

**REGIONAL IMBALANCE IN THE INDIAN STATE OF ANDHRA
PRADESH WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO TELENGANA**



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Towards the Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
POLITICAL SCIENCE**

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DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

I, Robinson Undrasi declare on oath that the references and literature which are quoted in my dissertation entitle **“Regional imbalance in the Indian state of Andhra Pradesh with special reference to Telangana”** are from original sources and are acknowledged at the appropriate place in the dissertation. I declare further that I have not used this information for any purpose other than my research.

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CONTENTS

Cover Page

Declaration

Certificate of the Guide

Acknowledgements

Chapters

Page Numbers

CHAPTER I Review of Literature and Research Methodology 1-12

1.1 Introduction

1.2. Importance of the Study

1.3. Scope of the Study

1.4. Statement of the Problem

1.5. Objectives

1.6. Hypothesis

1.7. Limitations of the Study

1.8. Delimitations of the Study

1.9. Methods of Data Collection (Sources used).

1.10. Selection of Respondents: (Selection of Samples)

1.11. Type of Research

1.12. Procedure of the Study

1.13. Review of Literature

1.13.1 State Re-organisation Commission

1.14. What is the National Policy on Smaller States?

1.15 National Integrations and Security Perspective.

1.16 Chapter Scheme.

1.17 References

CHAPTER – II History of Andhra Pradesh

13-37

2.1 Introduction

2.2 Early History

2.3 Modern History

2.4 Population Statistics

2.5 Economy

2.6 Andhra Pradesh and its Divisions

2.6 1. Coastal Andhra Region

2.6.2. Rayalaseema Region

2.6.3. Telangana Region

2.7. Andhra Pradesh Movement (Before 1953)

2.7.1 Madras Manade Movement

2.8 Telangana Movement 1969

2.9. Jai Andhra Movement 1972

CHAPTER III : The Constitutional Framework

38-49

3.1. Introduction and overview

3.2. The legal provisions

3.3. Reference of the Bill to the State Legislature

3.4. There is no limitation on Parliamentary power under Articles 2,3 & 4.

3.5 The Constitutional Assembly Debates: Origin of Article 3.

3.6 References

CHAPTER IV: Analysis for the demand of Telangana

50-82

4.1. Introduction

4.2. The Demand for Telangana: A Historical Perspective.

4.3. Supreme Court on creation of Telangana: Is it Political Question?

4.4. Current Scenario

4.5. Role of political Parties in Andhra Pradesh

4.6. Appointment of Justice Shri Krishna Commission

4.7 Key Recommendations Shri Krishna Commission

4.8 References

CHAPTER V: Conclusions and Suggestions

83-110

5.1. Introduction.

5.2. Conclusions.

5.3. Findings (Testing of Hypothesis).

5.3. 1. Vocally same but Culturally different.

5.3.2. Political Domination and Abuse of power.

5.3.3. Mal-Distribution of State Income and Funds.

5.3..4. Exploitation of Educational and Employment opportunities.

5.3.5. Exploitation of Water resources and Schemes.

5.3.6. Exploitation of Industries and Mineral Resources.

5.3.7. Exploitation of Land in and around Hyderabad.

5.3.8. Branding Telangana supporters and protestors as Maoists or Naxalites.

5.3. 9. Hyderabad as a Capital City for Telangana only.

5.3.10. Smaller States are good for Development and Governance

5.4 Suggestions and Recommendations

List of Tables

Table No.	Title of the Table	Page No.
1	Index of Human Development in Andhra Pradesh	19
2	Economy of Andhra Pradesh	22
3	Stand of Political Parties in Andhra Pradesh	58
4	List of Telangana Districts, Mandals and Villages	68
5	List of Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh	88
6	Area Irrigated by Sources, Region wise 2000-2001	90
7	Collegiate Education – Degree Colleges (2001)	94
8	Admission of private Degree Colleges to Grant-in-Aid (1985-2000)	95
9	Literacy Rates – 2001 Census	95
10	Primary Education, Region Wise	96
11	Area Irrigated by Sources, Region-Wise – 2000 -2001	99
12	Area under Tank Irrigation in Telangana Decline between 1956 & 2001	100

List of Maps

Map No.	Name of Map	Page No.
1	Map of in India showing Andhra Pradesh	14
2	Hyderabad State Re-organization 1956	23
3	Coastal Andhra	25
4	Rayalseema	26
5	Telangana	28

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Andhra Pradesh was formed on 1st November 1956. It comprises of Coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema and Telangana regions. Each region has its own distinct characteristics. It is the fifth largest state in terms of the area in our country. The present state of Andhra Pradesh came into being on November 1, 1956. It was constituted with the merger of the large and predominantly Telugu-speaking residuary part of the erstwhile state of Hyderabad with the state of Andhra that had come into existence earlier after its separation from the then Madras state. (Census of India 1901)

Andhra state was constituted as a result of the efforts of Telugu-speaking people from Madras state who wished to have a separate linguistic state for promoting their own distinct culture. The state was formed on October 1, 1953, after the Act of Parliament (the Andhra State Act of 1953) received the President's assent on September 14, 1953. It was the first state constituted on linguistic basis after India's independence. (Economic Times, Sept. 29, 2012)

Although Andhra Pradesh constitutionally became a geographically unified state, in many respects it continued to function as a political mix of two entities, namely, the Andhra and the Telangana regions. However, in socio-economic comparisons, given the historical background, it was considered as a mix of three distinct regions i.e. coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema and Telangana. Looking back, it can be said that, the identification of Andhra Pradesh as a political mix of two entities caused and resulted in more discomfiture than advantage as events continued to evolve. The economic and political life of Andhra Pradesh in its fifty four years

of existence has shown different kinds of turbulence at various points of time. During the first two decades itself, the state was faced by two major movements; one in 1969, popularly known as “Jai Telangana” and the other in 1972, popularly known as “Jai Andhra”. While the former was concentrated in Telangana region and the latter in Andhra region, the impact of the two was felt generally all over the state. (Hyderabad State Committee 1956-1966)

1.2 IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY:

When India became independent Telugu speaking people were distributed in about 22 district, 9 of them in the former Nizam dominions of princely state of Hyderabad, 12 in the Madras presidency(Andhra Region) and one in French controlled Yanam. When Andhra Pradesh was formed on November 1st, 1953 as the first state formed on linguistic basis, the people of Telangana were not happy as they had several concerns.

The region has less developed economy than Andhra but with a large revenue base, (mostly because it taxed rather than it prohibited alcoholic beverages) which people of Telangana feared might be diverted for use in Andhra. They feared that planned irrigation projects on Krishna and Godavari rivers would not benefit Telangana proportionately, even though people of Telangana controlled the head waters of the rivers. It is feared that the people of Andhra who had access to higher standards of education under the British rule, would have an unfair advantage in seeking government and educational jobs. Presently the statehood demand has exploded to an unimaginable level. Therefore it is important to study whether the demand for separate Telangana state is justified or not.

1.3 SCOPE OF THE STUDY:

The study is undertaken by researcher pertains to the demand for the separate state of Telangana in Andhra Pradesh. Naturally it has covered the effect on social, political and economic life of people of Telangana region.

1.4 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM:

The problem of the research work is the conflict between Telangana and Seemandhra regions for the bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh with Hyderabad as their capital.

1.5 OBJECTIVES:

Following are the objectives of research study:

- To evaluate the genuinity for the demand of 'Telangana' as a separate State.
- To find out the reasons of the demand.
- To study the various political parties agenda on demand of 'Telangana' as a separate State.
- To compare present demand of Telangana with demand of Andhra from Madras state (before October 1, 1953)

1.6 HYPOTHESIS:

1. Seemandhra people are more benefited than Telangana people in politically and economically.
2. Exploitation of education and employment opportunities, water resources, industries and mineral resources and exploitation of land in and around Hyderabad is the main cause for the demand of Telangana.
3. Main political parties in Andhra Pradesh are passive on this demand as they do not want to lose their support from both the region.

4. The Telangana demand is same as the demand of Andhra state from Madras state (before October 1, 1953)

1.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY:

The following will be the limitations of the study:

1. The source of literature is limited – only books, journals, magazines and news papers.
2. The researchers did not have enough of time to observe all the aspects for the demand of Telangana.
3. We may not be sure if the information given by the people and leaders is genuine.
4. Some of the secondary data was available in integrated form, but such publications are not updated.

1.8 DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY:

The study is delimited to:-

1. Demand for the formation of separate Telangana state.
2. Telangana and Seemandhra regions.
3. State of Andhra Pradesh.

1.9 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION:

1. Primary Data:

The researcher had personally visited the people of both Telangana as well as Seemaandhra Regions in Andhra Pradesh and collected the data from the interviews and direct observations.

2. Secondary Data:

Books, Periodicals and Newspaper and the following sources were used.

- Justice Sri Krishna Commission Report (appointed by the central government).
- Interview of the respondents on the basis of structured questionnaire.
- In- depth interview from some of the respondents.

All the statistical tables in the subsequent pages are based on the data collected through interview and tables relating to the Telangana region and well as Andhra region have been based on the actual figures from the text books and reports.

1.10 SELECTION OF RESPONDENTS:

Three types of respondents were selected for the interview.

1	Students	50	(25 Telangana 25 Seemandhra)
2	People	50	(25 Telangana 25 Seemandhra)
3	Leaders	25	(20 Telangana 5 Seemandhra)
Total		125	(70 Telangana 55 Seemandhra)

The respondents were selected on the basis of purposive sampling method. In Andhra Pradesh most of the agitations were taken place in Hyderabad and Vijayawada. This made the researcher to choose students from Hyderabad and Vijayawada. In the sample of this research 125 peoples were selected on the basis of purposive method. In this 125 all types of people were involved. No doubt is small because of the difficulty of getting knowledgeable people about this conflict of exploitation. In the pilot survey, when people were approached their responses were almost nil for almost all the questions. Hence citizens who were comparatively

knowledgeable were approached. In this sample both Telangana and Seemandhra leaders were included. The researcher had personally taken the interview from all the leaders.

1.11 TYPE OF RESEARCH:

The descriptive survey method with qualitative analysis approach was used to find out the problem of the demand of separate state of Telangana in the state of Andhra Pradesh. The survey was conducted with the help of an opinionnaire and interviews.

1.12 PROCEDURE OF THE STUDY:

In order to obtain the necessary data concerning the demand of Telangana in the state of Andhra Pradesh the procedure outlined was followed.

1. The researcher has developed the opinionative.
2. The permission to conduct the research was obtained.
3. A pilot study was conducted on the demand of Telangana in Andhra Pradesh.
4. Necessary changes were done while evaluating each item in the opinionnaire.
5. Personally the researcher had visited the people in Telangana region as well as Seemandhra region in Andhra Pradesh.
6. The researcher had collected data from the opinionnaire, interviews and direct observation.
7. Conclusions were in terms of each item in the questionnaire after which analysis of the data and recommendation were made.

1.13 REVIEWS OF LITERATURE:

1.13.1 STATE RE-ORGANISATION COMMISSION:

The States Reorganization Commission (SRC) set up by the government of India in early 50s to examine the question of reorganization of states of the country was, in fact, not in favour of merging the Telangana region with the then Andhra state. After a very careful examination of the issues involved the SRC recommended: “It will be in the interest of Andhra as well as Telangana if, for The present, the Telangana area is constituted into a separate state which may be known as the Hyderabad state, with provision for its unification with Andhra after the general elections likely to be held in or about 1961, if by two-thirds majority the legislature of the residuary Hyderabad state expresses itself in favour of such unification”. (SRC Report: Para 386)

The commission further recommended: “Andhra and Telangana have common interests and we hope these interests will tend to bring the people closer to each other. If, however, our hopes for the development of the environment and conditions congenial to the unification of the areas do not materialize and if public sentiment in Telangana crystallizes itself against the unification of the two states, Telangana will have to continue as a separate unit”. (SRC Report: Para 388)

The Commission came to this conclusion after a dispassionate assessment of feelings of the people of Telangana and the fears entertained by them. Elaborating the reasons for recommending statehood for the Telangana region the Commission observed: “One of the principal causes of opposition to Visalandhra also seems to be the apprehensions felt by the educationally backward people of Telangana that they may be swamped and exploited by the more advanced people of the Coastal areas. The real fear of the people of Telangana 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 Telangana itself may be converted into a colony by the enterprising Andhras". (Barry Pavier, 1974)

Further, the SRC cautioned the nation against the dangers involved in reorganizing the Indian states solely on linguistic considerations. One of the rational criteria recommended by the Commission, while reorganizing the states, was: "To reject the theory of 'one language one state' which is neither justified on grounds of linguistic homogeneity, because there can be more than one state speaking the same language without offending the linguistic principle, nor practicable, since different language groups, including the vast Hindi speaking population of the Indian Union, cannot always be consolidated to form distinct linguistic units". (Narsing Rao, 1983)

1.14 WHAT IS THE NATIONAL POLICY ON SMALLER STATES?

Today in India, almost every large state is facing the demand from its backward, neglected, culturally different people and regions, to be recognized as different and given independent status and separate identity. Apart from Telangana, 11 regions are demanding statehood. These are 1.Goorkhaland (West Bengal) 2.Uttarkhand (UP) 3.Haritha Pradesh (UP), 4.Bodoland (Assam) 5.Saurashtra (Gujarat) 6.Vidarbha(Maharashtra)7.Malwa & 8.Bundelkhand (comprising parts of MP & UP) 9.Panchal Pradesh (Western UP) 10.Poorvanchal (Eastern UP), besides 11.Greater Rayalaseema & 12. Rayala Telangana 13. North Coastal Andhra within Andhra. & 14. Jai Andhra. The demand for 15. 'Manyam Seema state' within AP is the latest in such demands. (Times of India, Dec. 23, 2009)

Besides there is also a demand for greater Hyderabad being given Union Territory status, in these circumstances it is important to determine the National

Policy for creating new states. Whether it is Language, Administrative Viability, Contiguity, or Backwardness, the criterion must be decided. (Bharathi, 1926-1935)

Should Backwardness alone be the reason to create a new state, there are several backward regions in the country which will have to be considered. Should Cultural identity be a reason for separation, then there are hundreds of ethnic groups and unique cultures across India that need to be attended too. It is also important to determine whether these smaller states can be self sustainable. Also, whether these smaller states can provide for adequate security for themselves or their vulnerabilities and weaknesses will become susceptible to exploitative forces and religious fundamentalists in the present global scenario. (Economic Times, Sept. 29, 2012)

In the absence of such a comprehensive national policy, no demand for a smaller state can be treated in isolation. Except for Haryana, the creation of smaller states like Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand have not produced desired results. With a much smaller number of MLAs to manage, these states have become easy grounds for horse-trading and manipulation, resulting in prolonged political uncertainty. Often political changes can be brought about by influencing a handful of MLAs. This also affects economic growth. (Andhra Mahasabha, 1930-45)

If a separate Telangana comes up, there is every likelihood of such a scenario being repeated. It may be pertinent to state here that recently when there was demand by some sections for creation of a smaller state carved out of the present day Tamilnadu, the Union Home Minister rubbished such demands saying Tamil culture dates back to five thousand years and no division of the people is necessary or acceptable. This raises the question that how AP can be dealt with a different parameter as Telugu culture too has a history just as long. Such inconsistencies in

policy smacks of regional prejudice and a sense of in equal justice. (Golkonda Patrika 1926-1945)

1.15 NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND SECURITY PERSPECTIVE:

It may be relevant to recall that One of Ambedkar's major proposals was to make Hyderabad the second capital of India because of the centrality of location, as a junction of North and South, and on defense considerations because it being a land locked city hence strategic importance. (Gour Raj Bahadur, 1973)

Hyderabad is today home to numerous research institutes, including the Indian Institute of Chemical Technology (IICT), Centre for Cellular and Molecular Biology (CCMB), National Geophysical Research Institute (NGRI)(NGRI), IRISAT for railway signal engineering and ICRISAT. Defense Research and Development Organization (DRDO) along with DRDL and DERL has research centers in Hyderabad to develop communication and radar systems and for the Integrated Guided Missile Development Programme (IGMDP). Nuclear energy sector has a large presence with three organizations under Department of Atomic Energy (India) including the Atomic Minerals Directorate for Exploration and Research (AMD), Nuclear Fuel Complex (NFC) and Electronics Corporation of India Limited (ECIL). (Justice S. Fazal Ali, 1955)

However the prolonged Maoist Movement in the majority districts of Telangana region has proved to be self defeating and a key contributor to backwardness. It resulted in rapid deterioration of the law & order situation in the region and obstructed the achievement of the very objectives it has supposedly set out to achieve. (Barry Pavier, 1981)

At present, on one hand, the Government is trying hard to bring back majority of districts in Telangana that bore the brunt of deteriorated law & order situation and

Naxalism. On the other, religious fundamentalism and terrorism have emerged as a serious threat to peace, globally. In India, Incidentally, links with Hyderabad have been established in almost all terrorist attacks in the last few years. This is a serious cause for concern. (Andhra Patrika, 1915-1921)

In view of the same and the fact that Hyderabad houses several Central Governments' Defense installations, it raises concerns about the ability to fully protect them in the event of a separate state. Apparently a decision on Telangana will have far reaching consequences on neighboring states too and on the nation as a whole. (Basavapunnaiah, 1983)

1.16 CHAPTER SCHEME:

The study is organized in five chapters.

1. The first chapter is introductory and deals with the Early History, Modern History, Economy and Three Regions of Andhra Pradesh and also National Policy on Smaller States and National Integration and Security.
2. The second chapter deals with the review of literature and research methodology.
3. The third chapter deals the constitutional frame work, Legal provisions and reference of the Bill.
4. The fourth chapter deals with the case of Telangana a historical perspective, Supreme Court on creation of Telangana, Role of Political Parties and Appointment and Key Recommendations of Shri Krishna Commission.
5. The fifth chapter deals with the analysis and interpretation of the data, Conclusion and suggestion and also testing of Hypothesis.

