CHAPTER V

DAMODARAM SANJEEVAYYA IN STATE POLITICS
Damodaram Sanjeevayya is another prominent Dalit Personality in the hierarchy of Dalit leaders in India. He was the first Harijan Chief Minister in post-Independent India. His role as Minister at the State level and at the National level and his Presidentship of the All India Congress Committee speak of his distinction as a great leader.

Born in a poor Harijan family in a tiny hamlet, Pedapadu near Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh, he spent his early life in dire poverty and adversity. After his father's death, with the support and encouragement of his brother he attended a village school. After his early education at his native village he had his High School Studies, at American Baptist Mission School and later at the Kurnool Municipal School, known for the highest standard of education and exemplary discipline. A bright student and top ranker in studies, he came first in the District Secondary School Leaving Certificate examination. In those days when the Dalit Children could never dream of education, Sanjeevayya had the distinction of studying and coming out in bright colours.

Inspite of the pecuniary difficulties at home his brother encouraged him to have collegiate education. He did his B.A. (Bachelor of Arts) with Mathematics as his main subject and Astronomy as a subsidiary at the Government college Anantapur. A very diligent student, his teachers liked him and encouraged him in his studies. He passed his B.A. with high second class in 1942.
After graduation, he took up various jobs, first he worked as a clerk in a cooperative society for a short time. Then he joined the Kurnool town rationing office as a clerk. In 1944 he worked in the Central Works Department as an assistant. In 1945 he secured the job of Inspector of Civil Supplies, a Gazetted Officer's post. In this capacity with the jurisdiction of his office extended over Four Rayalaseema Districts of Bellary, Anatapur, Cuddapah and Kurnool he proved his mettle as an honest officer and struck terror in the minds of blackmarketers. With the abolition of this post after eleven months, he worked for a short time as a teacher at the Pachhayappa School in Madras. He also worked as a clerk in the Government translator's office during 1948-49.

At the instance of the District Judge of Bellary, Mr. K.R. Krishnayya chetty, he studied Law at Madras Law College. To Support his hostel expenditure he worked as part-time Mathematics Teacher at Progressive Union High School, George Town, Madras. Subsequently he secured a scholarship given to a Harijan boy by the Madras Government through the good offices of Vemula Kurmaiah, a Harijan leader of some standing in those days. With single minded devotion, under severe constraints he prosecuted his Law course. After getting his law degree he enrolled himself as an advocate in Madras in October 1950. He served as an apprentice first under Ganapathi and then under Jasti Sitamahalakshmamma. In this connection, K. Ramaswamy Observes:
He ventured into the field of Law, which was not a rosy field to a new entrant, more particularly to a Harijan, since it is a field of keen competition and a firm financial backing to a new entrant was necessary. Though his practice in the profession of Law was a short-lived one, it taught him great lessons. It taught himself – imposed discipline and dedication to the task assigned persuasive faculty, endurance during adversity, unfailing courtesy to the opponents and above all the zeal to achieve the object. He imbibed all these qualities in abundance, made them a part of his life and infact, succeeded in putting them into practice. In the later days in the practical fields as a Legislator, Minister, Chief Minister, as a Cabinet Minister of the Central Government and resident of the Indian National Congress.

As a Student he was cordial, pleasant, soft spoken and unassuming. His friends in those days included P. Siva Reddy, who become the well known Ophthalmologist, Ayyapu Reddy who became an M.P and Minister later K.Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy, who became the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, Chandra Pulla Reddy, a well known Communist leader, Santhappa a Scientist, Ratnakaram Sankara Raju who became Professor in Telugu, Bangalore University and Rachakonda Viswanatha Sastri, a famous short story writer and novelist. Those who came in to contact with him remained his companions for ever.

As a student he kept himself away from politics, he never showed any interest in the National Movement of appeared that his aim was to score good marks and get a good job.

Sanjeevayya got married to Krishna Veni, a teacher in Secunderabad on May 7th 1954. His wife stood by him in all his ups and downs and encouraged him from behind the scenes in all activities and achievements.
Neither as a student nor as an employee Sanjeevayya had entertained political ambitions. For a person coming from the lowest rung of the society an ambition of that nature was bound to be doomed. All that he wanted was to enter into the Government service and earn his livelihood. But certain strange things do happen at times. Sanjeevayya's entry into the Constituent Assembly as a member was one such strange happening which neither himself nor others had visualized.

The Constituent Assembly had been created to prepare a Constitution for the independent India. Once the Constitution was made ready, the new Republic ushered in on January 26, 1950. The Constituent Assembly, then, became the provisional Parliament. Once the Constitution came into force, some of the members of the provisional Parliament, who held memberships in State Assemblies had to resign one of the posts and retain the other. Some of them resigned the membership of the provisional Parliament and retained their State Assembly memberships. Among such members was S. Nagappa, who belonged to the Scheduled Caste. A post vacated by a Scheduled Caste-member had to be filled by another Scheduled Caste candidate.

At that time P.S.Kumarswamy Raja was the Chief Minister of the Composite Madras State. One of the Ministers in his
cabinet was Bezwada Gopala Reddy. Prof N.G. Ranga was the Chairman, Andhra State Congress Committee. Then there were two factions in Congress - the Pradesh Congress Committee (P.C.C.) group and the Ministerial group. A Committee was constituted to select the candidates for the vacant posts in the provisional Parliament with Kumaraswamy Raja, Bezwada Gopala Reddy and others as members. Selection of candidates for the Andhra region was entirely made by Bezwada Gopala Reddy. He selected Sanjeevayya as the candidate and the Chief Minister approved the selection.

Writing on the choice of Sanjeevayya in his book, 'Distinguished Acquaintances' Vol.II, N.G. Ranga observes:

Soon after his graduation I had the privilege of enticing him away from the Employment Exchange.... and getting him chosen, on behalf of the Congress, as a member of Interim Parliament. That brought him into intimate contact with Sanjeeva Reddy, a protege of Jawaharlal Nehru. The president of the Andhra State Congress had thus affixed his seal of approval. K.V. Ranga Reddy, belonging to the PCC group, was searching for young blood particularly from Harijan community and he could not see any experienced elderly gentleman to be included in the Andhra Pradesh Pradesh Congress Committee (APPCC) body. One K.B. Narasappa helped Sanjeevayya and almost forced him to accept the position of APPCC Committee. Sanjeevayya was not at all inclined to join politics. It was only K.B. Narasappa who dragged Sanjeevayya into politics. It is from this position that he became first member of the constituent Assembly in the year 1950.

Thus, Sanjeevayya was favoured by both the groups and he was elected to the provisional Parliament. Along with him P. Basi
Reddy was also elected to the provisional Parliament. P. Basi Reddy observes:

True friendship begins like a midsomm shadow and assumes greater heights as the noon merges into the evening. So was my association with late D. Sanjeevayya....our association began in the month of December 1949 at Madras in connection with the elections to the provisional Parliament which were in the offing. Both of us got elected. We became closer to each other during our stay at Delhi.

