CHAPTER II
THE ANDHRA IMBROGLIO
As part of the exercise in the direction of a comparative analysis of Andhra, Punjab and Assam, this Chapter is mainly devoted to the study of Andhra. The attempt is to capture the various developments occurring in the state and analyse/establish the relation between the linguistic and economic factor in the case of Andhra. This, it is hoped, would bring out clearly the manifestation of regionalism and sub-regionalism.

Andhra Pradesh was the first linguistic State to be carved on such a basis in the post-Independence phase. It was carved in two phases— one in 1953, with the Coastal districts and Rayalaseema called the province of Andhra. Later in the first major phase of reorganisation that India witnessed in 1956 the Telugu-speaking part of Hyderabad was clubbed to it leading to the formation of Andhra Pradesh.

This Chapter is subdivided into four phases: the first phase relates to an historical overview of the Visalandhra movement from 1900 till India's Independence in 1947. It was almost a decade of Independence before Andhra Pradesh could be formed. So in the second phase from 1947-56, the events leading to its reorganisation are discussed. But even after gaining a separate status, Andhra witnessed movements for further division in the form of the Telangana and Andhra agitations, which becomes the predominant theme of the third phase from 1956-1973. The final phase— the fourth— from 73-onwards is an account of the subsequent developments culminating in the rise of the Telugu
Desam Party. This Chapter thus consists of three main parts: the Visalandhra Movement, the Telangana and Andhra agitations, and the last part traces the growth of regionalism as evident in the emergence of the Telugu Desam Party.

The question of linguistic provinces has not been a new development but has been rather predominant since colonial times. It has, however, been noticed that the linguistic question received scant attention during the colonial period as "it obviously suited the British rulers to split people speaking one and the same language into more than one province and to include within the boundaries of one province people speaking different languages", on the principle of what they conveniently called "administrative convenience", as this helped the British imperialist rulers to keep the Indian people divided...".¹

However with the advent of freedom, the issue of linguistic provinces could no more be played down, and after Independence Andhra became the first state to be carved out on the linguistic basis. Thereafter many more provinces were organised on the linguistic basis. But it has been difficult to comprehend as to what are the reasons that lay behind the call for linguistic provinces? It has been generally believed, in accordance with the most popular school of thought that the roots of the call for linguistic provinces can be traced back to the "uneven

development of the regions inhabited by different nationalities which consequently produce various social and economic tensions amongst the regions and also between the different regions and the centre". The uneven development has been in the nature of wide variations in both the industrial and agricultural sectors in different parts of the country which seemingly resulted in the demand for carving of provinces on such a basis (i.e. linguistic basis). The agrarian classes are apparently the forerunners in such a movement as the major interest of the industrial class to the contrary is a centralised market and the freedom to exploit the raw material and labour of all nationalities".\(^2\)

Therefore, not surprisingly, in Andhra, an agriculturally strong state - the question of linguistic reorganisation has acquired a forceful articulation. But even though the movement for a separate Andhra began in the early twenties, it was not until 1956 that the demand was conceded. Nonetheless it has the honour of being the first linguistic State in the post-Independence era.

**First Phase 1900–1947**

**The Andhra Demand: An Historical Overview**

In this phase the origins of the Andhra movement in the colonial period is sought to be analysed. In fact the demand in the present century ought to be viewed as a demand for uniting the Telugu people rather than a demand for a new State altogether, as

an Andhra State is not a new phenomenon. The Telugus however could not succeed in attaining a separate status during the colonial period, despite representations to various committees. The demand of the Andhras was thus directed at two levels— at the Congress sessions and at the various British Committees. The momentum of the Andhra movement during the British rule till India's Independence is sought to be discussed in this phase.

The origins of an organised Andhra dates back to the Satavahana rule of 236 B.C – 218 A.D. Until the advent of the British in the early-seventeenth century, Andhra came under the rule of several dynasties. The establishment of a factory in Masulipatnam in 1611 heralds the beginning of colonial foothold in Andhra, strengthened with the death of Aurangzeb and the consequent disintegration of the Mughal Empire from 1707 onwards. The transfer of the Circar districts to the Company in 1766 and the Rayalaseema by the Nizam in 1800, perhaps marks the beginning of the splitting of the Telugu people. The demand for uniting the Andhra people came up in the present century right from the beginning, when the partition of Bengal in 1905 made people firmly believe that the progress of a linguistic group would be hindered by their being placed under different administrations.\(^3\)

Reasoning on similar lines, some Andhras felt that one of the chief causes for their backwardness was 'the partition of the Telugu people' through their dispersal in the Madras Presidency,

the Central Provinces and the native state of Hyderabad and Mysore.\(^4\)

In addition to, the publication of *Andhra Charitramu* (when translated, *History of the Andhras*) by the Vignana Chandrika Mandali in 1910 gave the much-needed literary impetus as it helped revitalise the interest of the Andhras in their language, literature and their past history. The work proved quite popular as it demolished the myth of the backwardness of the Andhras and thereby sought to help them realise that in the days gone by they were on par with the other people in India in the extent of their kingdoms, their intellectual attainment and their civilisation.\(^5\)

Their rejuvenated interest got concretised as early as December 12, 1911 when the first known recorded plea by the Andhras for uniting the Telugu people inhabiting contiguous areas and forming a separate province was made on the occasion of the Delhi Coronation Durbar. Although as far as the demand for Andhra Province was concerned, nothing concrete came out of the Durbar, it nonetheless proved to be an important landmark in the movement for linguistic provinces. The Durbar helped carve out Bihar from Bengal on the ground that the Biharis have hitherto been unequally yoked with the Bengalis and have never, therefore had a fair opportunity for development. A separate province for the

\(^4\)*Ibid.*

Biharis naturally raised the until-then-futile hopes of the Andhras with the consequence the question 'why not a separate Andhra Province?' assuming stronger overtones.

But what are the precise reasons for the question of a separate province for the Andhras in particular and the issue of linguistic nationalities becoming popular day-by-day. The factors of the partition of Bengal, the carving of a separate province of Bihar and the publication of the literary work of Andhra Charitramu, no doubt provided the much needed impetus but they alone prove inadequate to explain the phenomenal interest of the Andhras in the movement. There seem to be some other factors holding the clue to the movement.