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CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF ANDHRA PRADESH

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Andhra Pradesh is one of the 28 states of India, situated on the country's southeastern coast. It is India's fourth largest state by area and fifth largest by population. Its capital and largest city is Hyderabad. Andhra Pradesh is bordered by Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh and Orissa in the north, the Bay of Bengal in the east, Tamil Nadu to the south and Karnataka to the west. (Narsing Rao, 1984)

According to the Planning Commission of India, in the financial year 2011-12 the state was second in nominal GDP, and in GDP per capita it ranks fourth. Andhra Pradesh GDP in financial year 2011 was 5,67,636 core. It is historically called the 'Rice Bowl of India'. More than 77% of its crop is rice; Andhra Pradesh produced 17,796,000 tons of rice in 2006. Two of the mega cities of the state Hyderabad and Visakhapatnam were listed among the top 15 cities contributing to India's overall Gross domestic product. Andhra Pradesh has the second-longest coastline of 972 km among the states of India. Two major rivers, the Godavari and the Krishna, run across the state. The small enclave (30 square kilometres) of Yanam, a district of Pondicherry, lies in the Godavari delta in the northeast of the state. The state comprises four regions: Telangana, Coastal Andhra, Uttarandhra, and Rayalaseema. The state's most populous cities are Hyderabad, Visakhapatnam, Vijayawada, Guntur, and Warangal. (Census of India 2010)

The primary official language of Andhra Pradesh is Telugu and the co-official language is Urdu. Other languages often spoken in the state include Hindi, Marathi, Tamil, Kannada and Oriya. On 1 November 1956, the States Reorganization

Act formed Andhra Pradesh by merging Telugu-speaking areas of Andhra State with the already existing Hyderabad State. The Marathi speaking areas of Hyderabad State merged with Bombay State and Kannada speaking areas were merged with Mysore State. (Hanumantha Rao, 1984)

Map -1

MAP OF INDIA SHOWING ANDHRA PRADESH



2.2 EARLY HISTORY

The first historical records appear in the Buddhist text Anguttara Nikaya, when what is now the Nizamabad and Adilabad districts of the Telangana region constituted parts of the Assaka Mahajanapada (700–300 BC) An Andhra tribe was

mentioned in the Sanskrit epics such as Aitareya Brahmana (800 BC) and Mahabharata (400 BC). The Natya Shastra written by Bharatha (1st century BC) also mentions about the Andhra people. The roots of the Telugu language have been seen on inscriptions found near the Guntur district and from others dating to the rule of Renati Cholas in the 5th century AD. Megasthenes, a Greek traveler and geographer who visited the Court of Chandragupta Maurya (322–297 BC), mentioned that the region had three fortified towns and an army of 100,000 infantry, 200 cavalry, and 1,000 elephants. Buddhist books reveal that Andhras established their huts or tents near the Godavari River at that time. (Bawa, 1956)

Inscriptional evidence shows that there was an early kingdom in coastal Andhra (Guntur District) ruled first by Kuberaka and then by his son Varun, with Pratipalapura (Bhattiprolu) as the capital. Around the same time, Dhanyakatakam/Dharanikota (present day Amaravati) appears to have been an important place, which was visited by Gautama Buddha. According to the ancient Tibetan scholar Taranatha: "On the full moon of the month Chaitra in the year following his enlightenment, at the great stupa of Dhanyakataka, the Buddha emanated the mandala of 'The Glorious Lunar Mansions' (Kalachakra)". (Reddy Ravi Narayana, 1973)

The Mauryans extended their rule over Andhra in the 4th century BC. With the fall of the Maurya Empire in the 3rd century BC, the Satavahanas became independent. After the decline of the Satavahanas in AD 220, the Ikshvaku dynasty, Pallavas, Ananda Gotrikas, Rashtrakutas, Vishnukundinas, Eastern Chalukyas, and Cholas ruled the land. (Carr E.H, 1978)

Scholars have suggested that the Prajnaparamita Sutras, the earliest Mahayana Sutras, developed among the Mahasaṅghika along the Krishna River in

Andhra country. A.K. Warder holds that "the Mahayana originated in the south of India and almost certainly in the Andhra country." Sree Padma and Anthony Barber note that "historians of Buddhist thought have been aware for quite some time that such pivotally important Mahayana Buddhist thinkers as Nagarjuna, Dignaga, Candrakīrti, Aryadeva, and Bhavaviveka, among many others, formulated their theories while living in Buddhist communities in Andhra." They note that the ancient Buddhist sites in the lower Krishna Valley, including Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda and Jaggayyapeta "can be traced to at least the third century BC, if not earlier." The Dzogchen, Mahamudra and Lamdré masters Sri Singha, Savari, Maitripa and Virupa lived and taught in the Andhra region for some portion of their lives or were in some cases permanent residents. (Qureshi, 1949)

During this period, Telugu emerged as a popular language, supplanting Prakrit and Sanskrit. Telugu was made the official language by the Vishnukundina kings (5th and 6th centuries), who ruled from their capital city of Vengi. Eastern Chalukyas ruled for a long period after the decline of Vishnukundinas; their capital was also Vengi. As early as the 1st century AD, Chalukyas were mentioned as being vassals and chieftains under the Satavahanas and later under the Ikshvakus. The Chalukya ruler Rajaraja Narendra ruled Rajahmundry around AD 1022. (Dharmendra Prasad, 1985)

The battle of Palnadu (1182) resulted in the weakening of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty and led to the emergence of the Kakatiya dynasty in the 12th and 13th centuries AD. The Kakatiyas were at first vassals of the Rashtrakutas, and ruled over a small territory near Warangal. Eventually all the Telugu lands were united by the Kakatiyas. In AD 1323, Delhi Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq sent a large army under Ulugh Khan to conquer the Telugu country and captured Warangal. King

Prataparudra was taken prisoner. Musunuri Nayaks recaptured Warangal from the Delhi Sultanate in AD 1326 and ruled for fifty years. (Regani Sarojini, 1972)

2.3 MODERN HISTORY

Inspired by their success, the Vijayanagara Empire, one of the greatest empires in the history of Andhra Pradesh and India, was founded by Harihara and Bukka, who served as treasury officers of the Kakatiyas of Warangal. In AD 1347, an independent Muslim state, the Bahmani Sultanate, was established in south India by Ala-ud-Din Bahman Shah in a revolt against the Delhi Sultanate. The Qutb Shahi dynasty held sway over the Andhra country for about two hundred years from the early part of the 16th century to the end of the 17th century. (Rao D. V, 1974)

Although Hyderabad was founded less than 500 years ago, archaeologists have unearthed Iron Age sites near the city that could date back to 500 BC. Approximately over 1000 years ago this region was ruled by Kakatiyas until AD 1310, and fell under Delhi sultanate from (1310–1345), when the central sultanate became weak the Bahmani Sultan revolted against the Sultan of Delhi Muhammad bin Tughluq and established an independent state in Deccan within the Delhi Sultanates southern provinces and ruled until AD 1518. (Desai, A.R., 1979)

Quli Qutb-ul-Mulk, governor of Golconda, declared independence from the Bahmani Dynasty and proclaimed himself Sultan of Golconda in that year, and he founded the Qutb Shahi dynasty. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, a fifth Sultan of the Qutb Shahi dynasty (the ruling family of the Golconda Sultanate, previously a feudatory of Bahmani sultanate that declared independence in 1512) founded the city of Hyderabad on the banks of the Musi River in 1591 to relieve a water shortage the dynasty had experienced at its old headquarters at Golconda city. (Manik Rao, 1984)

He also ordered the construction of the Charminar. The Mughal emperor Aurangzeb captured kingdom of Golconda including the city of Hyderabad in 1687 and, during this short Mughal rule, Mughal-appointed governors of the city soon gained autonomy. In 1724, Asaf Jah I, who was granted the title Nizam-ul-Mulk ("Governor of the country") by the Mughal emperor, defeated a rival official to establish control over kingdom of Golconda renamed it as Hyderabad state. Thus began the Asaf Jahi dynasty that ruled Hyderabad State until a year after India's independence from Britain. Asaf Jah's successors ruled as the Nizams of Hyderabad. The rule of the seven Nizams saw the growth of Hyderabad city both culturally and economically. (Narsing Rao, 1977)

Hyderabad city became the formal capital of the kingdom (Hyderabad state) and Golkonda city was almost abandoned. Huge reservoirs, like the Nizam Sagar, Tungabhadra, Osman Sagar, and Himayat Sagar, were built. Survey work on Nagarjuna Sagar had also begun during this time; the actual work was completed by the Government of India in 1969. The wealth and grandeur of the Nizams is demonstrated by the fabled Jewels of The Nizams, which is a tourist attraction. The state was the richest and the largest among the princely states of India. The land area of the state was 90,543 mts; its population in 1901 was 50,073,759. ([http: articleshow/5411291.cms](http://articleshow/5411291.cms))

2.4 POPULATION STATISTICS

Telugu is the official language of the state, spoken by 83.88% followed by Urdu 8.63% of the population. Major linguistic minority groups are Hindi (3.23%), and Tamil (1.01%). Other languages spoken in Andhra Pradesh by less than 1% each are Kannada (0.74%), Marathi (0.80%), and Oriya (0.44%). Languages spoken by less than 0.2% of the population include Malayalam (0.08%), Gujarati (0.06%),

Bengali (0.05%), Gorkhali/Nepali (0.03%), Punjabi (0.01%) and Sindhi(0.01%).The main ethnic group of Andhra Pradesh is the Telugu people, who are primarily Dravidians. ([http: articleshow/8937035.cms](http://articleshow/8937035.cms))

Andhra Pradesh ranks tenth compared to all Indian States in the Human Development Index scores with a score of 0.416. The National Council of Applied Economic Research district analysis in 2001 reveals that Khammam, Krishna, West Godavari, Chittoor, and Medak are the five districts in rural AP with the highest Human Development Index scores in ascending order. (Dhanagare, D.N., 1991)

The data show that the poor make up 16.3% of the total population in rural AP, and expenditure on consumption is around 13.5% of the total consumption expenditure. The female literacy rate is 0.66 compared to male literacy rate in rural AP. The district-wise variations for poverty ratio are high and low for the ratio of female/male literacy rate. The gender gap in illiteracy is one of the issues being addressed by the Asmita Resource Centre for Women, an Indian NGO based in Andhra Pradesh that works to better the socio-economic status of women and communities in India. (James Heitzman and Robert L, 1995)

Table -1

Population Growth of Andhra Pradesh

Census	Population	Percentage%
1961	35,983,000	—
1971	43,503,000	20.9%
1981	53,550,000	23.1%
1991	66,508,000	24.2%
2001	75,727,000	13.9%
2011	84,655,533	11.8%

(Source: Index of human development in Andhra Pradesh)

2.5 ECONOMY:

Andhra Pradesh's GDP for 2011 was approximately ₹5, 67, 636 core, placing it third among the states. The state ranks second in terms of overall Gross State Product among all the states of the Indian Union. In terms of per capita GSDP the state compares very favorably with other large states. In the 2010 list by Forbes Magazine, there are seven from Andhra Pradesh among the top 100 richest Indians.

Agriculture has been the chief source of income for the state's economy. Andhra Pradesh is an exporter of many agricultural products. Four important rivers of India, the Godavari, Krishna, Penna, and Thungabhadra flow through the state, providing irrigation. Rice, sugarcane, cotton, Chili pepper, mango, and tobacco are the local crops. Recently, crops used for vegetable oil production such as sunflower and peanuts have gained favour. There are many multi-state irrigation projects in development, including Godavari River Basin Irrigation Projects and Nagarjuna Sagar Dam. (Kulkarni Khande Rao, 1979)

The service sector of the state accounts for 43% of the gross state domestic product (GSDP) and employs 20% of the work force. Andhra Pradesh economy has registered over 5.5% annual economic growth rate during the last two decades the state is ranked fifth industrially developed states in India. (Narsimha Rao, 1976)

Andhra Pradesh ranks second in India in terms of mineral wealth. The state has about one third of India's limestone reserves, estimated at about 30 billion tonnes. The Tumulappalli Uranium mine in Andhra has confirmed 49,000 tonnes of ore and there are indications that it could hold reserves totalling three times its current size, The Times of India quoted Srikumar Banerjee as saying. The mine's proven reserve is enough to support a 8,000 mega watts nuclear power plant for 40 years, the report added. The Krishna Godavari Basin has huge reserves of natural gas

and petroleum. The state has a large amount of coal reserves. The state ranks first nationwide in hydro electricity generation, with a national market share of over 11%. Andhra Pradesh has the fourth largest power generating utility in the country, with an installed capacity of around 10,650 MW. The two cheapest sources of thermal power generation – coal and natural gas – are in abundance. (Narsing Rao, 1977)

The Andhra Pradesh State Legislative Assembly in the centre of Hyderabad City. In 2004–2005, Andhra Pradesh was at the second position in the list of top information technology exporting states of India. The IT sector is expanding at a rate of 52.3% every year. The IT exports reached ₹19,000 crores in 2006–2007, contributed to 14 per cent of total IT exports of the nation and ranked fourth in India. Other key sectors include, Biopharmaceuticals, Power, Automobile, Tourism, Textiles, Retail, Leather, Mining and Religious tourism. (PTI, 2010-12-12)

In Colonial India, Northern Circars became part of the British Madras Presidency. Eventually this region emerged as the Coastal Andhra region. Later the Nizam rulers of Hyderabad ceded five territories to the British which eventually emerged as Rayalaseema region. The Nizams retained control of the interior provinces as the princely state of Hyderabad, acknowledging British rule in return for local autonomy. However, Komaram Bheem, a tribal leader, started his fight against the erstwhile Asaf Jahi Dynasty for the liberation of Hyderabad State. Meanwhile, the French occupied Yanam, in the Godavari delta, and would hold it until 1954. (Dnaindia.com, 2010-02-14)

India became independent from the United Kingdom in 1947. The Nizam wanted to retain the independence of the Princely Hyderabad State from India, but the people of the region launched a movement to join the Indian Union. The state of Hyderabad was forcibly joined to the Republic of India with Operation Polo in 1948.

In an effort to gain an independent state based on the linguistic and protect the interests of the Andhra (Telugu-speaking) people of Madras State, Potti Sreeramulu fasted until death in 1952. After his death, Andhra state was carved out of Telugu speaking areas of Madras State on 1 November 1953, with Kurnool as its capital. (Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society)

It was the first state of India which was demarcated on linguistic basis. Hyderabad state in 1956 (in yellowish green). After reorganization in 1956, Regions of the state west of Red and Blue lines merged with Bombay and Mysore states respectively and rest of the state(Telangana) was merged with Andhra state to form Andhra Pradesh state. (Journal of Indian History)

Table – 2

Gross Domestic Product of Andhra Pradesh

YEAR	GSDP	STATE RANK
2008	₹,364,813	3
2009	₹,267,850	3
2010	₹,904,110	3
2011	₹,889,630	3
2012	₹,762,340	2

(Source: Economy of Andhra Pradesh)

HYDERABAD STATE RE-ORGANIZATION 1956:

On 1 November 1956, the States Reorganization Act merged the Telugu-speaking areas of the former Hyderabad state also known as Telangana with the Andhra state to form the state of Andhra Pradesh. The city of Hyderabad, the former

capital of the Hyderabad State, was made the capital of the new state. (Modern Asian studies)

Map - 2
(Hyderabad State Re-organization 1956)



There were several movements to invalidate the merger to form two states viz. Andhra and Telangana in 1969, 1972 and now. 1969 movement was in Telangana region and 1972 movement was in Andhra region. Current movement,

which started in 2000, is in Telangana region and is an ongoing political issue in the state. (A.P. History Congress Proceedings)

On 9 December 2009, Government of India announced process of formation of Telangana state. It was announced that a separation proposal for Telangana would be introduced to the state assembly. Controversy arose as to the future status of Hyderabad City, part of one of the ten districts of Telangana region. This move was opposed by protesters from Kosta and Rayalaseema regions, however the protests in the state capital Hyderabad was rocked only by pro-bifurcation protests. On 23 December 2009, the government decided to put the decision of bifurcating the state on hold until a consensus is achieved among the different political parties. (Indian History Congress Proceedings)

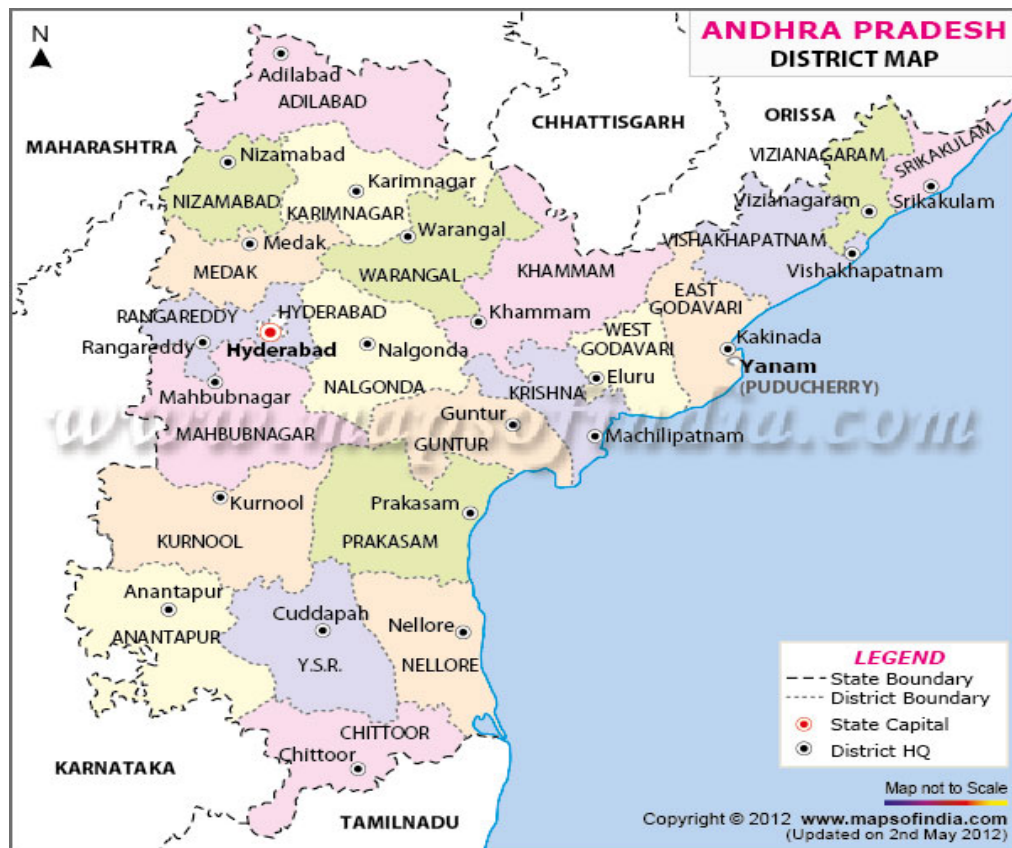
This agitated supporters of a separate Telangana state. On 5 January 2010, the Central Government represented by Home Minister P Chidambaram conducted a meeting by inviting all the recognised political parties of AP and recorded their stand on the issue. The Government of India appointed a committee, headed by B. N. Srikrishna, to guide the central government to settle the issue of Telangana amicably. The committee submitted its report on 30 December 2010, a day before its term was to expire. (Krishna Patrika)

2.6 Andhra Pradesh and its Divisions:

Andhra State was a state created in India on October 1, 1953 from the Telugu speaking northern districts of Madras Presidency. It comprised Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema Regions. The formation of linguistic states is the single most important event in the history of South Indian languages, as it provided an opportunity for these languages to develop independently, each of them having a state to support. The state of Andhra Pradesh is divided in to three Regions as follows:

Map - 3

2.6.1 COASTAL ANDHRA:



Coastal Andhra or Kosta, is a region of India's Andhra Pradesh State. This region was part of Madras State before 1953 and Andhra State from 1953 to 1956. According to the 2011 census, it has an area of 92,906 square kilometres (35,871 sq mi) and a population of 34,193,868. This area includes the coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh between the Eastern Ghats and the Bay of Bengal, from the northern border with Orissa to south of the delta of the Krishna River. It includes the districts of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Prakasam and Nellore. (Quarterly Review of Historical studies)

