CHAPTER-II

Early Political Career of Neelam Sanjiva Reedy
Sanjiva Reddy played a significant role both in the party organization as well as in the Government of the composite Madras State during 1946 and 1952. He started his political career as an Office-bearer and gradually rose to the top positions in the Congress Party Organization. He could win over everybody by his sincerity of purpose and integrity of character. Sanjiva Reddy had stepped down from the Government in order to serve the party. He always maintained an "Iron grip over the party organization and the administration." During this period he held different positions in different organizations.

At that time, Congress Party was not a packet property of any one or any family. There was place for healthy democracy in the party. Party was maintained and moved on democratic lines. There was a sort of "inner democracy" based on organizational elections. In the month of January, 1938, elections were held at Vijayawanda for the Presidentship of the A.P.C.C. There was a contest between Dr. Pattabhi Seetharamaiah and Prof. N.G. Ranga. Acharya Ranga got 84 votes and Dr. Pattabhi Seetharamaiah secured 143 votes. Pattabhi and Gottipati Brahmayya consulted each other and suggested the name of Sanjiva Reddy as the most suitable man for the post of Secretary of the A.P.C.C. There was no contest. During the same period he became the member of the Appellate Tribunal of the State Congress to settle party disputes, under the Presidentship of Sri Gottipati Brahmayya. As Party Secretary, he set up his office at Anantapur and was engaged in dealing with the affairs of the party and the labour problems affecting the people. No salary was drawn by
him for this work. Those were the days when public service and political work involved self-sacrifice. Only those who were prepared to deny themselves the comforts of life and entertained a genuine desire to serve the country could join politics. Selfish and corrupt people were looked down upon as anti-social elements and persona non-grata. Those who chose the field of public work cared for public opinion and listened to "the still small voice of the conscience". They were sensitive.

The meticulous manner in which he maintained the office and ran the affairs of the A.I.C.C. had attracted the attention and won the appreciation of Acharya J.B. Kripalani, the All–India Congress General Secretary, and Rajaji the then Chief Minister of the Composite Madras State.

Higher posts came to him one after another though not in quick succession. Tanguturi Prakasam assumed the Presidentship of the A.P.C.C. in 1940. Kala Venkata Rao was appointed the General Secretary and Sri Sanjiva Reddy and Sri Manthena Venkata Raju became Joint–Secretaries. Sanjiva Reddy was a true congress man with responsibility both in spirit and thought. He was true follower of Gandhiji. He was a dedicated and devoted congressman. He wished and desired to strengthen the party.

As Joint-Secretary of the A.P.C.C., Sri Reddy toured the state extensively to mobilize public support and to counteract the activities of the Communists even at grave risk to his life and succeeded to a great extent in spreading the message and policies of the congress and in consolidating and
strengthening its base. For the work done by him, expenditure was incurred from his own resources during these years in a true spirit of true service. He did not care to claim any remuneration for his work.

In 1945, the Congress was still under ban. Nehru and other Working Committee Members were in various jails. Along with other leaders, Mr. Reddy was released from the jail. At that time the Communist Party of India was supporting the British Government. They were frequently assaulting the Congress Workers and some times violently. At this stage, Mr. Reddy along with others went to Sevagram to meet Gandhiji. There Mr. Reddy had the pleasure of meeting an old friend and his classmate, Mr. Joseph who was known as Prabhakarji in Sevagram. He became an important member of Sevagram. Mr. Reddy and his colleagues were very busy till the release of Congress Working Committee Members from jails in 1945.

Till then Gandhiji used to sit with them in his room, laugh and crack jokes. There was no direct reply from Gandhi to their question “Force against Force” and how the violence would come down when the Communist were cooperating with the British Government. Gandhiji kept silent. But Pattabhi Seetharamaiah launched the programme of “stick for stick and stone for stone” Sanjiva Reddy along with some others followed the programme well and faced the Communists. Public support was however, with the Congress workers who were only defending themselves against the violence of their adversaries.
Congress Group Politics in composite Madras State

The elections were held in 1937 according to Act of 1935, in composite Madras State. The Congress Party got thumping majority, it had to form its first Ministry in Madras. Both Rajagopalachari and Prakasam hoped for Chief Ministership. The Telugu people met in Kasinadhuni’s house. But Prakasam was opposed by some of the Andhras themselves. Gandhijee’s reluctance to Prakasam was also a reason for that. Having sensed the situation Prakasam and Samba Murty proposed Rajajee’s name and got him elected. Prakasam became the Revenue Minister in Rajajee’s Ministry. V.V. Giri was one of the Ministers. Bezawada Gopala Reddy was the Minister for Local Bodies. Bulusu was the speaker. Disagreement always continued between Rajajee and Prakasam. Pattabhi held the post of the President of Andhra Pradesh Congress.

Though Andhras held meetings every year, the people of Rayalaseema were still to be convinced with the move for separate State. Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao and such other tried to patch up the differences between Rayalaseema and other parts. All India Congress too, in principle, accepted the formation of separate Andhra. To bring about a better understanding, by driving away doubts of Rayalaseema people against circars, the leaders met on 16th November 1937 in Kashinathuni’s house (Sri Bagh). Pattabhi took a prominent role. The representatives from Rayalaseema were Kadapa Koti Reddy, Kalluri subba Rao, Pappuri Ramachari, H. Seetha Ram Reddy and KondaVenkatappiah. Mullapudi Pallam Raju and Kasinathuni represented the
Circars. Certain promises were made to Rayalaseema to make them accept for the separate State. Rayalaseema should have its word prevailed in deciding the capital city and the High court. They said that Ananthapuram should have the University. After this, the resolution for a separate Andhra was proposed and passed both in the Assembly as well as in the council. The problem of a separate State appeared to have solved though it was not formed. Prakasam went on insisting that Madras only should be the capital for Andhra. With this, separate State was delayed by another sixteen years. Andhra continued to take inspiration from All India Politics. Many students from Andhra brought back new ideas as they happened to study in Banaras and other Universities. The Communists elected Sundaraiah as their Secretary in their secret meeting at Kakinada in 1935. They conducted political schools for the youth at Kottapatnam, Manthenavaripalem etc. M.V.Shastry, Koganti Radha Krishna Murthy, Subrahmanyam and Avula Gopalakrishna Murthy, who were highly influenced by M.N. Roy*, took up the task of bringing Roy’s ideas to people⁴.

