CHAPTER VI

DAMODARAM SANJEEVAYYA IN NATIONAL POLITICS
Luck plays a crucial role in the life of every one of us. Sanjeevayya was lucky to become the President of the All India Congress Committee (AICC), although he was unceremoniously ejected from the Chief Minister’s (CM’s) gaddi. In fact, this setback in his political career proved to be a blessing in disguise. For, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who at that time was a prominent leader in the Congress, recommended his name for the office of the President of the AICC. Thus, he was chosen by the AICC as its president at its meeting held on the 6th June, 1962. Prominent leaders like P. Anandacharyulu, K. Venkatappayya, B. Pattabhi Sitaramaiah, N. Sanjeeva Reddy (all from Andhra region) had once adorned this office. Sanjeevayya was the first Harijan (Dalit) to occupy this office in the 77-year-history of the Indian National Congress. Besides, he was the youngest of all Congress Presidents.¹

Permanent invitees were Jawaharlal Nehru, C. Subramanyam, Guljarilal Nanda, C.B. Gupta and V.K. Krishna Menon.

Special Invitees were Binodanand Jha, S. Nijalingappa, Pratap Singh, Kairon, B.R. Madloi, P.C. Sen, Jivraj Mehta and Balwant Roy Mehta.

Members of the Central Parliamentary Board were Damodaram Sanjeevayya, Indira Gandhi, U.N. Dhebar, Jagjivan Ram, Hatiz Mohammad Ibrahim and Kamaraj Nadar.2

The AICC session held in 1962 passed a resolution on the 1962 General Elections and another on the Panchayat elections. A resolution on complete disarmament was also passed. The AICC, through an official resolution, appealed to the State and Central Governments to remove the column which was meant for specifying the caste. The AICC felt that such specification would pave way for the continuance of caste feelings and promote fissiparous tendencies.

The period of 19 months, for which he occupied the post of the AICC President, was a difficult phase for India. China had launched an aggression on India in October, 1962. The Congress Party had not only the responsibility of strengthening the hands of the Prime Minister, but also the task of awakening the people and
educating them. The Congress Executive body met on the 26th October, 1962 and passed a resolution condemning the Chinese aggression. It also drew a programme and line of activities to fight against the enemy. Sanjeevayya moved from place to place collecting donations and raising funds for the war.

During the period of his presidency, the Congress Working Committee used to meet frequently. It met on August 12, October 26, and November 23, 1962. In 1963, it met on February 20, April 5, June 6, July 5, July 20, August 8, 9, 23, and 24, October 29, November 2 and December 29 and 30.

Delivering the presidential address in the AICC conference held on 6 and 7 April, 1963 in New Delhi, Sanjeevayya demanded the recovery of every inch of our land that was in the Chinese occupation. It was indeed a tall order and Sanjeevayya was quite aware of the pitfalls involved in the course of that effort. But as a true son of India, Sanjeevayya had to give this call to the armed forces.³

He warned against indifference and advocated that the country should be strong, economically and morally. The Chinese war, in fact, brought about a semblance of unity among Indians. This was the only silver lining during the dark days of the Chinese aggression on India. Sanjeevayya exhorted the people to keep up
their unity. He toured the frontier areas during the war with the objective of creating confidence in the people living there. He never cared for the difficulties involved in such a hazardous tour. He also visited many parts of the country and addressed several meetings in which he underlined the importance of peaceful coexistence and the soundness of India's policy of non-alignment.

These tours became necessary in view of the strident criticism levelled by opposition leaders against Prime Minister, Nehru, and Defence Minister, V.K. Krishna Menon. Some of the leaders in the Congress Party, too, raised the banner of revolt against the Prime Minister. They accused him of shielding his Defence Minister. Nehru thus came under the onslaughts of his opponents as well as followers. His pet policy of non-alignment, too, came under severe attack. In this connection it is pertinent to note that several non-aligned countries refused to extend either moral or material support to India. Even Nehru's close friends like Nazar (Egypt) and Tito (Yugoslavia) did precious little in bailing out Nehru from this difficult situation. Nehru's primacy in the Congress Party was seriously threatened. Sanjeevavaya, as the President of the Congress Party, had to shield the Prime Minister and his major policies. In a way Sanjeevavaya became the Chief spokesman for Nehru's policies, in general and his China policy, in particular. Speaking at Narsapur (Andhra Pradesh), he strongly
supported Nehru’s policy of non-alignment. He says, “The policy of non-alignment is good. We could get the support of some 70 countries of the world only because India did not belong to either of the two groups - NATO or WARSAW”. He strongly underlined the need for unity among Indians. He was of the view that disunity would attract foreign invasions.

Speaking at Nizamabad (Andhra Pradesh) Sanjeevayya said that India should acquire arms to meet the Chinese threat. In his considered opinion this would not go against India’s faith in non-violence and non-alignment. Sanjeevayya also exhorted the workers to put in their best efforts, at their work-spots which would help in repelling the aggressors.

As already mentioned, Nehru’s position during the dark days of the Sino-Indian War became precarious and untenable. His leadership was seriously challenged both within and outside the Congress Party. His ill-health further eroded his already diminished authority. With a view to refurbish Prime Minister’s sagging image and easing out his detractors from key positions, a plan was devised by Nehru’s trusted lieutenants. This plan came to be known as Kamaraj Plan, as Kamaraj, a prominent Congress leader from Tamil Nadu and a well-known confidant of Nehru, played a significant role in devising it. It was ratified by the AICC at its meeting held in August, 1963. The Kamaraj Plan was that
prominent leaders should resign from ministerial positions to work for strengthening the party organization. Sanjeevavyya wholeheartedly supported the plan. Seniormost Cabinet Ministers like Morarji Desai, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Jagjivan Ram, S.K.Patil, Bezwada Gopala Reddy and K.L.Mali were made to resign their posts. Several Chief Ministers, too, had to resign. Prominent among them were K.Kamaraj, Biju Patnaik, Binodananda Jha, Bakshi Gulam Mohammad, C.B.Gupta and B.A.Mandoli. All these leaders knew that the Kamaraj plan was meant for shunting them out of office. But they did not dare to openly challenge the Congress High Command.

It is obvious that the Kamaraj Plan was devised with the tacit support of the AICC President, Sanjeevavyya. His unstinted support to the Kamaraj Plan shows Sanjeevavyya's commitment and loyalty to Nehru.⁶

Sanjeevavyya relinquished the AICC presidency in January 1964. He was succeeded by the chief architect of the plan, Kamaraj, himself.

**Sanjeevavyya's Second Tenure as AICC President**

Sanjeevavyya held the mantle in the AICC presidency for the second time from April 13, 1971, till his death on May 7, 1972.
By 1971, there was a total change in the political atmosphere of the country. Jawaharlal Nehru passed away on May 27, 1964 and the responsibility of leading the nation fell on Lal Bahadur Shastri. But unfortunately, Shastri did not live long. He passed away on January 11, 1966, in Tashkent. With the help of the senior leaders of the party, Mrs. Indira Gandhi succeeded Shastri. But soon misunderstandings cropped up between the Prime Minister and the old guard, popularly known as "the syndicate". The senior leaders did not like Mrs. Gandhi's style of functioning. Her decision to nationalize 14 commercial banks, in particular, irked them most. With a view to sizing her up and to put obstacles in her way, the Syndicate nominated Sanjeeva Reddy (a prominent member of the Syndicate) as the Congress candidate for the office of the President of the Republic. Though Mrs. Gandhi sided with the Syndicate's decision, initially, subsequently she changed her mind and propped up V.V. Giri as an independent candidate for the presidency. She advised the Congress representatives in the State assemblies as well as the Parliament to vote according to their conscience.

