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JAIANDHRA AGITATION: A HISTORICAL STUDY



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ABSTRACT:

The Sri Bagh pact between the leaders of Circars and Rayalaseema, the Gentlemen's Agreement between the leaders of Andhra and Telangana districts, the establishment of a Regional Committee for Telangana in 1958 - all these show that, the Andhra leaders have shown their capacity in the past to accommodate the various regional interests in ample measure. In Politics, regionalism means thinking in terms of the

region and its people. In fact, the Andhra State came into existence as the outcome of regionalism. Telugus, living in the former composite Madras state, thought that, a separate state would bring overall development to them and improve their living conditions, promote Telugu culture and Telugu language. The Chief Minister's decision to implement progressive measures like land-reforms had also adversely affected these class. After the 1972-Assembly-elections NarasimhaRao Government went about implementing the land-ceiling Acts in all seriousness without evolving a consensus. The Supreme Court, declared on October 3, 1972 that, the Mulki Rules were valid and were in force. In passing the order, the Supreme Court allowed the state appeal and set aside the five-member Full Bench order of the Andhra Pradesh High Court. A popular movement cannot succeed through violent means. At the time of the separatist agitation in Telangana that preceded the Jai Andhra movement, the agitators have resort to violent methods for achieving their ends. But they failed to produce the desired results.

KEYWORDS

Jaiandhra Agitation , Historical Study , Politics, regionalism .

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INTRODUCTION

In the concluding part of his work *The Emergence of Andhra Pradesh* the observations made by the author as early as 1966 on the prospects of the state of Andhra Pradesh proved prophetic. He says

"For the continued existence of Andhra Pradesh as one State, there may be two conceivable threats, one from the obliteration of the linguistic states in the Indian Union and the other from a demand by one or more regions like Telangana or Rayalaseema for separate statehood for themselves. In the normal course of events the former threat is unlikely to materialize in the foreseeable future. The later may eventuate, if the persons who wield authority in the state persistently fail to accommodate the various regional interests. The Sri Bagh pact between the leaders of circars and Rayalaseema, the Gentlemen's Agreement between the leaders of Andhra and Telangana districts, the establishment of a Regional Committee for Telangana in 1958 - all these show that, the Andhra leaders have shown their capacity in the past to accommodate the various regional interests in ample measure. Given such background, it is possible to assume that, the capacity to accommodate will be forthcoming whenever necessary, and the State of Andhra Pradesh has come to stay". As predicted by him the State of Andhra Pradesh has come to stay as single political entity weathering two violent agitations.

But could it withstand the fresh onslaught posed by the agitation unleashed by the Telangana Rashtra Samiti headed by K. Chandrasekhar Rao? This is an interesting question which needs an elaborate answer. Today the future of Andhra Pradesh is at cross roads. The State's unity and integrity is threatened by the separatist forces headed by disgruntled and power hungry politicians. The sub-regional forces are gaining an upper hand. In all probability the state may once again witness a violent agitation for the separation of Telangana from Andhra. The purpose of this study is to examine the causes and consequences of the separatists agitations erupted in the State so far; this study also seeks to examine critically agitation for separate Telangana State under the leadership of Telangana Rastra Samithi. Let us first understand the meaning of sub-regionalism. We should also analyze the consequences of sub-regionalism.

The Concept of Sub-Regionalism

Regionalism is a narrow and opposed to the broadminded sentiment, Regionalism may not contribute for the promotion of national Integration. There is nothing wrong if an individual thinks of his own village, of his own district and State. But giving too much of importance to this feeling of regionalism may lead to serious problems. If the people and leaders of a region talk about their own development, the development of their own state, then such a sentiment constitutes regionalism. One should be cosmopolitan in one's own outlook. According to the international encyclopedia of Social Sciences the term regionalism "properly represents the regional idea in action as an ideology, as a social movement or as the theoretical basis for regional planning; it is also applied to scientific task of delimiting and analyzing regions as entities lacking formal boundaries."

In Politics, regionalism means thinking in terms of the region and its people. In fact, the Andhra State came into existence as the outcome of regionalism. Telugus, living in the former composite Madras state, thought that, a separate state would bring overall development to them and improve their living conditions, promote Telugu culture and Telugu language. Today, in India, there is mushrooming growth of regional parties. In every state there are regional parties formed on the

principle of regional development. These parties think of their own region. They do not bother about other states in the country. Sub-regionalism is much more dangerous. This is a feeling entertained by the people of a particular region of the state. If the people of Rayalaseema entertain the feeling that, their region is neglected and they are given a step motherly treatment, then we can safely assume that, sub-regional feeling exists in Rayalaseema region.

OBJECTIVES

The first objective is to make an in depth study of the factors leading to the formation of Andhra and later Andhra Pradesh.

The second objective is to examine the attitude of various political parties towards the jai Andhra agitation.