**Groupism in Congress**

Rajajee’s and Prakasam’s groups were in Vellore Jail. They did not even attempt to talk with each other. Later, Prakasam’s group was shifted to Tiruchirapally jail. Rajajee too came to the same place as a result of individual

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*Manavendra nath Roy popularly known as M.N.Roy was the epitome of India’s revolutionary history. He was the first Indian to lead the International Communist movement and had the honour to participate in the revolutionary struggle in Mexico and China. He was one among the few Indians who had equations with Lenin, Stalin and Trotsky. He proved his original genius in contributing immensely to the political philosophy.
Satyagraha. Brahmin,- Non- Brahmin feeling prevailed there too. Arrests in Quit India Movement drove Prakasam, Tenneti Viswanatham, V.V. Giri, Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Mullanpudi Pallamraju. Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy to Vellore jail once again. Kala Venkata Rao, Sanjeeva Reddy, Mullanpudi Pallam Raju and M. Bapineedu acted close as one group. In Tanjavore jail, Ranga., Gouthu Lachnna happened to be one group and Gottipati Brahmaiah, Basu Brahmananda Reddy, Kalluri Chandramouli, Gollapudi Seetha Ramaiah, Mantena Venkata Raju joined together as the opposite group. Even the kitchen could not be spared from their group fights. They exposed their petty mindedness and personal ill-will with such silly complaints that the persons in charge of food supply were partial to some. They were only short of coming to blows. The leaders were left out on parole on some pretext or the other. They were all out for the Assembly elections of 1946. When these leaders were in jails the communists and the Radicals, by being free could take control of student and Kisan (farmers) organizations.

Power Game Of 1946

Congress Committee elections did not take place after the Quit India movement. When Prakasam went on a tour in Andhra, after his release from prison, much was collected by him in the shape of funds. Gandhijee, who was travelling by train to Madras to attend the Silver Jubilee celebrations of Hindi Prachara Sabha, was accorded a rousing reception throughout Andhra. Kala Venkata Rao who was travelling along with Gandhijee, was suspected by
Tenneti and others to have made complaints against Prakasam. A sum of eighty thousand rupees was not accounted for, by Prakasam, was the incrimination against him. Prakasam became a victim of Gandhijee’s displeasure when he joined Kamaraja Nadar in Madras political affairs. Gandhi desired Rajajee to be leader in Madras. When Prakasm became the President of Andhra Congress, his opponent Kala Venkat Rao happened to be the secretary. Kala appointed an Election Committee without the knowledge of Prakasam. There was no representation of Ranga or Prakasam in the Committee. It was decided to elect a new Committee in an emergency meeting attended by Krovvidi Linga Raju, Gouthu Lachanna, Kandula Obula Reddy etc. They all had to convince Ranga to that effect. A requisition Notice with the signatures of Pradesh Congress members was submitted according to which a meeting was summoned in Rajahmundry. The Committee selected by Prakasam was unopposedly accepted where in Ranga’s men did not again find a place. This attitude of Prakasam enraged Kala Venkata Rao, thus instigating him to lodge a complaint against Prakasam to Centre. Pattabhi, an opponent of Prakasam, revised the list of Committee members. But Prakasam and his group behaved like dictators in selecting the candidates for election. Congress was all the more strengthened with 1946 elections. The Communists, who for the first time, entered elections could secure only one seat, whereas the deposits of the Radical Democrats were forfeited, the socialists too could, win some seats from within the Congress. Then the stage was set for leadership struggle. Gandhijee
sent his message, almost an order from “Mahatma” at Delhi, to prefer Rajajee’s leadership to that of Prakasam’s. Patel and Azad sided Rajajee and Prakasam was supported by Kamaraja Nadar. Though Prakasam had the majority support from among the MLAs, the Congress High Command put off the decision. Gandhijee accused Prakasam of corruption as he misused the public funds. Prakasam challenged Gandhiji. Meanwhile Gandhiji, could allure Kamaraj Nadar away from Prakasam. Kalavenkatarao and Gopalreddy did not spare any efforts against Prakasam’s leadership. However, Prakasam was elected as leader, in April 1946. Congress proved that their decentralization confined to their speeches only and it had nothing to do with their actions. Justifying his attitude in handling the money, Prakasam accused Pattabhi of the charge that he too collected funds in the name of the paper “subhodaya”. Pattabhi’s followers did not find a place in Prakasam’s ministry. V.V. Giri, Kadapa Koti Reddy and Vemula Kurmayya were taken as Ministers and Tenneti, Vennalaganti Raghavaiah, Krovvidi Linga Raju became the Parliamentary secretaries. But the opponents created such a situation where Prakasam’s ministry could not continue peacefully. They were able to defeat Prakasam’s candidate, Tenneti, in speaker’s elections. A year had hardly passed before Kala Venkata Rao, Kamaraj Nadar, Rajagopalachari could depose Prakasam with a ‘no confidence motion’. Omanduri Ramaswamy Reddiar became the next Chief Minister in March, 1947. His ministry consisted of H.Seetha Rama Reddy, Kala Venkata Rao, Bezawada Gopala Reddy, Kalluri Chandramouli.
They had to meet humiliation from Andhra wherever they went. Kala Venkata Rao had introduced a new scheme by which each political sufferer would be given cultivable land on producing a certificate to that effect from the state Congress. Many political sufferers as well as pseudo political sufferers, irrespective of rich or poor, managed to get the certificates from State Congress. Kala’s plan gave incentive to many to be immoral and corrupt. Gopala Reddy as Finance Minister and Industries Minister H.Seetharami Reddy could emaciate lakhs of rupees in the name of private business enterprises. Vemula Kurmaiah, still continuing in Prakasam’s Ministry joined hands with the opposition and resorted to immoral practices in fertilizers. Prakasam exposed such immoral and corrupt practices of some of the Ministers. Pattabhi’s group came out with all vengeance to bring certain charges against Prakasam. With this attitude among the leaders, politics had become a good time-pass to the enthusiasts.