V.V. Giri was elected President of India in August 1966. With that the Congress was split into two. The Congress organization which was under the stewardship of Nijalingappa was
called Congress (O) and the one presided over by Indira Gandhi was called Congress (I).

Sanjeevayya always sailed with the Nehru family. He did not have his political moorings and the Nehru family had always been his prop in his rise as a political leader. Moreover, Sanjeeva Reddy who had tried to undermine his political life identified himself with the Syndicate. So, in this political turmoil he had to sail with Indira Gandhi. Parliament-members numbering 248 met in Sanjeevayya's residence and declared their full faith in Indira Gandhi's leadership. They warned the Syndicate against any move to suspend Indira Gandhi from the Congress Party for her activities against the candidature of Sanjeeva Reddy. Sanjeevayya presided over the meeting which was convened to express its faith in the leadership of Indira Gandhi and sent a memorandum with the signature of 347 MPs to Nijalingappa warning him against any action on her. Sanjeevayya said that the differences of opinion between the President of the Congress organization and the Prime Minister would hinder the welfare and progress of the nation.

Releasing a statement on October 27, 1969 to the press, he announced that he was prepared to accept the post of the President of the Party, if the leaders desired it. He was thus prepared to sacrifice his job in the Central Cabinet for the sake of the unity in the party. In another statement Sanjeevayya said that
the Syndicate's attempt to make Sanjeeva Reddy the President had led to the split in the Congress and hence Sanjeeva Reddy was solely responsible for the split. Nijlingappa issued a diktat not to attend the AICC session, to be held on 22 and 23 November 1969 in Delhi on requisition. Sanjeevayya considered this act as reflecting his dictatorial attitude. Releasing another statement on November 13, 1969, Sanjeevayya stated that majority of the Congress Parliamentary Board members reposed their confidence in the leadership of Indira Gandhi, who, he said, was an indisputable leader not only to the Congress Organization but also to the whole nation. He also appealed to Nijalingappa to cooperate with Indira Gandhi. He severely criticised Nijalingappa's attempt to remove her from the Congress Working Committee. Thus, he strove hard bolster up Indira Gandhi's leadership in his status as the former President of the Congress Party.7

Consequent on the resignation of Jagjivan Ram as the Congress President, Indira Gandhi proposed Sanjeevayya's name for the post. On April 3, 1971 an AICC session was held in New Delhi. The name of Sanjeevayya was proposed by Jagjivan Ram and was seconded by Kasu Brahmananda Reddy. And he became the President of the Congress Party on April 3, 1971, once again.

Sanjeevayya's friends and relatives advised him not to accept the post. His financial position was bad. As a minister he got
some salary. Whereas no financial assistance was there for the head of the party organization. Yet, as a dutiful soldier of the Party, he decided to work for the organization or the country wherever he was placed.8

During his tenure as the President of the Congress Party, the meeting of all Pradesh Congress presidents and secretaries was held on May 5, 1971 under his chairmanship. It was during his tenure as the head of the Party that programmes and arrangements were chalked out for the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the India's independence in 1972.

Hailing the 1971 Treaty of Peace, Cooperation and Friendship concluded with the erstwhile USSR by Indira Gandhi, Sanjeevayya spoke highly of her in the AICC session held at Simla on 8, 9 and 10 of October, 1971. Mid-term polls for the Lok Sabha were held in March 1972. Indira Gandhi was returned to power with a thumping majority. The Party fared very well everywhere except Tamil Nadu. As President of the Party, Sanjeevayya proposed a policy of providing enough seats to women and candidates hailing from the weaker sections and minorities. The policy was implemented and the Congress and the country were benefited.9
Sanjeevayya’s second tenure as the AICC President was strenuous. Indira Gandhi took up the courageous decision of liberating East Pakistan, which was later named as Bangladesh. In all her activities Sanjeevayya stood by her like a rock and saw that her mind was not distracted because of organizational problems. Sanjeevayya was a man, who stood by his friends, though thick and thin, a man of heart, who always gave his best to those who loved him, and yet a man of principles on which there was no compromise.

An AICC session was held at Simla on 8, 9 and 10 October, 1971, under the presidency of Sanjeevayya, which passed a resolution approving of Indira Gandhi’s Treaty of Peace, Cooperation and Friendship with the Soviet Union, signed in September, 1971. In his Presidential Address, Sanjeevayya described it as a great diplomatic achievement.10

Sanjeevayya attached a lot of importance to discipline among Congress workers. He urged the Congress leaders to have contacts with grassroot level workers. He took steps to establish local congress committees throughout the country. He aimed at establishing separate political forums consisting of workers, youth, students, and peasants. They would, in turn, strengthen the Congress organization. He went to all parts of India spreading the Congress ideals.11
The second stint of the AICC presidency proved onerous to him. Pakistan declared war on India and provided an opportunity to India to help free East Pakistan from the clutches of a dictatorial regime and create an independent, sovereign country, 'Bangladesh'. The Pakistan army unconditionally surrendered to the Indian army at Dhaka. Indira Gandhi earned world-wide acclaim and recognition for her achievement in that regard. She was honoured with the highest civilian award of 'Bharat Ratna'. The General Elections were held in 1972. In all these trials and tribulations, Sanjeevayya stood firmly behind Indira Gandhi and gave her the necessary support, advice and encouragement. The increased responsibilities resulted in the deterioration of his health and he breathed his last on May 7, 1972.
Sanjeevayya As The Member Of The Union Cabinet

After relinquishing the All India Congress Committee Presidency Sanjeevayya did not stay any longer in the government quarters allotted to him. He immediately vacated the house so that it might be given to the new incumbent, K. Kamaraj Nadar. This demonstrated his dignified conduct which is in refreshing contrast to the behaviour of the present-day-politicians, who would cling to the Government quarters for years together despite their being thrown out of power. Sanjeevayya did not amass wealth because he was so ethical and honest. He did not own even a house either at his village or in the capital city of Hyderabad. The prospects of remaining in politics appeared very bleak to him. Yet he did not lose heart.

Before leaving Delhi, he paid a courtesy call to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, President of India. Who told him that Jawaharlal Nehru would be taking him into his cabinet. A few days later, i.e., on January 22, 1964, he was indeed made the Minister for Labour in Nehru’s Council of Ministers. This was his first stint as a Central Minister.