Historically, it can be traced that the demand for Visalandhra gained direction only from the mid-19th century with the emergence of new classes - the peasantry, who assumed the torch bearership of the movement. The rise of the peasant classes has been the result of a boom (or a spurt) in agriculture which became possible, a reality, due to availability of irrigation - the product of the construction of anicuts across the Godavari and the Krishna rivers. The irrigation schemes thus laid the basis for intensive cultivation of rice and other cash crops, generating consequently a substantial base for the emergence of the peasant classes. It was these emerging classes which

supported the idea of a separate province, Visalandhra, for the Telugu-speaking people, as they were perhaps the hardest hit and apparently, the most disillusioned with the Tamil domination in the material as well as political spheres. Despite the fact that the Telugu districts accounted for 40 per cent of the people and 58 per cent of the Madras Presidency, it was the Tamils who were predominant in the twin-sectors of the polity and the economy. Inevitably, the feeling gained ground among the Andhras, especially the agriculturists - leaders of the movement - that they could hope to better their material and political position only in a separate province of their own. Accordingly they articulated the need for bringing all the Telugu-speaking people under a single umbrella - the Visalandhra State.

As a result of the wide-spread interest that the subject of the formation of a separate Andhra province evinced, it came up for consideration for the first time, officially, at the joint conference of Godavari, Krishna and Guntur districts at Nidadavolu in May 1912, under the Presidentship of V.Ramdas. However, the resolution was ruled out by the President of the Conference on the ground that a Sectional Conference was not the appropriate venue for the discussion of a subject of such crucial importance. It was rather felt that a broader group, an Andhra conference, with representatives of all the Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency was the group most fitted for discussing

such an issue.\(^8\) The outcome of this suggestion was the convening of the first Andhra Conference at Bapatla on May 20, 1913. The resolution on a separate Andhra Province being the most important item of the agenda provoked much discussion.\(^9\) The growing consciousness of unity among the Andhras made the Bapatla session 'a grand success' thereby giving a fillip to the Andhra movement in general and the issue of an Andhra Province in particular. The discussions in the second and subsequent conferences of the Andhra Maha Sabha also show an increasing appreciation by the Andhra leaders of the necessity of having a separate Andhra Province. Significantly therefore, the coastal belt of the Telugu-inhabited regions served as the fundamental base initially for providing the tempo of the movement for a separatist Andhra Province as the economic interests of the emerging peasant classes of this region in particular received the brunt of the Tamils in the agrarian as well as local market.

The meet of the Andhra Mahasabha at Cocanada, its fourth, was noteworthy in view of the fact that the standing committee of the Andhra Conference prepared a pamphlet titled *Reorganisation of Indian Provinces* authored by Dr.P.Sitaramayya and Konda Venkatappaiah and distributed amongst the Congressmen all over the country.

\(^8\)Ibid., pp.82–83.  
\(^10\)Ibid, p.57.
The First Concrete Step: Demand for a separate Andhra Provincial Congress:

The meet of the Indian National Congress at Madras in December 1914 proved to be significant as the Andhras took the first step in the direction of a separate Andhra Province. The meet proved significant in the sense opinion gained ground for having a separate provincial Congress for the Telugu districts. The belief that a separate Congress circle for the Telugu districts would intensify public life in them, promote popular political education on a larger scale, and emphasize the integrity and individuality of the Telugus, took firm ground. Moreover a separate Congress Circle for the Telugus, it was believed, would help exert pressure within the Congress to accept the principle of linguistic provinces.

Lucknow & Calcutta Sessions:

But the efforts to create a separate Congress circle for the Andhras came to nought even as late as December 16, 1916 at the Congress session held at Lucknow. The issue sprang up again at the AICC session at Calcutta on April 8, 1917 whereby it was finally accepted after a stormy session in the midst of vehement opposition by Dr. Annie Besant, President of the session, and reluctance of Gandhi to consider the issue immediately.\textsuperscript{11} The sponsors of the Andhra Movement met with their first success on January 22, 1918 with the inauguration of the new Congress circle

for the Andhras thus marking the actual beginning to the struggle of a separate province for the Andhras.

Montague-CheImsford Report:

The demand for linguistic provinces contained in a resolution passed by B.N.Sharma, President of the first Andhra Conference created history when it was taken up for discussion for the first time by the Imperial Legislative Council on February 6, 1918. The Imperial Legislative Council with the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford in the Chair and the Secretary of State, Montague in the visitor's gallery discussed the resolution recommending to the Governor General-in-Council:

"The redistribution of provincial areas... on a language basis wherever... and to the extent possible, especially where the people speaking a distinct language and sufficiently large in number desire such a change".

But the resolution was not passed as it went perhaps against the British policy of divide and rule. Significantly it did make the authorities realise once again and more importantly, understand the principle underlying it. This became evident as Chelmsford and Montague on their tour received deputations from other linguistic groups too.

Montford Report:

In the meantime the Montford Report on Constitutional Reforms published in July 1918, conceded that the administrative units would simplify the business of the government with the vernacular as the medium of legislative business and that the linguistic or
racial governments would help participation in public affairs of men not acquainted with English. But at the same time colonial interests dictated it to hold that such reorganisation was premature for it would be very "unwise of revising the constitution of India with simultaneously revising the political geography of the entire country". Since there was no reference in the report to the demand of the Andhras, needless to say, they became a thoroughly disappointed lot.

Indian Statutory Commission:

The Indian Statutory Commission came into existence in 1928 to precisely review the working of the Government of India Act, 1919. The Chairman, Simon had great natural sympathy with the body of men who felt that their own race and language were very important to them. However, its all-white complexion – revealing only too clearly Britain’s persistent assumption of superiority, provoked the Congress, the Andhra Political Conference and the Karnataka Unification Conference into boycotting the committee.