Ranga gave a surprise to these fighting leaders, by winning many seats in Pradesh Congress elections of 1946. Ranga, still abroad, won the President ship in the straight contest against Pallam Raju. Ranga came out with a proposal that the Congress workers should be given financial help. Both Kandula Obul Reddy and Lachanna as Secretary and Joint Secretary to Congress helped the workers. Basing on Pattabhi’s complaints against Ranga within a month of his chairmanship, Sreemathi Kamala Devi was appointed for probe. She ignored the decision making powers of a leader. Prakasam and
Ranga on one side and Pattabhi on the other continued their groupism. Elections for Guntur District Congress were made invalid. Ranga as chairman of Pradesh Congress went abroad four times within five years. His followers, in his absence, led hectic group politics, of course, in his name. Ranga could easily defeat Sanjeeve Reddy in the president election of Pradesh Congress in 1946.

Neelam Sanjiva Reddy became member of legislative Assembly

In 1946 general elections Sanjeeva Reddy succeeded against his own brother-in-law, T. Nagi Reddy one of the leading communist leaders of Rayalaseema region, from Anantapur constituency. After his election to the legislature, he was unanimously elected secretary of the Andhra Congress legislature Party. Later, he became a member of the constituent Assembly and this afforded him an opportunity to visualize national issues from a national perspective and also to gain an insight into the intricate nature of the problems inherent in reconciling a diversity of interests in the body politic and the complex problems of constitutional relationship between the centre and the states, between the Legislature, Executive and Judicial organizations etc.

After O.P. Ramaswami Reddier, In 1949 P.Kumaraswamy Raja became chief Minister of composite Madras State. P.Kumaraswamy Raja took Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy into his cabinet. From April, 1949 to April 1951, he served as Minister for Prohibition, Housing and Forests in Madras State.
To cite an instance of his character and integrity even in those early days, Sri Sanjiva Reddy refused to promote a certain person to one of the senior posts in the Excise Department inspite of mounting pressure from his close relatives. When they still persisted in exerting pressure on him, he offered to tender his resignation rather than yield to them. Such personal rectitude and stubborn attitude often earned for him the anger and displeasure of his own relatives and members of the community, who mistook his value system for rigidity and unhelpfulness.

During this period, he had seen the ups and downs of life which tested his tenacity of purpose. The A.P.C.C., Presidential election became a regular feature every year. The years 1948 to 1951 were momentous years in the Andhra politics. In 1950, there was a contest between Acharya Ranga and Sri Sanjive Reddy, in which despite the vigorous support of Sri B. Gopala Reddy, Sri Gottipati Brahmayya and others to the latter, Prof. Ranga got elected as President of the A.P.C.C.. This was perhaps his first taste of defeat. This setback did not discourage him because he was always optimistic, firmly believing that great calamities would only make way for greater glories. He could wait.

Redoubtable personalities like B.C. Roy, Govind Vallabh Panth, Rajaji and Ravi Sankar Shukla were chief Ministers in those days. They along with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad were made working Committee Members of the Congress Party when Sri Reddy was the General Secretary. Sri Reddy thought
that the Office of Minister or even Chief Minister was nothing compared to the general Secretaryship of All-India Congress Committee which consisted of such political stalwarts and public figures.

In the year 1951, again the same rivals collided in democratic battle. This time the election propaganda reached the highest peak since the contest became a prestigious one. With their “Horns locked in the battle”, they spared no effort to win. Prof. Ranga was already President, and his volunteers pitched their camps at several places and did vigorous canvassing in his favour. Many people including the higher-ups in the organization tried to muster support for Prof. Ranga’s re-election because he had a clout and was considered the leader of Kisans and a vote-getter. He was popularly known as “Raithu Ranga” and “Raitu Bandhu”. In such a keen contest when the odds were against him, Sri Sanjiva Reddy won the Presidential election by a majority of five votes over Acharya Ranga. For a whole year 1951, Sri Reddy was the A.P.C.C President with Alluri Satyanarayana Raju as General Secretary and Gottipati Brahmayya and Veerabhadra Swamy as Vice-Presidents. He did substantial work during this period and strengthened the Party in the Province. It boosted up his own stature.

We know that India attained independence under the leadership of Congress Party. After Independence Congress party became ruling party. People have implicit faith in Congress party and its Ideology. Member of the Congress party was nothing but member of government. So position of
A.P.C.C. president was supreme in provincial politics. By this position Sanjiva Reddy played crucial, prominent and important historical role. All Andhra politics (Congress) began to move with his whims and wishes. He occupied such a position in the congress that whatever he decided was actually carried-out. There was no one to question him. Almost all his word was final. These positions was so great that even though he was defeated in 1952 General elections his importance was not dimmed

An interestingly recurrent Pattern in Sri Reddy’s political career was that he lost the first chance of attaining a position, but ventures to try again like Robert Bruce and won ultimately, but renounced it a little later on a matter of principle. He did not hesitate to give up what he has gained for a cause which was dear to his heart. We have seen that even in the fiercely contested election for the same post which he had lost a year earlier to Prof. Ranga, he regrouped his forces and fought with tenacity and tactics, against the same individual, a giant then in Andhra Politics. He took a serious risk in resigning his minister -ship.

The truth was, Sri Reddy was a fighter, prepared to face any struggle unmindful of the consequences. In his preference for principles and what he considered as right, he often clashed with personalities some of whom were his friends of yester years. Once he has succeeded in upholding the principle, he quit the post. This appears to be a recurring pattern in his political life. It was this grit coupled with tenacity and sangfroid that attracted the attention of
Pandit Nehru who after persistently enquiring about Sri Reddy in the first Parliamentary Board Meeting, spotted him eventually and patted him on the back in unconcealed admiration. Such was Jawaharlal Nehru who had a charming way with young men of promise and encouraged them to reach the full potential of their ability.

This election was a turning-point in his career. As differences deepened and middle men created more misunderstandings, Prof. Ranga and Prakasam resigned from the Congress and established a new party (Krishik Lok Party) against the Congress. On account of these bickerings, cracks in the party and resounding personality clashes, a crisis broke out. Many congress candidates including Sri Reddy were defeated in the 1952 General Elections (the first to be held under the Indian Constitution).

Where there was will, there was a way, and Sri Sanjive Reddy was then elected to the Rajya Sabha where he served as a Member for a little over a year.