By the time he entered the Central Cabinet, he was hardly 43 years old. He was not even a member of the Parliament. The press hailed the inclusion of Sanjeevayya in the Union Cabinet as a befitting act. Andhra Patrika, Wrote its editorial:
Sanjeevayya is an efficient young man. He has wide experience as a minister and chief minister. He knows the organizational matters very well as he worked as the President of the Congress earlier. So many qualifications are incorporated in a single man and Nehru, and other prominent Congress leaders wanted him to be a Central Minister. With his wide experience, it is certain that he can fare well as a Cabinet Minister.¹²

Andhra Prabha further writes:

It is but natural and proper for Sanjeevayya to be invited into the Central Cabinet because he can secure the confidence of top leaders. There is no reason to attribute his inclusion in the Central Cabinet to his caste. How many are there in India having such diverse experience in so many fields and that too at the very young age of 43? So, even if he does not belong to the Harijan caste, Sanjeevayya doubtless deserves the post because of his administrative experience and public service.⁵

Under Lal Bahadur Shastri’s Regime

Jawaharlal Nehru who had been ill since India’s debacle in the Sino-Indian War passed away on May 27, 1967 and Lal Bahadur Shastri was sworn in as the Prime Minister on June 9, 1964. Sanjeevayya was again given the Cabinet rank and the same portfolio, which he had held under Jawaharlal Nehru. As Labour Minister, Sanjeevayya was hailed as the friend of the working class. He followed Gandhian principles in solving their problems. He was against the establishment of powerlooms, which would aggravate the unemployment problem. He wanted the managements and the working class to keep in mind the welfare of the country. Speaking in Dhanbad, a coal city, he said that the workers should realize that the government policy was formulated in such a way that the
industries in which they worked had been progressing because of their hard work and in turn the country was also being benefited by it. He exhorted workers that the agitational approach would do them no good particularly in the changed social situation. In developed countries, the greater part of the struggle by workers had been taken over by the governments themselves and so it was useless to resort to extreme methods rather than cooperative exchange of ideas and discussions. Sanjeevayya had always kept in mind the welfare of workers and he had reviewed from time to time the work done for their welfare. Even before Sanjeevayya became the Labour Minister, the Government of India had set up a Bonus Commission in 1962. Sanjeevayya took up the responsibility of introducing a bill on the lines of the recommendations made by the Bonus Commission and made it an Act. That was why he was endearingly called 'Bonus Sanjeevayya' by the workers. This Bonus Act had come up as an Ordinance on May 29, 1965 and the same was later passed into an Act.\textsuperscript{19}

Sanjeevayya wondered why the method of forming Joint Management Councils was not extended to all industrial units. It was during the time that Sanjeevayya held the labour portfolio the word family was redefined to include the parents of women workers, if they were dependent on them. Sanjeevayya set up a commission to review the existing labour laws and suggest
improvements under the Chairmanship of P.B. Gajendragadkar, a former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Replying to a discussion held on the demands of his department, Sanjeevayya announced that the Government of India had decided to set up the National Arbitration Promotion Board to avoid confrontation and promote a conciliatory attitude in industrial disputes.

Sanjeevayya attended the International Labour Conference held at Geneva in 1964. As the leader of the Indian delegation, he went to Yugoslavia, West Germany and Britain in June 1964 to study the labour-relations, social welfare measures, pension and Insurance facilities existing in those countries.¹⁵

Sanjeevayya had made a mark as a good parliamentarian. Never did he attend the Parliament without being fully prepared. Being a good speaker in English as well as Hindi, he was in a position to defend his actions relating to his Ministry as well as those of his colleagues.

At that time veteran parliamentarians like Govinda Reddy, Kumaran, Sengupta, Arjun Arora, Abid Ali, Thengadi and Bhupesh Gupta were well-versed in labour-related matters. Sanjeevayya was able to take on such veterans with ease. At times they also caused a good deal of trouble to Sanjeevayya. But he was not deterred even during such moments of embarrassment. Although
he had not studied Economics in any university, he was well-
versed a matters pertaining to the Ministry under his charge. He
was a parliamentarian bred on the old traditions of sincerity,
honesty, integrity and political acumen. Men of his stature, calibre
and capacity are only too few in our own times.

Under Indira Gandhi's Regime

Lal Bahadur Shastri passed away at Tashkent in Russia on
January 11, 1966 and Indira Gandhi became the Prime Minister on
January 24, 1966. Once again Sanjeevayya was given the Cabinet
rank and allotted the portfolio of Industries. Even during the two
interregnum periods that followed the demise of Jawaharlal Nehru
and Lal Bahadur Shastri when Guljarilal Nanda headed the care-
taker government, Sanjeevayya was in the Cabinet.

Sanjeevayya handled the Industry portfolio as efficiently as
he dealt with the portfolio of Labour. His objective had always
been the welfare of the workers. He did his best to establish and
help promote new industries. He also acted as the Chairman of the
National Productivity Council. He laid stress on indigenous
production rather than on the import of foreign goods.

Sanjeevayya held the post of a Cabinet Minister till March
12, 1967. When the General Elections were held in 1967, he
contested from the Kurnool Lok Sabha constituency, but was
defeated. As a result he did not find a place in the next cabinet formed by Indira Gandhi.

As Union Labour Minister

Sanjeevayya was a Cabinet Minister in the ministries of Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri and Indira Gandhi. As the Minister of Labour he was acclaimed as a friend of labourers and workers. The state of labourers and workers had been a subject that constantly exercised the mind of Sanjeevayya.

As the Union Labour Minister, Sanjeevayya did yeoman service to the economically deprived sections of the society. In fact, he was acclaimed as a friend of the working class. The problems of the Agricultural labourers, in particular, attracted his attention, since he himself hailed from a family depending on agriculture. He was fully seized of the problems of agricultural labourers. He was not satisfied with the minimum wages fixed for agricultural labourers under the Minimum Wages Act of 1948. He felt that there was urgent need for their revision. But no follow up action in that regard could be initiated, owing to certain insurmountable problems.

Some people consider the payment of wages to agricultural labourers in kind a relic of the past. But Sanjeevayya did not see anything bad in it provided the articles supplied were what the
workers needed to satisfy their essential requirements. Another problem concerning the agriculture labour that consistently troubled Sanjeevayya was that of under-employment. One of the solutions to it thought out by him was the development of cottage and small-scale industries which would provide employment to them in the off-season period.

Of course, the final solution to this problem lay in the surplus labour being drawn away by the industry, when industrial development in the country would become a dominant force requiring more and more man-power. Apart from the specific labour-related questions, there are the questions pertaining to education, training, social welfare and other matters like housing, rural indebtedness, and development of credit facilities. Our diehard customs, conventions and social institutions have also come in the way of introducing changes.

The country-side is the home of ancient traditions and not all of them are what we can be proud of. A substantial portion of the rural labour belongs to the socially backward classes. It is here that the government has to bestow its attention. They have to be emancipated from their social disabilities by means of economic reforms and innovations that help change their lives.
He was happy about the state of the plantation-labour. In the case of plantation crops, particularly tea and coffee, higher production has a significant bearing on the economy. Tea is an important earner of foreign exchange. The amount of foreign exchange earned by tea is of the order Rs.130 crores a year. Coffee also fetches Rs.8 crores a year. But what about the labour conditions? One of the problems that the plantation-workers faced is of housing. Though the managements of some plantations have done something in this respect, much was to be achieved still. One of the ticklish problems relates to the question of eviction of discharged workers from the plantation areas.

