika and Andhra Patrika vied with one another in kowtowing Gandhi.

In fine our study reveals that the Non-cooperation movement in Andhra, though unique in certain respects, followed the all India pattern.