And finally, this study seeks to put forth the argument for and against the creation of small states in India.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology adopted for the study is both historical and empirical. The chief source of material for the study, which probes into events and forces covering a period of more than 38 years, is the daily newspapers, books and material collected from the internet. The Separatist Andhra Agitation of 1972-73 have been collected and analyzed. Subject experts have been consulted and their views elicited - Pamphlets Booklets and other material issued by the Jai Andhra movement have been made use of Dissertations, published studies bearing on the politics of Andhra Pradesh and other relevant literature have also been consulted.

Consequent on the resignation of Brahananda Reddy, P.V. Narasimha Rao was unanimously chosen leader of the Congress Legislature Party in AP on September 25, 1971 with the support of the outgoing chief Minister's group and the Congress High command and became the Chief Minister of the State. He had no local base for himself and enjoyed only limited support among the Telangana legislators. Though scholarly and soft-spoken, he was considered to be indecisive. After assuming office on 30-9-71, he formed a 25-member Cabinet and made B.V. Subba Reddy (Rayalaseema) the deputy Chief Minister, However, he was not given a free hand in constituting his ministry. For the first time in the history of A.P. the Congress High Command played a major role in determining the composition of the ministry. The lieutenants of Brahananda Reddy were kept out of the ministry. K. Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy, a prominent leader from Rayalaseema and the Finance Minister in Brahananda Reddy's Cabinet, could not be accommodated. The inclusion of his rival B.V. Subba Reddy as the deputy Chief Minister upset him. Another minister in Brahananda Reddy's cabinet, Seelam Sidda Reddy, was also sore at the inclusion of his rivals Kakant Venkat Rathmn and Jalagam Vengal Rao in the Cabinet while he was left in the lurch. The leaders of the erstwhile Telangana Praja Samiti (Chenna Reddy's group) were also not happy, as they did not get enough of ministerial berths in the new Cabinet. They expressed their displeasure at the swearing-in—ceremony of the ministry. Thus from the very day of the formation of the ministry the factional struggle for power had started and those who were left out were waiting for an opportunity to strike back.

NarasimhaRao's style of functioning was very much resented by many of his Cabinet-colleagues. There was a feeling that, the Chief Minister did not trust his Cabinet-colleagues and relied on a few of his friends for advice. As he did not have a group of his own, he had to depend heavily on the Central leaders. His frequent visits to Delhi for consultations even on minor matters also came in for severe criticism.

Around this time, the Andhra NGOs who were worried about the revival of Mulki Rules appealed to the Full Bench of Andhra Pradesh High Court, which in their judgement dated 18 February, 1972 ruled that, the Mulki Rules had been validly repealed. P.V. NarasimhaRao Government went on appeal to the Supreme Court. The people of Andhra felt that, NarasimhaRao did this to placate the people of the Telangana region.

In February 1972, elections were held to the A.P. State Legislative Assembly. Given a free hand by the Centre, P.V. NarasimhaRao chose a large number of candidates belonging to the backward classes and minorities. And a good number of them won the elections. NarasimhaRao became the Chief Minister again on 20-3-1972 and formed a large Cabinet of 29 members. He provided greater representation to the weaker sections and minorities in the Cabinet sidelining many prominent leaders belonging to the dominant communities.

Earlier these communities, namely, Brahmins, Reddys, Kshatriyas Vaisyas, Velamas, Kapus and Kammas used to snatch away at least a half of the ministerial positions. For instance, during 1969-1971, 67 percent of the portfolios were held by these upper castes. But this was reduced to 55 percent in NarasimhaRao's ministry. Particularly the Kammas and Reddys were hard hit by NarasimhaRao's policy. They were completely relegated to the background. Their stranglehold on the positions of political power was thus loosened.

An analysis of the caste composition of the Congress Legislature Party shows that, between 1956 and 1972, three principal castes, namely, Reddys, Kammas and Kshatriyas held the upper hand in the Party. They constituted more than 60 percent of the strength of the legislature and held 70 percent of the posts of Chairmen of the ZillaParishads. Both in rural as well as urban areas they had a strong economic base. Hence, the sudden loss of political prominence made these classes very angry. Further, the Chief Minister reduced the powers of the ZillaParishads and initiated measures to bring about certain structural changes in the Panchayat Raj institutions. The dominant communities, like Reddys and Kammas, who had been enjoying political power by virtue of their economic strength felt threatened by NarasimhaRao's reformist zeal.

The Chief Minister's decision to implement progressive measures like land-reforms had also adversely affected this class. After the 1972-Assembly-elections, NarasimhaRao Government went about implementing the land-ceiling Acts in all seriousness without evolving a consensus. The introduction of such revolutionary measures alarmed the powerful land-owning communities in the Andhra region. They were greatly disturbed at the prospect of losing their vast tracts of lands. It was feared that these land-ceiling Acts and the proposed changes in the local bodies, if implemented faithfully, would affect them politically and economically. Hence, the dominant communities of the Andhra region, the vested interests and disgruntled politicians ganged up against the Chief Minister. They were waiting for an opportunity to unseat P.V. NarasimhaRao from power and the Supreme Court's judgement validating the Mulki Rules came in handy for them to start a movement.