The mining industry occupied a special position in the country's economy. It has its special features. The work is hazardous and the mining community, living in relative isolation from the rest of the population, has its special problems. The contract-labour-system in mines is a thing which Sanjeevayya did not like. The coal-field recruiting organization was another sore point with labour and it managed to survive all agreements for its abolition. The question of safety in mines was also a problem wherein there was need for the promotion of safety-habits through constant education and propaganda. The rate of compensation was enhanced through an amendment of the Workmen's Compensation Act. The question of providing a supplementary cash benefit to
injured miners from the Coal Mines Welfare Fund had also received the attention of the Government. Welfare Fund Schemes were introduced in coal, mica and iron mines and the possibility of introducing common welfare fund for the minor mines was explored.\textsuperscript{16}

Sanjeevayya did evince considerable interest in the employment of women in the industrial sector. The problem concerning women's employment was, according to Sanjeevayya, a part of a general problem. In the industrially advanced countries, where women were employed in large numbers, their economies were mostly characterized by relative shortage of labour. But India was burdened with both unemployment and underemployment. Secondly, the social inhibitions played a vital role in a society that was more traditional and much less urbanized. Education of women would improve their opportunities of employment. They were to be given technical and vocational training. However, Sanjeevayya felt that some fields like medicine, small-scale and cottage industries had been progressively giving preference to female employment. Sanjeevayya wanted equal pay for equal work. In fact, the Directive Principles of the State Policy embodied in the Indian Constitution lays down that there should be equal pay for equal work for both men and women workers. India has also ratified the International Labour Organization convention
concerning equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value.

Sanjeevayya was a great advocate of cordial human relations in industry. The machine should not brutalise man. He says:

For long the principal motivation of work has been to make a living, but the saying goes that man does not live by bread alone. He has desire and capacity to associate himself with his fellow-beings in an infinite variety of ways for the attainment of common or acceptable goals that cannot be achieved only by his own efforts.\(^9\)

He further observes:

Industry has two groups of persons, viz. workers and managerial-cum-supervisory personnel. In talking of human relations in industry, we are primarily concerned with the need for meeting certain requirements. First, the basic material needs of the workers i.e., good working conditions, adequate wages, job-security, retirement benefits, housing for the worker and his dependents etc., should be provided. Secondly, the means of satisfying an intangible but equally strong human desire for self-expression, recognition of individual worth, opportunities for promotion and leadership, and a feeling of belonging should be developed. In a country like India, where industrial labour is largely drawn from rural areas, an additional factor required for good human relations is that the worker’s needs, in place of the community life, social contacts, friendliness, and trust left behind by him in his village, should be carefully assessed with a human touch and industrial life should be made as pleasant as possible.\(^8\)

Sanjeevayya wanted a farm labour-management cooperation known as (SCANLAN PLAN) which was developed in U.S.A. in the late 40’s and early 50’s, the cardinal principles of it being teamwork, mutual trust, free and frank communication, simple incentives, putting all cards on the table and hiding nothing and
ensuring equity to employees as well as managements and the absence of any rigid formula.

According to Sanjeevayya the promotion of welfare measures was another aspect of human relations in industry. It should not however, be thought that lavish spending on these measures alone would bring about harmonious industrial relations.

Sanjeevayya says:

Welfare measures ought not be a substitute for good managements. Above all workers education was important. He should know his rights and duties, his role in the industry. The government of India realized the importance of this aspect and the scheme of workers' education was devised and introduced in 1958. The Central Board of workers' education had already established 28 regional and 42 sub-regional centers wherein over 2 lakh people were imparted training and 3 lakh were imparted training during the Third-Five-Year Plan period.

Sanjeevayya was of the view that worker's participation in management is not only instrumental in improving industrial relations but also efficacious in increasing productivity. All developed countries have recognized its importance. India also felt its need and accordingly, the Second Five Year Plan recommended the setting up of Joint Councils of Management in industrial establishments with representatives of managements, technicians and workers. In order to allay the fears of the managements and trade-unions, it was also suggested that the Joint Councils of Management should not encroach upon the executive authority
vested in the management nor should they discuss matters which fell more appropriately within the purview of collective bargaining. Hence, the Unions had to eschew belligerent and demonstrative acts that hamper the spirit of cooperation. He cites an example of a factory in which it was achieved. He says:

In a small village, 10 miles from Jullundhar, there is a factory producing sanitary fittings named Sehgal Sanitary Fittings. It has 200 workers. Forty-five per cent of the shares of the concern are held by them and out of its 9 directors, 6 are workers themselves.

Sanjeevayya was a democrat and his whole-hearted support to the right of the workers to form a union would speak volumes of his democratic spirit. He observes:

A democratic community draws its strength and sustenance from the proper functioning of free institutions and a free trade-union movements is one of the most important of such institutions.

The trade-unions have several tasks to perform.

One such task was that of educating the industrial working class which mostly comprised masses with their rural habits. Another task is to make the workers feel at home in their new surroundings. But their role in the developed societies is quite different. Here the working class forms only a small fraction of the population. And the traditional role of the trade-union has been to protect and advance the interests of those who are already in employment or at best also of those who have lost it. But the
trade-unions in underdeveloped countries will have to take into account the interests of millions who are waiting on the fringe to join the ranks of wage earning labourers.

Underlining the importance and utility of trade-unions in the developing countries, Sanjeevayya says that the worker should have a great degree of freedom to choose his union. The view suggests that he was for equal freedom for all sections of the trade-union movement. In the west, trade-unions had an uphill task in gaining recognition as a legitimate social institution. In Asia, that battle for recognition is over along with the battle for political freedom. They have been participating in the formulation of labour policies and programmes. There are Tripartite Implementation Committees at the Centre and States. A Tripartite Wage Board is constituted on a voluntary basis for the settlement of wages. A Bonus Commission is set up and its recommendations have been incorporated in law in order to give a share in profit to workers in the form of bonus. In the matter of planning, there is a labour-panel, which processes the plan proposals. In matters of industrial development, councils for separate industries have been set up. In some public undertakings, the representatives of workers sit on the Board of Directors. There is a code of discipline which requires the settlement of differences through a mutual discussion and, in the event of its failure, through an arbitration. In order to enable the
workers and their representatives to shoulder the responsibilities that have inevitably fallen on them, comprehensive scheme for the education and training of the workers and their leaders not only in trade-unionism but also in the affairs of industry has been sponsored. So, what the trade-unions have to do now is to discard the old obsolete postures of militancy that have been inherited from the West and have remained with us as a hangover from the past and adopt a more constructive attitude of responsive cooperation.