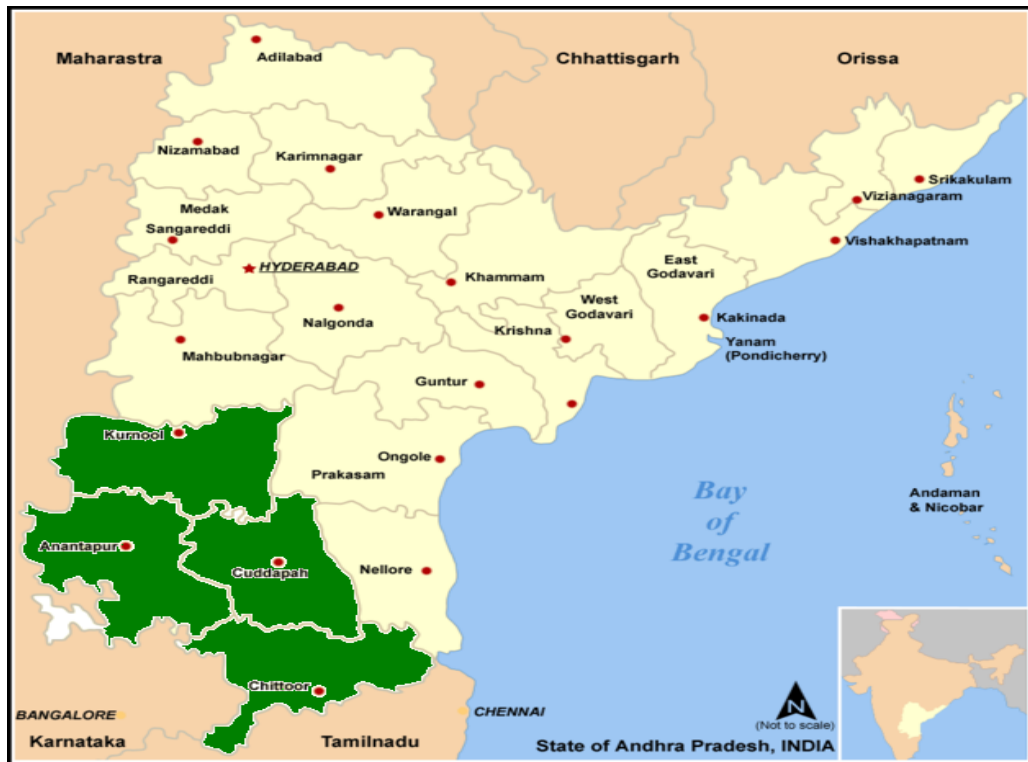
Coastal Andhra has rich agricultural land, owing to the delta of the Godavari and Krishna rivers. The prosperity of Coastal Andhra can be attributed to its rich

agricultural land and an abundant water supply from these two rivers. Rice grown in paddy fields is the main crop, with pulses and coconuts also being important. The fishing industry is also important to the region. (Indian History Congress Proceedings)

The Bhadrachalam Revenue Division was part of East Godavari District up to 1959, after which it was merged into Khammam district. Ashwaraopet was also part of West Godavari District up to 1959. Munagala Taluk, now in Nalgonda District, before 1956 historically part of Krishna District, was also part of Andhra and some revenue villages in Huzurnagar area were in part of the Andhra Region. (Indian History Congress Proceedings)

Map - 4

2.6 . 2 RAYALASEEMA:



Rayalaseema is a geographic region in the state of Andhra Pradesh in India. It includes the southern districts of Anantapur, Chittoor, Kadapa and Kurnool. It has a total area of 67,299 km². These Telugu speaking districts were part of Madras Presidency until 1953 when Telugu speaking districts of Madras Presidency were carved out to form Andhra state. Between 1953 and 1956, this region was part of Andhra State. In 1956, Telangana region was merged with Andhra State to form Andhra Pradesh State. The Rayalaseema was ruled by Sri Krishna Devaraya. Rayalaseema was the original home of Eastern Chalukyas. They gradually extended their sway over Karnata country because of the pressure from Cholas kings. Although Rayalaseema is a small region compared to the rest of Telugu speaking regions, its contribution to Telugu, Tamil, Urdu, arts, culture and literature is immense. (Bawa, 1956)

Before and around the period of Chalukya, i.e., 7 BC period, it is also called "Hiranyaka Rastramu". Only during and after the Vijayanagara era is it called Rayala seema. During the British era, the Nizam of Hyderabad ceded this area to the British, and is also called Ceded Districts'. After Independence, it was renamed as Rayalaseema as 'seema' was an administrative unit of the Vijayanagara Empire similar to today's districts. (Rao D. V, 1974)

Map -5

2.6.3 TELANGANA:



Telangana, is a region in the present state of Andhra Pradesh, India and formerly was part of Hyderabad State which was ruled by the Nizams. It is bordered by the states of Maharashtra to the north and north-west, Karnataka to the west, Chattisgarh to the north-east and Orissa to the east. Andhra Pradesh State has three main cultural regions of which Telengana is one; others include Coastal Andhra

region in the east and Rayalaseema region in the south. The Telangana region has an area of 114,840 square kilometres (44,340 sq mi), and a population of 35,286,757 (2011 census) which is 41.6% of Andhra Pradesh state population. The Telangana region comprises 10 districts: Hyderabad, Adilabad, Khammam, Karimnagar, Mahbubnagar, Medak, Nalgonda, Nizamabad, Rangareddy, and Warangal. The Musi River, Krishna and Godavari rivers flow through the region from west to east. (Carr E.H, 1978)

Since Telangana was merged with Andhra state to form Andhra Pradesh state in 1956, there were several agitations in Telangana to invalidate the merger and to form Telangana state. On December 9, 2009, Government of India announced process of formation of Telangana state. Due to objections raised in Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions immediately after the announcement, and due to the agitation in those regions for 14 days, the decision to form the new state was put on hold on December 23, 2009. Since December 2009, Telangana movement intensified and it continued to dominate the state politics and is the cause of instability in the region. (Desai, A.R., 1979)

2.7 ANDHRA PRADESH MOVEMENT:

On the basis of an agitation, on October 1, 1953, 11 districts in the Telugu-speaking portion of Madras State voted to become the new state of Andhra State with Kurnool as the capital. Andhra Kesari Tanguturi Prakasam Pantulu became first Chief Minister of thus formed Telugu State. (Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society)

2.7.1 Madras Manade movement

In 1953, Telugu speakers of Madras Presidency wanted Madras as the capital of Andhra state including the famous slogan Madras Manade (Madras is ours) before Tirupati was included in AP. Madras, at that time was an indivisible mixture of Tamil and Telugu cultures. It was difficult to determine who should possess it. Panagal Raja, Chief Minister of the Madras Presidency in the early 1920s said that the Cooum River should be kept as a boundary, giving the northern portion to the Andhras and the southern portion to the Tamils. In 1928, Sir C. Sankaran Nair sent a report to the Central Council discussing why Madras does not belong to the Tamils. Historically and geographically it was a part of the Andhra region. It was Damerla Ventakadri Nayakudu was provincial governor in 1639 from whom the English sought to take permission to set up a factory. The increasing political dominance of the Tamils from early 1920s at both Central and State level politics caused Madras to remain in the Tamil region. (PTI, 2010-12-12)

2.8 TELANGANA MOVEMENT 1969:

1969- Telangana Movement being one of the most significant movements in the History of Andhra Pradesh demanding separation of Telangana, it is important to examine the background of this movement. The Gentlemen's agreement of 1956 provided for certain safeguards for services in Telangana. The application of Mulki rules required 12 years of minimum residence in Telangana region by people from other regions to be eligible for the jobs. As this came to an end in 1968, some sections started demanding extension of these safeguards. (Dharmendra Prasad, 1985)

In this scenario, there arose a minor dispute in Paloncha of Khammam district between Electricity board employees belonging to Andhra & Telangana regions. The

High Court had ruled that Mulki rules cannot be applied for jobs in autonomous corporations. This had led to protests by some students & employees. It was this scenario that formed the back drop of the first agitation for Separate Telangana in the year 1969, the roots of which however lie in a bitter power struggle in the then Congress (I). After the 1967 general elections, Sri. Kasu Brahmananda Reddy became Chief Minister for a second time, while Dr. Marri Chenna Reddy joined Smt.Indira Gandhi's Cabinet as Minister for Steel. (Regani Sarojini, 1972)

In an unexpected turn of events, Dr.Chenna Reddy was disqualified for six years from holding office,by the High Court & later the Supreme Court. Dr. Chenna Reddy's election was set aside by a court on a petition filed by an Arya Samaj contestant, Vandemataram Ramachandra Rao, on the grounds that the Minister had appealed to religious sentiments at a meeting held in a mosque. Dr.Chenna Reddy was inactive for six months after the verdict. ([http: articleshow/8937035.cms](http://articleshow/8937035.cms))

Dr.Chenna Reddy added fuel to the protests for extension of safeguards and lead the 'Telangana Praja Samithi' a separatist outfit and changed the nature of the protests and pace of the agitation. The TPS aggressively incited passions in people, particularly the Students and youth in Telangana districts. On 1969, June 4 th the Police shot at and killed 30 people officially while it was widely publicized that 300 people died in the shootings. A controversy over Prof. D.S. Reddy's appointment as Vice Chancellor of Osmania University added a new dimension to the problem. ([http: articleshow/5411291.cms](http://articleshow/5411291.cms))

The Telangana Praja Samithi used the Police shootings to further consolidate its position and favorably mobilize Public opinion. In the 1971 Lok Sabha elections, the TPS won 10 of the 14 Lok Sabha seats from the Telangana region. However since Congress won a majority in the rest of the country in 1971 and since Smt.Indira

Gandhi was totally opposed to the idea of separating AP. Smt.Indira Gandhi had firmly opposed to consider separating the state on flimsy grounds. She made all efforts to resolve the situation and provide the required safeguards in the form of 8 point formula. She further set up Justice Bhargava Committee to examine the services situation & the development taken place in Telangana region between 1956-1968 and suggest ways to accelerate growth. The committee was also given the task of determining the status of revenue surpluses in Telangana. This was also one of the functions of Telangana regional council which was set up as part of the clauses of the Gentlemen's agreement. ([http: articleshow/8937035.cms](http://articleshow/8937035.cms))

As per the findings and recommendations of the Bharagava Committee, Telangana also got Rs.45 crores , towards the unspent surplus of Telangana region, of Rs. 28.34 Cr (which was reconciled with the 34.09 Cr arrived by Sri.Kumar Lalith earlier) accumulated over a period of 10 years, again revalued each year in proportion to the rise in price index of those years. This money was spent from 1968 till the end of Fourth plan period. On the Political front Smt.Indira Gandhi removed K.Brahmananda reddy the then Chief Minister of AP and replaced him with Sri.P.V.Narasimha Rao. With this the 1969 Movement of Telangana came to an end. (James Heitzman and Robert L, 1995)

Dr.Chenna Reddy sensing the futility of continuing the movement gave it up and merged TPS with Congress (I). Subsequently, In the 1972 AP Assembly elections, the Congress (I), after the Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS) merger, won a record 218 seats, with 16 of its candidates winning without contest. Evidently people gave an overwhelming support for the United Andhra Pradesh and the separatist forces failed to create any impact. Sri.Chennareddy was made the Governor of Uttar Pradesh in 1973 and subsequently was also made the Chief Minister of AP in 1978.

At this point Sri.Chenna Reddy categorically stated that Telangana issue has lost its relevance. (Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society)

It is evident from the above that the 1969 movement was only a movement for continuance of the safeguards in recruitments and not actually a demand for separation. This is proved further with the merger of TPS with Congress when their interests were served. It is important to note here that throughout the Telangana Movement , the MIM party which was the single largest party representing the large Muslim population in Telangana, and the CPI (M) did not support separate State for Telangana. (Dnaindia.com, 2010-02-14)

2.9 JAI ANDHRA MOVEMENT 1972:

The people of Andhra had hoped that the end of 12 years of safe guards as provided for in Gentlemen's agreement (according to Mulki rules) from 1956-1968, would now signal real integration of Andhra with Telangana and among other things also avail equitable job opportunities. However, the agitation in 1969 that began for continuance of safeguards for Telangana and eventually turned as a movement for separation of the state itself had deeply offended the sentiments of Andhriles. Apparently prolonged safeguards will have no meaning if the two states were to integrate in real sense and strive for holistic development. (Krishna Patrika)

In this scenario, the Supreme Court gave a verdict on 3rd October 1971, revoking the Mulki Rules in Telangana. This naturally had immensely upset the Andhriles and they saw no reason in continuing to be as one state, while in spirit they are always being treated as two. They felt that the Supreme Court verdict had further alienated the people of the two regions, instead of helping them come together. This disillusionment in Andhriles was yet again channeled by some political leaders for selfish reasons, notable of whom is the then Dy.CM Sri. B.V.Subba Reddy from

Andhra Region,(in the cabinet of the then Telanganite Chief Minister Shri.P.V.Narasimha Rao) who lead the demand for Separate Andhra. Historians noted that this movement known as Jai Andhra Movement was much more vociferous than the 1969 Movement. (Govt, 2011-10-12)

Nine Andhra Ministers in the then Chief Minister P.V.Narasimha Rao's cabinet resigned in support of the Jai Andhra Movement. Sri.P.V.Narsimha Rao himself tendered his resignation on 17 th Jan'1973. In the wake of these developments President's Rule was imposed. (18 January 1973 – 10 December 1973. Period: 335 Days) Appreciating the gravity of the situation and the merit of the aspirations of Andhrites, all prominent leaders of Telangana have agreed to scrapping of the safeguards for Telangana and make the state one in letter and spirit. (Indian History Congress Proceedings)

Subsequently, the Central Government in consultation with the leaders from both Andhra & Telangana evolved a Six Point Formula On 21.09.73, for the uniform approach for promoting accelerated development of the state as a whole and providing equitable opportunities to different areas of the state in the matter of health education and employment in public services subject to the requirements of the state as a whole. On 18.12.1973 the 32 nd Constitutional Amendment has been brought in and 371-AD has been introduced. This provides a special provision with respect to the state of Andhra Pradesh is based on the equitable justice to all citizens of Andhra Pradesh. As a follow up to the understanding arrived, The Andhra Pradesh Public Employment (Organization of Local Cadres & regulation of Direct recruitment) order 1975 known as the Presidential order annulled the Mulki rules & Telangana Regional Committee and introduced zonal system for recruitments. (Dnaindia.com, 2010-02-14)

Neither in the Six-Point Formula nor in Constitutional Amendment there was any special privilege given to any one area in the state. This movement established the clear reconciliation of the people and political leaders of Telangana of the necessity of fully fledged emotional, social, economic geographical and cultural integration of the two regions. This sentiment further manifested itself as the next decade has been one of total harmony between the people of different regions in the state. (Journal of Indian History)

During the next 28 years, i.e. until year 2001, there arose no problem in the state with regard to separate statehood Telangana. In the context of the 1969 Telangana Movement & 1972 Jai Andhra Movement, the then Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi stated categorically in the house of the Parliament, that creation of separate states can never be an acceptable solution for addressing some backwardness, economic differences or momentary emotions. (Govt, 2011-10-12)

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CHAPTER III

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND JUDICIARY PROVISIONS

FOR THE CREATION OF NEW STATE

3.1 INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW:

The Constitution in Article 3 vests the power to form new States and alteration of areas, boundaries, or names of existing States in Parliament alone which may pass the law on the subject. The bill for the purpose can be introduced in either House of Parliament on the recommendation of the President which in fact means recommendation of the Union Government as the President acts on the advice of the Union Government. (PTI, 2010-12-12)

Political will and Parliament Bill are enough for formation of Telangana State as per the Constitutional procedures and requirements. Neither the consent of Andhra Pradesh Assembly, nor the Amendment to the Constitution is required for carving out a new territory from the boundaries of present Andhra Pradesh state. (Justice Sri Krishna Committee 2010)

The Constitution, however, is silent on the subject of the criteria for forming States doing nothing more than giving the power of formation of States to Parliament. While giving power exclusively to Parliament may be conducive to the integrity and unity of India, it gives no guidance to Parliament or a body created by Parliament as to the principles for the formation of States. This brings out the basic deficiencies in the Constitution of our Republic which is often lauded for having stood the test of time but which in fact leaves several important aspects untouched. (Dnaindia.com, 2010-02-14)

The only attempt in the pre-independence days to provide a logical basis for the formation of States was the Motilal Nehru Committee Report of 1928 which recommended the formation of States on a linguistic basis. Major languages provide the cultural base of the life of the Indian people and should be the appropriate base for State formation, it asserted. (K.V.R. Reddy, 1958)

This principle was accepted by the major party in the forefront of the fight of the Indian people for independence, namely, the Indian National Congress. Even in the pre-independence days, the regional committees of the Congress were formed on the basis of linguistic areas. Thus the four Kannad speaking districts in Bombay province went with the Congress Committee for Karnataka covering the rest of the Kannad region. The British rulers, having no use of the culture of the Indian people, had constituted large provinces purely on the administrative criteria. There were the three major 'regulated provinces' of Bombay, Madras and Bengal with the major cities of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta as their headquarters. The Bombay province stretched from Sindh to Gujarat, Western Maharashtra and Northern Karnatak districts. In 1935 Sindh was separated to become an independent province. (Zeenews.com, 2010-12-15)

The Madras province covered the Tamil land, Rayalaseema and coastal Telugu areas and the Karnataka districts of South Canara. The Bengal province once covered the whole of Eastern India. Later Assam, Bihar and in 1935 Orissa became independent provinces. As British rule extended, new provinces were formed. The United Province covered the vast Ganga-Yamuna area stretching from the Himalayan regions of Garhwal and Kumaon to the plains of Brijbhoomi, Bundelkhand to Lucknow, Banaras and Allahabad. The Central Province consisted of both Marathi (Vidarbha) and Hindi (Mahakoshal) areas with the capital Nagpur

and also included the largest Bastar district and other tribal areas. Punjab in the Northwest covered the whole of Punjab (Western now in Pakistan and Eastern in India) including the hilly areas and Hindi speaking Haryana. (Sundarayya, 1976)

3.2 THE LEGAL PROVISIONS:

Laws regarding these issues have been clearly laid down in Article 2 and Article 3 of the Indian Constitution. Article 2 reads as, “Admission or establishment of new States. Parliament may by law admit into the Union, or establish, new States on such terms and conditions as it thinks fit”. The text of article 3 says, “Formation of new States and alteration of areas, boundaries or names of existing States Parliament may by law. (Indian Constitution)

- A. Form a new State by separation of territory from any State or by uniting two or more States or parts of States or by uniting any territory to a part of any State;
- B. Increase the area of any State;
- C. Diminish the area of any State;
- D. Alter the boundaries of any State;
- E. Alter the name of any State:

Provided that no Bill for the purpose shall be introduced in either House of Parliament except on the recommendation of the President and unless, where the proposal contained in the Bill affects the area, boundaries or name of any of the States, the Bill has been referred by the President to the Legislature of that State for expressing its views thereon within such period as may be specified in the reference or within such further period as the President may allow and the period so specified or allowed has expired.” (Indian Constitution)

When the writers of Constitution were drafting Article 3, our nation was not fully integrated or well organized as some Princely States were not included and States Reorganization Commission was working on forming linguistic states. Keeping in view the need for formation of new states, an enabling provision giving power to the Parliament was incorporated in Article 3. For this purpose the Constitution provided a simple and easy process for 'reorganizing' a new state. Article 3 says that Parliament can enact a law to reorganize the existing states by separating new state out of territories of the existing states, or by uniting two or more states or parts of states, or by uniting any territory to a part of any state, or by altering their boundaries, or by separating territory from, or increasing or diminishing the area of, or by changing the name of, a state. If the Parliament acts as per these provisions of the Constitution, it will automatically effect a change in the Schedules, without necessitating a separate Constitutional Amendment. The Bill approved by the Parliament would change those schedules to suit the new state. Hence Constitutional Amendment is also not required. (Ramanuja Rao, 1989)

3.3 REFERENCE OF THE BILL TO THE STATE LEGISLATURE:

The Constitution explicitly provides the procedure for the formation of new States in Article 3. The legislation creating Telangana comes under the ambit of Article 3(a) as it seeks to form the State of Telangana by separating territory from the State of Andhra Pradesh. Therefore, it is essential that the legislation strictly complies with the procedure laid down under Article 3. The proviso appended thereto postulates (1) a Bill not being introduced in Parliament except on the recommendation of the President; and (2) where the proposal contained in the Bill affects the areas, boundaries or names of any of the States, reference of the Bill by the President to the Legislature of that State for expressing its views thereon. It has

been well established that in matters of procedure, mandatory words may be construed as directory. Procedural law is not to be an obstruction but an aid to justice and the Courts are to do justice and not wreck the end – product on technicalities. (Reddy Ravi, 1972)

The question as to whether a statute is mandatory or directory depends upon the intent of the legislature and not upon the language in which the intent is clothed. The meaning and intent of the legislature must govern. With respect to the procedure laid down in the proviso to Article 3, the intention simply seems to be to give an opportunity to the State Legislature to express its views, within the time allowed, on the proposals contained in the Bill. This is because it has been held that the Parliament is not bound to accept or act upon the views of the State Legislature. Also, only because one or the other view had been expressed in the State Legislature, the same is not binding upon the Parliament. Furthermore, if a Bill has once been referred to the State Legislature, it can be later amended by the Parliament without fresh reference to the State Legislature. (Mohan Ram, 1973)

According to the proviso to Article 3, where the proposal contained in the bill affects the area, boundaries or names of any of the states; it must be referred by the President to the concerned State Legislature for expressing its views thereon within a specified period. Power conferred on Parliament by Articles 2 and 3 is to establish new States conforming to the democratic pattern envisaged by the Constitution and it is not the power to override the constitutional scheme. The States have only the right to be afforded an opportunity to express their views. Thus it is imperative that the President refer the Bill to the concerned Legislature. (Jay Shankar, 2006)

The exceptional circumstances during which the President need not ascertain the views of the concerned State are:

(a) When a state legislature is suspended by the President under Article 356, the question of ascertaining the views of the State Legislature does not arise. E.g. Punjab Reorganization Act, 1966 which was passed when the State of Punjab was under President's rule. The President had, in exercise of his powers under Article 356(1)(c), suspended the operation of the proviso to Article 3 in so far as it related to the sending of the Bill to the State Legislature for its views.