Madras Government's Policy of Exploitation: A Continuing Trend

Notwithstanding the turning down of the demand for a separate province of Andhra, efforts doubled in that direction (of achieving a separate province). However, not unexpectedly there:

12 See the address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Andhra Provincial Conference, Guntur, The Hindu, Aug.17, 1918. Quoted in Rao, K.V.Narayan, op. cit., p.64.
was opposition from the colonial authorities and also from the Madras Government. Thus local interests prevailed in opposing the rearrangement of the Madras Presidency. The reason behind the opposition became manifest from the Madras Government's continued policy of economic exploitation of the Andhra regions. In continuance with its policy of having a firm, grip on the Andhra economy, it took no initiative to harness the hydrographic potentialities of Andhra nor took any steps to arrest agricultural stagnation. On the contrary it was content with treating the river waters as a big source for the levy of water taxes and collection of land revenues as and when it required.\textsuperscript{14}

Since the agriculturally rich and prosperous coastal districts were directly affected by what has been termed as the evasive and arbitrary irrigation policies of the Madras Government, it was here that a strong separatist movement took root. The support and protection to agriculture would be hampered, they reasoned if they continued to stay any longer in the undivided Madras.\textsuperscript{15} Hence the call for a separate province.

Intra-regional demand: Call for a separate Rayalaseema Congress Circle:

However all the regions were not united in the call for Visalandhra. Rather divisive trends surfaced in the movement in 1924 with the call of a separate Congress Circle for the Ceded

\textsuperscript{14}See Proceedings of the A. P. History Congress, Vol.1, 1977, p. 43
districts by the Rayalaseema delegates of the Andhra Provincal congress committee. the call for a separate Rayalaseema Congress circle, perhaps emanated from the wide variations in the levels of development between the two regions - Coastal and Rayalaseema districts. The inland Rayalaseema districts of Bellary, Kurnool, Anantapur and Cuddapah were drier and less prosperous than the naturally alluvial rich coastal taluks. In addition the mid-nineteenth century irrigation projects endowed the already rich coastal taluks with an even greater prosperity. It was probably feared by the Rayalaseemas that in the event of the formation of a single entity, they were likely to be dominated by the more-advanced coastal Andhras. The assumption of Presidentship of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee by Dr.Pattabhi in August 1937 helped smoothen the differences between the two regions. The cracks in the united Telugu consciousness were effectively bridged with the signing of the Sri Bagh Pact on November 16, 1937 which enumerated the conditions to be fulfilled should Rayalaseema co-operate with the coastal districts in the demand for an Andhra Province.

By 1936, the Sindhis and Oriyas were successful in their endeavour to realise separate provinces but the Andhras drew a blank. The already flagging spirits of the Andhras took a further dive with the victory of the Congress under the leadership of

C. Rajagopalachari in the 1937 elections to the Madras Legislative Council and Assembly. Although the Congress has been a strong advocate of linguistic states for long, the Madras Congress Ministry headed by Rajagopalachari "saw much possible harm in taking up that subject then for government action". 17

**Krishna-Pennar Project:**

Added to it, the already-damaged political relations between the Andhras and the Madras Government took a dip economically too when the CM Rajagopalachari tried to utilise his position to develop Tamil Nadu at the expense of Andhra. As part of its irrigation policy, the Madras Government under Rajagopalachari took a rather active interest in the construction of the Krishna-Pennar Project in order to divert waters of Krishna river to Tamil Nadu thereby injuring the interests of Andhra. However on realisation of the motive behind the project, the Andhrets rose in revolt and the tremendous popular agitation built-up against the project resulted in the commissioning of the Khosla Committee which after going into the technical details of the project held that in its present form it should not be proceeded. Instead the setting-up of Nandikonda (Nagarjuna Sagar) Project was suggested. Thus the Andhras won the battle for the present but the war remained still undecided. For sometime therefore there

was a lull in the Movement as the Andhras were restless and tired over their futile efforts in achieving a separate province.

But it bubbled with life once again with the convening of a meeting at Kondapalli (Krishna district) in 1939 which took the decision of forming an Andhra Rashtra Nirmana Sangham by merging all those organisations which were vociferous in demanding an Andhra Province and to work for the speedy realisation of their goal. It requested the Andhra members of the legislature and the Madras Government to press the British Government to grant an Andhra Rashtra, the birthright of the Andhras, before October 1939 and exhorted the people to be ready for a satyagraha if the province was not established before that date. The issue came up in subsequent meetings held in Guntur and Visakhapatnaia sessions of 1939 and 1941 respectively, in which a strongly--worded resolution was passed manifesting their deep frustration and resentment at the attitude of the Congress Government.

Convention on Linguistic and Cultural Provinces in India:

The issue of linguistic provinces turning into reality soon became evident when the Convention on Linguistic and Cultural Provinces in India met at Delhi under the Presidentship of Dr.Pattabhi on December 8, 1946. It recommended to the Constituent Assembly the acceptance of the principle of linguistic and cultural provinces and setting up of the necessary machinery for giving effect to such a redistribution of provinces
immediately after the attainment of Independence.\textsuperscript{19} At the instance of the consultative Committee of the Congress, the Constituent Assembly appointed a Committee to prepare a draft resolution on the subject of linguistic provinces.

Even on the Southern Front there was a probable thaw in the opposition of the Madras Legislature as on April 1947, it recommended the formation of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala and Andhra as separate provinces under the new Constitution. It also recommended the early appointment of a Boundary Commission or Commissions or other suitable machinery for the redrawing of the provinces. The conceding of the demand by the local interest mobilised the Andhra Mahasabha into a special session in the same month urging the Constituent Assembly to make all the necessary arrangements for the formation of the Andhra province along with the new Constitution.

The Second Phase: 1947-1956

The Andhras managed to draw a lot of attention to the need of a separate province in the first phase although their goal was fulfilled only after India's freedom. The demand was conceded in two stages: in 1953 Andhra was formed initially with the Coastal and Rayalaseema districts. The process was completed in 1956 with the merger of the Telangana region to Andhra, thus marking the

emergence of Andhra Pradesh. The second phase gives an account of these developments from 1947-1956.