He continued to hold responsible positions. He was also a member of the All-India Congress working Committee and of the Central Parliamentary Board too. These assignments took him nearer to Delhi, the centre of power.

SEPARATION OF ANDHRA FROM COMPOSITE MADRAS STATE

The dream of separate Andhra could not materialize inspite of innumerable resolutions being passed from 1913 onwards. The Rayalaseema people were, by and large, disinclined to separate Andhra. Andhra leaders tried
to convince them by allowing concessions in their favour. During the 2nd World War and after nobody thought of separate State.

**Dar Commission**

When India attained independence on 15th August 1947 the Andhras hoped that their long cherished desire of a separate Andhra province would be fulfilled soon. Their optimism was based on the Congress election manifesto of 1946 wherein it was declared that the provinces of the country would have to be constituted as far as possible on the basis of language and culture. Many Andhra leaders like Prakasm and Ranga met Sardar Patel, the Home Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, Government of India, and requested him to see that the Andhra province was created before the new constitution was drafted. Patel promised to consider the legal implications. On 27 November 1947 Prime minister Nehru announced that his government accepted the principle of linguistic provinces. This led to a speculation that Andhra province would be created by April 1948 by an order in council under section 290 of the government of India Act 1935, as adopted by the Indian provincial constitutional order dated 14 August 1947. As a matter of fact Andhra was mentioned as one of the Governor's provinces in the first schedule, but later it was declared that

If Andhra or any other region is to be mentioned in the schedule before the constitution is finally drafted, steps will have to be taken immediately to
make them into separate Governor’s provinces under section 290 of the Government of India Act, 1935, before the draft constitution is finally passed.

This announcement created great disappointment among the Andhras. The frustration of the Andhras was exploited by the non-congress parties, particularly the Communist party. When Nehru visited Visakhapatnam in March 1948, he tried to assuage the feelings of the Andhras by declaring that a committee would be appointed to consider the question of the creation of linguistic province.

On 17 June 1948, a linguistic province committee was set up by the president of the Constituent Assembly. The chairman of the Commission was S.K. Dar, a retired judge of the Allahabad High Court. Other members were Dr Pannalal, I.C.S. [Retd] and Jagat Narayan Lal, a member of the Constituent Assembly.

The commission was asked to report what new provinces should be created and also state ‘the administrative, economic, financial and other consequences’ of the creation of new provinces. Further, it was asked to report on administrative consequences of the new provinces on the adjoining territories. From the terms of reference it is obvious that language alone was not the sole criteria for the creation of the new provinces. Other essential requirements were administrative efficiency and sound finance.

When the commission visited Madras, the Andhra Mahasabha submitted a memorandum demanding the creation of Visalandhra. But Sanjiva Reddy on
behalf of about 20 legislators of Rayalaseema submitted a memorandum urging the postponement of linguistic provinces. In case Andhra was to be formed as a separate province he wanted statutory safeguard for Rayalaseema. The Rayalaseema Mahasabha was represented by its Bellary spokesmen, M.N.Sastry and H.Linga Reddi, who while opposing linguistic provinces wanted a separate Rayalaseema province with Madras as capital, in case the Andhra province was formed. The Commission submitted its report on 10 December 1948 recommending that no new provinces should be formed for the present.

**About the Linguistic Provinces the Commission said:**

The formation of provinces on exclusively or even mainly linguistic considerations is not in the larger interests of the Indian Nation and should not be taken in hand.

The Commission made the following observation regarding the enthusiasm of the people for linguistic provinces:

These linguistic provinces make a strong appeal to the imagination of our country-men and there exists a large volume of public support in their favour. Indeed in the Coastal districts of Andhra, the demand has become, in the words of one of its leading advocates, “a passion and has ceased to be a matter of reason,” and the heat and passion and controversy, which gathered round the work of this Commission and which we witnessed during the course of our work, are in themselves proof of the intensity of feeling which exists on
this subject. The non-fulfillment of a demand of this nature may easily lead to a sense of frustration, and there is grave risk in turning it down, and such a risk can only be justified in the interest of national emergency

Thar Commission’s report against the Andhra state created sensation among the congress men. A sub-committee was formed to look into the matter with Jawaharlal Nehru, Patel and Pattabhi in it. The report of the sub-committee favoured the formation of the state provided the Andhras give up their claim over Madras. The congress consented to this report. It appealed to appease the Rayalaseema people that the state capital should permanently be in Rayalaseema only. All party meet in Madras was programmed for 27th July 1952 to discuss the formation of Andhra state. But Sanjeeva Reddy ordered his party men not to attend the said meeting. The Rayalaseema MLAs in a statement demanded the postponement of the formation of the state. Swami Seetharam (Gollapudi Seeta Ram) started his ‘fast unto death on’ 15th August 1952. He was made to end his fasting after 36 days under the persuation of the leaders. His integrity was doubted by several persons. The Andhra students were really concerned over his fasting, fearing his death. The delay in the formation of the state, with the receding hopes of getting Madras to Andhra, Sree Potti Sree Ramulu started his ‘fast unto death’ in Madras. His fasting was for the separate State including Madras. Though he started fasting on 19th October, 1952, it did not arrest the attention of many in the beginning. Prakasam and Bulusu Sambamurthy encouraged Sree Potti Sree Ramulu’s idea.
Agitation gradually caught up momentum in Andhra. The leaders failed to dissuade Sree Potti Sree Ramulu. Pandit Nehru announced in the Parliament on 9th December that the question of separate State would be considered if the demand was not for Madras. Sree Ramulu did not relent and died on 15th December after 55 days of fasting. Andhra fell under the spell of a violent agitation. The Prime Minister had to declare the formation of separate Andhra, saying that undisputed areas were to come under the state boundaries and the date for the separate State was fixed for 1st October, 1953 as ‘Andhra Day’.