(b) Where the original Bill has been referred to the State Legislature but modifications to the Bill have not. The Bombay Reorganization Bill as introduced in Parliament provided for the creation of Maharashtra and Gujarat and the Union Territory of Bombay. The President had sent this Bill to the Bombay Legislature in order to ascertain its views. The Bombay Legislature, after expressing its views, sent the Bill back to Parliament where the Bill was modified in that the proposal for the creation of the Union Territory of Bombay was jettisoned. The Bill was passed as modified. (Sundarayya, 1976)

In *Babulal Parate v State of Bombay*, the Act was challenged on the ground that as on the amended Bill the views of the State Legislature had not been ascertained, it was unconstitutional. In this case, the Supreme Court held that the original Bill should be referred to the State Legislature concerned; it does not require fresh reference every time an amendment of the proposal contained in the Bill is moved and accepted in Parliament. In *R.C. Poudyal and ors. v Union of India*, Article 3 was discussed and it was observed: 'It cannot be predicted that the Article confers on the Parliament an unreviewable and unfettered power immune from judicial scrutiny. The power is limited by the fundamentals of the Indian constitutionalism and those terms and conditions which the Parliament may deem fit to impose, cannot be inconsistent and irreconcilable with the foundational principles

of the Constitution and cannot violate or subvert the constitutional scheme. The validity of a statute is to be tested by the constitutional power of the Legislature at the time of its enactment by that Legislature, and, if thus tested, it is beyond the legislative power, it is not rendered valid. (Indian Constitution)

In the case of Telangana, the Union Cabinet has to take a political decision and advise President to recommend to the Parliament to pass such a legislation carving out Telangana from existing boundaries of Andhra Pradesh. While political initiative is expected to happen from the people prevailing over the ruling party at the Center, the Constitutional process should begin from the Union Cabinet. Our Constitution says that if process of carving out a state affects the boundaries of existing state, (in case of Telangana, it will definitely affect the boundaries of Andhra Pradesh as ten districts have to be removed), the President is bound to refer the Bill to be introduced in Parliament, to the Andhra Pradesh Assembly. While such reference is mandatory, the President need not decide as per the opinion expressed by such state legislative Assembly. This means, even if there is an opposition to the 'referred bill' or such reference is not responded within prescribed time, or when such a bill is approved, the President can go ahead with formation of a new state. However, it is a political requirement for building a strong opinion in favor of a new state to prevail over the Union to fulfill the aspirations of the people. (Ramakrishna, 1983)

3.4 THERE IS NO LIMITATION ON PARLIAMENTARY POWER UNDER ARTICLES 2, 3 AND 4:

Article 1 is recognition that Union of Indian's territorial limits are unalterable while the States are creatures of the Constitution and are territorially alterable. Under Articles 2, 3 and 4, the most significant feature is that while the territorial integrity of

India is fully ensured and maintained, there is a significant absence of the territorial integrity of the Constituent States. (Rajeshwar Rao, 1972)

It is clear that the Union of India is the basis of nationality as 'the States are limbs of the Union, and while the limbs must be healthy and strong...it is the stability of the Union and its capacity to evolve' that should be the 'governing consideration' for the Parliament. The Constitution has a combination of federal structure with unitary features. The kind of federation we have has been characterized with "a strong unitary bias", with powers given to the Union Government of supervision and even supersession, in certain circumstances, of State Governments temporarily. (Law Teacher, 2010)

There are no limitations on the power of the Parliament to make law under Articles 2, 3 and 4. While discretion as to 'terms and conditions' of admission of a State is provided to Parliament in Article 2, Article 3 essentially has no limitations except for the procedural safeguards laid down in the proviso. However, it has been held that while both Article 2 and Article 3 grant a large amount of freedom to the Parliament, it cannot be said that this freedom is without any constitutional limitation, since the power conferred on Parliament is always circumscribed by the overall constitutional scheme. (Praja Rajyam Party, 2010)

Furthermore, it is a generally accepted principle of statutory interpretation that the Court cannot supply supposed deficiencies for then the Court, 'instead of declaring the law, would be making laws'. It has also been held that the Court cannot put into the Act words which are not expressed and which cannot reasonably be implied as that would be a work of legislation, outside the province of the Court. (Netindian.in, 2011-10-12)

3.5 THE CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY DEBATES: ORIGIN OF ARTICLE 3:

Article 3 of the Constitution of India vests the Parliament with the power to form a new State by separating territory from any State. However, the text of the said provision is silent as to what could be the constitutional benchmark for the Centre to create a new state for a region of an existing State. When faced with questions relating to the interpretation of the provisions of the Constitution, we must look to the Constituent Assembly Debates (CAD) which preceded the formulation of the provisions of the Constitution so as to ascertain the Constitutional intent behind the phraseology of the provisions adopted. (Indian Constitution)

When the Constituent Assembly was deliberating in November 1948 on the scope and content of Article 3, there was a proposal by Prof. KT Shah that the legislation constituting a new State from any region of a State should originate from the legislature of the State concerned. Had this procedure been approved, the power to decide the statehood of a region seeking separation would have been vested with the State legislature dominated by the elite of developed regions. (Ramakrishna, 1983)

Opposing the same and using the then demand for an Andhra Province as an example, Shri K Santhanam stated as under: “I wonder whether Professor Shah fully realises the implications of his amendment. If his amendment is adopted, it would mean that no minority in any State can ask for separation of territory, either for forming a new province or for joining an adjacent State unless it can get a majority in that State legislature. I cannot understand what he means by “Originating”. Take the case of Madras Province for instance. The Andhras want separation. They bring up a resolution in the Madras Legislature. It is defeated by a majority. There ends the

matter. The way of the Andhras is blocked altogether. (Justice Sri Krishna Committee 2010)

Thus Article 3 emerged in its current form. It is the Constitutional intent that the will of the people of a region to form a separate State be the sole criterion for the Centre to initiate the process of State formation. This is the Constitutional benchmark for creating a new State for a region, as amply demonstrated in the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly and as reflected in the current phraseology of Article 3 of the Constitution of India. (Indian Constitution)

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CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF THE DEMAND OF TELANGANA

4.1 INTRODUCTION:

The Constitution of India says that if process of carving out a state affects the boundaries of existing state, (in case of Telangana, it will definitely affect the boundaries of Andhra Pradesh as ten districts have to be removed), the President is bound to refer the bill to be introduced in Parliament, to the Andhra Pradesh Assembly. While such reference is mandatory, the President need not decide as per the opinion expressed by such state legislative Assembly. This means, even if there is an opposition to the 'referred bill' or such reference is not responded within prescribed time, or when such a bill is approved, the President can go ahead with formation of a new state. However, it is a political requirement for building a strong opinion in favour of a new state to prevail over the Union to fulfill the aspirations of the people. (Justice Sri Krishna, 2010)

In the case of Telangana, the Union Cabinet has to take a political decision and advice from president to recommend to the Parliament to pass such a legislation carving out Telangana from existing boundaries of Andhra Pradesh. While political initiative is expected to happen from the people prevailing over the ruling party at the Center, the Constitutional process should begin from the Union Cabinet.

4.2 THE DEMAND FOR TELANGANA: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE:

The historical perspective of the demand for creation of the state of Telangana cannot be neglected. If we go to the etymology of the word, it means, "Land of Telugu people". The name itself suggests its association with the Telugu heartland, its geographical status. The geographical status of this state dates back to

Puranic times where it has been extensively discussed as Tailangana Desha, the land of till, or oil seeds. It was basically a separate state until Andhra Pradesh became the first state to be created on the basis of language in 1956. Telangana was merged with Andhra to form a unified Andhra Pradesh under a Gentleman's Agreement. However the State Reorganisation Committee did not support this and neither did the erstwhile Chief Minister of Hyderabad State, Burguala Ramakrishna Rao. Even Nehru was skeptical about it as it might give an expansionist tinge to the reorganization. In December 1953, the States Reorganization Commission was appointed to prepare for the creation of states on linguistic lines. The States Reorganization Commission (SRC) was not in favor of an immediate merger of Telangana region with Andhra state, despite the common language between the two. (Telanagana Movement, 2006)

Paragraph 382 of States Reorganization Commission Report (SRC) said “opinion in Andhra is overwhelmingly in favor of the larger unit; public opinion in Telangana has still to crystallize itself. Important leaders of public opinion in Andhra themselves seem to appreciate that the unification of Telangana with Andhra, though desirable, should be based on a voluntary and willing association of the people and that it is primarily for the people of Telangana to take a decision about their future”.

The people of Telangana had several concerns. The region had a less developed economy than Andhra, but with a larger revenue base (mostly because it taxed rather than prohibited alcoholic beverages), which people of Telangana feared might be diverted for use in Andhra. They also feared that planned irrigation projects on the Krishna and Godavari rivers would not benefit Telangana proportionately even though people of Telangana controlled the headwaters of the rivers. It was also feared that the people of Andhra, who had access to higher standards of education

under the British Rule, would have an unfair advantage in seeking Government and Educational jobs. (Irrigational Disparities, Prabhakar)

Despite all this, Telangana was merged. Right from the 14th Century to 1956, Telangana was never a part of Andhra. Six centuries of separate existence has led Telangana to acquire an identity of its own. The Fazal Ali Committee whose recommendations led to the redrawing of the provincial boundaries of India had specifically commented on Telangana. It stated that it would be wrong to merge Telangana with Andhra once the old Hyderabad state (comprising of modern day North Karnataka, Marathwada and Telangana) was abolished. Its reasons were simple: a) Economic b) Lack of public support for Andhra Pradesh in Telangana area. It recommended a separate Hyderabad State that may join Andhra at its own option later. (Regional disparities, 2006)

This was however overlooked by the Govt. of India in view of a Gentlemen's Agreement entered into by Telangana and Andhra leaders. The Andhra leaders promised among others that

- a) Telangana would benefit from the planned dams on the Krishna and Godavari rivers
- b) Telanganites would be given preference in jobs
- c) 40% of ministers to be from Telangana.

While Pt. Nehru had his doubts, he nevertheless gave the go ahead. By 1969, the illusion had been shattered. Once every clause of the agreement had been broken, Telangana erupted. More than 350 people died in police firing alone. Indira Gandhi in a masterstroke made the leader of the movement, M Chenna Reddy the Governor of UP and thus controlled the flames of what promised to be a repeat of the

Telangana Rebellion of the 1940s when the peasants overthrew their landlords and liberated a third of the region. (Amos, 2009)

The commission proposed that the Telangana region be constituted as a separate state with a provision for unification with Andhra state, after the 1961 general elections, if a resolution could be passed in the Telangana state assembly with a two-third majority. This was popularly known as Nehru's scheme of divorce, which unfortunately failed. (Bhagyanagar Patrika, 1926-28)

In the years after the formation of Andhra Pradesh state, people of Telangana expressed dissatisfaction over how the agreements and guarantees were implemented. Discontent with the 1956 Gentleman's agreement intensified in January 1969, when the guarantees that had been agreed on were supposed to lapse. Student agitation for the continuation of the agreement began at Osmania University in Hyderabad and spread to other parts of the region. Government employees and opposition members of the state legislative assembly swiftly threatened "direct action" in support of the students. This movement, also known as Telangana movement, led to widespread violence and deaths of hundreds of people including 369 students. (Reddy Rani, 1925-27)

The emotions and forces generated by the movement in 1969 were not strong enough, however, for a continuing drive for a separate state until 1990s when Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), promised a separate Telangana state if they came to power. BJP created Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Uttarkhand states in year 2000 as promised. But the BJP could not create a separate Telangana state because of the opposition from its coalition partner, Telugu Desam Party. These developments brought new life into the separatist Telangana movement by year 2000. Congress party MLAs from the Telangana region, supported a separate Telangana state and

formed the Telangana Congress Legislators Forum. In another development, a new party called Telangana Rashtra Samithi (or TRS), led by Kalvakuntla Chandrasekhar Rao (KCR), was formed with the single point agenda of creating a separate Telangana state, with Hyderabad as its capital. (Amarendar. A, 2010)

4.3 SUPREME COURT ON CREATION OF TELANGANA: IS IT A POLITICAL QUESTION?

The Supreme Court is of the view that the issue of carving out a separate state of Telangana from Andhra Pradesh is a “political question” which cannot be answered by it. It maintained that no larger constitutional question arose at this stage from the issue as there is no decision on the division of the state requiring its interference to examine the legality. (Justice Sri Krishna, 2010)

A Bench comprising Chief Justice S H Kapadia and Justice K S Radhakrishnan said, “We are of the view that at this stage, the larger constitutional question does not arise for consideration. As far as the division of the state is concerned, it is a political question and we cannot answer that.” The Bench disfavoured the idea of laying down of guidelines for exercising powers by the government to go into the contentious issue of creating a separate Telangana state from Andhra Pradesh. It said that when a law is proposed for carving out the new state, it would consider the matter afresh. “Till date, no law has been proposed for the purpose of carving out the state and as and when something is proposed or enacted, we will consider it and it will be open for the petitioners to approach this court,” the Bench said giving liberty to the petitioners to withdraw their petitions which were filed when the agitation for Telangana was at its peak. (Times of India, Dec. 23, 2009)

“Power under Article 3 and 4 is the solemn constitutional power and it is obvious that no constitutional power can be exercised arbitrarily and at will without there being a fundamental constitutional paradigm or basis to the exercise of power,” advocate Harish Salve, appearing for K Srinivas Reddy said the manner in which the entire matter relating to creation of a new state was being dealt with proved that there was no established principle for the government to act on such issues. (Hindu Sundari, 1902-06, 1910-11)

4.4 CURRENT SCENARIO:

The current conditions prevalent in the state of Andhra Pradesh and especially the so-called Telangana region calls for an immediate attention in this regard. The violent agitations, protests, demonstrations and hartals result in a great loss to life and property and are just worsening the situation. The politicians in the state are politicking this issue for achieving their own ulterior motives. The whole state is witnessing a high voltage political drama and the constitutional and democratic machinery of the state is in doldrums. Decision regarding carving out of Telangana must be taken without much ado to prevent any further damage. (Economic Times, Sept. 29, 2012)

On December 9, 2009, P. Chidambaram, the Union Minister of Home Affairs announced that the Indian government would start the process of forming a separate Telangana state, pending the introduction and passage of a separation resolution in the Andhra Pradesh assembly. (Times of India, Dec. 23, 2009)

Pro-Telangana supporters celebrated the central government decision while those from the Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions (Andhra region) protested. In fact, within a short time of the Home Minister's declaration, sensing the public mood, MLAs from the Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions (Andhra region)

submitted their resignations in protest of the process of creation of a new state within Andhra Pradesh. By the 16th of December, at least 147 legislators (including Praja Rajyam Founder Chiranjeevi) and many Members of Parliament had resigned in protest of the Government's decision to begin discussions on forming a new state of Telangana. 22 Ministers from the State Cabinet, all from Andhra (Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema) regions submitted their resignations. On December 23, the Government of India announced that no action on Telangana will be taken until a consensus is reached by all parties. The TRS reacted by calling for another general strike on 24th Dec '09, an action aimed at stalling the regional economy. (Zeenews.com, 2010-12-15)

On February 12, Central government announced Terms of Reference to B.N. Srikrishna Committee with a deadline of December 31, 2010. Telangana-JAC rejected the terms of reference saying that it 'undid' Union home minister's statement in New Delhi on December 9, 2009. As of February 22, 2010, more than 250 Telangana people committed suicides over the delay in the formation of Telangana state. Sri Krishna Committee solicited suggestions views from the political parties, social organisations and other stakeholders on February 21. Committee received over 60,000 petitions by the deadline of April 10. The committee began personal interactions with the various stakeholders, including the political parties starting from April 16. The committee met with the leaders of TRS, PRP, CPI, MIM, TDP leaders from Seema-Andhra, TDP leaders from Telangana and various organizations from though out Andhra Pradesh. (<http://timesofindia /8937035.cms>)

4.5 ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN ANDHRA PRADESH:

In the run-up to the 2004 Assembly & Parliament elections, then Union Home Minister L. K. Advani ruled out inclusion of Telangana in the NDA agenda

and said "Unless there is consensus among all political parties in the state and unless that consensus is reflected in a resolution of the state Assembly, we don't propose to include it in the NDA agenda" For these elections, the Congress party and the TRS forged an electoral alliance in the Telangana region to consider the demand of separate Telangana State. Congress came to power in the state and formed a coalition government at the centre; TRS joined the coalition after the common minimum programme of the coalition government included that the demand for separate Telangana state will be considered after due consultations and consensus. (<http://timesofindia /5411291.cms>)

In February 2009 the state government declared that it had no objection, in principle, to the formation of separate Telangana and that the time had come to move forward decisively on this issue. To resolve related issues, the government constituted a joint house committee. In the lead-up to the 2009 General Elections in India, all the major parties in Andhra Pradesh supported the formation of Telangana. (Amos, 2009)

In the 2009 elections TRS managed to win only 10 assembly seats out of the 45 it contested and only 2 MP seats. Some media analysts thought Telangana sentiment faded. Within few months of getting re-elected as popular CM, Y. S. Rajasekhara Reddy (YSR) died in a helicopter crash in September 2009. This resulted in a leadership crisis within the Congress party and also created a political vacuum in the state. During this time, TRS president K. Chandrashekar Rao (KCR) raised his pitch for the separate state. On 29 November 2009, he started a fast-unto-death, demanding that the Congress party introduce a Telangana bill in Parliament. Student organizations, employee unions, and various organizations joined the movement. General strikes shut down Telangana on 6 and 7 December. In an all

party meeting called by the state government on the night of 7 December to discuss regarding KCR's fast and how to handle it, all major Opposition parties extended their support for a separate state for Telangana. The state Congress and its ally Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen have left it to the Congress high command to take a final decision. Minutes of the meeting were faxed to Congress high command. (Amos, 2009)

Table – 3

Political Parties in Andhra Pradesh

In Favor	Against	Neutral
TRS (2/16)	MIM (1/7)	Congress(31/169)
BJP (0/3)	CPI(M) (0/1)	TDP (6/80)
CPI (0/4)		YSR Congress (1/2)
Independent (0/1)		Lok Satta (0/1)

(Stand of political parties in Andhra Pradesh)

In parenthesis (MP seats/MLA seats from Andhra Pradesh)

- a) Parties which were in favour of Telangana state before 9 Dec 2009, but changed the stand to neutral on 10 Dec 2009, the day the process for formation of Telangana state was announced by central government and later retracted on 23 December.
- b) YSR-Congress party was formed by breakaway group of Congress party in 2010. Its president Jagan Mohan Reddy opposed the Telangana state formation immediately after 9 Dec 2009. His stand on Telangana is not known before 9 December 2009. But now the YSR-Congress party took neutral stand because of the pressure from their Telangana leaders.