When Sanjeevayya was elected to the provisional Parliament he was only 29 years. Later, he also became a member of the Parliament Committee of the Home Department and toured different industrial centers in India and submitted an extensive report to the Parliament. Sanjeevayya's maiden speech in the Parliament was appreciated by Alladi Krishnaswamy, one of the members of the Committee appointed for drafting the Constitution.

For the first time, general elections were held in India on the basis of adult franchise in 1952. With the convening of the new Parliament on May 13, 1952, the provisional Parliament was abolished. During his brief tenure as member of provisional Parliament Sanjeevayya had the opportunity to come into close contact with great Parliamentarians and Statesmen whom he listened to carefully when they made speeches. Such association with great stalwarts like Jawaharalal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Ambedkar, Kunjru, Iliren Mukherji, Munshi, Syamprasad
Mukherji and others widened his mental horizon and removed his prejudices based on caste and creed and narrow regional chauvinism.

Apart from being a member of the provisional Parliament, he also served as Minister in the State Cabinet. Later, he rose to the position of the Chief Minister and also Union Cabinet Minister. Being always a ruling party-member holding important positions, he had held onerous responsibilities.

Sanjeevayya’s Induction into Rajaji’s Cabinet

Even before the end of Sanjeevayya's membership in the provisional Parliament, he entered into the State politics on the invitation of Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy, the then president of the Andhra State Congress Committee. In the first general elections held in 1952, Sanjeevayya contested on a Congress ticket from the double constituency of Yemmiganoor-Pattikonda for a reserved seat, while the general seat was contested by Nayakanti Sankara Reddy. Both won the election and became members of the Legislative Assembly of the Composite Madras State. Even the well-known State Congress heavy-weights like Gopala Reddy, Kala Venkata Rao and Chandramouli lost the election and only 43 candidates from the Andhra region could be elected to the Assembly.
There were several reasons for the debacle of the Congress men. For one thing, there were several groups within the Andhra Congress Circle. Prominent among them were: (1) Kala Venkata Rao - Pattabhi Sistharamaiah group (2) Prakasam group (3) Sanjeeva Reddy group (4) N.G.Ranga group, etc. Each group was working against the interests of the other groups. Secondly, the people of the Andhra region were so angry with the Congress leaders - both regional and national. They blamed them for not getting a separate State for Andhras - a demand which they had been making even from the pre-independence days. Thirdly, the Communists who were aspiring for capturing the power in the region exploited the people's antagonism towards the Congress Party to their own advantage.

Despite this setback the Congress Party formed its government under the stewardship of Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, popularly known as Rajaji. Then came the question of giving a berth to a Harijan (Dalit) in the Ministry. Sanjeevayya was an intelligent, educated, Harijan young man, who had already served as a member of the provisional Parliament and so naturally the choice fell on him. He was made the Minister for Cooperation and Rehabilitation. The Congress Party did not have a clear majority in the Assembly. So when the journalists questioned Rajaji as to the survival of his government, Rajaji replied "I have got two Sanjeevis
(a herb that makes the dead alive) with me. One is Sanjeeva Reddy and the other is Sanjeevayya. It was not a mere witticism; it reflected the confidence reposed by an elder statesman in his younger colleagues.

N.G.Ranga, a prominent Congress leader from Circars, claimed that he was instrumental in making Sanjeevayya a Minister. He observes:

When Rajaji had to make his choice of a minister from among Harijans, I was able to advise him to invite Sanjeevayya to join his ministry and Sanjeeva Reddy also welcomed that idea and thus he came to gain excellent training as a minister under Rajaji, the supremo among Chief Ministers.

But Sanjeevayya’s friends dispute his claim. Dr. M. Santhappa says:

As far as my knowledge goes Rajaji did not know Sanjeevayya at all when he was a member of Parliament. Rajaji came to know about Sanjeevayya only when he was elected as member of the Legislative Assembly of the Composite State of Madras. I am sure even Ranga did not recommend nor help Sanjeevayya for his becoming Minister... On his meeting with him, Rajaji was very much impressed with Sanjeevayya and told him that he would become a big man next day. Sanjeevayya did not understand (what he meant) till he became a minister next day. In short, I must say emphatically that no body recommended Sanjeevayya’s name to Rajaji and Rajaji picked up Sanjeevayya without any body’s help. The stars of Sanjeevayya were his talisman.

Another friend of Sanjeevayya, B.L. Narasimhaiah, also corroborates this fact when he says:

Having been highly impressed about his sincere, honest and efficient service, late Sri Rajaji decided to take him into the Cabinet
in the Composite Madras State. Communal representation also helped. I was told so by none other than Sanjeevayya himself.  

Those were the days when elder statesmen like Rajaji respected the individual freedom and expected their colleagues to be free and frank. Sanjeevayya was also not a man to fawn on the higher-ups and creep into their good books. Rajaji knew that he was above petty considerations and gave him a free hand. It was widely known that Sanjeevayya did not belong to any political faction. He commanded respect on that score.

The trait of Sanjeevayya - of not belonging to any political faction - had stood him in good stead in the initial stages of his political career, but later proved detrimental to his political survival. This inability of forming his own political faction was, on the one hand, in tune with his character and, on the other, imposed on him because of his humble origins.

Sanjeevayya held several ministerial positions during his long political career which commenced with his introduction into Rajaji's Cabinet. It was under Rajaji that Sanjeevayya learnt his first lessons in administration. Rajaji had been always watchful of the performance of his Ministers. He wanted his Ministers to come to the Assembly well-prepared with facts and figures to convince the other legislators, not only the opponents. He wanted his
Ministers to be active and extremely vigilant about the functioning of the Departments. He also warned legislators against interfering in the administration; he wanted to strengthen the administrative machinery and curb bribery and corruption. Rajaji advised Sanjeevayya to take decisions after proper deliberation. In case no such decision could be arrived at, he should not write anything on the file. In case, a decision was taken, he should not change it. It is a well-known fact that Sanjeevayya used to ask his friends to meet him only in his house. He was afraid that his conversation with them in the office might interfere with his official functions. He did not want his officers to wait for him. He used to hold thread-bare discussions with his officials before decisions, which required a lot of time with no other diversions.

Formation of Andhra State and Sanjeevayya's role as Minister in Prakasam's Cabinet

As per the Sri Bagh Agreement, Kurnool was made the capital of the Andhra State and the High Court was located at Guntur. Sanjeevayya played a key role when the decision to make Kurnool the capital of Andhra State was taken. His forceful and eloquent speech in favour of making Kurnool the capital of the State helped to clinch the issue. It was his native district where he spent his school days and he had naturally nursed a love for the town. When he supported the proposal for making Kurnool the
capital with his forceful arguments, somebody commented that Sanjeevayya's had inculcated the art orator which could make an impossible thing a certain possibility.