Some heartening news was in store for the Andhras towards the close of 1947, with Nehru's announcement in the Constituent Assembly that the demand for an Andhra Province was a perfectly legitimate one. It raised relatively few difficulties. The Andhra province it was opined could be included among the provinces in the constitution as was done in the case of Orissa and Sind under the Government of India Act., 1935. The leadership probably fearing similar demands from other agrarian-linguistic categories too, made an about-turn and excluded the provision for an Andhra province in the first schedule of the Draft Constitution brought out on February 21, 1948. The waning hopes, flickered with life once again in March 1948, with the statement of Nehru at Vizag that the Constituent Assembly would appoint a Committee very soon to look into the broader aspects of the question of an Andhra Province.

**Linguistic Provinces Commission:**

The much-awaited LPC came into existence in June 1948 under the Chairmanship of S.K.Dar with the job of looking into the possibility of the creation of Andhra, Kerala, Karnataka and Maharashtra provinces.

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The Andhra Mahasabha formally handed a memorandum to the commission containing the demand for Visalandhra. But apparently regional cracks became evident when twenty legislators from Rayalaseema under the leadership of Sanjiva Reddy submitted a counter-memorandum urging the postponement of linguistic provinces. The memorandum also contained the demand for a separate Rayalaseema. The memorandum was the probable product of uneven levels of development between the Rayalaseema and the Coastal taluks. It was simply a bigger form of the call for a separate Rayalaseema Congress Circle for the Ceded districts given in 1924. In the event of the formation of Visalandhra, the fears of the Rayalaseemas persisted as to the domination of the more developed Andhras, thereby amounting in no change whatsoever in their (Rayalaseemas) status as the ruled. The change, if any they visualised in such an event might be just the rulers. It was therefore urged that in case a separate Andhra Province, was formed statutory safeguards should be provided for Rayalaseema. Even while opposing linguistic provinces in general, the Rayalaseemas wanted a separate Rayalaseema province with Madras as its capital. Thus the factor of uneven development has acted as an obstruction for the development of nationality consciousness.

Thus taking advantage of the split in the ranks of the Telugu-people, the Report of the Commission recommended that "no new provinces should be formed for the present".21 Regarding the

21Report of Linguistic Provinces Commission, New Delhi, 1948, p.2,
enthusiasm of the people for linguistic provinces, the Commission observed: "These linguistic provinces made a strong appeal to the imagination of our countrymen and there exists a large volume of public support in their favour." The demand for Visalandhra which has powerful overtones especially in the coastal districts of Andhra became in the words of one of its leading advocates "a passion and has ceased to be a matter of reason". The commission members held that "the heat, passion and controversy which gathered round the work of this commission... are themselves proof of the intensity which exists on this subject........there is a grave risk in turning it down, and such a risk can only be justified in the interest of national emergency". (Ibid). The Commission members were therefore in two minds: on one hand they recognised that there was a real and great demand for linguistic provinces, but the fear that such linguistic provinces would militate against the integration of India into one nation pulled them back.

JVP Committee:

The report of the LPC did not go well with the linguistic groups demanding separate provinces on the basis of linguistic homogeneity. The Andhras especially were the most disenchanted lot. The Congress sensing the acrimonious mood of the groups felt it prudent to assuage the feelings of the public by creating

Cited in Rao, P. Raghunadha, op.cit., p.126.
another committee to reconsider the question of linguistic
provinces. Thus originated the JVP committee consisting of Nehru,
Vallabhbhai and Pattabhi. They were entrusted the task to review
the position and examine the question in the light of the
decision taken by the Congress in the past and the requirements
of the existing situation.

The report of the JVP committee of April 1949, came as a boon to
the Andhras, although it was disheartening as far as the
linguistic policy in general was concerned. Even while
recommending the postponement of linguistic provinces for a few
years, it exempted the case of Andhra on the ground that there
appears to be a large measure of consent behind it and also the
largest compact (Telugu-inhabited) area likely to form part of
this linguistic province is situated in one province. We should,
therefore suggest that if a start has to be made, we should take
up for study and examination the problems arising out of the
separation of the Andhra province. It should also be ascertained
whether it would be consistent with the accepted principles. If
the necessary conditions are achieved, we commend that measures
may be taken to implement it. (pp.14-16 of the Report).

The conditions mentioned were:

"If an Andhra province is to be formed the protagonists have
to abandon their claims to the city of Madras. An Andhra
province will have to be confined to the well-defined areas
mutually agreed upon and confined to the province of Madras
and can be brought about only with the willingness and consent
of the other component parts of the Madras province. We do not.........
Hence it was made clear to the Andhras that they could have a separate province sans the city of Madras. Madras city, thus became a bone of contention with the Rayalaseema members also demanding a separate province with Madras city as its capital. In order to pacify the violent reaction that the JVP report provoked in Andhra, Sitaramayya tried to explain away the proviso regarding the city of Madras. He held that non-inclusion in Andhra does not mean its automatic inclusion in Tamil Nadu, thereby implying that Madras may be made a separate administrative unit. This explanation convinced none. But the APCC went ahead with the request to the Government of India to create an Andhra Province immediately with the undisputed districts and urged that Madras be made a separate province. The JVP Report earned acceptance by both the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee and the Madras Government as it indicated that Madras city is outside the territorial limits of Andhra, thereby implying that "it is a part of Tamil Nadu".  

Partition Committee:

Yet another committee came about under the Chairmanship of Kumaraswami Raja, known as the Partition Committee with the sole aim of creating a separate province for the Andhras. One of the

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24 Ibid.
members of committee contended that "until the new capital and seat of the Andhra High Court were made ready, the Andhra Government and Andhra High Court are entitled to stay-on in the Madras city and carry-on all their work including that of the Legislature". The non-Andhras turned down this contention as they wanted the provisional capital of Andhra to be situated within the limits of Andhra Province itself. Thereupon Prakasam submitted a dissenting note. Taking advantage of Prakasam's dissenting note the Government of India which was apprehensive of linguistic provinces shelved the idea of an Andhra Province altogether. Subsequently in the General elections of 1952, the Andhras' resentment towards the Congress became clear when they voted Congress to only 43 out of 140 seats in Andhra.