Sanjeevayya does not like trade-unions to form or function as front-organizations to some political parties. The Congress Party also evinces interest in the activities of trade-unions like Indian National Trade-Union Congress. But he has always been forthright in expressing his opinions. Sanjeevayya says:

More than in any other country in India politicians have played a large part in organizing trade-unions. It was mainly due to the fact that India was dominated by a foreign government and its interests. Moreover, helpless, backward and ignorant, as the workers were, they were not in a position to build up by themselves any organization. It was, therefore, inevitable for them to depend on outside help. Most of this outside help came from the political parties, which alone were able to provide enthusiastic and selfless workers needed to do the initial work of creating consciousness and building up organization. The work done by these political workers was, no doubt, of great value, and it would be said that, but for their work, the trade-union movement in India would not have reached the present dimension. There has been, however, one drawback, that is, the political workers brought along with them the politics of their parties and that led to the division of unions on political lines.
Each political party was anxious to have its own trade-union. That is why we have four central trade-union organizations with different political ideologies. Sometimes, these political leaders work, not for the interests of the working class whom they represent, but for gaining their own political ends. Hence, Sanjeevayya insists that leaders of political parties should ensure that workers are not swayed by political considerations but are allowed to develop genuine trade-unionism in the country. He is also against having outsiders as leaders of trade-unions. He says, "Workers have had a generation of experience and now must learn to be self-reliant encouraging a larger participation of the insiders".

Being a true Gandhian, Sanjeevayya adopted a Gandhian approach in the search for solutions to the labour-problems. He fully supported Gandhiji's theory of trusteeship, which held that employees are the trustees of the produce turned out by them. Sanjeevayya held the view that labour and capital are two divergent forces yoked together for the welfare of the community as a whole. He was of the opinion that India has a moral obligation to experiment with the principles, Gandhiji had evolved.

As Labour Minister, Sanjeevayya did considerable work in the area of social security for industrial workers. Various schemes have been formulated by the government of India for ensuring
social security to the millions of workers. The Employees State Insurance Scheme, Employees' Provident Fund Scheme, and the Coal Miners Provident Fund and Bonus Act were a few important schemes meant for the welfare of the working class.

Besides, there were the medical care sickness allowance and maternity benefits provided for the workers (under the Plantation Labour Act 1951) as well as the medical care provided by the Coal, Mica and Iron ore Mines Labour Welfare Funds. Maternity benefits to women workers were regulated by the Central Maternity Act of 1961. A death-relief fund was set up for giving financial assistance to the nominees of the deceased. Despite all this, there was no significant change in the lot of the working class of the country, in as much as the new measures failed to improve its living conditions.

**Bonus Sanjeevayya**

Even before Sanjeevayya was made the Union Minister of Labour and Employment, the Government of India set up a commission to fix up bonus for the working class. The decision of the Central Government in that regard was announced in a Government resolution dated the 2nd September, 1964. The responsibility of preparing the bill and making it an Act was held by Sanjeevayya, who was thereafter endearingly called 'Bonus
Sanjeevayya'. An Ordinance was promulgated on the Bonus Bill on May 29, 1965, which was later passed in the Parliament.

Heated discussions were held in the Parliament, when the bill was introduced to replace the Ordinance. One point of contention between the government and the opposition was the provision relating to the minimum and maximum bonus. Many members expressed the view that the courts might not uphold the minimum bonus provision, but Sanjeevayya was hopeful that the courts would uphold it keeping in view the social and economic justice demanded by the working class in India. The Bonus Commission recommended a 'set off' and 'set on' formula which would be workable only when both the minimum and the maximum were fixed. When a particular establishment does not earn profits at all in a particular year the minimum bonus of 4% or Rs.40, whichever is higher, that has to be paid, will be set off. And when an establishment earns profits more than necessary to pay the maximum bonus of 20 percent, the surplus, after paying the maximum bonus, will be set on. The Government, thus, accepted the provision for payment of the maximum bonus as well.

As per the Bonus Act a new establishment would enjoy a bonus holiday for six years.
Sanjeevayya also made it clear that it was not the Government's intention that the benefits which the labour might have been enjoying in the matter of bonus in any establishment or industry should in anyway be curtailed by adoption of the new formula for payment of bonus. It also provided the safeguard that the labour would get the benefits of bonus on the existing basis or on the basis of the new formula whichever is higher.

Sanjeevayya made a mark as Union Minister of Industries, too. He held this portfolio in the ministry of Mrs. Indira Gandhi from January 24, 1966, to March 12, 1967. As Minister for Industries, he initiated several measures for bringing about industrial development. He had succeeded in attracting foreign capital and technical know-how. He was a great advocate of liberalization of the economy. He was far loosening of controls so as to facilitate the inflow of foreign capital and technology.

The on-going discussion may prove that Sanjeevayya was a success as a Union Minister. His economic ideology was not based on a sound study of Economics. He had inherited it from Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. He was a congressite to the core and the economic policy of the Congress, as adopted by the Government of India, was his. But in him there was a keen desire to see that India was industrially developed as also a sympathetic understanding of the labourers. These attributes ruled his life. He
was fully convinced that the only way to achieve development and prosperity was through industrialization. He pursued this ideal with a fervour not commonly found in the other politicians of the day.

In pursuit of his goals, Sanjeevayya often met with disappointments. He hoped that the industrial policy resolution, adopted in 1956, would pave the way for workers’ participation in the management of industries. But he was disillusioned when his hope in this regard remained a dream forever. In a democratic country, policies are formulated and decisions taken not by one but by many. And we cannot always fix the responsibility for doing or not doing a thing on a single person. Some people conceive benevolent ideas with uncommon visionary zeal and also try hard for their materialization as long as possible. But their ultimate success may depend on others. Sanjeevayya was one such visionary, who took several significant initiatives during his short span of life.
Sanjeevayya's Service To The Downtrodden

Because of the Harijan background from which he hails, Sanjeevayya had suffered poverty, social ignominy and indifference. During his 22 years of political life he had to face many trials and tribulations. The troubles he had undergone, perhaps, made him deeply committed to the cause of the downtrodden. He was touched by their misery and hardship. Helping the downtrodden, therefore, became his life's mission.

During his distinguished political career, Sanjeevayya did yeoman service for the uplift of the oppressed sections in the society. As the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, he initiated several measures for their betterment. Hence, this chapter deals mainly with his tenure as Chief Minister, which gave him an opportunity to pay attention to the social welfare, which was a subject dear to his heart. Social discriminations, injustices have a long history and they cannot be rooted out with a single man's efforts. Efforts are on the anvil and a time might come when there will not be any social distinctions. But the endeavours of those who did their best for that cause should not be ignored. In such a context one cannot but recollect what Sanjeevayya did for the oppressed and downtrodden.

Sanjeevayya was deeply influenced by Gandhiji. Gandhiji's principles of truth, non-violence and social justice enchanted him. He did not actually see Gandhiji. Many a time he expressed his
regret that he could not get an opportunity to see Gandhiji.

Speaking at Mahbubabad in the Warangal District of Andhra Pradesh he said:

Gandhiji preached that the untouchability was a blot on Hindu society and exhorted us to root it out. These Harijans are considered inferior to a bull, elephant, cat or dog and so Gandhiji has exhorted us to treat them as our fellow-beings. Untouchability is mostly not felt in the cities but still prevalent in villages. I believe that a day will come when all people are considered equals. We cannot forget the good that Gandhiji did for Harijans who could not repay his debt even by offering chappals made of our hides to him.²⁵

Delivering a lecture to the Congress workers at Gandhi Bhavan, Hyderabad, he said:

It may not be easy to change our (narrow) outlook of caste, creed and region, but not impossible. It may be difficult for the people of this generation, but not for the future generations who would inculcate the idea in schools from their childhood onwards that we are all the sons/daughters of mother India.²⁶

These were not simple exhortations of a political leader, but words that came out of his heart.

