CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION
India's Freedom struggle is an epic story in the history of the modern world. The second half of the 19th century witnessed the flowering of national political consciousness and the foundation and growth of an organised national movement. During this period, the modern Indian intelligentsia spread political education and took steps to initiate political work in the country. This work was based on new political ideas, a new intellectual perception of reality, new social, economic and political objectives, new forces, of struggle and resistance and new techniques of political organization.¹

The politically conscious Indians were increasingly becoming aware of the need for an all-India organization not only to provide a common form for the meeting of minds and for the formulation of a common programme of activity, but also to carry on public education with a view to creating in time a broad-based freedom struggle. The idea was given a more concrete shape by the Bombay group of nationalist political workers who co-operated with A. O. Hume, an English man and a retired Civil Servant, to bring together at Bombay in the last days of December 1885 political leaders from different parts of the country. These leaders decided to start the Indian National Congress.²

The basic weakness of the early nationalist movement lay in its narrow social base. The movement did not have a wide appeal. The area of its influence was in the main limited to the urban educated Indians. In particular, the leadership was confined to professional groups such as lawyers, doctors, journalists and teachers, and a few merchants and land-owners.² The leaders lacked political faith in the masses. However, the programme and policies of the early national movement championed the cause of all sections of the Indian people and represented nationwide interests against colonial expansion.

By the turn of the century the general mood of discontent had spread to the rural gentry, the peasantry and the workers. The situation threw up a large number of new leaders who were more radical in their demands and who believed in a more militant form of nationalism. The new leaders who emerged appealed to a wider circle of the lower middle classes, the students, and even a section of the workers and peasants. In addition to Lokmanya
Tilak, leaders such as Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Gosh and Lala Lajpat Rai were the chief exponents of this militant school of nationalism. They pleaded for courage, self-confidence and a spirit of sacrifice. They hated foreign rule and firmly proclaimed that swaraj or full independence was the only goal worth fighting for. They had an abiding faith in the strength of the masses and they prepared to win freedom through mass action.

A remarkable feature of India's freedom movement is the valuable service rendered at different stages by a long line of distinguished persons at the national and local levels who felt a deep and genuine affection for the motherland. These men gave a healthy tone to our public life through records of personal purity and uncompromising adherence to convictions which have become all too rare in the years of our Independence. Most political activists are activated by a variety of motives: they may wish to earn money, advance their careers, defeat personal enemies, achieve public or private ends, and so on. There is another category of leaders who came under the influence of certain personalities and their principles and dedicated their lives to achieve the goals for which those persons and principles stood. To this last category belonged Sri Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the freedom fighter from Andhra region.

The history of the Congress is in a sense regarded as the history of modern India. After centuries of dormancy under a 'pall of gloom,' India under the leadership of the Congress, woke up to freedom. It was this remarkable organisation that conducted a non-violent revolution for over half a century. The beginnings of the struggle for freedom—'the heralds of the dawn'—can be traced to that period of Indian History during which the East India Company, with the approval of the British Parliament, governed India.

The East India Company, through its 'ravenous adventurers,' transformed itself from trading company into a political power and gradually the whole country lay at its mercy. The masters of the Company piled up fortunes which were 'sufficient to support peerages.' On the conditions of the times then, it was written thus: "It was the darkest age in modern Indian history. An old society and polity had crumbled down and a new one had not yet been built in its place. Devastation reigned in the land. All the vital limbs of society
were paralysed: religious institutions, and schools, village and home, agriculture, industry and trade, law and administration, were all in a chaotic condition. An all-round reconstruction and renovation were necessary for the continued existence of social life and order. Politically, foreign rule "emasculated the nation, killing all originality and initiative and fostering a spirit of servility and abjectness." However, the gigantic task of 'all-round reconstitution and renovation could not have been accomplished but for the benefit of English education and the efforts of social reformers and religious leaders. As a result of English education, a new class of intelligentsia emerged in India. It must be said to the credit of the alien rulers that the system of education introduced by them helped the intelligentsia to get access to 'the radical ideals and doctrines which grew in Western Europe and America-doctrines like nationalism, democracy and representative government.'