Formation of Andhra

The Andhra Movement reached its pinnacle on December 15, 1952 when Potti Sriramulu passed away while on a fast-unto-death in support of the Andhra demand. The continuous assertion of the rich peasantry for a separate State especially in the midst of a flaming Andhra culminated in Nehru's announcement in the Lok Sabha on December 19, 1952 of the creation of a separate Andhra state with the undisputed Telugu districts excluding the city of Madras. On the submission of the Wanchoo Report (appointed to look into the matter) on February 7, 1953 Nehru announced the decision of the Government of India to finally create a separate Andhra state consisting of Srikakulam, Visakhapatnaro, West Godavari, East Godavari, Krishna, Nellore, Chittoor, Cuddapah, Anantapur and Kurnool districts and Alluri, Adoni and Rayadurg
taluks of Bellary districts. On October 1, 1953 thus took birth the separate state of Andhra making it the first linguistic entity to be formed on such a basis in the post-independence era and also significantly the first event of the triumph of the rich peasantry (in achieving a linguistic province).

**States Reorganisation Commission:**

Throughout the freedom struggle and even in the elections on the eve of Independence, the Congress had pledged to create linguistic states, if returned to power. The various linguistic groups demanding separate provinces failed to understand what made the Congress backtrack in its commitment. Perhaps it was in order to broaden the national movement, the Congress leaders mooted and supported the linguistic provinces as language as a cultural variable can easily be articulated and could percolate to the common masses. Little wonder, the Congress party evolved itself from an elitist origin to a mass party. The transformation was clearly summed up in 1936 by Rajendra Prasad, the then President of the Indian National Congress:

"From being at one time an organisation of a small number of persons educated in schools and colleges (Congress) has now become the largest organisation of the common people drawn very largely from the village population and consisting amongst its members lakhs of peasants and cultivators and a sprinkling of industrial field workers."

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obviously an Andhra Province encouraged other groups in making similar demands, thus compelling the Centre to appoint the States Reorganisation Commission to look afresh into the whole question of linguistic reorganisation of the Indian provinces. The merger of Hyderabad state with India and the contemporaneous commissioning of the SRC elevated the hopes of the Andhras in the demand for Visalandhra. But sub-regional animosity cropped-up again, this time by the protagonists of Telangana. Here too, an underdeveloped material base is believed to be responsible for a separate Telangana. The intra-regional demands—Telangana and Rayalaseema—thus manifests that language has a probable uniting role only when there are no conflict of issues within a particular region. But in the face of differences between various regions, specially concerning economic matters, language as a decisive factor is subsumed and the other factors, particularly economic assumed predominance.

Formation of Andhra Pradesh:

The SRC in its report of September 30, 1955 on Hyderabad recommended reorganisation of the Hyderabad state on the ground that "the specific Deccan culture of Hyderabad....like the unity of this state is something that has been imposed from above". It became apparent therefore that the SRC favoured a separate province for the Telanganas. But as the Andhra leaders favoured

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Visalandhra, intense negotiations began with the Telangana leaders culminating in the Gentleman's Agreement, a la Sri Bagh Pact fashion. In order to prevent the breakaway of Telangana, the Andhra leaders went more than half-way to meet the genuine demands of the Telangana people. The Agreement assumed statutory status with its incorporation in the States Reorganisation Act. Ultimately with the inauguration of the new state of Andhra Pradesh on November 1, 1956 the groups demanding the linguistic state realised their goal. Thus in the birth of the new state of Andhra Pradesh, the factor of language succeeded, although superficially, in weaving together all the groups belonging to the same linguistic community. The first phase of intensified struggle in the post-Independent India was thus brought to a halt with the formation of a separate province for the Telugus, Andhra Pradesh.

The Third Phase in the Andhra Demand: 1956-1973

Although Andhra was separated from the Madras State in 1953, it was in 1956 that the principle of linguistic reorganisation was accepted and the two regions - Andhra and Telangana - merged after a separation of one hundred and eighty years. However the merger or unity proved superficial as cracks developed very soon, thus manifesting sub-regionalism yet again in the form of the Telangana agitation in 1969, having manifested in the Rayalaseema

demand earlier. Thus uneven levels of development proved an obstruction once again in the creation of linguistic consciousness. The third phase deals with the post-formative events of Andhra Pradesh.

Sub-regionalism is not something new to Andhra. Problems were faced even with regard to the merger of the Hyderabad state as the people in that state were more inclined towards having a separate state of their own. But what are the reasons for the rise of sub-regional movements? Apparently the main considerations behind sub-regional movements are economic development and an anxiety for a proper share in the political power.

Telangana consciousness - a product of historical factors?

The development of Telangana consciousness is attributed to be a product of historical factors. The three principal regions of Andhra Pradesh - Coastal, Rayalaseema and Telangana districts are marked by different socio-economic backgrounds. As most of the Andhra regions remained under the British rule and were exposed to colonial modern development, the Telangana people having lived under the feudal rule of the Nizam of Hyderabad lagged behind in terms of economic modernisation and industrial development. Since the two regions were separated for a long period, they acquired their own distinct social characteristics. The economic

progress was such that there was a wide gap in regional development.  

**Origin of the Telangana Movement:**

At the surface the eruption of the Telangana volcano after almost twelve years of integrated existence with Andhra was rather puzzling in view of the fact that the people living in the Telangana region belong to the same linguistic stock as those in the other regions. Not necessary that there should be unity among people of the same ethnic stock but the question that inevitably comes to one's mind is: what made the Telanganites mount a series of militant political struggles to opt out of a politico-administrative entity for whose formation they had fought equally militantly just a decade ago?  

The post-reorganisation phase witnessed, as aptly pointed out, the fusion between "people accustomed to life-styles appropriate to monsoon-dependent subsistence agriculture in non-democratically ex-Princely states" on the one hand with "the industrially and agriculturally progressive people of ex-British provinces" on the other. It is perhaps in this fusion that the brewing identity crisis can be located.

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29 Haragopal, G., *op.cit.*
31 Ibid., pp.29-30.
Telangana Movement: Its Issues

In order to have a better understanding of the Telangana Movement, an examination of the primary issues is necessitated. Evidently in the Telangana agitation language ceased to be a rallying point and has been overtaken by economic backwardness and political insecurity.