All India politics had then reflection on the Andhra politics. Prakasam’s party and the socialists merged into Praja Socialist Party. Socialists wanted Madras to go to Tamilnadu only. The Centre appointed Justice Kailas Nath Wanchooo, Chief justice of Rajasthan High court appointed as special officer to report on financial, administrative and other implications on the formation of Andhra. The capital posed a major problem. Rayalaseema people wanted the capital only in Rayalaseema. Communist wanted either Guntur or Vijayawada to be the capital city. Krishikar Lok Party headed by Ranga, proposed Tirupati as the capital keeping an eye on the buildings of Chandragiri Raja. Congress people as well as Prakasham appealed that Madras only should be the temporary capital. Sanjeeva Reddy, Gopala Reddy, Kala Venkata Rao, Kaleswara Rao, Kotta Raghu Ramaiah and T.N. Venkata Subba Reddy formed themselves into a congress sub-committee and prepared a list of the places to be included in Andhra and the money it should acquire. Nehru in his statement
on 25th March said that the Andhras should leave off Madras and the Andhra MLAs should decide about the capital city. When Wanchoo committee report was published, provincialism, groupism, party oppositions were rampant. They did not settle the issue, linking it to politics. Prakasam was asked to suggest a solution to the problem in a meeting of Andhra Legislators on 5th June 1953. According to Sribagh pact of 1937 he decided Kurnool to be the capital of Andhra to the satisfaction of Rayalaseema people. Dr. Reddy was instrumental in fixing Kurnool as a temporary capital before the emergence of the full-fledged state of Andhra Pradesh with Hyderabad as its permanent capital. With remarkable skill in organization, he gave a face-lift to the Kurnool town and expanded its amenities in no time to give it a new look. Andhra had to reconcile to the decision. The political arena had changed place. Sanjeeva Reddy, Lachanna, Tenneti together made a settlement about the things and money that had to fall to Andhras' share.

Here we have to observe constructive and practical diplomatic game of Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy. Eventhough Sanjeeva Reddy did not go to any university to get higher education, but he moved always in freedom struggle with highly educated and learned people like Prakasam, Pattabhi, N.G.Ranga, Kadapa Koti Reddy, Raja Gopalachari, Satyamurthy etc.. He studied observed, analyzed and realized society in his own way. Sanjiva Reddy learnt a lot. He knew his limitations, strength, merits and demerits also. He was a keen listener and a good learner. So now whenever Andhra was going to be separated from
composite Madras State, he displayed his vast acquired political diplomacy and wisdom. He knew that he could not form Government with his own strength. He had to take help from others. At that time Prakasam was right choice in his political chess game. He knew strength and weakness of Prakasam. Even though Prakasam was great leader of men by this time, he was 82 years old. Sanjeeva Reddy desired and wished to enjoy and dominate all powers as defacto Chief minister by making aged Prakasam as Chief Minister of Andhra state. Sanjiva Reddy quite successful in his political game. Due to age and helplessness of Prakasam was Sanjeeva Reddy's strength.

Sanjeeva Reddy exhibited a political foresightedness in his move. He began to come closer to Prakasam, though it was not appreciated either by Prakasam's followers or Kala Venkata Rao's. Prakasam aspiring for chief-ministership bade goodbye to Praja Socialist Party and joined congress. He was 82 by then—could neither hear properly nor see. Sanjeeva Reddy, a worldly-wise man, played a timely game of politics in Prakashm's name. Praja Socialist Party was not inclined to join the Cabinet. Prakasam left the party, remained in Praja Party and became the Chief Minister, cooperating with congress. Though Sanjeeva Reddy was only the Deputy Chief Minister, he had full control of the Ministry. Tenneti, Damodaram Sajeevaiah, Peddireddy Timma Reddy, Kadapa Koti Reddy, Pattabhi Rama Rao were in the cabinet. A little later, Lachanna, from Krishskar Lok Party, joined the ministry. Gopala Reddy was elected as the President of State congress. Alluri Styanarayana
Raju, Kasu Brahmananda Reddy, Manthena Venkata Raju, Alapati Venkata Ramaiah, helped Sanjeeva Reddy in strengthening the party. So in this way Andhra state was formed on linguistic basis on October 1st 1953 with Kurnool as its capital. C.M.Trivedi was appointed Governor. Prakasam and N.Sanjivareddy became chief minister and Deputy Chief minister respectively. Jawaharlal Nehru inaugurated the Andhra state in the presence of Dr.S.Radha Krishnan and C.RajaGopalachari. Before the formation of Andhra State Telugu people had no identity of their own. The State of Andhra the first linguistic State in the country became a model for other States. So formation of Andhra State was fulfillment of long cherished dreams of Telugu people. After the formation of new State opportunities came for their language and culture to blossom separately outside the cramped the garden of the composite State of Madras.

THE DOWNFALL OF FIRST ANDHRA GOVERNMENT (Prakasam)

Some of the congress person could not stand the upper-hand of Sanjeeva Reddy in Prakasam’s ministry and waited for a chance to show their displeasure. Socialists started Satyagraha in Karivena (Kurnool district) for the cause of “Eenam Tenants’. Sontti Ramamurthy Committee recommended the abolition of Prohibition Act. Krishikar Lok Party led the tappers to Satyagraha under Lachanna, demanding the implementation of committee recommendation. The party chairman, Obula Reddy, did not favour it. Even the communists launched into the movement. The prisons were filled with
Satyagrahees. Lachanna and Obula Reddy had then secret meetings in Kurnool with the congress legislators. Legislators like Madduri Subba Reddy, Venkata Setty, Battena Venkata Krishana Reddy, Chidanandam, B.V. Subba Reddy, Nadimpalli Narsimha Rao were ready to support a 'No confidence Motion' against the ministry. 'No confidence motion' was put to vote on 6th November 1954. Meanwhile, Prakasam had to come to terms with Lachanna, ready to pass any orders suggested by him. But it was a delayed attempt. Two items of 'No Confidence Motion' were put for voting that day. One could not be passed due to a difference of five votes, Prakasam's Ministry was overthrown as the 'No Confidence' was passed with two deciding votes of Nayakanti Sankar Reddy and Adusumilli Subramanyaeswar Rao, who, though in congress, voted for the Resolution. Prakasam tried in vain to keep up his government. The Legislative Assembly was abolished. The state came under President's rule. CM. Teiveid was the Governor at that time. All the tappers Satyagrahees in Jail were released. Political analysts felt that it was "Noconfidence" motion against N. Sanjiva Reddy not Prakasam in true spirit. In this way first Andhra government was collapsed.