Jawaharlal Nehru also influenced him. Speaking of him he says:

Jawaharlal Nehru was a visionary and pragmatist in one, he not only reflected the nation's dreams and aspirations, but also strove continuously and constantly for giving a concrete shape to them. In this economic struggle of the nation, his leadership, foresight, scientific attitude and international outlook were mainly instrumental in ensuring an orderly growth of our industrious.²⁷
The socialistic theories and principles of Jawaharlal Nehru made an indelible mark on the young Sanjeevayya. Speaking at Chirala he said:

Socialism is nothing but removing the inequalities in society. You may ask what are the hurdles that one faces on the progressive path of socialism. On the one hand, we have landlords with hundreds of acres, and, on the other, agricultural labourers who do not own even a cent of land. We have millionaires with crores of rupees stashed in banks, while the poor suffer for want of basic minimum needs; while one pines away for want of a morsel of rice, the other wallows in luxury one lives in multi-storeyed buildings while the other takes shelter under a tree, his poor hut being burnt away. The rooting-out of these inequalities is socialism. This is Ramarajya.

Sanjeevayya’s social work may be divided into two parts:

I. Work for the welfare of the backward and depressed classes and

II. Work for the welfare of the society at large.

Let us deal with them in detail:

I. Work for the welfare of the backward and depressed classes

Speaking over All India Radio on the very day (January 11, 1960) of his assumption of the Chief Ministership of Andhra Pradesh, he set out the tone of his administration. He said:

The people have expressed, through this election, their desire of achieving equal opportunities and status to all. I also feel it my duty to pay homage to the Father of the Nation, the Mahatma Gandhi whose tireless endeavours has brought social, economic, political and educational progress among the crores of our suppressed brethren.
What Sanjeevayya did for his brethren is detailed below:

Sanjeevayya laid a lot of emphasis on the need for education to the poorer sections of the society. He was of the view that a man without education is equal to a beast. Hence his Government introduced the Compulsory Primary Education Scheme in 1961. It was estimated to cover 80 per cent of the children aged between 6 and 7. An amount of Rs. 7.82 crores had been earmarked for the implementation of the Scheme during the Third Plan period. Provision was also made for supply of equipment, furniture, books and mid-day meals. It was estimated that 28,000 teachers would be needed during the Third Plan. Proposals to appoint 3000 teachers during 1961-62 were made. The strength of the teachers during the subsequent four years was proposed to be increased by 3500, 5000, 7000 and 9500 respectively. It was estimated that nearly 1.2 lakhs of additional children would have education in 1962-63.

This general welfare measures were not meant only for the suppressed or Backward Classes, but it cannot be gainsaid that children of those unfortunate sections demanded greater attention than those of the other sections of the society.

Sanjeevayya also announced scholarships to all Harijan students up to standard X irrespective of the income of the parents
or guardians. He was keen on the Harijan boys and girls getting scholarships for the completion of their school-education.31

A number of hostels for Harijan and Girijan students were established. Though the private hostels were transferred to the administrative control of the Samithis and Zilla Parishads, Sanjeevayya ensured that the Director of Social Welfare would carry on the functions of granting recognition and giving grants to such private hostels. Sanjeevayya was also keen that the students, who were admitted to such schools should not idle away their time. To ensure this he insisted that the students had to submit certificates of regular attendance in their educational institutions obtained from their headmasters. Only then the grants were given to the private hostels meant for Harijans and Girisans. He also announced an increase in the Government-grants to Harijan and Girijan Hostels and a boarding grant to the students staying in welfare-hostels.32

Though Sanjeevayya's primary aim was the universalization of primary education, he did not want the deserving poor students to lag behind in acquiring professional qualifications. His Government granted interest-free loans to deserving poor students to pursue studies in professional colleges. Students, the income of whose parents or guardians was less than Rs.500/- per annum
and who secured not less than an average of 50 per cent of marks in the qualifying subjects, were considered eligible to get these loans.

a. **Reservation in Recruitment of Promotion**

The Government under the stewardship of Sanjeevayya increased the percentage of reservations for the Backward Classes for recruitment to public services from 25 per cent to 38 per cent and for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes from 16 per cent to 17 per cent. The pattern of reservation was in accordance with the percentage of the population of the Scheduled Castes, Backward Classes based on 1951 census-figures. Age-limit for the Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for direct recruitment to services was raised by 5 years.

The rule of reservation had been in vogue for several decades prior to the issuance of G.O.No.559 by the General Administration Department (Ser-C) on 4-5-1961. It applied to the direct recruitment for several posts and in some cases to promotions, which were technically called recruitment by transfer.

In a note on the necessity for issuing the Government order Sanjeevayya observes:

Although at the time of the initial recruitment a certain quota is reserved for these classes, it is found that there is no proper representation for these classes, in respect of higher posts. From the annual returns. I find that on 1-4-1959 there are only 99 Gazetted Officers belonging to Backward Classes and 112
belonging to Scheduled Castes out of the total permanent cadre of 2844 Gazetted Officers in all departments and this may roughly workout to 3 per cent and 4 per cent respectively. Even among non-gazetted officers on Rs.100/- and above, out of the sanctioned permanent cadre of 17157, there are only 1472 belonging to Backward Classes and 420 belonging to Scheduled Castes, which may roughly workout to 8.6 per cent and 2.5 per cent respectively. These figures clearly indicate that despite the reservation of 25 per cent for Backward Classes and 16 per cent for scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, there is greater under-representation, even if the principle of reservation is extended to all promotion-posts as ordered, I don't expect much improvement in the representation. As the reservation is subject to the maximum limit with reference to the population ratios, these classes could at best be represented upto the percentage reserved for them and there can be no preponderance of these communities in public services. Inspite of the reservations made, a number of vacancies annually lapse in the reserved posts for some reason or other. For example in the Ministerial service in 1958 out of a total number of 2349 vacancies, 296 were reserved for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and 465 for Backward Classes, but actually 124 vacancies for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and 116 vacancies for Backward Classes lapsed. When this is the position in the Ministerial Service, where the qualifications prescribed are low, it can be visualized that in the higher posts and services the position was much worse and more vacancies lapsed, as the persons belonging to these classes may not be possessing higher qualifications due to several handicaps. No new concessions are sought to be given to these classes in terms of Government Orders. The present orders are only in accordance with the established policy to give adequate representations to this under-represented classes in public services in all other posts in which they have under-representation or no representation.33

As per the Government Order referred to above, the principle of reservation of appointments for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes was extended even to posts involving promotion in all Departments including the Secretariat. If, for any reason, the rule of reservation could not be made applicable to any posts filled by promotion, a certain number
of such posts in all cadres and in all departments would instead be reserved for direct recruitment wherever possible. If the vacancies for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes were not filled for want of qualified and suitable candidates, such vacancies should be carried forward and added as additional numbers of reserved vacancies for the subsequent year for a period of two calendar years excluding the year of selection. If suitable Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes candidates were not available for the vacancies reserved for them even after carrying forward the number of vacancies, these vacancies should be thrown open to the Backward Classes candidates, and if Backward Classes candidates also were not available these posts will be thrown open to competition.