It has been alleged that statutory provisions guaranteed to them were not honoured. For instance the provision in the Gentleman's Agreement that the posts of the Chief Minister and Deputy Chief Minister were to be distributed between persons belonging to the two regions - Coastal Andhra and Telangana, but it was invariably the Andhraites or the Rayalaseemas who cornered both the posts.32

One of the oft-repeated charges leveled by Praja Samiti and other separatist organisations was that the Telangana area has been given a raw deal even in regard to educational facilities. This bears testimony when the average literacy statistics for Coastal and Rayalaseema regions is compared. In 1961 average literacy rate stood at 24.49 and 21.12 per cent for Coastal and Rayalaseema respectively, it was as low as 16.22 in Telangana with Hyderabad district accounting for 35.05 percent. The literacy rate varied between 15.7 percent to 31.2 percent in the Andhra region, while the Telangana region excluding Hyderabad district had a literacy rate ranging from 11.47 to 15.17 percent.

More so it was also alleged that Osmania University - the only university of the region was discriminated against and starved of adequate finances.\textsuperscript{33}

The irrigation sector in the Telangana region is thoroughly neglected. Considered to be one of the basic inputs for agricultural development of an economy, irrigation was not given a "push" in the Telangana region. This was because Andhras pursued the idea for their benefit. Despite Coastal Andhra's rich alluvial tracts, particularly in Krishna and Godavari deltas under perennial canal irrigation, the State government's efforts were directed towards pumping in more funds for irrigation facilities in this region rather than attempting to improve the dry cultivation areas of Telangana. In addition, the Telangana region was denied its due share of irrigation facilities from Pochampad and Nagarjuna Sagar Projects.\textsuperscript{34} There was thus the reproduction of the macro-model—the typical Madras exploitation of erstwhile Andhra.

To cap it all the Green Revolution of the 60s obviously produced the economic boom in the alluvial rich coastal districts only. The surpluses generated for the rich peasantry created a relatively stable intermediate peasantry with the potential for an upward mobility. The capital generated by the agrarian surplus in coastal Andhra could not be ploughed-back into the agrarian sector, due to its inelastic nature and also of the failure to

\textsuperscript{33}Ibid., pp.23-24.
\textsuperscript{34}Ibid., p.22.
engender quick and attractive returns, resulting in the search of capital for better avenues and greener pastures.\textsuperscript{35} The search led to the penetration of capital into a backward region like Telangana which remained underdeveloped under prolonged feudal dominance. The local traditional business community greatly alarmed by the entry of the new capital from entrepreneurs of coastal districts, literally financed the Telangana agitation for a separate state so that their business may not be affected by the enterprising Andhra entrepreneurs.

The Legal Battle: Telangana versus Andhras
All-Party Accord, 1969:

The outbreak of the agitation witnessed a spontaneous all-party meet in January, 1969, which addressed to the allegedly main grievances of the Telanganas - of constant neglect of the development of their region coupled with discrimination in services and non-availability of opportunities to them. The All-Party Accord reiterated the Mulki rules and thus assured:

1) All Andhras appointed to posts reserved for Telangana personnel would be immediately transferred to the Andhra region of the State.

2) Their posts would be filled by qualified candidates from Telangana or left vacant until such candidates became available.

\textsuperscript{35}Haragopal, G: "Dimensions of Regionalism: Nationality Question in Andhra Pradesh ", \textit{op.cit.}, pp.379-380.
3) Revenue surplus from Telangana would be fully utilised for that region only.

4) The educational sector in the region will be improved.

The reiteration of the Mulki rules contained in Section-III of Public Employment (Requirement as to Residence) Act, 1957 led to an intensive legal battle. The Andhra Pradesh High Court struck-down the State government order of January 21, 1969 transferring Andhras holding posts reserved for Telanganas, in response to the writ petitions filed by 37 teachers challenging the Government Order terminating their services on the ground that they were non-domiciles of Telangana. The Order was struck-down judicially once again by the Supreme Court which declared unconstitutional that portion of the Act (Section-3) providing residence qualification for people seeking jobs in the Telangana region on the ground that no such discrimination could be made between people within a state as to their residence though such a restriction could be made for the State as a whole.

The Court order left the Telanganas a disenchanted lot who thus convinced with their 'low say' intensified efforts towards having a separate state of their own. The Telangana leaders reasoned that if there was a separate state of their own it would then be constitutional to limit employment to those domiciled in the region.

But the subject whether the Mulki rules were revived or not by the judgement of the Supreme Court striking down Section (3) of
Public Employment (Requirement as to Residence) Act, 1957 prolonged the legal battle. In response to this controversy the Supreme Court in its judgement passed in October 1972 held Mulki rules were "laws in force" immediately before the commencement of the constitution under Article 35 (b) thus implying that "any law in force immediately before the commencement of the constitution shall continue to remain in force until altered, replaced or amended by the Parliament".

This time it was the turn of the Andhras who got disenchanted with the ruling of the Supreme Court. Thus giving rise to the demand for severance from Telangana. The Andhras argued that if the Mulki rules were enforced and they were denied employment in the state services in the capital city of the State, of all the places, then there was no longer any reason to keep the state intact. Indeed two separate states could well be created.

Process of Political Conciliations and Economic Guarantees:

The Telanganites demand for full implementation of the Mulki rules and the aggressive reaction of the Andhras for the elimination of all concessions root and branch led to an interesting process of political formulae and conciliations. Since the outbreak of the Telangana agitation in the late 1960s there has been no dearth of efforts in trying to bring the impasse to a close. The unceasing process brought forth a score of formulae— trying to work out a proper niche in the economic and political spheres for both the camps.
But what are the precise reasons for the eruption of the sub-regional movement and as a consequence the decline in the importance of the linguistic base? Perhaps the timing of the Movement is a good indicator for understanding the Telangana Movement which became synonymous with the Mulki struggle. It can probably be explained in terms of the inverse position of the employment base and the availability of manpower. The regional Mulki struggle assumed importance as opportunities for employment narrowed-down and the availability of manpower (suited for the posts) increased in the Telangana region with the spread of literacy thus giving rise to a new class or elite.\(^{36}\) In this process of broadening of the manpower base and shrinking of the employment base, the main casualty proved to be the linguistic base. The linguistic factor thus lost its validity as Telangana literates started competing for jobs until then monopolised by the Andhras (i.e. people belonging to the Coastal districts).