1955 Mid-term Elections

All the parties once again got ready for elections. Katragadda Rajagopala Rao and Visweswara Rao, the communists, tried in Kurnool for an alliance with Krishikar Lok Party but failed. The Communist Party was the first to release the list of its candidates in contest. They believed that they were
Makineni Basavapunnaiah, with his speeches, lost the support of the middle class people, but gained that of the workers. The communists went even to the extent of thinking as to who should be the chief minister among them. The congress leaders met in Eluru and decided to contest without any alliance with any party. The centre, realizing the menace of the communists, instituted on unified action against them. Ranga was called to Delhi for talks. Balvanth Ray Mahta, Lal Bhadur Shastry, Mallayya, Kotta Raghu Ramaiah, held discussions with Ranga. Even without consulting their party men Ranga declared from Delhi itself that his party would join congress. Meanwhile, Socialist leader, Mr. P.V.G. Raju, Krishikar Lok Party Leader, Lachanna came to an agreement for an election alliance in Srikakulam and Vizag districts. Tenneti, after consulting Nehru in Cuttack, gave consent for alliance. Ranga made attempts in vain, to bring in even Nayakanti Shankar Reddy and Adusumilli Subramanyeswara Rao who helped the fall of Prakasam. Congress, Praja Party and Krishikar Lok Party decided to fight the election as United Congress Front. Gopala Reddy, Tenneti and Kandula Obul Reddy, formed a committee of themselves to decide the list of candidates. Sanjeeva Reddy and Kala Venkata Rao gave one list. Lachanna gave another. Raghu Ramaiah and Challapalli Raja played prominent roles behind the curtain. Prakasam was not at all taken into picture. Failing to draft the Election Manifesto, they rushed to Delhi for help. It had become a part of congress proceedings to seek help from Delhi on each and every occasion.
The leaders at the centre made some settlement regarding the manifesto. Both the congress and communists arranged speeches of top leaders of the country in the election canvass. There was a keen contest to all 196 seats. Both the Parties did the Goebel’s propaganda. The newspaper supported the united congress front. S.K. Patil and D.K. Barua played a prominent role in the elections. The communists predicted their victory in 120 seats. But United Congress bagged 147 seats—congress got 119, Krishikar Lok Party 10, Praja Socialists 13, Praja Party 5, Only 15 seats were taken by the communists. They had 40 seats in the previous legislative Assembly15.

The absolute majority to congress gave rise to groupism once again. Dhebar, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Devkanth Barua came down to Andhra to settle the matters among various groups. Praja Party once again tried to bring Prakasam to power but with little success. Gopala Reddy’s name was suggested by Krishikar Lok Party. Alluri Satyanarayan Raju, Brahmananda Reddy and some others tried hard for Sanjeeva Reddy. Sanjeeva Reddy said that he had the majority support. Sreemannarayana was deputed from the centre to come to the State’s rescue. He conducted secret voting in Kurnool and announced that Gopala Reddy got more votes but he did not give the particulars of the voting. Manthena Venkata Raju and Alluri Satyanarayana Raju gave a statement that Sanjeeva Reddy got more votes and the matter was unjustly decided against him. However, Gopala Reddy was made the chief minister and Sanjeeva Reddy, the Deputy Chief in the United Congress Front. Tenneti and A.B. Nageswara

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Rao (Praja Praty), Gouthu Lachanna and Neeru Konda Rama Rao (Krishikar Lok Party), Kalluri Chandramouli and Kala Venkata Rao were in the new ministry. Sanjeeva Reddy's group had to abstain from putting up Brahmananda Reddy to contest for speaker's place as they were not sure of their strength. Rokkam Laksmi Narasimham Dora had become the speaker. M.R Appa Rao too aspired for the post. As it was orally agreed earlier to have three ministers from Krishikar Lok Party, Lachanna and his men insisted on Obula Reddy being the Minister. Sanjeeva Reddy put off the matter. A little after the death of the minister Neeru Konda Rama Rao, Obula Redy became the Minister for Agriculture. They very first day Obula Reddy felt that it is not possible for both Sajeeva Reddy and himself to continue in the cabinet. After six months only Sanjeeva Reddy remained in the Ministry.

After The mid-term poll without any prior consultation Krishikar Lok Party got merged itself with congress. Ranga and his followers did not comment over this merger. Lachanna fell a prey to the reprobation of Sanjeeva Reddy's group. When Lachanna was the Minster, one Kamma landlord donated some land in Krishna district to Mrs. Lachamma. Such complaints were carried to the High command by Alluri Satyanarayana raju and Manthena Venkata Raju. It was then that misunderstandings were given rise to between Ranga and Lachanna. Praja Socialist Party went to pieces as a result of the division in the All India Party as Tenneti and P.V.D. Raju rarely agreed with each other. The latter joined Lohia's group.
Soon after Gopala Reddy became the Chief Minister, the President of Andhra Pradesh Congress was to be elected. Alluri Satyanarayana Raju was the candidate from Sanjeeva Reddy's best efforts, Ranga was the opponent. Ranga was away touring abroad. Inspite of Lachanna's and Obula Reddy's best efforts, Ranga lost the election as Gopala Reddy could not assertively help him. Kala Venkata Rao, Kasu and Kalluri did see Ranga's defeat with best of their maneuvers. Sajveeva Reedy and Gopala Reddy stayed back from voting. The whole strategy was from Kala Venkata Rao, Kasu became the Chief Secretary of Congress. This helped to the political stability of Sanjeeva Reddy's group. Pidathala Ranga Reddy and Pemma Raju Venkata Rao acted as joint secretaries. It was the end of Andhra Politics. The stage then shifted to Hyderabad.

The debacle of mid-term election of the Communist party led to misunderstanding among the party men. It was the beginning of the humility.

Achievements

The congress governments in Andhra Pradesh did achieve certain remarkable things-Venkateswara University at Tirupathi, Krishna barrage near Vijayawada, High Court in Guntur, nearly 12 small scale projects stand as the landmarks of these governments.

EMERGENCE OF ANDHRA PRADESH

Dr.Neelam Sanjiva Reddy, who was Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra State, had contributed his best in emerging Andhra Pradesh.
The States Re-organization Commission (S.R.C)

After the formation of Andhra State in October 1953, the demand for the creation of other linguistic states gained momentum. On 22 December 1953 Nehru announced in the Lok Sabha the decision to set up a States Re-organization Commission to examine ‘objectively and dispassionately’ the whole question of the re-organization of the States of the Indian Union. One week after Nehru’s announcement, the members of the Commission were named. They were Saiyid Fazl Ali (Chairman), H.N.Kunzru and K.M.Panikkar.