The Andhra State was formed in 1953. Congress Party had the support of majority members in the State's Legislative Assembly. The Communist Party formed a dominant opposition. Sanjeeva Reddy was the president of the Andhra State congress Committee. Two stalwart leaders of Andhra, Prakasam and Ranga, formed a new party - 'Krishik Lok Party'. The Congress leaders, with a view to thwarting the toppling game of the Communists, invited Prakasam to accept the post of the Chief Minister, which he accepted as an independent candidate. Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy, the leader of Congress Parliamentary Party, was made the Deputy Chief Minister.

The first Andhra State Council of Ministers was sworn in on October 1, 1953. Sanjeevayya was included in the Cabinet as the representative of the downtrodden classes. He held the portfolios of Health, Harijan Welfare, Rehabilitation, Planning and Affairs pertaining to ex-soldiers. As a Minister he worked hard for the downtrodden classes of the society.

Hardly thirteen months had elapsed, when the Prakasam government fell to the no-confidence motion which the opposition
won on a single vote majority on the issue of prohibition. Prakasam, along with his Council of Ministers, submitted his resignation on November 14, 1954. The Assembly was dissolved and President’s rule was imposed.

**Sanjeevayya in Gopala Reddy's Cabinet**

Mid-term elections were held for the State Assembly in 1955. The Congress Party, the Praja Party and Krishik Lok Party formed a United Front with the sole aim of defeating the communists. Sanjeevayya contested for the Yemmiganoor reserved constituency. His skill as an orator brought about the victory of the United Front. Sanjeevayya spoke and revealed how preposterous their claims were. He spoke at the public meetings at Velgode, Atmakur and other places and his meetings were attended by huge crowds. The charm of his speeches was such that even a well-known Communist leader, Chandra Pulla Reddy, lost the electoral battle with a difference of 12,000 votes.

Sanjeevayya was elected to the State Assembly from the Yemmiganoor Constituency. Dezwada Gopala Reddy became the Chief Minister and Sanjeevayya held the portfolios of Transport and Commercial Taxes in this ministry. The Chief Minister Gopala Reddy held Sanjeevayya in high esteem. He appreciated his work
and ability to take decisions. In fact, he concurred with most of the decisions taken by Sanjeevayya as Minister of Transport.

*Levy* of commercial taxes has always been a point of contention between the traders and the government. Traders have been sore about the policy of the multi-point taxation. Sanjeevayya was convinced of the need for single point taxation. He set up a committee to go on into it and accepted most of its recommendations. He was for single point taxation only where it was feasible. In the case of certain commodities like jute, which was an International export commodity, single point taxation would not work. Explaining the provisions of the "The Andhra General Purchase Tax Bill, 1956", he gave an example of rice which at the first sale from the agriculturist had exemption from the General Sales Tax Act. The tax was levied only on subsequent purchase, and hence called purchase tax. Of course, paddy and rice though a single commodity, was taxed at two points, but that was unavoidable. But, whatever may be the details of the bill, one noteworthy point is that Sanjeevayya could visualize long back that multi-point taxation was unjustified.
Sanjeevayya As The Chief Minister

Damodaram Sanjeevayya became the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh owing to a sudden and unforeseen development. At the behest of then Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy, who had been at the helm of affairs in the State of Andhra Pradesh since its formation, had to relinquish the post of the Chief Minister and leave for New Delhi to take over as the President of the All India Congress Committee. Sanjeeva Reddy had to accept the new assignment with utmost reluctance for, in the Nehruvian era, the President of the All India Congress Committee had little say in the matters pertaining to the Party. He was simply a figure-head and an errand-boy of the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. The office of the President of the Congress Party had no charm at all. In fact, it was Nehru who had managed the affairs of the Government as well as the Party, thus, leaving very little scope to the Party President to exercise any real power.

Political pundits opined that this happened because of the efforts of Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy's detractors. Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy, over the years, had gained a stranglehold over the government as well as the party machinery of the State. He did not share power with his senior colleagues both in the Government as well as the Party. Some of the senior leaders who did not like the dictatorial tendency of the Chief Minister were known to have
advised Nehru to make Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy the President of the Indian National Congress with the sole objective of keeping him away from his home-State. This idea suited Nehru well. For he feared Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy's growing popularity and clout in the party. Nehru probably thought that Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy's capacity to pose a threat to his authority can be marginalised by keeping him in New Delhi.

Whatever might be the reasons, Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy was separated from the seat of power and made the figure head of the Congress Party.

With Sanjeeva Reddy's exit from the State, the race for the Chief Minister's post came to the fore. Most prominent among those who were involved in it were Alluri Satyanarayana Raju, Kasu Brahmananda Reddy and K.V.Ranga Reddy - all Ministers in the outgoing cabinet.

The outgoing Chief Minister, Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy, had his own designs. He desired that his protege, Mr. Brahmananda Reddy, should succeed him. But a majority in the party appeared to be siding with Alluri Satyanarayana Raju whom Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy detested for his own reasons. For one thing, Alluri Satyanarayana Raju was a powerful leader from East Godavari with considerable clout in the Party. Sanjeeva Reddy feared that
his hold over the State would be lost in case Raju became the Chief Minister. Hence Sanjeeva Reddy made all efforts to see that he was kept out of the race. Satyanaryana Raju was equally determined to thwart the designs of the outgoing Chief Minister. He wished to see the end of the Reddy Raj in Andhra Pradesh and usher in a government ruled by non-Reddys. The moves and the counter moves of the various contenders created a lot of confusion and rivalry within the Party. Under the circumstances the Congress High Command had to intervene and pick up a leader acceptable to all groups within the Party. Damodaram Sanjeevayya fitted the bill admirably well.

Thus, Damodaram Sanjeevayya's choice for the Chief Ministership of the State was based on political expediency and convenience.

The factors that worked in favour of Sanjeevayya were many. For one thing he was a Harijan without any support base. He had no group of his own in the Party. Besides, he was a non-controversial figure with a clean political record. Moreover, he was soft-spoken and a man of culture. The bigwigs in the State-wing of the Party felt that Sanjeevayya could be easily controlled and manipulated. They did not want a person who would exercise the authority vested in him independently.
The disadvantages of Sanjeevayya in a way helped him in occupying the top post in the State. On January 10, 1960, Damodaram Sanjeevayya was elected unanimously as the leader of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Legislature Party. He was thirty-nine-years-old at that time and the youngest ever to occupy the Chief Ministership of Andhra Pradesh.

**Ministry Making**

Once Sanjeeva Reddy left for Delhi as the President of the All India Congress Committee, (AICC), Sanjeevayya had no difficulty in forming his ministry. Sanjeeva Reddy had not created the post of a Deputy Chief Minister, as embedded in the 'Gentlemen’s Agreement'; and described the post as the sixth finger of the hand. But Sanjeevayya offered the position to the senior Telengana leader, K.V. Ranga Reddy, who was also one of the aspirants for the Chief Ministership. Nukala Norotham Reddy, another leader from the same region, was offered the presidency of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee.