Even after 54 years of geographical merger of two states (Andhra and Hyderabad States) both regions have not been completely integrated. There is vast divisiveness in terms of emotions, languages, literature and culture of both the regions. The political parties which are in favor of Telangana state before December 9, 2009 changed their stand to neutral on December 10, 2009. The day process for formation of Telangana State was announced by central Government and later retracted on December 23, 2009. Only TRS party which has two MPs and Twelve MLAs, BJP with two, and CPI with four MLAs are in favour. The MIM with one MP and seven MLAs, CPI one and PRP with Seventeen MLAs are against Telengana formation. The major political parties such as Congress and Telgu Desam are divided as their MLAs and MPs started to support the demands of their own regions. (Amarendar. A, 2010)

4.6 APPOINTMENT OF JUSTICE SHRI KRISHNA COMMISSION:

Pursuant to the Union Home Minister's meeting with the eight recognized political parties of Andhra Pradesh on January 5, 2010, the Government of India constituted a Committee for consultations on the situation in Andhra Pradesh (CCSAP), with the following composition, vide Home Secretary's d.o. letter dated February 3, 2010, to hold wide ranging consultations with all sections of the people including all the political parties and various groups , with a view to examine the demand for a separate State of Telangana as well as for maintaining the present status of a united Andhra Pradesh:

- (1) Shri Justice B.N. Srikrishna, Retired Judge, Supreme Court of India Chairman
- (2) Prof. Ranbir Singh, Vice Chancellor, National Law University, Delhi Member
- (3) Dr. Abusaleh Shariff, Senior Research Fellow, International Food Policy Research Institute, Delhi Member

(4) Prof. (Dr.) Ravinder Kaur, Professor, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology Delhi Member

(5) Shri V.K. Duggal, IAS (Retd.), Former Union Home Secretary Member Secretary

The Chairman, the Member Secretary and the Members, accordingly, joined the Committee on February 3, 2010. The Chairman was accorded the status of the sitting Supreme Court Judge and the Member Secretary, the rank of a Union Minister of State, vide Ministry of Home Affairs' letter No.1 Now Chief Economist/Senior Fellow, National Council of Applied Economic Research, Delhi v 12012/1/2009 – SR (Pt. – I) dated March 3, 2010, read with Ministry of Home Affairs' letter No. IV/12013/9/2004 – CSR dated August 14, 2007. The three Members were appointed on Part-Time basis.

The Terms of Reference of the Committee, as reproduced below, were notified vide d.o. letter No. 12012/1/2009 – SR dated February 12, 2010, of Special Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs. (Justice Sri Krishna, 2010)

- 1) To examine the situation in the State of Andhra Pradesh with reference to the demand for a separate State of Telangana as well as the demand for maintaining the present status of a united Andhra Pradesh.
- 2) To review the developments in the State since its formation and their impact on the progress and development of the different regions of the State.
- 3) To examine the impact of the recent developments in the State on the different sections of the people such as women, children, students, minorities, other backward classes, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.
- 4) To identify the key issues that must be addressed while considering the matters mentioned in items (1), (2) and (3) above.

- 5) To consult all sections of the people, especially the political parties, on the aforesaid matters and elicit their views; to seek from the political parties and other organizations a range of solutions that would resolve the present difficult situation and promote the welfare of all sections of the people; to identify the optimal solutions for this purpose; and to recommend a plan of action and a road map.
- 6) To consult other organizations of civil society such as industry, trade, trade unions, farmers' organizations, women's organizations and students' organizations on the aforesaid matters and elicit their views with specific reference to the all round development of the different regions of the State.
- 7) To make any other suggestion or recommendation that the Committee may deem appropriate. (Justice Sri Krishna, 2010)

4.7 KEY RECOMMENDATIONS SHRI KRISHNA COMMITTEE REPORT:

After going into all aspects of the situation as well as keeping in view the local, regional and national perspective, the Committee considers that the following solutions/possible options may offer the best way forward.

i. Maintain status quo

This implies treating the issue as basically a law and order/public order challenge to be handled by the state government, not requiring any major intervention by the Union Government. Such an approach is based on the history of the last 54 years when the demand for a separate state of Telangana was dealt with mainly in a political manner by accommodating different interest groups in the government and the party structure. At the same time, it is noticed that the emotional appeal of "Telugu Pride" was invoked to keep separatist sentiments in check with the result that the demand for Telangana subsided but did not entirely disappear. It

resurfaced in the post -2000 period with the rationale virtually being the same as in the earlier movements for Telangana, such as the partial implementation of the Gentlemen's Agreement, unsatisfactory implementation of Presidential Order of 1975 on employment issues, the gap in educational standards among the regions, the denial of fair share of water and irrigation resources, and perceived neglect in economic development of Telangana region. (Zeenews.com, 2010-12-15)

Above all, there were the sentimental and emotional reasons and attachment to a long held desire for a separate state of Telangana. The Committee did not find any real evidence of any major neglect by the state government in matters of overall economic development. However, there are some continuing concerns regarding public employment, education, and water and irrigation, which have been dealt with in the respective Chapters of the Report. Since the emotional satisfaction of the people of Telangana will not be met if no steps are taken, it is anticipated that immediate backlash will take place in the form of violent agitations in the region which may continue for some time. Besides, sporadic agitations on specific demands in different areas may continue even for a longer period. With Telangana Praja Front (TPF-Gaddar) once again joining hands with TRS, indications are that such agitations are likely to be highly emotional and serious. (Amarendar. A, 2010)

These agitations will have immediate impact on the normal life in and around Hyderabad, thus once again affecting the city's image and putting a question mark on its economic growth momentum. As has happened earlier, people's representatives from the region MLAs/MLCs/MPs belonging to different political parties would come under pressure to resign, which may once again lead to a political crisis. The Maoist movement is also likely to get a fillip in such a situation. In view of the complex background of the situation and the rather serious and sensitive emotional

aspects involved, the Committee is of the unanimous view that it would not be practical to simply maintain the status quo in respect of the situation. Some intervention is definitely required and though maintaining the existing status quo is an option, it is favoured the least. (Justice Sri Krishna, 2010)

ii. Bifurcation of the State into Seemandhra and Telangana; with Hyderabad as a Union Territory and the two states developing their own capitals in due course

(a) This option underscores the pivotal position of Hyderabad historically and its economic significance at all levels - regional, national and international. Hyderabad is now regarded as an engine of growth in view of its position in the global economy as being a hub of information technology and Information Technology Enabled Services (ITES). Besides, it has a thriving real estate industry with strong participation of national players in addition to regional firms. It also has a manufacturing base in the nearby Rangareddy district which has attracted investors from the coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions as well as from outside. A number of public sector organizations, national institutions, civil and military establishments and defense institutions are also located in and around Hyderabad. (Jaya Shankar, Nov. 22, 2006)

Over the years migration has completely changed the demographics of the city and the total number of people from other regions and from outside the state residing in the metropolis is very substantial and estimated to be more than one third of the population of the Greater Hyderabad Metropolitan area. Only continued economic growth can lead to expansion of employment opportunities and therefore the current economic inter-linkages of Hyderabad with other regions need to be developed and preserved so that there is an assured climate of certainty and stable business

environment. The situation of Hyderabad can be compared with the metropolis of Brussels in Belgium. In 1968, Belgium had erupted in a series of riots on the question of who had a claim to Brussels city, which is barely inside the northern Flam and region. The only way to settle the issue was to declare that Belgium was a country of two cultures and three regions. It is to be noted that Belgium has a population of about 10 million out of which 6 million in the northern part of the country are Flemish speaking while 4 million, who are mainly concentrated in the south of Belgium, speak French. (Regional disparities, 2006)

There is also a small German speaking minority. Belgium is thus constituted as a federation of three language communities - Flemish, French and German. The capital region of Brussels, therefore, is organized altogether as a separate bilingual capital region with an independent administrative set up and jurisdiction. Andhra Pradesh, however, by and large, has a common culture and was constituted as the first linguistic (Telugu) state. In our context, when there are equally strong competing claims on a thriving urban conglomerate, the Union Territory model is often considered workable and accordingly, in this option it is suggested that if the state of Andhra Pradesh is divided into two units then Hyderabad could become a Union Territory with a common capital for the present and the states eventually developing their own capitals over time. As the revenues from the proposed Union Territory would go to the Central Government, a mutually agreed formula for equitable apportionment of the grants could be devised for all the three regions.

(b) It was considered that this option would be more acceptable to the people from coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions as their economic interests in Hyderabad would remain protected though they would prefer that the state stays united with Hyderabad as its capital. (Regional disparities, 2006)

However, this option also has severe implications and will, in all probability, give rise to a renewed and serious agitation by the people of Telangana insisting on inclusion of Hyderabad only in Telangana and making the functioning governance of the Union Territory a very difficult task. Besides, the geographical contiguity and access to Hyderabad, to which strong economic and personal linkages of people from coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema exist, will be physically cut off with two districts i.e. Nalgonda towards coastal Andhra and Mahabubnagar towards Rayalaseema (both districts part of Telangana) lying in between the boundaries of the three regions. This situation could be used by agitators in blocking supplies, drinking water etc. Another drawback of this option would be that the sentimental and emotional satisfaction of having a new state of Telangana would remain unfulfilled if Hyderabad were not to be included in it. If Hyderabad which has always been considered an integral part of Telangana does not form part of the new state, it will give rise to serious discontent and agitations and the problem will continue. In the Committee's assessment, there is a definite likelihood of serious immediate backlash in Telangana region causing similar problems as have been indicated in option (i) above. On overall consideration, therefore, the Committee found this option also not practicable. (Telanagana Movement, 2006)

iii. Bifurcation of State into Rayala-Telangana and coastal Andhra regions with Hyderabad being an integral part of Rayala- Telangana

- (a) This suggestion was put to the Committee as the second preference by some sections of the people of Rayalaseema region. Their first preference was for a united Andhra. AIMIM also, while strongly advocating the cause of 445 united Andhra Pradesh as being in the best interest of economic growth and welfare of the minority Muslim community, stated that in the event of division of the state it

would be in the community's interest to form a new state combining the regions of Telangana and Rayalaseema. Their argument is based on the demographic composition of Rayalaseema which has over 12% Muslim population as compared to just about 8% in the rest of Telangana (i.e. excluding Hyderabad). The Muslim community in this scenario will get greater political space. A second rationale for combining the two regions is suggested by the economic analysis of the state which has shown that Rayalaseema is the most backward of the three regions. It is dependent on Telangana for water and irrigation resources and values its access to Hyderabad for employment and education. There is also greater social homogeneity between the two regions. It is for these reasons that given a choice between coastal Andhra and Telangana, the Rayalaseema people may prefer to join Telangana. Our analysis suggests that primarily taking economic and social parameters into account this would be a viable and sustainable option. (Ramesan, N., 1966)

- (b) On the other hand, however, such a move will be strongly resisted by all political parties and groups from Telangana region (outside of the old city of Hyderabad) as most of them believe that Rayalaseema political leadership has been one of the most important contributory factors in keeping them at a disadvantage while at the same time exploiting their land resources. The Committee discussed the possibility of this option with almost all the groups of Telangana and noted that not even one of them favoured such an option and as a matter of fact conveyed their vehement opposition to it.
- (c) In a nutshell, this scenario is not likely to be accepted either by the pro-Telangana or by the pro-united Andhra protagonists. Besides, it is one in which one can anticipate emergence of fundamentalist forces from amongst the competing

political parties and groups. Agitations, particularly in Telangana area, against such a recommendation are also not ruled out. While 446 this option may have economic justification, the Committee believes that this option may not offer a resolution which would be acceptable to people of all three regions.

iv. Bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh into Seemandhra and Telangana With enlarged Hyderabad Metropolis as a separate Union Territory.

This Union Territory will have geographical linkage and contiguity via Nalgonda district in the south-east to district Guntur in coastal Andhra and via Mahboobnagar district in the south to Kurnool district in Rayalaseema.

- (a) This option which highlights the characteristics of Hyderabad as a growing global city. The city's boundaries have recently been revised to extend the municipal limits from the 175 Km² of the erstwhile MCH to 625 km² of the current GHMC. The erstwhile HUDA has been replaced by an expanded HMDA, headed by the Chief Minister, with a substantial area of 7073 km², which is about twice the size of the state of Goa. The extended Union Territory will comprise 67 Mandals, 1330 Villages, 12430 KM² areas as indicated below:
- (b) In the view of the Committee, Hyderabad region is critical to the growing economy of the state and the nation as a whole. Its GDP is becoming increasingly centred in the modern services and transport sector which accounted for 58% of its GDP in 2005-06, up from 43% in 1999-2000. Being the main software centre of Andhra Pradesh it also accounts for 15% of the national IT exports. Besides, infrastructure and real estate are the other key growth areas in Hyderabad. As discussed in the Chapter on Hyderabad, the city has deep social linkages with the rest of the state and this is reflected in the transport links as well as in the immigration from the other regions. Earlier migrants from outside the state were

mainly from Karnataka and Maharashtra but of late the share of eastern and northern states has visibly increased and the pattern is now closer to that of Mumbai which reflects its growing integration with the national economy. Hyderabad is also a strategically important city for the nation. It hosts many institutions of excellence and country, but are also vital from the national security establishments of strategic importance. These not only source talent from all over the perspective. (Rao, P.R., 1980)

Table –4

List of Telangan Districts, Mandals and Villages

No.	Name of the District	No. of Mandals	No. of Revenue	Villages Area
1.	Ranga Reddy	21	576	4186 (KM2)
2.	Medak	10	262	1776
3.	Mahboobnagar	09	163	3109
4.	Nalgonda	11	263	3142
5.	Hyderabad	16	66	217
Total		67	1330	12430

(c) In view of these considerations it was found necessary to suggest an expanded Union Territory as an option. The merit of this suggestion is that all the three regions will have geographical contiguity and physical access to Hyderabad metropolis. It may also house the capitals of both Telangana and Seemandhra as in the Chandigarh model with a separate Union Territory administrative set up. Most of the administrative, police, etc. officers will be drawn from the existing state cadres. Plenty of space would be available for infrastructure development. Since

this would be a reasonably larger area with a population of well over 10 million people, the model could be a mix of Chandigarh and Delhi UTs i.e. it may have its own Legislative Assembly. As has happened in Chandigarh, over the years its neighbouring towns Mohali, Derabassi, Panchkula and Parwanoo, etc. in Punjab, Haryana, and Himachal Pradesh have seen remarkable growth and development. Also around Delhi, towns like Gurgaon, Sonapat and Faridabad in Haryana and Ghaziabad, Noida in U.P. have come up and are experiencing high growth and Appreciable development owing to the capital growth centre. Similarly, within this proposed new Union Territory, all the three neighbouring regions (Telangana, coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema) will automatically piggyback on the economic engine of Hyderabad metropolis and gain full momentum for achieving appreciable economic growth and employment. (Iyengar, 1951)

This option can perhaps be made acceptable to all three regions. It is anticipated that demand for a separate Rayalaseema may also get initiated in the event of separation of Telangana and if a decision to that effect is taken for a separate Rayalaseema at any given time in the future, the Rayalaseema capital could also be housed in this larger Union Territory. Since the revenues from the U.T. will go to the Central exchequer, the Union Government in consultation with the new states, representing all the three regions, can work out a mutually acceptable formula for equitable apportionment of the grants based on the revenues earned from the Union Territory. (Department of Information, 1959)

(d) On the flip side, it may be stated that this proposal will receive stiff opposition from Telangana protagonists for two reasons as follows:

- I. Telangana has always considered Hyderabad as an integral part of the region and they would not be happy with a common capital of all the regions located in Hyderabad and
 - II. Partly merging portions of the two Telangana districts i.e. Nalgonda and Mahabubnagar may also be resented (although in the long term these districts/Mandals are expected to grow economically at a much faster pace than at present). Besides, there may be opposition from all the three regions that part of the state i.e. Hyderabad and adjoining areas will become a Union Territory. As Hyderabad is a major economic hub and the capital city, which the state has nourished and developed over a period of time, this proposal may find opposition from several quarters. As such, while there are some positives of this option it may be difficult to reach a political consensus in making this solution acceptable to all. Particularly from Telangana, serious resistance and agitation on this issue could be expected. It also has to be borne in mind that Telangana with or without Hyderabad is likely to experience a spurt in Maoist activity. (Jawad Razvi, 1983)
- v. Bifurcation of the State into Telangana and Seemandhra as per existing boundaries with Hyderabad as the capital of Telangana and Seemandhra to have a new capital**
- a) In this option there would be a clear division of Andhra Pradesh into two states – Telangana and Seemandhra and in the interim Hyderabad will continue to house both the capitals till a new capital for Seemandhra is created. For creation of a new capital, a large investment would be required, provision for which will have to be made both by the Union and the state governments. This option implies accepting the full demands of a large majority of Telangana people for a separate state that will assuage their emotional feelings and sentiments as well as the

perceived sense of discrimination and neglect. The Committee's impression, gained during its extensive tours of Telangana region indicated that a very large number of people from Telangana were highly supportive of the demand for a separate Telangana; an appreciable segment was found to be neutral; while some sections were not in favour of it. (James Heitzman and Robert L, 1995)

The Committee observed that strong pro-Telangana elements in Warangal, west Khammam, Nizamabad, Karimnagar, southern Adilabad, Siddipet area of Medak, parts of Nalgonda and Mahabubnagar and some areas of Ranga Reddy. The most vociferous and agitating sections are the students (particularly in Osmania and Kakatiya Universities), the unemployed youth, the lawyers and the non-gazetted Government employees; The neutral elements include the original population of Hyderabad, including large segments of AIMIM, the villages/mandals bordering Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh, coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema and Karnataka; the settler villages / mandals in the Telangana heartland (Khammam, Karimnagar, Nizamabad etc.) and the migrant population in HMDA from Seemandhra and other parts of the country; The aspirations of a large section of tribal's on the northern side of Telangana, particularly the hill tribal's, are for a separate state of Manayaseema and of the tribal belt which cuts across Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra, to be under a single administrative system; The SCs/BCs and the minorities have their own aspirations for appropriate political space, economic development and reservation benefits. (Justice Sri Krishna, 2010)

b) The implications of this option are that

- 1) If earlier agitations are anything to go by, this decision will give rise to serious and violent agitations in the coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions,

where the backlash will be immediate; the key issues being Hyderabad and sharing of water and irrigation resources;