Public reaction to these measures pertaining to reservations was unfavourable. The Deccan Chronicle expressed the view that economic backwardness alone should be the criterion for extending State assistance to a person and not his community or caste. The Daily News argued that the Government order would militate against administrative efficiency and perpetuate monopoly in services, and would demoralize the employees as a whole. The Andhra Janata stated that the order would generate feelings of casteism among employees and was opposed to national integration and national welfare.
But Sanjeevayya stood his ground. He wanted to ameliorate the lot of the backward and depressed classes and render social and economic justice to some extent to these classes. At the same time he warned these classes not to take advantage of the ameliorative measures granted by the Government just because they belonged to these communities. He said that the Harijans should not anticipate preferential treatment. He advised them to inculcate good traditions and culture and help promote harmonious relations in the society.36

Sanjeevayya also appointed a special officer to review the progress in the implementation of the concessions given to the weaker sections and report.

b. Harijan Welfare

Sanjeevayya had always nursed the idea of demarcating some amount to take up ameliorative measures for Harijans. In February, 1961, the State Cabinet decided to earmark some amount of grant meant for social welfare measures particularly for Harijans during the Third Five Year Plan.37 By March 1961, it became a reality and Sanjeevayya announced in the assembly that orders were issued to various departmental heads to earmark 17 per cent and 3 per cent respectively for the welfare of Scheduled
Castes and Scheduled Tribes from the funds meant for social welfare in the Third Five Year Plan.

The responsibility of implementing Harijan Welfare Schemes was divested from Zilla Parishads and was given to the Director, Social Welfare, in order to remove local prejudices and nepotism.

Age-relaxation was given to Scheduled Caste-candidates who want to appear for the Andhra Pradesh Public Service Commission examinations.

Land reforms were taken up to the extent possible during Sanjeevayya's regime. Around six lakh acres of banjar lands were distributed to the landless, thus giving a concrete shape to the concept of giving the right of ownership of the land to the tiller.

There was a complaint that only the Backward Classes, other than Harijans, were being benefited by this distribution of the wastelands and it was not at all beneficial to Harijans. It was felt that the people belonging to the Backward Classes would grab the wastelands. Harijans were not a match to them. Of course, the Government Order said that the wastelands be distributed among the landless poor; but some Harijan-leaders opined that this clause was taken advantage of and land was distributed mostly to the Backward Classes. They argued that the land-less Harijans should
be given preference in the assignment of lands. When some of the Harijan-MLAs raised this in the assembly, the Chief Minister understood the rationale behind their argument and issued instructions to the officials concerned to see that the distribution of wastelands was done rationally. Further, the Government issued fresh orders giving preference to Harijans and Harijan Christians.

When the issue of the distribution of the wasteland under the Krishna Barrage area came up, the Government decided to auction that land and earmark the proceeds for rendering assistance to Harijans by way of grants and loans, for reclamation of lands assigned under the general land-policy or for house-sites. The Government adopted this course because, if the lands were assigned, only a few Harijans would be benefited, while the auction-proceeds could be distributed among a much larger number.

Sanjeevayya also declared the objective of the Government not to force Harijans and Girijs to vacate the lands that were in their possession. Further, it decided to grant them Pattas in order to regularize their possession of those lands.

Sanjeevayya also took up the distribution of sites for housing to the depressed classes. His Government earmarked an amount of 5 crores for the housing of Harijans. Sanjeevayya’s biographer,
D. Ramlingam, states that so much of land was never before distributed for the housing of Harijans, as it happened during the regime of Sanjeevayya. In order to get sites for distribution, the Government had to pay compensation to the landlords and Sanjeevayya got huge amounts allocated in the budget for this purpose.

People migrated to towns and cities in search of livelihood. When people of weaker sections migrate to urban areas slums grow up. In these slums wretched and unhygienic conditions prevail; there would be no drainage facilities; water supply would be meagre, people live in small huts and in inhuman conditions. Sanjeevayya took up slum-clearance schemes. He set up a committee to advise the Government on the implementation of water-supply and drainage schemes in urban slums. Inspired by the ideal of Sanjeevayya, the Mayor of Hyderabad, Ved Prakash, started a programme of action called 'Mayor Camps', which was inaugurated by Chief Minister, Sanjeevayya, on May 7, 1961. According to this programme, the Mayor would reside in a select slum area for a month and the Mayor's office would be shifted to that place. The aim of the programme was to bring healthy and hygienic conditions in that particular slum. All efforts would be made to educate slum dwellers on the necessity of cleanliness. Then, the Mayor would shift to another slum the next month.
II. Work for the Welfare of the Society at Large

a. Establishment of Law Commission and Anti-Corruption Bureau

One of the bills passed in the assembly during December, 1960, sought to establish a law-commission, consisting of legal experts, representatives of the Government and others to consider the integration of various legislative measures then in force in the Andhra and the Telengana regions. The commission was assigned the responsibility to examine and review the existing laws in the two regions and suggest necessary amendments to, or repeal of, existing Acts so as to ensure that the same laws applied to the whole state. It was a social welfare measure and the objective was to bring the people of all areas in the State under the purview of same laws. It was established on August 1, 1961, under the Chairmanship of P. Satyanarayana Rao. It was the first of its kind in the country.¹⁴²

b. Introduction of Compulsory Primary Education Scheme

After the introduction of Compulsory Primary Education Scheme, which envisaged to impart education during 1961-62 to all children under the age-group of 6-7 years, the Government drew up further programmes of action. It proposed to extend the scheme progressively to the age-group of 6-8 in 1962-63, 6-9 in 1963-64, 6-10 in 1964-65 and 6-11 in 1965-66, so that by the end of the Third Five Year Plan all children in the age-group of 6-11
years would be receiving free primary education. The total number of children in Andhra Pradesh who would be benefited as a result of this scheme during the Third Plan, would be about 16 lakhs. About 28,000 additional teachers would have to be appointed for this purpose. The scheme would be implemented in the Panchayat Samithi areas by these Samithis and by the Zilla Parishads in non-samithi-areas. In the municipal areas the scheme would be worked out by the Municipality, but in the Telengana area the District Educational Officers, would administer the scheme in the Municipal and non-samithi areas.\textsuperscript{4,5}

c.  
**Encouragement to Sanskrit Language**

It was during the regime of Sanjeevayya a Central Institute of Sanskrit was established at Tirupati from August 1961. The initial proposal was to start two wings viz., the Pedagogy and Training Wing and the Research and Publication Wing. The first wing was aimed at training school and college teachers, while the second provided facilities for research in the various branches of Sanskrit learning. The latter was also to arrange for the publication of journals, digests and bibliographies. It was proposed that by the end of the Third Five Year Plan the other four wings of this institute would start functioning. These would relate to instruction in Dharma Sastras and Vedas, comparative and allied studies, library and museum and examination.
d. Setting up of Agricultural University