The first attempt in the conciliation process concretised in the All-Party Accord of 1969\(^{37}\) which tried to assuage the Middle-class demands of the Agitation in the employment and educational sectors. It also assured all-round economic development. But since the impact was minimal, attempts continued in narrowing the

\(^{36}\)The average literacy rates for Telangana, Rayalaseema and Coastal regions are in 1961 16.22 \ 21.12 \ 24.49 respectively. In 1971 it stood at 19.00 \ 24.30 \ 27.60 and in 1981 26.22 \ 30.17 \ 31.61 respectively.

gap between the two sub-groups. Next-in-line of importance came the Eight-point compromise formula of 1971 initiated by the Prime Minister. The other signatory to the formula was Chenna Reddy, leader of the Telangana Praja Samithi- the party which spearheaded the Telangana agitation. It was to ensure accelerated development and expansion of employment opportunities. It was thus a formula to set right the anomalies created in the educational and employment sectors. At the political plane thus, came-about the resignation of Brahmananda Reddy and in his place was installed the man from Telangana, P.V.Narasimha Rao as the Chief Minister.

But the charges of the Centre's biased attitude towards the Telanganas culminated in chalking out yet another Compromise Formula in November 1972, with a Five-point charter which tried to adopt the middle path, assuaging the Middle Classes of both the camps.

1) The Mulki rules should be applied for recruitment to only gazetted posts up to the level of Tahsildar, Civil Assistant Surgeon and Assistant Engineer throughout Telangana.

2) In the case of composite offices such as the secretariat, the Mulki safeguards should apply for every second vacancy out of every three direct recruitment vacancies in non-gazetted posts.

3) The various service cadres up to the first or second gazetted level should be regionalised.

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4) The educational facilities in Hyderabad and Secunderabad would be extended.

5) There would be a composite police force drawn from both the regions of the twin cities.

But the Five-point Formula was rejected by the mass of the agitationists, students and the NGOs, who stuck to their respective stands — the Andhras for elimination of all concessions and Telanganas for full implementation of the Mulki rules. In addition, the Andhra non-gazetted employees went on an indefinite strike from December 1972 and secured strong political support with the resignation of nine Ministers from the twenty nine members cabinet. But the stalemate was diffused temporarily with the proclamation of President's rule in the state which remained in force for eleven months.

Finally the curtain was drawn with the presentation of yet another formula consisting of Six-points by the then Home Minister, K.C.Pant. The sole intention of the six-point formula was to keep intact an integrated Andhra Pradesh. It brought about a balance in the situation and addressed equivocally to the grievances and demands of both the camps. The finale was reached with the assumption of office of Chief Minister by Vengala Rao on December 10 1973, whose main task was the implementation of the Six-point Formula.

39 Ibid., pp.348-49.
The Telangana Movement was thus a politico-economic off-shoot. It is perhaps against the background of economic as well as political denial and exploitation that a link between the political behaviour of the Telangana masses in relation to the Telangana issue could be established.\textsuperscript{40} In this struggle over economic and political resources, the finer and subtle differences in the historical background and cultural patterns gained predominance over linguistic loyalties and other cultural similarities.

Final Phase in the Andhra demand: 1973-onwards
Phenomenal Rise of Telugu Desam Party

The agitation which demanded the separation of Telangana in the sixties is almost an anti-thesis of the movement for Visalandhra in the pre-independence period. Interestingly it is believed that the Krishna and Godavari anicut developments led to the demand for Visalandhra, whereas the Green Revolution of the sixties created sub-regional tensions and cracked the Telugu consciousness\textsuperscript{41} culminating in the State being rocked by two violent agitations - the Telangana agitation of 1969 and the Jai Andhra agitation of 1972. The cracked consciousness of the Telugu people was brought together and cemented with the phenomenal rise of the Telugu Desam Party - a joint enterprise of both the regions - in 1983, mainly on the basis of self-respect or


atma-gauravamu of the Telugu people thus establishing the predominance of the linguistic factor as a unifying force once again. But what are the factors responsible for this renewed Visalandhra spirit? The spirit behind the love for a single compact linguistic entity lies, perhaps in the elasticity and broadening of the base of the Andhra economy.

The Andhra economy experienced an economic boom with the Green Revolution of the sixties. It is precisely from this economic boom that the process of elasticity and broadening of base of the Andhra economy can be traced. The vast areas of fertile land in the coastal Andhra irrigated by the Godavari and Krishna irrigation projects coupled with the modern inputs initiated by the Green Revolution generated considerable surplus. The capital thrown up by the agrarian surplus in coastal Andhra could not be ploughed-back into the agrarian sector: due to its (agrarian sector) inelasticity and also because of the failure to engender quick and attractive returns. It was thus in search of better alternate avenues. As a part of this process there was penetration of capital into a backward region like Telangana which remained underdeveloped under prolonged feudal dominance.

The resentment of the local traditional business community to the entry of the new capital by the entrepreneurs from coastal districts found expression in the Telangana agitation. The Telanganites did succeed in reducing the flow of the Andhra capitalists. Thus resistance to penetration of capital from the Andhra region coupled with increasing threats of land reforms
from the centre gave a new twist to the Andhra political economy. The capital which retreated from the Telangana backward region found new investment pastures in the construction industry sky-scrappers and cinema theatres. The cinema industry thus created a base for lumpen economy in the socio-economic structure.\(^{42}\) But since the lumpen sector cannot absorb the entire capital due to its own inexorable limits, it naturally led to its logical corollary, rapid in industrialisation from 1973-74 onwards, thus resulting in the emergence of a local industrial class. This class, obviously has its origins in the agrarian surplus of coastal Andhra. Hence by the late 70s, with one foot in agriculture and another in industry, this rising class was looking forward to the emergence of a strong government at the state level which could not only resist any "psychological encroachment on land but mobilise the local resources for further capital support to the growing industrial base and maintain industrial peace." The rise of the TDP at this juncture can be traced to these economic developments.\(^{43}\) In other words the Andhra economy has perhaps reached a stage in the eighties when the rich peasantry and the regional bourgeoisie together are asserting for better conditions of economic growth,\(^{44}\) and it is precisely the deep urge on the part of these sections that has given rise to the TDP - the pride of all the regions. Little wonder, the TDP has used the same rhetoric that was largely in vogue during the Visalandhra Movement which includes the restoration of dignity.