India’s liberation from all old trammels—religious, social, political and intellectual—was facilitated by the English education and the work of the prophets and seers of the nineteenth century.

Social legislators from Manu downwards were educators in a way because they initiated “a new sort of behaviour.” During India’s Renaissance, Statesmen, poets and writers along with social reformers displayed an urge to “make men amenable to their idea of the true, the good and the beautiful.” The first of the social reformers was Ram Mohan Roy who summed up in his life 'the evolution of an epoch' and stood in his days ‘as at once fulfilment of the past and the promise of the future.' India’s renaissance is said to have begun with him. His aim was the liberation of India from what Bipin Chandra Pal described as ‘the fatal incubus of a mediaeval abstraction.’ A great humanist, a pioneer of social reform and the founder of the Brahmin Samaj, Ram Mohan Roy gave to the Indians the first lessons in constructive work. His Brahmo Society, which aimed at the reform of the Hindu Society, initiated the first influential religious movement in the nineteenth century. The cause of nationalism was advanced by a similar organisation, the Arya Samaj, founded by Dayananda Saraswathi.

Mention must be made of pioneering Orientalists like Sir William James for the revival of Indian learning and of Charles Grant and Alexander
Duff for having introduced English education in India. The contribution of Macaulay to the growth of English education in India is too well-known. The establishment of Universities opened ‘the flood-gates’ to the liberal ideas and ideals of the Victorian Age in England. By 1858 ‘the old landed aristocracy and the old feudal order’ fell into a state of decline. There was a new political consciousness. In Bengal from where Ram MOHAN Roy and Keshub Chunder Sen hailed, there was a new ferment, due to the work of the Ramakrishna Mission. Swami Ramakrishna Paramahamsa gave a new direction to Hindu religion and his call for social service or ‘Loka Sangraha’ reached new heights under the dynamic leadership of his disciple Swami Vivekananda. It was India’s good fortune that in the hour of national crisis, she had the benefit of the guidance of spiritual leaders like Ramakrishna, Dayananda, Vivekananda, Ramana Maharshi, Aurobindo and Gandhi. They stood for the eternal values—

“faith (shraddha), self-restraint (samyama) and dedication (Samarpana) blossoming into Satyam (Truth), Shivam (goodness) and Sundaram (Beauty).”9 As Munshi said, these values are embedded in our national outlook and will continue to guide us ‘even in this fear-and-avarice-ridden age of ours.’ The neo-Vedantism of Vivekananda sought “to realize the old spiritual ideals of the race by the idealization and spiritualization of the concrete contents and actual relations of life.”10 It demanded a social, economic and political reconstruction.

In the nineteenth century, described as a ‘century of wrong,’11 there was a search for lost values inspired by the penance of generations of “saints, seers and statesmen.”12 Nationalism, which had been expressed in religious terms, emerged as an organised movement only in the last decades of the nineteenth century.13 Awakened national consciousness generated ‘an irrepressible desire for self-emancipation.’14

The new political consciousness began to grow, thanks to the liberal policies of Lord Ripon. Ideas of the nationalism fired the imagination of the people. By 1885, the new intelligentsia15 adequately supplied the leadership of which the people and the country were in need.16 Long before Bright, Fawcett and Bradlaugh took up the cause of India on the parliamentary scene, the three celebrities, Burke, Fox and Sheridan espoused the cause of India in the English Parliament. Another Englishman, Allan Octavian Hume’s initiative was
responsible for the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885. A retired member of the Indian Civil Service, he organised the scattered elements of public life and focussed them into an institution for political articulation. He embodied the spirit of the new times when he appealed to the youth “to act upon the eternal truth that self-sacrifice and unselfishness are the only unfailing guides to freedom and happiness.” On December 28, 1885, in the Hall of the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College, Bombay, the First National Congress met. There was a galaxy of eminent men in that gathering. Editors of well-known newspapers and magazines also attended it. Its aims, however, were modest. Like all great institutions, observed the Congress Historian, it had humble beginnings. A year prior to the birth of the Congress, seventeen eminent men met in Madras and discussed the possibility of a national movement for political ends. Around that year, the Madras Mahajana Sabha, with P. Ananda Charulu as its Secretary, 'roused national intelligence' in South India which later played no mean part in the nationalist movement. The names of Ananda Charulu, Vijaraghavachariar, Subrahmania Iyer, Subbarau Pantulu and Rangaiah Naidu were well-known in Indian Public life. “The Hindu,” founded by some nationalists, ‘inaugurated public life in the South.”