- 2) There will be every likelihood of pressure being put by the general public on the leaders of the political parties of Seemandhra region (MLAs/MLCs/MPs) to resign and fight for united Andhra Pradesh;
 - 3) The agitation for separation of Rayalaseema from coastal Andhra may also start taking shape sooner than expected;
 - 4) Even though water and irrigation issues can be handled by creating autonomous/semi-autonomous structures, the apprehensions of the people of coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema will continue to be voiced; and
 - 5) The impact on internal security situation with the anticipated growth of Naxalism and religious fundamentalism.
- c) The division of the state will also have serious implications outside Andhra Pradesh. It would not only give fillip to other similar demands but it will be for the first time, after the re-organisation of states, that a political demand for dividing a linguistically constituted state would have been conceded by the Union Government with the creation of two Telugu speaking states. The issue requires a most calm and dispassionate consideration of the consequences. The matter should also be seen in the larger context of whether a region can be allowed to decide for itself what its political status should be, as that would only create a demand for a great number of small states resulting in problems of coordination and management. (Sundarayya, P., 1972)
- d) The economic dimension is also not to be lost sight of. The world over, there is a trend towards economic integration with economic blocs consisting of many smaller nations being formed in the interest of enhancing economic opportunities,

markets and employment. It is normally believed that formation of smaller states contributes to pre-existing barriers to inter-state and intrastate trade and movement of goods and services. For example, a variety of local entry taxes and cess may impede free trade and enhance cost of business and increase prices of goods and services. There can also be local laws restraining physical movement of goods and services between neighboring regions and between states. Such fears are very strong in coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema and there is apprehension that Hyderabad city as a market destination and also a source of supply will be out of bounds on the creation of Telangana with Hyderabad as a separate state. Coastal Andhra would also lose a major market inherent in the huge population, business, and market concentration of the city of Hyderabad. (Telanagana Movement, 2006)

On this count, division of Andhra Pradesh can only be a negative factor which would inhibit the economic growth of the newly formed states. Economically, the land locked region of Telangana may also lose out on access and opportunities to the eastern coastline which has a major port in Vishakhapatnam and many other sea ports. With vast discoveries of oil and gas on the anvil and the resultant likely spurt in economic growth and employment in the coastal region, an integrated economy is likely to benefit the people of both regions optimally rather than through separation by formation of Telangana state. However, the overall economic viability of Telangana with Hyderabad is projected to be stable and as a matter of fact the GDP of this state will be much larger than many other states in the country. (Regional disparities, 2006)

- (e) The Committee is of the view that given the long history of the demand for a separate Telangana, the highly charged emotions at present and the likelihood of the agitation continuing in case the demand is not met (unless handled deftly,

tactfully and firmly as discussed under option six), consideration has to be given to this option. The grievances of the people of Telangana, such as non-implementation of some of the key decisions included in the Gentleman's Agreement (1956), certain amount of neglect in implementation of water and irrigation schemes, inadequate provision for education infrastructure (excluding Hyderabad), and the undue delay in the implementation of the Presidential order on public employment etc., have contributed to the felt psyche of discrimination and domination, with the issue attaining an emotional pitch. (Amos, 2009)

The continuing demand, therefore, for a separate Telangana, the Committee felt, has some merit and is not entirely unjustified. In case this option is exercised, the apprehensions of the coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema people and others who have settled in Hyderabad and other districts of Telangana with regard to their investments, properties, livelihood and employment, would need to be adequately addressed and confidence instilled that their safety and security would get the highest priority from the new dispensation. Considering all aspects, the Committee felt that while creation of a separate Telangana would satisfy a large majority of people from the region, it would also throw up several other serious problems as indicated above. The implications for the other two regions also cannot be ignored. Therefore, after taking into account all the pros and cons, the Committee did not think it to be the most preferred, but the second best option. Separation is recommended only in case it is unavoidable and if this decision can be reached amicably amongst all the three regions. (Telanagana Movement, 2006)

vi. Keeping the State united by simultaneously providing certain definite Constitutional/Statutory measures for socio-economic development and political empowerment of Telangana region – creation of a statutorily empowered Telangana Regional Council

a) In view of various considerations indicated earlier, the Committee is convinced that the development aspect was of utmost importance for the welfare of all the three regions and could best be addressed through a model that includes deeper and more extensive economic and political decentralisation. The Committee believes that overall it may not be necessary to have a duplication or multiplication of capitals, assemblies, ministries, courts, institutions and administrative infrastructure required by the other options. The Committee considers that unity is in the best interest of all the three regions of the state as internal partitions would not be conducive to providing sustainable solutions to the issues at hand. In this option, it is proposed to keep the state united and provide constitutional/statutory measures to address the core socio-economic concerns about development of Telangana region. This can be done through the establishment of a statutory and empowered Telangana Regional Council with adequate transfer of funds, functions and functionaries in keeping with the spirit of Gentleman's Agreement of 1956. (Telanagana Movement, 2006)

The Regional Council would provide a legislative consultative mechanism for the subjects to be dealt with by the Council. This would imply that if the State Legislature has to enact a law which impinges upon such subjects as are being dealt with by the Council then the matter would be referred to the Council for comments/suggestions. Likewise, if the Council forwards a resolution to the Government for enacting certain legislation on the subjects within its domain, such a

resolution shall be discussed in the Assembly for becoming a law. In case of any difference of opinion between the Regional Council and the Government/Assembly on such legislative issues, and such differences are bound to arise once in a while, an Apex Committee headed by the Governor with preferably an equal number of members from the two regions with the Governor having the casting vote may be constituted to resolve the matter. (Times of India, Dec. 23, 2009)

The suggested membership of this Apex Committee could be the Chief Minister, Deputy Chief Minister, Speaker, Chairman of the Legislative Council, Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, Leader of Opposition in the Legislative Council, Chairman of the Telangana Regional Council and an eminent, a political and respected Jurist who is well versed with constitutional law and regional issues. The suggested subjects that can be dealt with by the proposed Telangana Regional Council could be as follows: Planning & Economic Development, including preparation of development sub-plan (excluding area under HMDA) for the region as part of State Plan Water and Irrigation sector. (Amarendar. A, 2010)

Education (primary and secondary); Skill development and vocational education Local Administration (PRIs and ULBs, other than HMDA) Public Health (up to district hospitals excluding medical colleges and specialty health care) The above list is only illustrative and other subjects having a bearing on the regional, social, economic and cultural aspects may also be considered for inclusion at the time of the constitution of the Council or whenever required. The Chairman of the Regional Council should be an MLA enjoying the rank and status of a Cabinet Minister in the state government. The Council will implement the sub-plan for Telangana Region and for this purpose funds, functions and functionaries will be placed at the disposal of the Council. The Council will be served by its own

Secretariat headed by an officer of the level of Additional Chief Secretary in the State who would report to the Chairman of the Council. The total membership of the Council which should essentially be from amongst the MLAs/MLCs should depend on the number of subjects transferred to the Council and its total work load. Some independent subject matter experts can be co-opted as non-voting members of the Council. Likewise the total number of officers and staff to be deputed to work in the Council Secretariat shall be determined by the number of subjects transferred and the work load keeping existing Government norms in view. (Economic Times, Sept. 29, 2012)

The GFRs will continue to apply in the day to day functioning and for the expenditure to be incurred by the Council. However, any re-appropriation of sub-plan funds would only be done on the recommendation of the Regional Council. Other confidence building measures that need to be initiated include providing adequate political space to Telangana, such as the positions of Chief Minister or Deputy Chief Minister and other key ministerial portfolios. It would also be necessary that for confidence building, important meetings in Government of India particularly where allocation of development and other funds are discussed such as the ones chaired by the Finance Minister, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission and the Chairman of Finance Commission are attended by both CM and Deputy CM. The Committee is of the considered view that the momentum for a separate Telangana started picked up from the time the decisions incorporated in the Gentlemen's Agreement were not implemented. With the constitution of the proposed statutory council, these grievances would be taken care of. The united Andhra option is being suggested for continuing the development momentum of the three regions and keeping in mind the national perspective. With firm political and

administrative management it should be possible to convey conviction to the people that this option would be in the best interest of all and would provide satisfaction to the maximum number of people in the state. It would also take care of the uncertainty over the future of Hyderabad as a bustling educational, industrial and IT hub/destination. For management of water and irrigation resources on an equitable basis, a technical body i.e. Water Management Board and an Irrigation Project Development Corporation in expanded role have been recommended. The above course of action should meet all the issues raised by Telangana people satisfactorily. (Bhagyanagar Patrika, 1926-28)

The Committee expects that the first reaction to this option will be of a total rejection by some political leaders, other groups and organizations and a majority of people from Telangana region, since their long standing demand for a separate Telangana would not have been met. Although the model recommended is considered to be in the best interest of all the people of the state some segments of Telangana population, such as students and unemployed youth (who have been promised lakhs of jobs), non-gazetted officers (who are anticipating accelerated promotions), lawyers and farmers etc. may not feel satisfied and may resort to violent agitations. It is possible that the MLAs/MLCs and MPs belonging to different parties in Telangana may be pressurised to resign in order to create a political crisis. It would indeed pose a serious challenge to the leadership to deal with this immediate backlash and the agitations which are likely to continue for a period of time. It is, however, also our anticipation that once the empowerment model as also the advantages of the state staying united have been understood by the people it would be possible for the Government to contain and control the agitational activities and take the state towards economic growth and progress. The other implication of the

model proposed is that there could be similar demands for creation of such regional statutorily empowered councils in Rayalaseema, which as per our economic analysis is the most backward of the three regions, and in other backward sub-regions of the state like north coastal Andhra and the tribal areas on the northern border of the state and also in other similarly placed backward regions outside the state. However, it goes without saying that this option will receive a near unanimous acceptance by the people of coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema and large segments of Hyderabad Metropolis. (Reddy Rani, 1925-27)

The Committee discussed all aspects of this option and while it acknowledges that there will be certain difficulties in its implementation, on balance, it found it the most workable option in the given circumstances and in the best interest of the social and economic welfare of the people of all the three regions. The core issue being one of socio-economic development and good governance, the Committee, keeping the national perspective in mind, is of the considered view that this option stands out as the best way forward. This option, thus, suggests a model that carries forward the national goal of deepening and extending decentralization and of sustaining inclusive growth. It is hoped that the model suggested here would be useful in addressing regional aspirations elsewhere in the council. (Rao, P.R., 1980)

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CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION:

Indian setup is unsuitable for successive division of states as it is linguistic based. Especially in southern, western and eastern states where Hindi is not state Language. It will ruin the integration of nation. Once entertaining the separatist movement for telangana has two fold impacts in near future. Almost all bigger states has to divide for example, Bodoland (Assam) Bundelkhand (Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh) Central Travancore (Kerala), Delhi Gondwana (Northern Deccan Plateau) Gorkhland (West Bengal) Harit Pradesh (Uttar Pradesh) Kamtapur / Greater Cooch Behar (West Bengal) Karbi Anglong (Assam) Kodagu (Karnataka) Kosal/Koshal (Orrisa) Ladakh (Jammu and Kashmir) Mahakoshal (Madhya Pradesh) Mithila (Bihar) Panun Kashmir (Jammu and Kashmir) Purvanchal (Uttar Pradesh) Rayalseema (Andhra Pradesh) Tulu Nadu (Karnataka and Kerala), Vidarbha (Maharashtra), Maru Pradesh (Rajasthan), Vindhya Pradesh (Madhya Pradesh). It goes on for separatist aspirations as far as Telangana is concerned, the Movement is for political gain rather than social or economical. Even Sri Krishna Committee also recommends the United Andhra in first priority. Aspiration of people is also the same. But one can regulate the other factors rising movement by restructuring the state plans. (Gour Raj, 1973)

5.2 CONCLUSIONS:

The ongoing struggle for Telangana has sparked a turf war within the main political parties in Andhra Pradesh. Unmindful of whether or not they reach the ultimate goal of securing statehood for the region, everyone involved in this tuff war

wants to score brownie points and emerge the champion, or at least be seen as one, in the larger political game of one-upmanship. "The Telangana agitation is providing a good platform for ambitious politicians to climb the political ladder, while old-timers, mostly in the Congress and Bharatiya Janata Party are using the opportunity to stay afloat in the current tide." The successive state and central Government promises in the form of agreements, formulas, amendments and introduction of articles in the constitution proved futile. (Barry Pavier, 1981)

Even after 54 years of geographical merger of two states (Andhra and Hyderabad States) both regions have not been completely integrated. There is vast divisiveness in terms of emotions, languages, literature and culture of both the regions. Hundreds of Telangana youth have sacrificed their lives for the cause of Telangana. There were more than thousands of billions loss of revenue to Government due to various strikes, rallies, protest and agitation. The major political parties in the state such as Congress and Telugudesam are divided as their MLA's and MP's started to support the demands of their own regions. About 101 MLA's Out of 119 from Telangana and 12 out of 15 Ministers, 13 out of 17 MP's and 20 MLC's have resigned protesting delay in the formation of Telangana. In addition to all these the people in one region of Andhra Pradesh have developed hatred towards the people of other regions. (Dhanagare, D.N., 1991)

Proponents of a separate Telengana state feel that the agreements, plans, and assurances from the legislature and Lok Sabha over the last fifty years have been honoured, and as a consequence Telengana has remained neglected, exploited, and backward. They allege that the experiment of Andhra Pardesh to remain as one state has proven to be a futile exercise and that separation is the best solution.

And therefore Bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh into Seemandhra and Telegana with Hyderabad as a Union Territory and the two states developing their own capitals in due course will be the best solution. (Sundarayya, P., 1972)

5.3 FINDINGS:

The people of Telangana want a separate state, to rule on their own (self-rule or self-governance), want to preserve their beliefs, dialect and the culture for the future generations (self-respect), and not to be ruled any further by the oppressors. Telangana should be made 29th state of Indian Union with Hyderabad as its capital based on the following points:

5.3 1. VOCALLY SAME BUT CULTURALLY DIFFERENT:

The people of Andhra Pradesh speak Telugu language, but in many different dialects. The Telangana region has a different dialect compared to the Andhra and Rayalaseema regions. The people from the Andhra region believe that their dialect is superior to the other regions and discriminate the Telangana dialect in many ways. The discrimination of the Telangana Dialect and the people is very evident in the Telugu film industry (called as Tollywood) dominated by the Andhra people (who incidentally came to Hyderabad after leaving the film industry in Madras). The films produced in Tollywood mostly show villains (or bad characters) using Telangana dialect whereas actors and actresses using the Andhra dialect.

This leads to confusion in the younger generations whether the Telangana dialect is really inferior. Culturally, there are many differences between three regions, the food, festivals, music; arts and crafts of Telangana people are different from their counter parts. For example, the festivals Bathukamma and Bonalu (also celebrated in few parts of Rayalaseema) are unique to the Telangana region. The

school books do not feature the history of the Telangana region, cultural aspects and beliefs (for example the most important ones, Telangana rebellion and the liberation struggle), instead the books highlight Shri Potti Sreeramulu fasting to death for the creation of Andhra Pradesh State on linguistic basis. In reality, he specifically fasted for the formation of Andhra state with Madras as capital from the erstwhile Madras State. The people of the Andhra and the Rayalaseema never bothered to understand the Telangana beliefs and culture; instead they resort to the mockery of the Telangana arts, music and festivals. (Mohan Ram, 1973)

5.3. 2. POLITICAL DOMINATION AND ABUSE OF POWER:

The political domination is clearly visible if one looks at the duration of the Chief Ministers served after the formation of Andhra Pradesh state. The Chief Ministers from the Telangana have just served 6 years and 3 months compared to the 46 years and 6 months by the Chief Ministers from Andhra and Rayalaseema regions (as of February 2010), barring the 9 months of the President's rule in 1973. The disrespect of Gentlemen's agreement, partial behaviour and the domination of the Andhra and Rayalaseema politicians on the people of Telangana led to the unrest and subsequent Telangana State movement in 1969. The death of hundreds of people including 370 students in 1969 was the brutal act of abuse of power by the state government headed by the former Chief Minister Mr. Kasu Brahmananda Reddy. It should be noted that the imposition of the President's rule in 1973 was due to the non-cooperation of Andhra / Rayalaseema politicians, which led to the downfall of the first Telangana Chief Minister Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao after 468 days .The abuse of power is an important issue, and is the cause of the present situation in the state. (Regional disparities, 2006)

The first abuse of power was noticed soon after the formation of the Andhra Pradesh state. According to the Gentleman's Agreement "if the Chief Minister is from the Andhra / Rayalaseema region, then the Deputy Chief Minister-ship should be given to the Telangana Region", but the then Chief Minister Mr. Neelam Sanjiva Reddy didn't approved a deputy Chief Minister for the Telangana region. The power in the hands of Andhra and Rayalaseema politicians has allowed them to bypass most of the rules and agreements, and the people from Andhra region took possession of agriculture lands in and around the state capital and occupied most of the higher positions in all the state government jobs and their subsidiaries. Even the judicial department is not immune to their power abuse, for instance the number of Advocates Generals appointed since the formation Andhra Pradesh are eight. Four from the Andhra Region and four from the Rayalaseema region and none were appointed from the Telangana region as of February 2010. (Regional disparities, 2010)

Table – 5**List of Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh**

NO	CHIEFMINISTER	FROM	TO
1	Sri Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy	November 1, 1956	January 11, 1960
2	Sri Damodaram Sanjivayya	January 11, 1960	March 12, 1962
3	Dr. Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy	March 12, 1962	February 29, 1964
4	Sri Kasu Bramhananda Reddy	February 29, 1964	September 30, 1971
5	Sri PV Narasimha Rao	September 30, 1971	January 10, 1973
	President's rule	October 10, 1973	December 10, 1973
6	Sri Jalagam Vengala Rao	December 10, 1973	March 6, 1978
7	Dr. Marri Chenna Reddy	March 6, 1978	October 11, 1980
8	Sri Tanguturi Anjaiah	October 11, 1980	February 24, 1982
9	Sri Bhavanam Venkataram	February 24, 1982	September 20, 1982
10	Sri Kotla Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy	January 9, 1982	January 9, 1983
11	Sri NT Rama Rao	January 9, 1983	August 16, 1984
12	Sri Nadendla Bhaskara Rao	August 16, 1984	September 16, 1984
13	Sri Nandamuri Taraka Rama Rao	September 16, 1984	March 9, 1985
14	Sri Nandamuri Taraka Rama Rao	March 9, 1985	December 3, 1989
15	Dr Marri Chenna Reddy	December 3, 1989	December 17, 1990
16	Sri Nedurumalli Janardhana Reddy	December 17, 1990	October 9, 1992
17	Sri Kotla Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy	October 9, 1992	December 12, 1994
18	Sri Nandamuri Taraka Rama Rao	December 12, 1994	September 1, 1995
19	Sri Nara Chandra Babu Naidu	September 1, 1995	May 14, 2004
20	Dr. Y S Rajasekhara Reddy	May 14, 2004	September 2, 2009
21	Dr. K Rosaiah	September 4, 2009	November 24, 2010
22	Sri N Kiran Kumar Reddy	November 25, 2010	Till Date

(Source: Census of India, 2010)

5.3. 3. MAL-DISTRIBUTION OF STATE INCOME AND FUNDS:

According to the Gentlemen's Agreement, the state income should be distributed proportionately between the two regions and the balance of income from Telangana should be reserved for the development of the Telangana region. The mal-distribution of state income was one of the main causes for the separate Telangana movement in 1969 and thereafter. The 1969 Telangana unrest forced the central government to appoint the Justice V. Bhargava Committee of Telangana Surpluses of 1969, this committee report showed the unspent surpluses totaling of Rs. 28.34 crore were recorded from 1956 to 1968, which were ought to be spent on the development of the Telangana region. After this fiasco, the region wise evaluations were abolished and the information is scarce on the public domain, but in few instances, there were queries in the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly for the region wise income and expenditure.