\(^{42}\)Ibid., p.381.
\(^{43}\)Ibid., pp.381-82.
\(^{44}\)Ibid., p.388.
self-respect and past glory or the Telugu people. The only difference however is this time the dignity and self-respect of the Telugu people is backed by an economic programme which includes: providing a clean and efficient government, security and equal status for women, controlling smuggling and black marketing, bringing down the prices of essential commodities, making inputs available to the agriculturists and generation of employment for the youth.\(^{45}\) The important component of the programme was creating a conducive atmosphere for rapid industrial growth thus having as its main thrust the interests of the rising class.

The meteoric rise of the TDP in 1983 mainly on the basis of the focus on self-respect or \textit{atma-gauravamu} of the Telugu people reinforces the belief that language plays a dominant role if not, the sole basis for integrating the people. But the fact that the TDP emerged at a time when there were no major regional issues at stake points to some other factor or factors behind the rise of the party. Apparently the rapid industrialisation of the eighties coupled with rapid agrarian surplus in the previous decade led to a fusion of interests. The regional bourgeoisie perhaps found in the TDP an opportunity to gain in the fierce competition it has been facing from the all-India bourgeoisie. Incidentally it coincides with Mrs. Gandhi's strategy of concentration of power at the Centre and the threat of land reforms seemingly in the direction of capital accumulation than capital distribution. The

\(^{45}\)Ibid., p. 382
contradiction between the regional and national bourgeoisie perhaps found an answer in the TDP for a stronger regional base. Thus probably the contradiction between the regional and national bourgeoisie with a combination of a fusion of interests and consequently the collective interests of the regional industrialists and the rich peasantry of both the regions, which catapulted the unity demand in the form of TDP as it suited them best. Thus even development can be said to have brought the question of linguistic consciousness to the fore.

Conclusion:

An analysis of the Andhra phenomenon necessitates an understanding of the relation between linguistic and economic process in the development of the Visalandhra formation and the subsequent eruptions thereof in the state. As the main interest of agrarian classes lies in the local market, they naturally were more inclined towards regionalisation and hence the appeal of linguistic identity. Evidently the linguistic demand assumed significant dimensions in the coastal districts due to the rise and presence of an influential peasant classes ever since the construction of anicuts across the Godavari and Krishna rivers in the mid-nineteenth century. The examination and analysis of the Andhra demand brings forth clearly the antagonistic lines drawn across the agricultural and industrial classes. Accordingly the attitude and approach of the Central leadership towards the Andhra demand kept on shifting from one point to the other. The

\[46\text{Ibid., p. 387}\]
shift in the attitude of central leadership can be traced to the
dominance of the monopoly capitalistic class whose interest lay
beyond the geographical boundaries of linguistic states. In such
a context while one pleaded for national integration, the other
for regional autonomy.\footnote{Ibid., p.387-88.}

The Visalandhra demand basically has its origins in the issue of
exploitation by a different nationality (i.e. Tamils) and the wide
disparities between the Tamil-majority and the Telugu-majority
areas. Since the Andhra peasants wanted better protection and
support to agriculture it was but natural to think on lines of a
separate province and it was precisely on account of this that
the demand assumed stronger proportions in the prosperous coastal
regions, which has the largest concentration of the rich
peasants- a product of the irrigation systems. The Visalandhra
demand was thus preceded by the emergence of a new class of
peasants- the vociferous initiators and articulators of the
demand.

The analysis also brings out relevance of integrating role of
language which helped in binding the people belonging to the same
linguistic group for a separate state in a multi-lingual set-up,
of the Madras Presidency, thus annulling other factors in the
process. However, the eruption of the sub-regional movements in
the 1960s in the form of a Telangana and Andhra agitation reveals
that the linguistic factor is not necessarily a sufficient
condition for the State formation. In the Telangana and Andhra
agitations, it is the process of uneven or underdevelopment that held the centre-stage. In addition to underdevelopment, emergence of a new middle class in the Telangana as a result of the spread of literacy accounts for sub-regional agitation. Thus emergence of Andhra Pradesh on the linguistic basis, could not complete the process of integration of the linguistic group.

The rise of an industrial class combined with the powerful peasant class and a sizeable middle class account for emergence of the regional party in 1983. The rich peasantry coupled with the regional bourgeoisie started asserting for better conditions; for economic growth. And it is this assertion that has given rise to the new regional party - the TDP, which appealed to the theme of self-respect of the Telugu people-the theme which was predominant in the earlier Visalandhra movement. Perhaps the TDP was the defence-mechanism of the regional bourgeoisie which was; at some point in conflict with the national bourgeoisie, Incidentally it also coincides with Mrs. Gandhi's strategy of concentration of power and the threat of land reforms was intended more for capital accumulation than distribution. Thus the emerging contradiction between the regional and national bourgeoisie and the fusion of interests of the regional bourgeoisie and the rich peasantry of both the regions catapulted the TDP to power. Besides the regional bourgeoisie and the rich peasantry, the poor were gravitated towards the TDP through its populist welfarism.

Thus the Andhra movement begun as a demand calling for the unification of all the Telugu people dispersed over several
provinces during the colonial times could realise its goal initially in 1953, and more completely in 1956 with the integration of the Telangana regions to the province of Andhra consisting of Coastal and Rayalaseema regions. But after realising a separate province the regional identity of the Visalandhra transmuted into sub-regional identity as evidenced in the cropping of the Telangana and Andhra agitations. However there is a shift once again to a regional identity in the eighties in the form of a regional party, the Telugu Desam Party. It is thus clear from the shifting identities that the democratisation process begun in the British period has been continuing at various levels, vis-a-vis the state and the Nation-state or at the regional and sub-regional levels.