Ananda Charulu, was the first Andhra, in fact the first South Indian, to become the President of the Indian National Congress. Indian public life in general and South Indian public life in particular was enriched by the contribution of the Andhras. While Charulu was hailed as not a mere individual but an ‘institution,’ N. Subbarau Pantulu, one of the founders of ‘The Hindu,’ rose to be the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress.

By 1905, political consciousness became widespread in Andhra. Two towns in the Circars—Rajahmundry and Masulipatnam—emulated most the lead given in Bengal to social reconstruction and promotion of national education. Veeresalingam carried out his reforms mostly in Rajahmundry, while Venkataratnam Naidu did his crusading work in several places, especially in Masulipatnam. It may be recalled that even to the first Congress session of 1885 delegates went from Masulipatnam. In 1905, a Swadeshi Meeting was held in Masulipatnam and patriotic songs were sung and stirring speeches made. A flag representing ‘Mother India’ was hoisted. There was evidence to show that people
in this coastal town displayed keen enthusiasm in the nationalist movement during its early stages. It was here that the idea of a composite Andhra State, combining the areas of Rayalaseema, Andhra and Telangana was first conceived of in 1908. This historic meeting was summoned at the instance of several young and enthusiastic men of the town of Masulipatnam. Among them was the twenty-eight year old Pattabhi Sitaramayya, who was making his mark as a doctor and as a public worker. He along with Kopalli Hanumantha Rao believed that Indian nationalism would usher in a "deep passion for a richer and more spiritual humanity." They Visualised a fundamental unity of India through the 'channels of literary, artistic and social evolution of their motherland.' The young men of Masulipatnam not only dreamed of a united and independent India but strove to translate their ideals in to reality. They were articulate and pragmatic. Sarojini Naidu said that the Andhras were a compromise between Dravida Desa (Tamilnadu) and Vanga desa (Bengal) in that they combined in themselves the intellectual agnosticism of the Tamils and the mystic quality of the Bengalis. To a large extent Pattabhi and his Masulipatnam friends symbolised this.

A disciple of Venkataratnam Naidu and a student of Christian educational institutions, Pattabhi started as a social reformer and a constructive public worker and became a leading political figure of India. Edwin Samuel Montague, it seems, asked Gandhi in an interview in 1917 why a social reformer like himself meddled in politics. "For that very reason," said Gandhi in reply, "I had to get into politics." Similarly a medical practitioner by profession and a social reformer by conviction, Pattabhi gave up his lucrative medical practice so that he could serve the people better. In the progress of Andhra in the political, commercial and educational fields and in leading a sub-national movement, i.e., the Andhra movement, Pattabhi played a prominent role. He grew into a leader and was the second Andhra to become the Congress President. His political career embraced many fields such as Co-operation, Insurance, National Education, the Linguistic and the States' People's Movements. He made his own contribution to the freedom struggle and India's political evolution.
In the pages that follow, an attempt is made to project the personality of Pattabhi Sitaramayya against the setting in which he operated, and his total achievement in the many tasks of social and political reconstruction. He was a front-ranking leader of the older generation of Congress stalwarts. He was not only a Selfless politician's. But also Constructive, Statesman, he used to thing always comforts of future generations. Particularly he played constructive role in the linguistic and the State’s People’s Movement. He was symbol of dedication and service. The dissertation is divided in to Seven chapters 1)Introduction, 2) Childhood and Early Political Life, 3) Pattabhi’s Contribution for the formation of Andhra State, 4) Pattabhi As a Founder of Institutions, 5) Pattabhi In National Politics, 6) Pattabhi’s Role in the States People’s Movement 7) Conclusion. The role he played in awakening the people of his home State and his contribution to the nationalist politics need to be analysed and evaluated so that his work and worth are placed in the proper perspective. In a way the study of individual leadership is basic to the theoretical study of politics in general.