The appointment of the Commission was hailed by the Andhras. They hoped that their dream of Visalandhra would be realized since the people of the Hyderabad State were unanimous for the trifurcation of their State. Further, the Andhras thought that all the outlying Telugu areas in Mysore, Orissa, Tamil Nadu and Madhya Pradesh would be incorporated in Visalandhra.

Though the people of Hyderabad State were unanimous for the trifurcation of their State, there was a difference of opinion among the people of Telengana regarding the future of their area. Some favoured its inclusion in Andhra to form Visalandhra with Hyderabad city as capital. Others wanted to maintain the identity of Telengana as a separate state. The Communists consistently supported the formation of Visalanadhra. All other parties including the Hyderabad State Congress were divided in their opinion regarding the desirability or otherwise of Visalandhra.
After the police action of September 1948 Hyderabad State was placed under the military government of Major J.N. Choudhary. In 1949 it was replaced by a civilian government headed by M.K. Vellodi, I.C.S. In 1950 four representatives of the State Congress were inducted into the administration as ministers. After the police action the menace of the Razajkars was removed but the revolt of the communists continued. The Government of India had to deploy armed forces in Telengana to suppress the revolt. By 1951 the Communists realized their failure and agreed to give up their violence. Thereupon the ban on the Communist Party was lifted and in the 1952 elections the Communists contested many seats in Telengana. In the elections the State Congress was returned to power because of its good showing in the other regions of the state namely the Marathi speaking Marathwada and the Kannada speaking Hyderabad-Karnataka. Even though in Telengana the Congress did not secure a majority, still the Congress High Command wanted the popular ministry in Hyderabad to be headed by a Telugu man, Since Telugus formed more than 50 percent of the State’s population. As a result B. Ramakrishna Rao became the Chief Minister.

After the police action, the demand for Visalandhra gained ground in the Circar districts. In November 1949, A. Kaleswara Rao formed the Visalandhra Mahasabha at Vijayawada. Slowly the demand for Visalandhra gained acceptance even in Telengana. Towards the end of 1949, C. Rajagopalachari, the Governor- General of India visited Hyderabad and
favoured the continuance of the State as a multi-lingual unit. It will be remembered, by the end of 1949 ever one was hoping that the separate Andhra province would be formed before the new constitution came in to force in January 1950. By expressing himself against the dismemberment of Hyderabad State, perhaps Rajagopalachari wanted to deny the future Andhra State a sizable territory and also a good capital city Hyderabad. The A.P.C.C. took note of this 'unprogressive attitude' and hoped that in due course Visalandhra would be formed with Hyderabad city as capital.

When the A.I.C.C. met at Bangalore in July 1951, Kaleswara Rao raised the question of Visalandhra but he was snubbed by Nehru not to indulge in 'loose talk'. In the elections of 1952 the Communists registered impressive victories both in Andhra and Telengana. In October 1953 when Andhra State was formed, the Communists were prevented from forming the ministry due to the support of the K.L.P and P.S.P. to the Congress. The Communists felt that in Visalandhra they would have better chances of capturing power, and intensified the demand for Visalandhra.

After the appointment of the S.R.C the demand for Visalandhra received a big boost. Immediately the protagonists of separate Telengana intensified their demand. K.V.Ranga Reddy, the president of the 'Hyderabad State Congress Committee and his nephew Dr. M.Chenna Reddy, though originally favoured Visalandhra, changed their stand and became very articulate in their support for separate Telengana.
The S.R.C visited Hyderabad in June-July 1954 and heard the views of different organizations and individuals and received memoranda from them. The Commission submitted its report on 30 September 1955.

The commission recommended the disintegration of the Hyderabad State since ‘public sentiment, both within and without the State, is overwhelming and insistent on the need for the disintegration of the State’. It also added that.

We are not impressed by the claim that during the last two hundred years a specific Deccan culture has developed in the whole area and that this culture is major contribution to the Unity of India. The common culture of Hyderabad, like the unity of this state, is something that has been imposed from above.

Having recommended the disintegration of Hyderabad State, the Commission suggested the incorporation of the Kannada speaking districts of the State with Mysore State and the Marathi speaking districts with Bombay State.

The Commission Summed up the Advantage of Visalandhra thus:

The advantages of a large Andhra State including Telengana are that it will bring into existence a State of about 32 million with a considerable hinterland, with large water and power resources, adequate mineral wealth and valuable raw materials. This will also solve the difficult and vexing problem of
finding a permanent capital for Andhra, for the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad are very well suited to be the capital of Visalandhra.20

Another advantage of the formation of Visalandhra will be that the development of the Krishna and Godavari rivers will thereby be brought under unified control. The Krishna and Godavari projects rank amongst the most ambitious in India. They have been formulated after a prolonged period of inactivity, during which, for various technical and administrative reasons only anicuts in the delta area have been built. Complete unification of either the Krishna or the Godavari valley is not, of course possible. But if one independent political jurisdiction, namely, that of Telengana. Can be eliminated, the formation and implementation of plans in the eastern areas in these two great river basins will be greatly expedited. Since Telengana as part of Visalandhra, will benefit both directly and indirectly from the development, there is a great deal to be said for its amalgamation with the Andhra States.21

The Economic affiliations of Telegana with the existing Andhra State are also not unimportant. Telegana has in years of scarcity a sizable deficit in food supplies. The existing Andhra State however, has normally a surplus which Telengana may be able to use. The existing State of Andhra likewise has no coal, but will be able to get its supplies from Singareni Telengana will also be able to save a great deal of expenditure on general administration in case it is not established as a separate unit.22
The creation of Visalandhra is an ideal to which numerous individuals and public bodies, both in Andhra and Telengana, have been passionately attached over a long period of time, and unless there are strong reasons to the contrary, this sentiments is entitled to consideration.\(^23\)

**Regarding Telengana the Commission made the following observations:**

The case for Visalandhra thus rests on arguments which are impressive. The considerations, which have been urged in favour of a separate Telengana State are, however, not such as may be lightly brushed aside.\(^24\)