Due representation was given to Telengana in the ministry by offering ministerial berths to M. Narasinga Rao, Y.B. Raju and N. Ramachandra Reddy. Two other contestants for the Chief Ministership, Alluri Satyanarayana Raju and K. Brahmananda Reddy, were also honoured with ministerial berths. Alluri’s choice,
Pattabhi Rama Rao, was also included in the ministry. A.C. Subba Reddy, a good friend of Sanjeevayya, was taken into the ministry, too. Due representation was also given to minorities by offering a ministership to Masuma Begam. Though P.V.G. Raju was brought to the fore by N. Sanjeeva Reddy to contain the influence of Alluri Satyanaranya Raju, he was given a ministership. Pallam Raju, who was described as a political thinker, was honoured with a ministerial post. A former provincial Congress President, Pidatala Ranga Reddy, was also included in the cabinet. The Circars Congress leader, Kalluri Chandramouli, who was pining in political wilderness, was also made a minister. Since all prominent leaders were included in the cabinet, it was believed that things would go smoothly under the stewardship of Sanjeevayya and that the political discontent caused by Sanjeeva Reddy would vanish.

But Damodaram Sanjeevayya failed to satisfy all factions within the Congress Party. Those who could not be accommodated in the ministry became angry and disgruntled. Some ministers were unhappy because they could not get important portfolios. There was discontent among Harijan legislators, too. They accused him of showing an unsympathetic and unhelpful attitude towards the legislators of his own community. Their grouse was that the ratio of the ministerships offered was disproportionate to the ratio of the population of different castes.
But the criticism levelled against the new Chief Minister by various leaders belonging to different communities was not only irrelevant but also unfair. In those days the system of providing proportional representation in the ministry to different castes and communities was not in vogue. Ministerships were offered taking into account factors like character, personal integrity and administrative ability.

**Measures initiated by Sanjeevayya Government for industrial and agricultural development**

Development will not be possible in the absence of an efficient and thoroughly streamlined administrative machinery. Alive to the need of co-ordinated and efficient administrative machinery, Sanjeevayya initiated several steps. File-clearing was one such step. A large number of files were lying in the offices of the ministers owing to lack of time or interest on the part of the ministers. Sanjeevayya told his colleagues that all pending files should be cleared, as quickly as possible. The Chief Minister had also found that proper co-ordination was lacking among various government departments. With a view to bringing about proper co-ordination among the ministries, Sanjeevayya allotted specific responsibilities to the various ministers. Time-schedules were fixed up for clearing long-pending files.
Having brought a semblance of order in the administrative machinery, Sanjeevayya turned his attention towards bringing about radical changes in the industrial and agricultural sectors. He realized that the standard of living of the people of the State depended on the level of development in the industrial sphere. He was also aware of the fact that the State remained very backward particularly in the industrial sector.

The Chief Minister attributed the State's industrial backwardness to three factors:

i. Absence of necessary industrial atmosphere

ii. Absence of incentives to industrialists establishing industries in the State and

iii. Absence of a machinery which would be continuously in touch with the private sector and which could offer both technical advice and collaboration as and when necessary.

Sanjeevayya initiated several measures for the industrial development of the State. The electricity charges were revised so as to make it cheaper. His government had also agreed, in principle, to amend the rates of sales tax in the case of industry. Further it was decided to acquire and supply electricity at cheaper rates to those who are desirous of establishing industries in the State.
Simply providing some facilities to the industries could not be sufficient. Industrialists had to be encouraged and provided with impetus to establish industries. Towards the fulfilment of this objective, Sanjeevayya's government established three corporations with a view to suggesting financially viable industries to the industrialists. In case of necessity, the corporations would also lend financial help. The three corporations were:

i. The Andhra Pradesh Industrial Development Corporation started with an initial capital of Rs. 1 crore and an authorized capital of Rs. 3 crores;

ii. The Small Scale Industrial Corporation with an authorized capital of Rs. 50 lakhs; and

iii. The Andhra Pradesh Mining Corporation with an authorized capital of Rs. 50 lakhs.

The above measures initiated by the Sanjeevayya government helped to some extent the industrial growth in the State. A drug factory was set up at Balanagar, Hyderabad, for manufacturing sulfa drugs. This was one of the five factories established in the country with Soviet aid. Another factory, for manufacturing alarm clocks, was set up at Sanatnagar, Hyderabad. This undertaking, which was the first of its kind in this country, was a joint venture of Jaz of Paris and Favre Leuba of Switzerland.
Besides, a third factory has come up at Sanatnagar (Hyderabad) for manufacturing sewing machines and electric fans. This factory, which produced Usha Sewing machines and fans, was started by Jaya Engineering works.

Apart from these factories, the Sanjeevayya government obtained permission for starting a paper-mill at Bodhan in Nizamabad District, utilizing the bio-gas from the State-owned Nizam Sugar factory there. Permission to start a pig iron plant was also obtained.

It was during Sanjeevayya’s tenure some experts from the World Bank visited the State for assessing the feasibility of setting up a gigantic power-station near the Singareni Colleries. Serious efforts were made for securing financial assistance to the tune of Rs.700 lakhs from the International Bank for the establishment of this thermal station. His government also succeeded in persuading the Government of India to start a Central Industrial Extension Training Institute for which the Ford Foundation had given generous assistance. This institute was said to be the first of its kind in South East Asia.

Considering the very short tenure of Sanjeevayya as Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, the achievements in the Industrial sector were not small, though not spectacular. Some of the large
scale industries like Heavy Electricals, Synthetic Drugs would not have been established in Andhra Pradesh except for the sustained efforts of Sanjeevayya. Of course, all the proposals made by his government did not materialize during his tenure, and some were also dropped but it is a creditworthy point that Sanjeevayya proceeded with great zeal to see that the State industrially progressed and his attempts were amply reward.

Sanjeevayya bestowed the same degree of zeal and enthusiasm even in respect of the growth in agricultural sector, the main occupation of the people of the State being agriculture. Andhra Pradesh has always been in surplus in the production of foodgrains. But the irony is that drought conditions prevail in certain pockets of the State. There have been instances of starvation deaths. Not that water is scarce in the State. Rivers like Godavari, Krishna and Thungabhadra bring sufficient water into the State. But the water could not be diverted for the purposes of irrigation. A major portion of the water of the rivers goes waste mainly for lack of irrigation projects.

During his tenure, Sanjeeva Reddy could not fully concentrate on the issue of the construction of dams and projects for various reasons. For one thing, he was preoccupied with the affairs of the State as well as the nation. He had to reckon with the
groupism and dissidence within the Party. Moreover, there was a financial crunch, too. As a result, schemes for providing irrigation facilities could not be taken up by his government. Sanjeevayya was determined to do something in respect of the agricultural sector. His government laid stress on building projects. He arranged for building dams and digging irrigation-canals to improve irrigation-facilities. But he had to face a series of problems in this regard. There were disputes between the reparian States. Further, the Central Government was indifferent towards starting major projects owing to lack of finances. As a result, major projects, like Pochampad in Telengana and Srisallam Hydro-Electric Project in Rayalaseema, could not be completed during his regime. However, credit must be given to his Government for mooting the idea and pressurizing the Central Government in making it see the genuineness of the demands of the State.