Sanjeevayya knew well the lot of poor, illiterate peasants. He also knew that, unless agriculture was carried on scientific lines with modern equipment, the yield would not be better. Hence, he felt the need for the propagation of education on agriculture. It was with this aim the Government introduced a bill for the establishment of an agricultural university in the State on the August 11, 1961. The bill sought to provide for instruction at the university-level in agricultural sciences and constitute a Board of Management to be in charge of the administration of the university. It also sought to provide an Agricultural Experimental Station and Agricultural and House Science Extension Services in the university. There were already two agricultural colleges in the State: one at Hyderabad and the other at Bapatla. The Government proposed to set up the third college at Tirupati.

e. Polytechnic for Girls

Sanjeevayya was instrumental in getting the Kamala Nehru Polytechnic. It was the first girls' Polytechnic in the state, which was inaugurated by the Chief Minister on the August 4, 1961. The institution was one of the three allotted to the State out of 30 such polytechnics to be started in the country during the Third Five Year Plan period. The Union Government was to meet 60 per cent of the recurring and non-recurring expenditure of this institution, while
the remaining 40 per cent was to be shared equally by the State Government and the Industrial Exhibition Society. 150 girls were first admitted to this institution and, to begin with, courses of study in four subjects were introduced viz., Radio Engineering, Civil Engineering, Agricultural Draftsmanship and Commerce.

f. **Old Age Pension Schemes**

A social ameliorative measure to grant age-old pensions to destitute persons of about 70 years of age was taken up for the first time in the budget for 1961-62. In September 1961, the Government decided to grant pensions to every person, who is over 70 years of age and has no husband or earning son or grandson. Rs.3.06 lakhs was set up for this purpose.

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g. **Age Relaxation for Promotion to the State Government Employees**

In September 1961, the State Government issued an order abolishing all restrictions of age for promotion to all posts except those for which a good physique was a pre-requisite for the satisfactory discharge of the duties attached to them. Formerly, in some departments an officer or sub-ordinate aged 45 years could not look forward to any promotion as he was considered over-aged, however efficient he might be. This was one social measure, introduced by the Sanjeevayya Government for the sake of aged Government-servants.
h. Housing

Housing for the poor, the lower-income and middle income groups, was a problem which engaged the attention of Sanjeevayya. At last his Government came out with a bill named "The Hyderabad Housing Board (Andhra Pradesh Extension Amendment Bill) 1966" which was introduced in the assembly on the December 9, 1960.

Earlier there was a Hyderabad Housing Board created as per an Act passed in 1956 and it simply catered to the needs of Telengana alone. But though the bill was passed, the Board came into existence only in 1960. The Sanjeevayya Government introduced the bill extending this facility to the Andhra region as well. Land-acquisition presented a problem to the Housing Board. When a case went to court, nothing could be done until the judgement was delivered. In order to avoid delay, the Government decided to set up a tribunal for the immediate processing of disputes.

The newly-introduced bill gave the State Government the power to acquire a land at the rate prevailing on the day of the decision for its acquisition.

There was also a provision in the bill to avoid delay by delegating powers to the Chairman or officers of the Board.
Apart from its own efforts to set up the Housing Board, the Government also requested the Union Government to persuade the Life Insurance Corporation to give loans for the construction of houses to the rural population also. The State Government agreed to stand security for these loans. The Chief Minister declared that the Government proposed to allot Rs.535 lakhs for housing schemes under the Third Plan.44b

1. **Ameliorative Measures for Agriculturists**

Sanjeevayya knew well the lot of the peasant hence the Government thought of permitting the co-operative central banks to issue loans to agriculturists on the security of the anticipated crop.

The Government also considered introduction of Crop Insurance Scheme in the State.

The Government also thought over the constitution of a Cooperative Farming Board. There were 13 cooperative farming societies and 14 joint farming societies functioning in the State. In order to give impetus to these societies and also for 7 more cooperative farming societies that were coming up the Government took this decision.
J. Abolition of the Hereditary Rights of the Village Officers

The system of village officers like Karnam and Munsif in the Andhra area and wetlandars etc. in the Telenagana area was a vistige of the British Raj. They hold hereditary rights for the posts and hence wielded enormous powers in the villages. Common people suffered a lot in their hands and wanted this system to be abolished. Sanjeevayya's Government made a beginning in this regard.

The Supreme Court also held this hereditary system of appointing village officers as ultra vires of the Constitution. Hence, the State Government proposed to abolish this system.

As has been said earlier, the researcher has to conclude this chapter on Sanjeevayya's social work synchronizing with the period of his Chief Ministership. But unlike other political leaders, Sanjeevayya was always available and accessible to people, whose hardships he knew well. He had a sympathetic imagination to understand them.

It may not be out of place to mention two anecdotes that reveal Sanjeevayya's sympathy with the common man. Once a large number of people came to the hotel where Sanjeevayya was staying to submit their appeals. One among them was a blind man, who had waited to meet him until 2 o'clock in the afternoon.
Sanjeevayya was about to retire for lunch. Then somebody told him of the blind man’s waiting. Sanjeevayya did not mind postponing his lunch for another half an hour. He patiently listened to what the old man had to say. Then he immediately did what he could for him.

At another time some people approached Sanjeevayya for permission to erect a statue for him. He asked them to do something better and disposed of them. Sanjeevayya, thus, endeavoured to live in the hearts of people by serving the society to the best of his abilities.
Foot Notes

2. Ibid., 103.
3. Andhra Patrika, Madras, dt. 7-4-1963.
10. Ibid., p.111-112.
11. Ibid., p.112-114.
17. Ibid., p.56-57.
18. Ibid., p.57-58.
19. Ibid., p.59-60.
20. Ibid., op.cit., Workers Participation in Management, p.49-51.
23. Ibid
29. Ramlingam D., Damodaram Sanjeevaya, op.cit., p.63-64.
30. *Andhra Pradesh Governor's Fortnightly despatch to the President of India*, F.R. 3 or 5th February, 1962, p.9.
33. Note setting out necessity for issuing G.O.Also see Ramlingam, D., *Damodaram Sanjeevaya*, op.cit., pp. 73-74.
34. G.O. No.559, G.A.D. (Ser-C) dt. 4-5-1961.
39. *Andhra Pradesh Governor's Fortnightly despatch to the President of India*, F.R.No.9, dt., 5-6-1961.
42. *Andhra Pradesh Governor's Fortnightly despatch to the President of India*, F.R.No.20, dt., 20-12-1960.
43. *Andhra Pradesh Governor's Fortnightly despatch to the President of India*, F.R.No.10, dt., 20-6-1961.
44. Andhra Pradesh Governor's Fortnightly despatch to the President of India, F.R.No.13, dt. 20-8-1961, p.6.


46. Andhra Pradesh Governor's Fortnightly despatch to the President of India, F.R.No...dt. 20-9-1961, p.6.

47. Assembly Debates, Sanjeevayya's speech while introducing the Bill in the Assembly on 9-12-1960.

48. Andhra Pradesh Governor's Fortnightly despatch to the President of India, F.R.No.4., dt, 5-3-1961, p.9.

49. Andhra Pradesh Governor's Fortnightly despatch to the President of India, F.R. No. 5, dt. 20-3-1961, p.7.