The existing Andhra State has faced a financial problem of some magnitude ever since it was created: and in comparison with Telengana, the existing Andhra State has low per capita revenue. Telengana on the other hand is many less likely to be faced with financial embarrassment. The much higher incidence of land revenue in Telengana and excise revenue of the order of Rs. 5 crores per annum principally explains this difference. Whatever explanation may be, some Telengana leaders seem to fear that the result of unification will be to exchange some settled sources of revenue, out of which development schemes may be financed, for financial uncertainty similar to that with which Andhra is now faced. Telengana claims to be progressive and from an administrative point of view, unification, it is contended is not likely to confer any benefits on this area.\(^25\)

When plans for future development are taken into account Telengana fears that the claims of this area may not receive adequate consideration in
Vislandhra. The Nandikonda and Kushtapuram (Godavari) projects are, for example, among the most important which Telengana or the country as a whole has undertaken. Irrigation in the Coastal deltas of these two rivers is, however, also being planned, Telengana, therefore does not wish to lose its present independent rights in relation to the utilization of the waters of the Krishna and Godavari.

One of the principal causes of opposition of Visalandhra also seems to be the apprehension felt by the educationally backward people of Telengana that they may be swamped and exploited by the more advanced people of the Coastal area. In the Telengana districts outside the city of Hyderabad, education is woefully backward. The result is that a lower qualification than in Andhra is accepted for public service. The real fear of the people of Telengana is that if they join Andhra, they will be unequally placed in relation to the people of Andhra and in this partnership the major partner will derive all the advantages immediately, while Telengana itself may be converted into a colony by the enterprising Coastal Andhras.

After examine the case of Visalandhra and separate Telengana the Commission felt that “the advantages of the formation of Visalandhra are obvious” and that “nothing should be done to impede the realization of the goal.”
**But it came to the conclusion that:**

It will be in the interest of Andhra as well as Telengana, if, for the present, the Telengana area is constituted into a separate State, which may be known as the Hyderabad State, with the provision that its unification with Andhra after the General elections likely to be held in or about 1961, if by a two-thirds majority the legislature of the residuary Hyderabad State expresses itself in favour of unification. The state of Hyderabad (as we should prefer to call this unit) to be constituted for the time being, should consist of the following districts, namely, Mahabubnagar, Nalgonda, Warangal including Khammam, Karimnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Hyderabad, Medak and Bidar and the Munagala enclave in the Nalgonda district belonging to the Krishna districts of the existing Andhra State.

**Gentlemen’s Agreement**

The S.R.C Report favouring the creation of Telengana led to intensive lobbying by both the advocate of Telengana and Visalandhra. The Communists reacted quickly and announced that they would resign their seats and contest the elections on that issue. Telengana Congressmen also joined the issue. K.V.Ranga Reddi and M.Chenna Reddy hailed the recommendation of the S.R.C. But a majority of the Congress legislator’s from Telengana and 7 out of ten District Congress Committees supported Visalandhra. In the Hyderabad Legislative Assembly the issue was raised. In the 174 member house, 147 members expressed their views. Of this 103 supported Visalandhra and only 29 wanted Telengana and 15 remained neutral.
In Andhra almost all leaders favoured Visalandhra. Only Ranga on an earlier opposed Visalandhra.

Finally the Congress High Command accepted Visalandhra. Their decision was partly influenced by the arguments of Hyderabad State in favour of Visalandhra. The hard core of Telengana protagonists like K.V. Ranga Reddy and M. Chenna Reddi however stuck to their demand for separate Telengana. In order to prevent misunderstanding between the two regions of Andhra and Telengana, the Congress High Command arranged a meeting of the leaders of the regions at Delhi on 20 February 1956.

Andhra was represented by B. Gopala Reddy (the chief Minister of Andhra State), N. Sanjiva Reddy, (Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra State) G. Latchanna (Ministers of Andhra) and A. Satyanarayana Raju, President of A.P.C.C. Telengana was represented by B. Ramakrishna Rao (Chief Minister of Hyderabad State), K.V. Ranga Reddy, and M. Chenna Reddy (Minister of Hyderabad State) and J.V. Narasinga Rao, President of the Hyderabad Congress Committee. The meeting resulted in an agreement over the formation of Visalandhra by providing certain safeguards to Telengana.

All the eight participants affixed their signatures to the accord popularly known as 'Gentlemen’s Agreement. It will be seen that all the eight members belonged to the Congress Party and no non-Congress leader was associated with the Agreement.

From the above it will be seen that the Andhra leaders went more than half way to meet the genuine demands of Telengana people. The Government
of India gave statutory support to the provisions of the Agreement by incorporating them in the State Re-organization Act. In the draft bill the new State was named Andhra- Telengana. Andhra leaders raised objection to the name as it underlined the difference between the two regions, so the joint select committee amended it as ‘Andhra Pradesh’.

On November 1, 1956 Andhra Pradesh was formed, and the question arose as to whether Gopal Reddy or Sanjiva Reddy or B.Ramakrishna Rao was to become Chief Minister. According to B.Ramakrishna Rao, he was approached by representatives of Gopal Reddy and Sanjiva Reddy asking him to become Chief Minister of the new State provided he could obtain the united support of Telengana Congressmen. But he was told by Chenna Reddy and K.V.,Ranga Reddy that he did not have the support of their group. Consequently, B.Ramakrishna Rao, left the State and accepted governorship of Kerala State. ChennaReddy and Ranga Reddy were unwilling to accept B.Ramakrishna Rao as Chief Minister, not only because he was a Brahmin but more so he was a townsman and would infringe in due course over their interest. The Telangana struggle had made urban Congressmen aware of the necessity for land reforms and they felt more likely to get it from Sanjive Reddy than from Gopal Reddy, who was not a peasant proprietor. This left the field clear to Sanjiva Reddy and Gopal Reddy. The support of B.Ramakrishna Rao’s group which held the majority in Telengana was swing towards Sanjiva Reddy and this gave him a majority and he was able to overthrow Gopal Reddy.
and thus Sanjiva Reddy became the new Chief Minister of Vishalandhra, in 1956. Thus 1st November 1956, Nehru inaugurated the new state. Sanjiva Reddy became the first Chief Minister and C.M. Trivedi the first Governor.