Sanjeevayya had also done immense service to the farmers of the State by not succumbing to the unreasonable demands of the governments of the neighbouring States like Madras on the water of the Krishna, the Godavari and the Penna. Not that he was indifferent to the genuine needs of the neighbouring States. What he contended was that their claims could be considered only after the needs of the State had been looked after. His government was also opposed to the appointment of a water-commission to look
into the utilization of the Krishna and the Godavari waters among the reparian States. He boldly announced that his government would go ahead with its plan of constructing Pochampad and Srisailam projects without waiting for the report of the commission. With a view to impressing on the Central Government the need to start major irrigation projects in the State, Chief Minister Sanjeevavyya, along with a few of his ministerial colleagues, went to New Delhi and met the Prime Minister and several other Central Ministers. He succeeded in convincing them of the importance and necessity of the projects for the State. With a view to bringing pressure on the Central government, he held an all-party convention at Vijayawada on the 28th May, 1961, where the ways and means of safeguarding the interests of Andhra Pradesh were discussed. He also called upon the people to observe the 25th June as “Godavari Krishna Water Day”

Several projects, which were started earlier, remained incomplete. Sanjeevavyya took sincere steps for the speedy completion of such projects. His government took a decision to supply five hundred tones of cement daily for the construction of the dam at Nagarjunasagar. Funds were allotted for the Thungabhadra dam. A foundation stone was laid for Vamsadhara and Nagavali projects at Srikakulam. A project at Sangam was
started, too. These projects proved to be very beneficial to the farmers of the State.

Going by the record of Sanjeevayya's government it is no exaggeration to say that much was done for the industrial and agricultural development of the State. It is praiseworthy that Sanjeevayya concentrated more on developmental activities than on image-building exercises.

Sanjeevayya as a Shrewd Administrator

Sanjeevayya, though a consensus candidate, was a man of considerable administrative ability and political acumen. He was fully conscious of the fact that the politicians, belonging to the dominant communities, would not allow him to function as Chief Minister for long. Hence, he laid more emphasis on doing something constructive rather than on indulging in petty politicking. By giving a good account himself, Sanjeevayya perhaps wanted to prove that a Harijan (Dalit) is as good as any other man from the socially dominant communities.

A close look at some of the decisions taken by his government would amply demonstrate this fact. Having realized the serious consequences of confrontation between labour and employers, Sanjeevayya set up a Joint Staff Council (JSC) in 1961 on the pattern of "Whittley Council" of the United Kingdom. This
mechanism was created with a view to achieving co-ordination between government and employees. Subsequently the Central Government adopted the JSC system at the national level.

Sanjeevayya was the first person to appreciate the need for the non-Telugu employees to learn Telugu. It is not to say that Sanjeevayya was a language-fanatic. In fact, he was a very tolerant and cultured man.

The smooth running of the administration demanded that all the employees of the State should have some command over the language spoken in the State. The British Officers were able to make a mark because every one of them mastered the language of the provenience where they were employed. Alive to this necessity the Sanjeevayya Government decided to hold special Telugu classes for non-Telugu employees.

Further, he also made Telugu the Official Language of the State. Correspondence in Urdu was also permitted in view of the presence of a large number of Muslims in the State. Urdu was recognized as a regional language for the purposes of recruitment.

Free and compulsory primary education was another measure introduced by his government. In order to implement prohibition effectively his government set up a new excise and
prohibition department on the 1st February, 1961. Till then, the implementation of prohibition was under the jurisdiction of the police department. Cases of corruption and bribery were looked into by the CID 'X' branch which functioned under the control of the Inspector General of Police. This system continued until January 2, 1961. Sanjeevayya separated the 'Anti-Corruption Bureau' under the control of a Deputy Inspector General of Police to function from January 2, 1961. The Bureau could enquire into the cases sent by the government or departmental heads. Besides, it could launch cases on its own based on its own sources of information. There were two separate Municipal Corporations for Hyderabad and Secunderabad, which the government of Sanjeevayya merged into a single corporation. The Greater Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad for administrative convenience and for reducing the inconvenience caused to the people.

Sanjeevayya also bestowed his attention on health and education. The present Sarojini Devi Hospital was treating ENT cases as well as eye-ailments. But the Sanjeevayya Government, with a view to having a separate hospital to treat eye-ailments, got the ENT Department delinked from the Sarojini Devi Hospital and made it Sarojini Devi Eye Hospital.
Growing Opposition to Sanjeevayya's Authority

Though Sanjeevayya became the Chief Minister as a compromise-candidate, the Reddys were not reconciled to Sanjeevayya's stewardship of the State. Even K.V. Ranga Reddy, who owed his Deputy Chief Ministership to Sanjeevayya, did not like Sanjeevayya. The prominent Reddy leaders of Kurnool like Pidala Ranga Reddy, K.Vijayabhaskar Reddy and Ayyapu Reddy left him after Sanjeevayya became the Chief Minister. The man who watered the discontent was none other than the Congress President, Sanjeeva Reddy. He never wanted Sanjeevayya to become the Chief Minister, but had to accept him as there was no other go. He could not even hide his displeasure but heckled Sanjeevayya commenting that it was no great thing to mount a horse but one should have the capability to hold the reins. Sanjeevayya's closeness with Alluri Satyanarayana Raju was a major reason which caused much resentment to his colleagues as well as opponents. The seemingly soft approach adopted by Sanjeevayya towards Alluri Satyanarayana Raju led to the criticism that Sanjeevayya was the Chief Minister only in name and the defacto Chief Minister was Alluri Satyanarayana Raju. It appears that Alluri had also taken undue advantage of the trust that the Chief Minister had reposed in him. He used to rush into the chambers of the Chief Minister and intrude in the discussions that
the Chief Minister had with others. A.C.Subba Reddy, who was a close friend of Sanjeevayya, felt that Alluri was trying to secure political dominance with the blessings of the Chief Minister. Thus, started the internecine war; the prejudices which sprang up between Alluri and Subba Reddy led to an unwholesome atmosphere and estrangement between the Chief Minister and Subba Reddy. The election of the members of the Prades Election Committee further vitiated the political atmosphere in the State. Sanjeevayya wanted to have his own nominees in the Congress Election Committee, but the Industries Minister, A.C.Suba Reddy, expressed his desire to become a member of the committee and contested in the elections. The Chief Minister took exception to the behaviour of A.C.Subba Reddy in contesting for the membership of the Prades Election Committee without his approval. But A.C.Subba Reddy gave vent to his spleen and spoke in a derogatory manner in a Party forum. He did not stop with it. He made derogatory remarks on the caste of the Chief Minister in files too and resorted to a vilifying campaign. Sanjeevayya took it as an attempt to challenge his position as the Chief Minister and took away the portfolios of A.C.Subba Reddy. The resentment and misapprehension of the colleagues were further fanned by disgruntled politicians and others like Sanjeeva Reddy. Though he had left the State, Sanjeeva Reddy did not lose hopes of regaining
his lost power. Therefore, he was carefully planning his return to the State by siding with factions which are opposed to the Chief Minister. His support to A.C. Subba Reddy, a *bête noire* of Sanjeevayya, was in tune with this strategy.