The than Finance Minister and the Chief Minister Mr. K. Roshiah answered these questions, and were reported in the local newspapers. In the last 5 years the large chunk of the state income (including Hyderabad) was generated in the Telangana, was 76% (Telangana: Rs. 57,752 cr, Andhra and Rayalaseema: Rs. 17,270 cr.) but the expenditure on the Telangana was only 51% (Telangana: Rs. 27,059 cr., Andhra and Rayalaseema: Rs. 25,794 cr.). Similarly, for the year 2006-07, the income generated from the Telangana region (excluding the Hyderabad and the central government income) was 57% (Telangana: Rs. 6093 cr, Andhra and Rayalaseema: Rs. 4677 cr.) and the expenditure on the Telangana was only 48% (Telangana: Rs. 5987 cr., Andhra and Rayalaseema: Rs. 6370 cr.). The revenue from Telangana region (including Hyderabad) was more than half of the Andhra Pradesh total income from 2003-04 to 2006-07, mostly comes from the coal and the forest

resources. It is clear from the above financial data that the Telangana region has the surpluses in the last five years but surprisingly 9 out of 13 districts of the Andhra Pradesh listed for the Backward Region Grant Fund (BRGF) scheme started in 2006 by the Government of India are from Telangana region. Hyderabad (or state capital) is the only Telangana district that is not in the BRGF scheme. The Telangana region has faced a gross injustice in the funds allocation from the state and the central governments. There are numerous examples of funds mal-distribution, the latest and a glaring example is the G.O. 1845 issued with regard to NABARD under rural infrastructure development fund on December 11, 2009 for the construction of roads and bridges across the state. The Telangana region received a meager amount of Rs. 9.32 cr. compared to Rs. 121.13 cr. for the Andhra and Rayalaseema regions.

Table – 6
Area Irrigated by Sources, Region Wise, 2000 – 2001. (In Hectares)

S. No	Region	Canals	Tanks	Tube wells	Other	Other	Total	Area Irrigated	Gross Area
					Well	Sources		More Than one	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	Coastal Andhra	1,224,559 (74.25)	401,708 (55.27)	341,209 (32.00)	131,002 (14.75)	123,366 (62.72)	2,221,844 (49.07)	674359 (49.16)	2,896,203 (48.95)
2	Rayalseema	124,567 (7.55)	55,609 (7.65)	261,739 (24.55)	168,077 (18.93)	13,515 (6.87)	623,507 (13.77)	154,846 (11.29)	778,353 (13.16)
3	Telangana	300,261 (18.20)	269,492 (37.08)	463,390 (43.46)	588,884 (66.32)	59,811 (30.41)	1,682,378 (37.16)	542,528 (39.55)	2,241,591 (37.89)
4	A.Pradesh	1,649,387 (100.00)	726,809 (100.00)	1,066,338 (100.00)	887,963 (100.00)	196,692 (100.00)	4,527,729 (100.00)	1,371,733 (100.00)	5,916,147 (100.00)

(Sources : Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Andhra Pradesh.)

Note :-

1. One hectare equals to 2.47 Acres.
2. Figures Shown in Brackets are percentages of Total Area Irrigated in the State by the Sources concerned.

5.3.4. EXPLOITATION OF EDUCATIONAL AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES:

The best way to develop a society or region of rural India is by imparting the educational and the employment resources of the state. In case of the Telangana there has been a gross violation compared to the other two regions. The main sources of education such as public aided schools, junior colleges and degree colleges are unbelievably mismatching with the population, thus hindering the development in the Telangana region.

According to 2001 census, the Telangana has 40.5% of state population, in the same year the enrolled students in Telangana region were 33%, for them the state government allocated 31% of schools, 31% of teachers whereas for the rest 59.5% population and 67% enrolled students, there were 69% schools and 69% teachers of the total number in Andhra Pradesh. Similar situation can be observed in the further education, there are only 36% of junior colleges, 24% of degree colleges, 43% ITI's, 39% polytechnics, 36% engineering colleges, and 27% of medical colleges in Telangana region of the total number of aided institutions in the state of Andhra Pradesh. If the allotment of educational opportunities to the people in the Telangana region to be considered as a naive mistake, then the funds distributed or the amounts spend on the education by the state government is worse.

For example between 1956 and 1997, the total expenditure of the degree college (aided) education for the state is Rs. 1150.2 cr the Telangana region received a paltry amount of Rs. 120 cr (10.4%) and the Andhra and Rayalaseema regions got Rs. 1030.2 cr (89.6%). In recent times (2006), the Telangana University and the Vemana University were established in Nizamabad and Kadapa districts of the Andhra Pradesh, the former was allotted only Rs. 27 cr with 40 teaching staff, and

the later received Rs 300 cr with 250 teaching staff. With such a step motherly treatment, no wonder the Telangana region will have the lowest literacy rate and the present literacy rate (2009) is around 57% (including Hyderabad) compared to 62% and 60% in the Andhra and Rayalaseema regions respectively.

The exploitation in employment is another major concern among the people of the Telangana region. The Andhra region under the British colonial rule have had good awareness in the education field, while the Telangana region under the Nizam did not had the same opportunity. After the merger, the Gentlemen's agreement of 1956 clearly stated the Mulki Rules (which guarantees the rightful employment for the locals in the Telangana region) to be followed, but were bluntly violated. After 1969 unrest G.O. 36 was issued in order to repatriate the 25,000 non-local employees illegally appointed in the Telangana region between 1956 and 1969, the non-locals challenged the G.O. in the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court upheld the Mulki Rules and the implementation of G.O. 36 thus leading to 1972 "Jai Andhra" movement, which eventually abolished Mulki Rules and gave birth to the Six Point Formula in 1973. The history repeated again, when the former Chief Minister Mr. N. T. Rama Rao appointed the Officers' Committee under the chairmanship of K Jayabharath Reddy in 1985, to find out the number of employees appointed in violation to the Six Point Formula between 1973 and 1985. Again, a new G.O. 610 was issued to repatriate more than 50,000 non-local employees, nothing happened.

Sensing a serious discontent among the people of the Telangana in 2001, former Chief Minister Mr. C. B. Naidu appointed a one-man commission headed by J. M. Girglani. Submitting the report in 2004, he indicated a gross violation of non-local appointments in almost all the departments in the Telangana region with recommendations. According to an unofficial estimate by the Joint Action

Committee of Unions of Telangana Employees, Teachers and workers, the number of non-locals employed in Telangana region exceeded 2,00,000 in 2004. Out of 15,00,000 jobs in state government the people of Telangana occupy only 3,00,000 (i.e., 20%), it will become 33% if the 2,00,000 jobs of non-locals are repatriated, and is more or less the rightful share of Telangana people. Further, there is not even one district collector from Telangana region in the entire state, and only seven department heads out of 433 department heads spreading across the state are from Telangana region.

Table – 7

Collegiate Education – Degree Colleges. (2001)

1. Costal Andhra (Andhra and Nagarjun University)								
S. No.	Region	No. of Colleges	Enrolment	Teachers				
			Boys	Girls	Total	Men	Women	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
a.	Government	57 (32.39)	16483 (22.07)	13794 (25.10)	30277 (23.36)	946 (28.48)	301 (38.64)	1247 (3.41)
b.	Private Aided	93 (51.38)	80777 (57.37)	44358 (53.00)	125135 (55.74)	3447 (63.14)	1255 (53.91)	4702 (60.38)
c.	Pvt. & Unaided	236 (38.80)	42095 (33.95)	32110 (34.94)	74205 (34.37)	3004 (36.75)	1089 (32.28)	4093 (35.44)
	Total	386 (38.68)	139355 (41.05)	90262 (39.15)	229617 (40.29)	7397 (43.63)	2645 (40.80)	10042 (42.85)
2. Rayalseema (S.V. and S.K.D. University Areas)								
S. No.	Region	No. of Colleges	Enrolment	Teachers				
			Boys	Girls	Total	Men	Women	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
c.	Private Unaided	118 (18.41)	17833 (14.38)	9406 (10.23)	27239 (12.62)	1527 (18.68)	422 (12.51)	1949 (16.88)
	Total	205 (20.54)	71391 (21.03)	37849 (16.42)	109240 (19.16)	3724 (21.96)	939 (14.50)	4663 (19.89)
3. Telangana : (Osmania & Kakatiya University Areas)								
a.	Government	65 (36.93)	33103 (44.32)	25890 (47.12)	58993 (45.50)	1298 (39.07)	246 (31.58)	1544 (37.85)
b.	Private Aided	55 (30.38)	31573 (22.42)	26176 (31.26)	57749 (25.72)	893 (16.36)	788 (33.85)	1681 (21.59)
c.	Private Unaided	287 (44.77)	64058 (51.67)	50388 (54.83)	114446 (53.01)	3644 (44.57)	1863 (55.21)	5507 (47.68)
	Total	407 (40.78)	128734 (37.92)	102454 (44.43)	231188 (40.55)	5835 (34.41)	2897 (447.0)	8732 (37.26)
4. Andhra Pradesh								
a.	Government	176	74689	54946	129635	3322	779	4101
b.	Private Aided	181	140805	83715	224520	5459	2328	7787
c.	Private Unaided	641	123986	91904	215890	8175	3374	11548
	Total	998	339480	230565	570045	16956	6481	23436

Source: Bureau of Economics & Statistics, A.P. and Directorate of School Education, A.P.

Table – 8**Admission of Private Degree Colleges to Grant-in-Aid between 1985 – 2000**

S.No.	Region	No.of Colleges	No. of Sections	No. of Posts
1	2	3	4	5
1	Coastal Andhra	96 (60.38)	98 (49.49)	523 (42.25)
2	Rayalseema	32 (20.13)	61 (30.81)	511 (41.28)
3	Telangana	31 (19.50)	39 (19.70)	204 (16.48)
4	Andhra Pradesh	159 (100.00)	198 (100.00)	1238 (100.00)

Sources : 1. Department of Higher Education, A.P,
2. Commissionerate of Collegiate Education, A.P.

Note : - Figures given in brackets are percentages of totals of the State under the heads concerned.

Note :

1. Figures furnished by the Government are University-wise. They however, conform to the figures relating to respective regions with a little overlap in respect of Coastal Andhra and Rayalseema areas.
2. Figures show in brackets are percentages of total of the State under the heads concerned.

Table – 9**Literacy Rates**

S.No	Region	Literacy Rate		
		Persons	Males	Females
	2	3	4	5
1	Coastal Andhra	63.58	71.38	55.69
2	Rayalseema	60.53	72.68	48.04
3	Telangana	58.77	69.49	47.77
4	Andhra Pradesh	61.11	70.85	51.17

(Source: Census 2001)

Table – 10

Primary Education Region wise

N o.	Region	No. of School			Enrolment			Teachers		
		Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Men	Women	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Coastal Andhra										
a.	Govt. & Local Bodies	23,230 (44.47)	94 (25.13)	23324 (44.33)	1181394 (43.20)	1,192,478 (43.88)	2373872 (43.54)	35547 (44.70)	20005 (52.22)	55552 (47.14)
b.	Aided	1,642 (83.06)	10 (66.67)	1,652 (82.93)	139016 (79.06)	142,559 (79.63)	281,575 (79.35)	2,341 (77.85)	2,773 (76.20)	5,114 (76.95)
c.	Unaided	527 (40.88)	1 (16.67)	528 (40.77)	57639 (40.04)	44,183 (40.04)	101,822 (40.27)	1,608 (41.74)	2,040 (39.17)	3,648 (40.26)
	Total	25399 (45.76)	105 (26.58)	25504 (45.62)	1378049 (45.11)	1,379,220 (45.89)	2,757,369 (45.50)	39,496 (45.72)	24,818 (52.63)	63,314 (48.16)
Rayalseema										
a.	Govt. & Local Bodies	11,887 (22.75)	57 (15.24)	11,944 (22.70)	595,699 (21.78)	595,584 (21.91)	1,191,283 (21.85)	16,635 (20.92)	8,609 (22.47)	25,244 (21.42)
b.	Aided	207 (10.47)	2 (13.33)	209 (10.49)	22,757 (12.94)	23,836 (13.31)	46,593 (13.13)	417 (13.87)	460 (12.64)	877 (13.20)
c.	Unaided	325 (25.21)	1 (16.67)	326 (25.17)	37,672 (26.17)	27,125 (24.90)	64,797 (25.62)	918 (23.83)	1,395 (26.79)	2,313 (21.29)
	Total	12,419 (22.37)	60 (15.19)	12,479 (22.32)	656,128 (21.48)	646,545 (21.51)	1,302,673 (21.49)	17,970 (20.80)	10,464 (22.19)	28,434 (21.29)
Telangana										
a.	Govt. & Local Bodies	17,123 (32.78)	223 (59.63)	17,346 (32.97)	957,849 (35.02)	929,654 (34.21)	1,887,503 (34.62)	27,350 (34.39)	9,694 (25.31)	37,044 (31.44)
b.	Aided	128 (6.47)	3 (20.00)	131 (6.58)	14,067 (8.00)	12,626 (7.05)	26,693 (7.52)	249 (8.28)	406 (11.16)	655 (9.86)
c.	Unaided	437 (33.90)	4 (66.67)	441 (34.05)	48,631 (33.79)	37,625 (34.54)	86,256 (34.11)	1,326 (34.42)	1,773 (34.04)	3,099 (34.21)
	Total	17,688 (31.87)	230 (58.23)	17,918 (32.05)	1020547 (33.41)	979,905 (32.60)	2,000,452 (33.01)	28925 (33.48)	118733 (25.18)	40,798 (30.55)
Andhra Pradesh										
a.	Govt. & Local Bodies	52,240 (100.00)	374 (100.00)	52,614 (100.00)	2,734,942 (100.00)	2717716 (100.00)	5452658 (100.00)	79532 (100.00)	38308 (100.00)	117,840 (100.00)
b.	Aided	1,977 (100.00)	15 (100.00)	1,992 (100.00)	175,840 (100.00)	179,021 (100.00)	354,861 (100.00)	3,007 (100.00)	3,639 (100.00)	6,646 (100.00)
c.	Unaided	1,289 (100.00)	6 (100.00)	1,295 (100.00)	143,942 (100.00)	108,933 (100.00)	252,875 (100.00)	3,851 (100.00)	5,208 (100.00)	9,060 (100.00)
	Total	55,506 (100.00)	395 (100.00)	55,901 (100.00)	3054,724 (100.00)	3005670 (100.00)	6060394 (100.00)	86391 (100.00)	47,155 (100.00)	133,54 (100.00)

Sources : (1. Bureau of Economics & Statistics, A.P. and 2. Directorate of School Education, A.P.)

Note : - Figures shown in brackets are percentages of totals of the state under the heads concerned.

5.3. 5. EXPLOITATION OF WATER RESOURCES AND SCHEMES:

The exploitation of water resources was also a serious concern expressed by the people of Telangana during the merger with Andhra state in 1956 and even today. Main concerns were the irrigation projects (Major projects e.g., Nagarjuna Sagar and Sriram Sagar and medium irrigation) and the schemes (minor irrigation) taken up by the Hyderabad state to provide extensive irrigation facilities for the people of Telangana in the valleys of the Godavari and the Krishna rivers. The rightful share of these waters considering the fact that large portion of the catchment area (79% for Godavari and 68.5% for Krishna Rivers) lie in the Telangana region. Before the merger, the existing, under construction and the committed projects and schemes would have provided 790 TMC (Thousand Million Cubic ft) of water to the Telangana region (excluding the future projects worth 504 TMC). After the merger, due the Godavari and Krishna water disputes with other states and the re-distribution among the three regions in Andhra Pradesh, the Telangana region got only 627 TMC (including the minor and medium irrigation projects), while the Andhra and Rayalaseema regions received 853 TMC of water. Further, 800 TMC of Godavari water and 89 TMC of Krishna water surpluses were allotted to all the regions as future projects and expansions. (Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Andhra Pradesh)

All though Telangana lost a considerable amount of its water share due to merger, the utilization of the entitled water tell a different story. The projects benefiting the Telangana region has been lagging since their inception and inadequate funds added to more delays. There is shortfall of 133 TMC of water as of

year 1997 due to the inadequate funds in completion of projects and the diversion of allotted amounts to the other projects. One example worth mentioning is the Nagarjuna Sagar project, was signed as a joint project between the Hyderabad state and Andhra state in 1954 for equal sharing of 264 TMC of water as left and right canals. After the merger the 132 TMC was reduced to 106.2 TMC and this amount was eventually reduced to 89 TMC during the design and execution stage by the manipulation of levels and alignment of the Telangana left canal. The Tank irrigation developed by Kakatiya Kings in 13th Century is unique to the Telangana region and has a potential to provide irrigation facilities to 3,56,123 hectares at the beginning of the century. These minor irrigation storages were encouraged by erstwhile Nizam government and were providing irrigation facilities to 4,47,286 hectares as of 1956, but this potential was deliberately neglected by the state government which led to the decline of 72% to 1,26,000 hectares as of 2004. This shortfall and other factors had severe effects (e.g., suicides, abandoning farming etc) on the poor and medium farming community in the Telangana region that started exploiting the ground water (wells / bore-wells) using pump-sets. (Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Andhra Pradesh)

The well / bore-wells irrigation has seen an increasing trend in the whole state between 1956 and 2004 from 2,84,000 hectares to 19,00,000 hectares (i.e., 669% increase), while the increase in the Telangana region during the same period was 968% (from 1,16,000 hectares to 11,24,000 hectares). The other factors such as erratic and low voltage power, higher seed prices, pesticides, crop failures and high interest rate borrowing added to their peril. To sum up as of year 1997, it was estimated that the canal irrigation system for the cultivable land of 64,02,358 hectares (58%) in Telangana region receiving only 2,66,964 hectares (4.2%) and

46,33,304 hectares (42%) of the Andhra region receiving 13,12,795 hectares (28.3%). Further, the amount spent on irrigation purposes in the three regions are as follows, Rs. 4005 cr (15.5%) in Telangana, Rs. 19639.5 cr (76%) and Rs. 2201.5 cr (8.5%) in the Andhra and Rayalaseema regions respectively. In recent years, due to revival of separate Telangana state demand in 2001 and the Congress party in alliance with Telangana Rashtra Samithi party in year 2005-06 has given a large allocation of budget to the irrigation projects and schemes to the Telangana region, got Rs. 2797 cr (44%) of the total amount (Rs. 6374.12 cr). However, 25% (Rs. 689.67 cr) was allotted to Sriram Sagar Project – Stage II and the Sriram Sagar Project – Stage I started in 1963 is yet to be completed and was given Rs. 158.41 cr for its completion works in same budget. (Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Andhra Pradesh)

Table – 11

Area Irrigated by Sources, Region Wise, 2000 – 2001.

S. No	Region	Canals	Tanks	Tube wells	Other	Other	Total	Area Irrigated	Gross Area Irrigated
					Well	Sources		More Than one	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	Coastal Andhra	1,224,559 (74.25)	401,708 (55.27)	341,209 (32.00)	131,002 (14.75)	123,366 (62.72)	2,221,844 (49.07)	674359 (49.16)	2,896,203 (48.95)
2	Rayalseema	124,567 (7.55)	55,609 (7.65)	261,739 (24.55)	168,077 (18.93)	13,515 (6.87)	623,507 (13.77)	154,846 (11.29)	778,353 (13.16)
3	Telangana	300,261 (18.20)	269,492 (37.08)	463,390 (43.46)	588,884 (66.32)	59,811 (30.41)	1,682,378 (37.16)	542,528 (39.55)	2,241,591 (37.89)
4	A.Pradesh	1,649,387 (100.00)	726,809 (100.00)	1,066,338 (100.00)	887,963 (100.00)	196,692 (100.00)	4,527,729 (100.00)	1,371,733 (100.00)	5,916,147 (100.00)

(Sources : Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Andhra Pradesh.)

Note : - 1. One hectare equals to 2.47 Acres.

2. Figures Shown in Brackets are percentages of Total Area Irrigated in the State by the Sources concerned.

Table – 12

Area under Tank Irrigation in Telangana Decline between 1956 & 2001.

S.No.	Year	Area Irrigated by Tanks	% Increase (+) or Decrease (-) from 1956
1	2	3	4
1	1956	447,236	--
2	1961	411,494	07.10
3	1971	448,368	+ 00.25
4	1981	349,730	- 21.80
5	1991	392,212	- 12.30
6	1997	284,919	-36.30
7	1998	107,715	-75.92
8	2001	296,492	-39.74

Sources : - Statistical Abstracts of A.P. for the years concerned Published by the Bureau of Economics and Statistics, A.P.

Note : - One Hectare equals to 2.47 Acres.

5.3. 6. EXPLOITATION OF INDUSTRIES AND MINERAL RESOURCES:

To understand the exploitation in the industries, one should look at the stage of industrialization in Hyderabad state before the merger in 1956. The industrialization was far more advanced than in Andhra state, with 26 major industrial undertakings (state-owned or controlled) such as Ajamjahi Mills, Nizam Sugar Factory, Singareni Collieries, Sirpur Paper Mills, Allwyn, Praga tools, Sirsilk etc., while the Andhra state consists of only AP Paper Mills, Andhra Sugars, and few jute mills. At the turn of the 21st century, most of these industries were either closed, sick or privatized due to the delay in the expansion, modernization and siphoning off the entitled funds. While the existing industries and mills in Andhra region were allotted funds for expansion and modernization with more incentives. Only the Singareni Collieries sustained because of its indispensable nature, supporting the non-Telangana industries and the strong worker unions.

The Nizam Sugar Factory (NSF) was one of the Asia's largest sugar factories in 1937 with a crushing capacity of 2500 tonnes. The company started incurring losses in the late 1970's further the faulty expansion of units (Hindupur and Miryalaguda), takeover of loss-making units (Bobbili and Seethanagaram) in 1981, and delayed modernization ultimately led to the verge of closure in 2000. The state government decided to put up the auction of the NSF and its units citing the private-owned sugar companies were making profits, and to reduce the financial burden on the state. Later in early 2002, the state government decided to enter into a joint venture with the Delta Paper Mills (owned by an Andhra industrialist) with 49% equity share capital of Rs. 9.8 cr along with the NSF and its two units. Before auctioning off the 4200 acres of agricultural lands belongs to the NSF and making a monetary gain of ca. Rs. 84 cr by the state government. The new venture (Nizam Deccan Sugars Ltd.) absorbed only 37% of the existing staff and sending the remaining to voluntary retirement scheme. The remaining units were either closed or sold out. Further, in mid 2007 the state government was mulling to take over from the Delta Paper Mills due to the pressure from its allies.

The NSF case is not unique but it is the same story with all the major industries in Telangana existing before the merger. While the state government encouraged the closure of the sick and futile industries in Telangana region, at the same time it encouraged and developed similar industries in the Andhra and Rayalaseema regions e.g., Nandyal sugar factory, Hindupur, Guntur and Eluru spinning mills etc. The coal deposits in four districts of Telangana have been the jewels of Telangana. The power sector in the state is mostly supported by the coal based Ramagundam (62.5 MW), Kothagudem (1200 MW), Vijayawada (1760 MW) and Rayalaseema (840 MW) thermal power stations. The power stations located in

Telangana coal belt produce only 1263 MW (i.e., 33%), while the Vijayawada and Rayalaseema units produce 2600 MW depending on the coal transported from the Singereni Collieries (Telangana), Mahanadi Coal (Orissa), etc. Thus leading to question the attitude of the state government in establishing more power stations in the Telangana region allowing the transportation of coal instead of power, the former is economically in viable. This is just a tip of the iceberg, the others such as the state government tenders, contracts, employment of administrative staff and industrial land auctions show gross violations.

5.3. 7. EXPLOITATION OF LAND IN AND AROUND HYDERABAD:

Today, the land exploitation in and around Hyderabad has become a major issue for solving the Telangana issue. The Urban Land Ceiling Act (1976) can be considered as a starting point, feared of losing their large tracts of prime land in the middle of Hyderabad e.g., Road No. 1, Banjara Hills etc., many Muslim families resorted to distress sales. Which were bought by the people from Andhra region at a throw away prices, after changing hands these were regularized. The enormous tracts of lands surrounding the urban capital amounting to 13,00,000 acres were either available for free or at throwaway prices, until 1960's the grabbing was limited to government employees and their industrial lobbyists, but the 1969 Telangana movement changed all the dynamics and the domination was exponential in terms of land exploitation. To name a few of these acts are the GPR Housing (5600 acres), East City (3000 acres), Sanghi Industries (2842 acres), Ramoji Film City (2812 acres), Satyam Enclave (2600 acres), BHEL Housing (2500 acres) etc.

The irrigation in the surrounding villages of the Hyderabad city was supported by number of tanks and the Musi River, without proper support from state irrigation department the tanks gradually silted and the river dried up making the

farmers to face hardships. It is an undeniable fact that most of these lands were bought by the agricultural surplus from the coastal Andhra region. At the turn of the 21st Century, the politicians, prospered industrialists, and the NRI's possess these lands, incidentally most of these are from Andhra and Rayalaseema regions. Today (as of 2010) the Hyderabad Metropolitan Development Authority has grown to 6300 km² (15,56,764 acres) with 54 mandals located in five surrounding districts. The old municipal corporation with 173 km² (42,749 acres) consisting 300 villages is extended by sucking 600 more villages. The famous mega projects like Hi-tech city, GMR airport, Outer Ring Road rapidly increased the development of Hyderabad, although it gained a monumental name in the world as an IT hub and income for the state, but is purely a real-estate based development. The HUDA started selling the government lands (also the Wakf board properties) to the private parties for infrastructure development and IT parks in the name of Special Economic Zones. As of 2010, the state government had encroached the 57% of total 1,45,411 acres of state Wakf Board (the land or buildings denoted for Muslim religious or charitable purposes) properties by the influential board members, politicians, and realtors.

The case of Lanco Hills is an example of Wakf Board property exploitation, the 180 acres of land at Manikonda in Hyderabad was bought by the Member of Parliament from Vijayawada (Mr. Lagadapati Rajagopal) for IT SEZ development from the state government. Upon allotment, the IT SEZ was limited and the real-estate development was planned in the major portion of the land, after inception a case was filed by Mr. H. A. Rahaman challenging that the land is registered as Wakf. One should not forget that the Satyam Fiasco, that caused mainly due to the desire of Mr. B. Ramalinga Raju to move out of lucrative IT business to more profitable real-estate businesses. Further, the large chunk of private companies in and around

Hyderabad (mostly owned by the people of Andhra and Rayalaseema regions) e.g., pharmaceutical, cement, granite and food processing etc. are polluting the air and ground water and creating severe health hazards to the local residents, showing the negative impact of industrialization that took place in Telangana region. Hyderabad, known to the world as a City of Pearls and Nizams, transformed in 1990's into Cyderabad due to location of several IT and ITES companies, and should not be surprised when called as Pollubad at the dawn of the 21st century.

5.3. 8. BRANDING TELANGANA SUPPORTERS AND PROTESTERS AS MAOISTS OR NAXALITES:

The merger of the Telangana into the Andhra state has no logical reason, no sentiment in the people of Telangana, not recommended by States Reorganization Commission, and no interest shown by the then Prime Minister Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru. However, the merger took place because the Andhra state was virtually bankrupt and needed the surplus government revenue of the Telangana region, the industrialization is more advanced although the agriculture is poor, to choose the 4th largest built-up city of Hyderabad as Capital, finally the merger would strengthen the Congress party. The assurances in the form of Nehru's declarations and the Gentleman's agreement were given to the people of Telangana. In 1956, Nehru declared that the merger is against the recommendations of SRC and clarified that "if the people of Telangana suffer injustices at the hands of Andhras then they will have the right to seek separation", and "Andhra people are on Trial and the Unity of the new state depends on how fairly they treat people of Telangana".

The conditional merger, disrespect of agreement, and the assurances lead to the discontent and unrest among the people of the Telangana in 1960's, the Telangana agitation in 1969 was a witness of the injustices and subsequent G.O. 36

is the proof of it. The agitation was brutally suppressed by killing hundreds of people including students, later the former Chief Minister M. Chenna Reddy betrayed the people of Telangana for his personnel gains. The police action in 1969 forced many students, protesters and supporters to take up radical path into Communism to fight the government and the injustice. The Communism was already in place due to the roots of Peasant's Struggle (1946-51), the people found solace from the autocratic Andhra rulers. The people of Telangana were forced to listen to the Andhra rulers in the name of development, election promises, and manifestos, and their democratic separate statehood demand is now refereed as Naxalism with supporters as Naxalites or Maoists. People tend to forget that Naxalism or Maoism did not take birth in Telangana, it originated from Coastal Andhra in Andhra Pradesh and often guided by Andhra comrades.

The suppression of this democratic wish is clearly visible to what happened and happening in several universities and districts of across Telangana in late 2009 and 2010. As in 1969, the Separate Telangana Movement started by Member of Parliament Mr. K. Chandrashekar Rao in late 2009, the Osmania University students are taking most of the grievances by the police force. Unlike 1969, the state government deployed central and special commando forces (Greyhounds of Andhra Pradesh Police) along with civil police to contain the movement. The Greyhounds, committed human rights violations on the students and media persons in the campus as reported by Human Rights Watch report dated January 19, 2010, thus leading to question the attitude of the state government by the Supreme court, High court and the people of the Telangana. The people of the Telangana are not patient enough to sustain these movements, young people mainly students committed suicides fearing Telangana might not become reality, and the number has reached more than 300 as

of March 2010. The media (print and television) is playing its part by showing partial news and censoring the movement for their own gains.

5.3. 9. HYDERABAD AS A CAPITAL CITY FOR TELANGANA ONLY:

The Historical city of Hyderabad is 419 years old, founded by ruler Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah of the Qutb Shahi dynasty in 1591. The Hyderabad fame, Golconda's wealth, and the strategic location attracted the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, who captured Golconda after a long siege in 1687. In 1724, Mir Qamaruddin (Asaf Jah I), a Governor appointed by the Mughal Emperor defeated the rival official to establish control over Hyderabad, this marks the beginning of Asaf Jahi Dynasty which lasted for seven generations until 1948. During this period, the city of Hyderabad has grown both culturally and economically, the public works department in 1868, municipal administration system was first introduced by 1869 and the taxation structure was established. The last ruler Mir Usman Ali Khan Bahadur (Asaf Jah VII) reign spanning 37 years witnessed the introduction of electricity, railways, roads, airways, irrigation projects, Hyderabad State Bank with Hyderabad rupee as currency. Nearly all the public buildings were built in the city such as Osmania General Hospital, AP High court, State Central Library, Assembly Hall, Jubilee Hall, State Museum, and also started Osmania University making primary education compulsory and provided free for the poor.

Although the Nizams repressed the majority Hindus and their contributions, they depended heavily on the rural economy of the state and a significant portion of this wealth was invested to develop the infrastructure and services in the city of Hyderabad. The process of industrialization began in 1909 with the establishment of several spinning and weaving mills. By 1956, it was 4th largest city in India, and became a home to many industries (listed in the 6th point) with industrial estates such

as Azamabad and Sanathnagar. The amenities of the Hyderabad city fascinated Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and in 1955, he recommended Hyderabad to be made the second capital of India. He said,

“Hyderabad fulfils all the requirements of a capital for India. It is equidistant from all parts of India. Hyderabad has all the amenities which Delhi has, and it is far better City than Delhi. It has all the grandeur which Delhi has. Buildings are going cheap and they are really beautiful buildings, far superior to those in Delhi. They are all on sale. The only thing that is wanting is a Parliament House which the Government of India can easily build.”

The culture of Hyderabad is referred to as a ‘Ganga-Jamuna tehzeeb’ that is peaceful co-existence of all. The people of many religions (Armenians, Anglo-Indians, Parsis, Shias, and Sikhs etc) co-existed in the state along with Muslims and Hindus (Telangas, Kannadigas, Marathas, North Indians etc). Before the annexation of Hyderabad State into the Indian Union, a Communist led Peasant revolt popularly known as Telangana Rebellion took place between 1946 and 1951. The people revolted due to the illegal and excessive exploitation meted out by the feudal lords of the Nizam. The revolt began in the district of Nalgonda and quickly spread to the Warangal and Bidar districts. The Nizam’s response was brutal and thousands of people lost their lives during the course. Many great leaders were in the forefront of the movement to name a few leaders like Puchalapalli Sundariah, Chandra Rajeshwara Rao, Raavi Narayana Reddy, Makhdoom Mohiuddin, Hassan Nasir, etc.,.Later, the people of Telangana sought integration of state with rest of India with a non-violent and peaceful struggle known as “Hyderabad Liberation Struggle” under the leadership of Swami Ramanand Tirtha. However, this turned violent due

to the brutal oppressive and communal movement of the Razakars (a private Islamic militia organized by Qasim Razvi to support the rule of Nizam).

Eventually, the Indian Army routed the Razakars and Hyderabad state is liberated. The History of Hyderabad makes Hyderabadis and the people of the Telangana proud. The Telangana region does not have an alternate city like Hyderabad, other cities such as Warangal (fourth largest), Nizamabad (tenth largest) are either small or in viable for a capital city. At the same time, the Andhra and Rayalaseema regions have the second (Vishakapatnam) and third (Vijayawada) largest cities in Andhra Pradesh. Considering the historical aspects, factors and economics, Hyderabad should be made capital for Telangana only.

5.3. 10. SMALLER STATES ARE GOOD FOR DEVELOPMENT AND GOVERNANCE:

From 1952 to 1956, Telangana existed as a part of Hyderabad state with 16 districts (10 districts of Telangana, few districts of Maharashtra and Karnataka) with Hyderabad as its capital. The States Reorganisation Commission had judged correctly in the division of the linguistic states, suggested that Telangana and Vidarbha to be made separate states. The political-will stopped from doing so, while there are five Hindi speaking different states in the north India, none were made in south India. The States Reorganization Commission said that the Hyderabad state with an area of 45,000 km² and 1.13 crore population with an annual revenue of Rs. 17 crore was a stable and viable one. Due to its higher land and excise revenues, it has revenue surpluses, which would be sufficient to finance the irrigation projects it needed. It further said the Telangana is neither poor nor backward due to its rich resources however; it lagged due to the lack of English educational institutions and employment opportunities under the Nizam.

The economy of the newly formed states in 2000 such as Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand supports the formation of the Telangana. The gross domestic product figures of these new states are much better than their parent states as of 2007-08. The percent increase in the growth of GDP from 1999-2000 to 2007-2008 is 102% for Jharkhand, 150% for Chattisgarh, 182 % for Uttarakhand, while their parent states figures for the same duration are 76 % for Bihar, for Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh are 78% and 97% respectively. The newly formed states are achieving higher rates of growth than their target growth rates in the Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-2012). The main problems of these states such as poverty and extremism also exist in their parent states.

The smaller states would be beneficial for efficient governance to tackle these problems compared to their larger counterparts. Telangana with Hyderabad as its capital will definitely prosper as a separate state, and will bring the lost prosperity and happiness to the people of Telangana. With its peaceful co-existence nature, the settlers can lead a normal life and represent the society and the development for the coming centuries.

5.4. SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

On the basis of above study and findings I would like to suggest my views as a researcher so that my suggestions and recommendations would be useful to solve the problem of Telangana to some extent:

1. In the instant case of Telangana, it is evident that the conditions in the state of Andhra Pradesh are not conducive to the formation of Telangana with a huge chunk of MLA's opposing it. The central and the State government, ideally, should arrive at a consensus first. Otherwise even if the parliament, exercising its Constitutional authority, creates the state of Telangana, it would worsen the

already pathetic condition of the state of Andhra Pradesh, especially the Rayalseema and the Coastal Andhra Regions. The government should wait for the conditions in the state of Andhra Pradesh to improve initiating the process for creation state of Telangana.

2. All the political parties whether National or Regional should keep aside their differences and sincerely work for an amicable solution to this problem. But unfortunately unmindful of whether or not they reach the ultimate goal of securing statehood for the region, everyone involved in this turf war wants to score brownie points and emerge the 'champion', or at least be seen as one, in the larger political game of one-upmanship. "The Telangana agitation is providing a good platform for ambitious politicians to climb the political ladder, while old-timers, mostly in the Congress and Bharatiya Janata Party are using the opportunity to stay afloat in the current tide."
3. If the state has to be divided Bifurcation of the State into Seemandhra and Telangana; with Hyderabad as a Union Territory and the two states developing their own capitals in due course.
4. Keeping the State united by simultaneously providing certain definite Constitutional/Statutory measures for socio-economic development and political empowerment of Telangana region – creation of a statutorily empowered Telangana Regional Council.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

I undertake that, this information is being collected for my research. It will strictly be kept confidential and will not be used for any other purpose than this research work. This questionnaire is designed to help the researcher to know more about the regional imbalance in the Indian state of andhra pradesh with special reference to Telangana. Please read the following questions carefully and give your Answers, Opinions and suggestions:

Name :

Age :

Address :

Region :

Sr. No.	Items	Yes	No
1	Do you know how the state of Andhra Pradesh was Formed?		
2	Do you think that three regions of Andhra Pradesh are vocally same but culturally different?		
3	Are you aware of the demand for a separate Telangana State?		
4	Do you think that Telangana region was neglected by the State Government?		
5	Do you think that there is a Political domination and abuse of power in Telangana?		
6	Do you believe that there is mal-distribution of state income and funds in the regions of Telangana & Seemandra?		
7	Do you believe that there is exploitation of educational and employment opportunities in the regions of Telangana and Seemandhra?		

8	If the above answer is YES, give two examples.		
9	Do you think that there is exploitation of industries and mineral resources in the regions of Telangana and Seemandhra?		
10	Do you think it is practically possible to separate Telangana from Andhra Pradesh?		
11	Do you think that Telangana people would have better life if the state is bifurcated?		
12	Do you think that there is exploitation of land in and around Hyderabad?		
13	Do you think branding Telangana supporters and protestors as Maoists or Naxalites would effect the procedure of forming separate Telangana?		
14	Do you think that smaller states are good for development and Governance?		
15	Do you think that recently formed new states are happy with the new formation?		
16	Do you think the formation of Justice Sri Krishna Commission is good?		
17	Do you think Justice Sri Krishna Commission had given the solution for the Demand of Telangana?		
18	Do you think the agitations in Telangana are good for a common man?		
19	Do you think the boycott of Courts by advocates of Telangana be Justified?		
20.	If Telangana is formed, should Hyderabad be the capital city for both Telangana and Seemandhra?		