Sanjeevayya was forced to align himself with Alluri Satyanarayana Raju’s group which was known as the ministerial group. Their opponents A.C. Subba Reddy, K. Brahmananda Reddy and V.B. Raju, who owed allegiance to Sanjeeva Reddy, were called the Unity Front group. Now Sanjeeva Reddy, Congress President, had his grip firm over Andhra Politics. He tried his best to see that his protege, Subba Reddy, was retained as a minister. He entertained the appeal of A.C. Subba Reddy, against the Chief Minister’s demand for the latter’s resignation. In this connection the Governor of Andhra Pradesh, Bhimsen Sachar, sending his fortnightly report to the President of India observes:

It is generally held that Subba Reddy should have put his resignation the moment it was demanded of him by the Chief Minister, more so, when he had himself earlier suggested his going out of the cabinet. Constitutional propriety demanded this of him. It is not for him to plead that the Chief Minister was not competent to demand his resignation because he had not obtained the Congress High Command’s prior approval in the matter. This is a very extra-ordinary stand, to say the least.

Interestingly, A.C. Subba Reddy sent his resignation on the 20th May to the Congress Parliamentary Board authorizing it to forward the resignation letter to the Governor if it chose to do so.
Such an atmosphere was created because of the machinations of Sanjeeva Reddy, who wanted to stall the acceptance of the resignation as long as possible. But he could not stall it at the Congress Parliamentary Board, which took its final decision on the 30th May and decided to leave the Chief Minister free to deal with the resignation as he liked. On the 31st May Sanjeevayya forwarded it to the Governor, who promptly accepted it by the afternoon of that day.

But Sanjeeva Reddy had not reconciled himself to the situation. On a mere technical pretext that the elections for the Pradesh Election Committee had not been held as per norms, he nullified the elections and sent orders to hold those elections afresh. Bhimsen Sachar further observes:

The political situation in the State has become more involved. All attempts to bring about a unanimous election of the members to the Pradesh Election Committee ended in failure..... There was intensive campaigning in connection with this election by both groups.... A count of the first election votes revealed that no contestant of either group could secure two-thirds majority of the votes polled. The candidates of the 'Ministerial' group secured 133, 132, 131, 127, 125, 124, 115 and 113 votes respectively, while the Unity Front candidates secured a decidedly larger number of votes, viz., 177, 176, 174, 170, 167, 163, 162 and 162 respectively. Immediately after this result was known, a compromise was proposed on the basis of five seats for 'Unity Front and three for the 'Ministerial' group, the ninth candidate being nominated by Sadiq Ali (The General Secretary of the Congress). But the proposal did not go through before the repoll, five members of the Ministerial group and three of the Unity Front withdrew from the contest. All the four remaining candidates of the former and five out of six of the latter were declared elected.
Meanwhile, the capital politics took a new turn. With the merger of Hyderabad and Secunderabad cities, elections had to be held for the Municipal Corporation. A Civic Board was formed for this purpose; PVG Raju became its Chairman. In the selection of candidates for the Municipal Corporation, the Pradesh Congress President, Nukala Narotham Reddy, and the Telengana leaders, V.B.Raju and J.V. Narsinga Rao, could not reach an agreement. When Narotham Reddy changed some of the names suggested by the Civic Board Chairman, PVG Raju, the factionalism touched its peak.\(^6\) It brought the end of Narotham Reddy’s presidentship and in his place Pallam Raju was elected the Pradesh Congress Committee President.

Everything in the State was going on with the blessings of the AICC President, Sanjeeva Reddy. The Chief Minister felt sore about the manner in which the Congress President had been acting. Bhimsen Sachar had been a helpless witness to these internecine quarrels. He writes:

There are other happenings in the State which weigh heavily on my mind. The most important of these things has been the deplorable wranglings and quarrels now going on among most of my Ministers. Their extremely unedifying behaviour has been causing genuine concern not only to me but to all those who are interested in orderly government which is *sine quo non* of all progress and without which a country is bound to go to pieces. A situation has been reached when those concerned can ill afford to leave things to take their normal course. All sorts of propaganda is being resorted to, and the vilest type of allegations are put out by the opposing groups. Even the private lives of individuals are not spared. Any stick is considered good enough to beat the opponents
with, however dirty it may be. Even the semblance of decency has been thrown to the winds and it appears to me that the two groups are bent upon doing things which hardly fell short of political suicide. The eye of reason is completely and deliberately closed and the only concern at the moment appears to be to establish the relative strength of the two groups as to who is able to command whom. My agony over this matter is due to the inevitably harmful effect that this unseemly intra-party struggle for power is having on the morale of the people here vis-a-vis the State’s administration. It is already being openly alleged that the administration has been allowed to become the handmaiden of group politics.\textsuperscript{17}

The Governor, Bhimsen Sachar, had always been alive to the situation. He understood the role that Sanjeeva Reddy was playing. He writes:

I had some apprehensions about the future of the State even at the beginning of 1960 when Sanjeeva Reddy was called away to fill the distinguished office of Congress President, but little did I think then that all that has happened since, could happen.\textsuperscript{18}

**Mutual mud-slinging**

With the unanimous election of Pallam Raju as the President of Pradesh Congress, it was hoped that things would take a turn for the better, but the hopes were belied. Charges and counter-charges and challenges and counter-challenges have become the order of the day. One cannot open the day’s newspaper without coming across some statement or the other by a member of this or that group. A.C. Subba Reddy, a former minister, in an interview to the press on the 26th December,\textsuperscript{19} has stated that the unanimous election of Pallam Raju as Pradesh Congress Chief closed down
only the differences in the Congress organizational affairs, but not in the Congress Legislature Party or in the State administration. He said that there were several orders passed on 'group lines' all of which they had agreed to revise after a joint examination of them by the Chief Minister, Alluri Satyanarayana Raju and Kasu Brahmananda Reddy. "Unfortunatley", A.C. Subba Reddy lamented, "not only have these orders not been revised but more such orders on 'group lines' continue to be issued." In another statement A.C. Subba Reddy challenged Alluri Satyanarayana Raju to declare his assets as they stood in 1952 and now. This challenge was promptly accepted and Raju insisted that Subba Reddy should also do so. One of the allegations of A.C. Subba Reddy had been that Sanjeevayya did not have the support of the majority. The piqued Chief Minister said that he would quit office the moment it was known that he did not command majority-support in the Congress Legislature Party.

148 out of 293 members of the State Legislature Congress Party gave a signed requisition to the Chief Minister asking him to convene a meeting of the Party to discuss the latter's alleged action in nominating the Party executive on group considerations. On the 28th January, A.C. Subba Reddy issued a statement that he was forced to take this step because the Chief Minister had failed to take note of the general feelings of the majority of the Congress
legislators. He also said that he would be publishing, on the following day, a list of the administrative lapses by the members of the ministerial group.

The Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, came to Hyderabad on February 4, 1961. He met the members of the Congress Legislature Party and talked to them at length. He expressed his unhappiness and anguish about the controversies and dissensions among the Party legislators and advised them against going to the press on personal differences. He suggested that the executive of the Party should be reconstituted in about a month's time. He finally advised the Chief Minister, Alluri Satyanarayana Raju and Kasu Brahmananda Reddy that they should form themselves into a sub-committee of the cabinet and should meet fairly frequently to consider the complaints that might arise and try to decide them by mutual agreement.

"Who is that named it so? What is this front?" Nehru angrily questioned the legislators. He deplored that it was not a Unity Front but a disunity front. The press commented: "Denying existence of the Unity Front which of late has caused so much heart-burning and worked havoc was nothing but to hoodwink others". The Prime Minister had not the courage to accept its presence. The presence of the Unity Front had been acknowledged
by the Senior Congress leader Gottipati Brahmanah himself. In his autobiography, he states: "It was V.B.Raju who named it as Unity Front. He did not like it to be called a dissident group or discontent group".  

The faction leaders gave word to the Prime Minister that they would stick to his advice. But it was not kept. The sponsors of the signature campaign claimed that the Prime Minister, by advising that the Legislature Party should be convened early and a new Executive elected, had justified their course of action. On the other hand, the 'Ministerialist' circles felt that the Prime Minister had condemned the Unity Front and expressed his resentment against the signature campaign.

Forty members of the Party gave a notice urging for a special meeting to consider the charges of administrative lapses on the part of some Ministers and particularly the behaviour of the Minister of Education and Transport, Pattabhi Rama Rao, in the light of the strictures of the court. The Chief Minister told Dr. M. Chenna Reddy and G. Jagannatha Raju that the cabinet sub-committee would be looking into the charges levelled. The Chief Minister also revealed that he had received a list of charges against the Finance Minister and the Minister for Excise which would be considered by the cabinet sub-committee.
Sanjeevayya's efforts to contain dissidence

Thus continued the skirmishes between the ministerialists and the Unity Front. The helpless Chief Minister wanted to resolve them by restoring to the expedient of enlarging the ministry. For a long time he had been nursing the idea of filling up the posts vacated by A.C. Subba Reddy and Pallam Raju and thus lessening the administrative burden from his shoulders. But the Congress High Command always negative it. It, at last, indicated that the Chief Minister should confer ministerial posts on those accepted by the dissident group. It was challenging the prerogative of the Chief Minister in selecting his cabinet colleagues. It was against all democratic norms. The Finance Minister, K. Brahmananda Reddy had the audacity to say, "First fix the time for swearing in. Names will be supplied then". A.C. Subba Reddy, who was hitherto not in favour of accepting any ministerial post, now demanded it with all vehemence. The Chief Minister could do nothing.

The press commented thus on this situation:

What has been happening in Andhra Pradesh for nearly a year now is common knowledge. The main preoccupation of the Chief Minister has been to resist the forces that were undermining his ministry from without and within. The dissidents accused the ministry of many sins of commission and omission and there was even a demand that the personal assets of ministers should be disclosed. Even the Prime Minister's intervention failed to abate the vigour of the signature campaign against the ministry. Did all this repose on no more substantial basis than the desire of the dissidents to have their cut of the cabinet cake? The Ministry is now to be expanded by the addition of three dissidents and one ministerialist, and the Congress Legislature Party executive is to be
composed of equal numbers from either camp. Sadiq Ali rates the people's intelligence very low if he supposes that the arrangements which he has so enthusiastically hailed will be interpreted as anything other than simple horse-trading. It may have relieved the Congress of one if its head aches, but these arrangements are a palliative rather than a curative and will precipitate the very danger that the Congress is anxious to avert.\textsuperscript{22}

The Telengana leadership had also wanted its share in the power-cake. The Chairman of the Telengana Regional Committee, K. Atchuta Reddy, issued a statement on December 23, 1960 that the Telengana was being neglected by the Government. He also stated that no new projects had been started in Telengana during the last four years, although the Telengana securities valued at about Rs.25 crores could have been utilized by the Government for rural electrification, communication, the Pochampad project and the enlargement of operations of the Osmania University. This statement by the Chairman of the Regional Committee had been followed by another from the Deputy Chief Minister, K.V.Ranga Reddy, who said that the sum of Rs.22 crores, which ought to have been spent on Telengana from the State funds, had not been utilized for the region during the last four years, and that there was, therefore, some truth in the allegation levelled by Atchuta Reddy.

But Sanjeevayya's administration was an open book. He had nothing to hide. He did not wait until the opposition parties brought pressure on the government to bring out a white paper
which nailed the lie that the Government had been doing injustice to the Telengana region and revealed that in regard to the plan-expenditure the performance in the Telengana area had been better than that of not only the Andhra Region, but also other any State in India, excepting Madras. The paper also said that the Telengana securities had remained intact and had been allocated for Kothagudem Fertilizer Project and the Pochampad Project. It also spoke of strict implementation of the agreed ratio of appointments to government services.

**Intense Factionalism is the Congress Party and its impact on the fortunes of Sanjeevayya**

Sanjeevayya was once a sincere follower of Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy. It was this intimacy that made him side with Sanjeeva Reddy when, in the wake of the formation of Andhra Pradesh, there was a tussle for the post of Chief Ministership between Bezwada Gopala Reddy and Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy.

Sanjeeva Reddy was elected to become Chief Minister with a 3-votes majority. Bezwada Gopala Reddy, was a refined politician and a poet of great renown. He had no faction of his own. So he slowly disappeared from the political scene, though he served as a minister for a brief time in Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy’s Cabinet.
Sanjeeva Reddy’s rule in the newly formed Andhra Pradesh was marked by intense factionalism in the Pradesh Congress Party. The factionalism was the result of the clash of egos of two important personalities—one Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy and the other Alluri Satyanarayana Raju. V.V.Narasimha Rao thus comments on them:

Sanjeeva Reddy and Alluri have different natures. Sanjeeva Reddy does not allow the opposing groups to rise by adopting divide-and-rule policy. But Alluri allows them to come close and offers posts in order to make them serve his own ends. Such forces have now come closer.63

Now the duo began riding rough shod over the opposing forces. They refused to recognize the place of the Praja Party in the united Congress, persecuted the Lok Party with the divide-and-rule policy. Though Guru Kala Venkat Rao was included in the Ministry, they began propping up Pattabhi Rama Rao in the East Godavari District in order to curb his power. They discarded Kalluri Chandra Mouli, yet brought up Anagani Bhagavantha Rao from the Guntur District which was the centre of activity for Lok Party leaders, in place of Goutu Latchanna. In Rayalaseema, they propped up Thimma Reddy to counter the influence of Obula Reddy and others. Bezwada Gopala Reddy was made bereft of followership, but was occupying the ministerial gaddi as a representative of the Nellore district.
The duo played the same political havoc with the Telengana leadership. There were two groups - the Telenganites and Visalandhrites. The leader of the Telenganites, Konda Venkata Reddy, though popular, was not a man who could create history. Of the Visalandhrites, a prominent leader was Valluri Basava Raju, who was no more than a 'Capital Politician'. The duo used the Visalandhrites to divide the Teleganites. The Deputy Chief Ministership was to be given to a Telengana leader as per the Gentlemen's Agreement. But they took advantage of the factions among the Telengana leaders and made them relinquish their claim for the post which, according to Sanjeeva Reddy, was nothing but a sixth finger and hence useless. The 'Gentlemen's Agreement' specified sharing of the Ministry in 3:2 ratio. But only 5 posts were offered to Telengana leaders, and the sixth which was their due was denied, but Sanjeeva Reddy pacified them by offering a post in the Pradesh Congress Committee to Nukala Ramachandra Reddy.

**Animosity between friends : Sanjeeva Reddy's Stratagems**

But now events turned a full circle sowing seeds of ill-will between Sanjeeva Reddy and Alluri Satyanarayana Raju. Alluri was appointed one of the Principal Secretaries of All India Congress Committee by the President, Dheber. Gopala Reddy was made a minister at the centre. Sanjeeva Reddy made his Rayalaseema
friend, Pidatala Ranga Reddy, the Pradesh Congress President in place of Alluri and offered a poor Congress Principal Secretary's post to the Telengana leader, Nukala Ramachandra Reddy. Thus Sanjeeva Reddy denied the claims of Circars as well as Telengana. He did not even fill the post vacated by Gopala Reddy.

Meanwhile Sanjeeva Reddy began encouraging the new leadership. Of them Kasu Brahmananda Reddy, Peddireddy Timma Reddy, Pattabhi Rama Rao, J.V.Narasinga Rao and K.V.Ranga Reddy came closer. Elections were held for the District Committees and only those leaders, whom Sanjeeva Reddy wanted, were elected. Thus Sanjeeva Reddy built a strong fort around him to retain his power. Now it so happened that he was offered the All India Congress Committee Presidentship. But before he went to Delhi he did two more things to retain his hold on Andhra Pradesh. One was propping up of PVG Raju of Vizayanagaram against Alluri, who could possibility tilt the scales against him in Andhra. The second was holding elections for Zilla Parishads and getting his proteges elected, thus creating new forces at the district level paving the way for his getting a second term as the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. The Third move, to instal his own protege as the Chief Minister before he went to Delhi, did not become successful.
Sanjeevayya falls short as a politician

The schemes and stratagems of Sanjeeva Reddy have been narrated at length in order to show how he was a politician in the true sense of the term - both theoretical and practical. In contrast, we see how Sanjeevayya failed to fulfil his credentials on both the counts.

Of the first three definitions of a politician, the first one is that he is a person who is active in party politics. Sanjeevayya had not grown in the party and he began taking active interest in politics only after he was ushered into politics wherein he remained till he breathed his last as a leader with no faction of his own, thus, turning him into a non-practical politician. The second definition is that he must be a seeker or holder of public office, especially one for whom politics is a career. Sanjeevayya sought no public office but held it. He had never chosen politics as his career but it was thrust upon him. The third definition refers to a person who is an expert in political government or administration. Sanjeevayya was an able administrator, no doubt, but his inability in political governance struck at the root of his administration and did not allow him time enough to get settled and do things. All his time was lost in unsuccessfully trying to convince people who had no intention of being convinced. Thus, he was no politician in the theoretical sense of the term.
Y.B. Abbasayulu delineates the factors which favoured Sanjeevayya thus:

1. Education, 2. Personal traits and interest, 3. Constitutional provisions

Sanjeevayya being an educated man and an able law-student must have been pulled into politics by senior and eminent politicians like Rajaji. Sanjeevayya's personal interest and personal traits must have brought him to the elite position. Last but not the least, despite Sanjeevayya's personal abilities, the constitutional safeguards provided to Harijans i.e., reservation of seats in the Legislative Assembly and the Rajya Sabha must have helped Sanjeevayya to become the topmost leader of the nation. In short, education, personal traits and constitutional provisions have helped Sanjeevayya to emerge as a leader.24

Was he a practical politician?

The factors which Y.B. Abbasayalu holds to be responsible for the rise in Sanjeevayya's political career fall under a theoretical dimension, but not under a realistic or practical dimension. These factors help a man to emerge as a statesman but not a politician we see day in and day out. The fourth definition which refers to a 'person who seeks advancement or power within an organization by dubious means' would have fitted him well and settled his position
as a politician in the political field, provided he had or developed
the scheming nature which is the forte of a politician, who seeks
personal achievement or personal aggrandizement through overtly
public welfare measures.

Sanjeevayya was neither a schemer nor a power-hungry
politician. His admirable qualities of head and heart, no doubt,
had helped him, to some extent, in his political career but became
a major hurdle in the way of his capturing and sustaining power.
His merits later proved to be his undoing. The non-controversial
image which he had assiduously cultivated and his inclination to
keep himself away from group-politics, no doubt, helped him in
becoming the Chief Minister but the lack of certain qualities that
are very essential for a politician, did irreparable damage to his
ambition of remaining in the office for a longer time.
1. Damodaram Sanjeevayya - More than a man... a mission, Special Memorial Issue, the Damodaram Sanjeevayya Memorial Trust, Secunderabad, 1976 - In it the article entitled "Life and Achievements of the Great Leader, Sanjeevayya" by K.Ramaswamy, p.46.


5. Andhra Patrika, Madras, dt. 11-10-1952.


8. Vide B.L.Narasimhaiah's letter written from Lansing-ML, USA, dt. 3-8-1990 to D.Ramlingam, p.2.

9. Just prior to the formation of Visalandhra i.e., on February 20, 1956, a Gentlemen's Agreement was signed by the leaders of Telangana and Andhra region. This agreement outlined the measures to be adopted to protect the interest of different sections of Telangana.
10. Harijans, Harijan Christians and Scheduled Tribes constitute 27% of the population in Andhra Pradesh and the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes legislators were to the tune of 53, but in the formation of council of ministers they were totally ignored.


13. Andhra Patrika, Madras, August 21, 1960,

14. The Andhra Pradesh Governor, Bhimsen Sachar's Fortnightly secret despatch to the President of India, dt.5-6-1960, F.R. 11, p.1.


18. The Andhra Pradesh Governor, Bhimsen Sachar's Fortnightly secret despatch to the President of India, dt. 5-1-1961, F.R. 1, p.1.


24. Abbasayulu, Y.B., “Damodaram Sanjeevayya - A Political Elite” an article contributed to the special memorial issue on Sanjeevayya - Damodaram Sanjeevayya - More than a man... a mission, Damodaram Sanjeevayya Memorial Trust, Secunderabad, 1976, p.36.