The Supreme Court, declared on October 3, 1972 that the Mulki Rules were valid and were in force. In passing the order, the Supreme Court allowed the state appeal and set aside the five-member

Full Bench order of the Andhra Pradesh High Court. In handing down the ruling of the Constitution Bench, the Chief Justice S.M. Sikri pointed out that "the Court was not concerned with the hardship that, might be caused by the implementation of the Mulki Rules. It was for Parliament to provide suitable remedies.

The Supreme Court's Judgment and the Chief Minister's observation that the judgment "has brought finality to the matters" was the proverbial last straw on the camel's back. It sparked off a violent agitation in the entire Andhra region. No doubt, the policies of Narasimha Rao and the judgment of the Supreme Court have been the main sources of trouble and discontent in the Andhra region. But there were certain other issues too which have contributed to the eruption of the agitation, they are as follows:

- 1) The people from Andhra region are denied of employment opportunities in Hyderabad.
 - 2) Gentlemen's agreement stipulated that, the income from Telangana should be reserved for expenditure on the development of Telangana area. On this issue of Telangana surpluses a controversy arose. The Andhras were of the view that, more and more money was being spent on Telangana and that too at their cost. They felt cheated.
 - 3) Educational faculties in Telangana were denied to Andhras. They also hated the Telangana Regional Committee, Which really became a super-legislative body.
 - 4) Discriminatory policies in the field of employment made them disgruntled.
- These and such other lopsided measures inimical to the region of Andhra made the Andhra people very angry. And the revival of Mulki rules only added fuel to the fire. The swap Mulki agitation was launched.

The agitation soon intensified in the entire Andhra region. Students, NGO's, also entered the fray, Anarchy prevailed. Normal life was disrupted by the agitators. The situation was going out of hand. Narasimha Rao was helpless. Para— Military forces were deployed in troubled areas. But normalcy could not be restored. Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi clamped President Rule in the State.

The Congress leaders who were in the forefront of the Jai Andhra agitation were summoned to Delhi and were served with ultimatum. They were warned. They were made to realize that the High Command was not in favour of bifurcation of the state, come what may. There was nothing they could do. Finally they all withdrew from the agitation.

Six - Point – Formula

During the first week of September 1973, the centre, encouraged by the response from the separatists, extended an invitation to all the congress leaders of the state to come to New Delhi with a view to evolving a compromise - formula.

Once again there was movement masse of Congress leaders to New Delhi. And after protracted negotiations with the Union Home Minister and his junior colleague, K.C.Pant, the integrationists and separatists agreed upon a formula which was hammered out and presented to them on September 21, 1973 by K.C.Pant. This plan to resolve the Mulki deadlock, known as the 'Six-Point Formula', received a near-unanimous endorsement from the Congress MPs and MLAs belonging to Andhra and Telangana regions. Though the formula had been evolved by the Centre on the basis of the consultations held with different groups, it was not presented on behalf of the Central Government. Instead, the Centre wanted

that it should emanate from among the State leaders, MPs and legislators themselves.

Accordingly, this Formula was incorporated into the Joint Appeal signed by the Congress MPs and MLAs belonging to both the regions. The following was the formula incorporated into the Appeal

1. Mulki Rules and TRC will go.
2. Local candidates will be given preference in the direct recruitment to non- Gazetted posts like those of Tahsildars, Junior Engineers and Civil Assistant Surgeons.
3. A high-powered Tribunal will be constituted to deal with service-grievances.
4. A State-level planning board with sub-committees for different backward areas will be constituted.
5. A new Central University will be established at Hyderabad to augment educational facilities, and preference will be given to local candidates while giving admission to educational institutions.
6. The Constitution will be amended to the extent necessary for implementing the above five points.

By abolishing the Mulki Rules and the TRC the formula seeks to satisfy the separatist Andhra Congressmen. By localizing the recruitment and by the creation of a Central University at Hyderabad, the formula tries to mollify the people of the Telangana region. The setting up of the high-powered Tribunal was aimed at satisfying the NGOs and other government employees of both the regions. In a nutshell, the integrity of the State was thus preserved.

The agitation which lasted for nearly 3 months slowly disintegrated. A new government under the Chief Minister J. Vengal Rao, was installed. The Jai Andhra Movement further exposed the self-centredness of the politicians. People learnt a fitting lesson.

Lessons to be Drawn From the Separatist Agitations

The fate of the separatist agitations in Telangana and Andhra region may bring home the fact that no popular movement can succeed when a strong and determined political leadership is against it. Of course, Andhras were the first to achieve a separate State as far back as 1953. But at that time, Jawaharlal Nehru was at the helm of affairs. He abhorred violence. His reaction to the violence that erupted after the martyrdom of Potti Sriramulu and his instant decision in favour of a separate State for the Andhras were in consonance with his temperament. But his daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, was of a different nature. She was suspicious and often ruthless. Engulfed by a sense of insecurity, she never tolerated opposition. Several movements were started before and after the separatist Telangana and Andhra agitations, but all of them either fizzled out or failed to achieve their objectives. Though occasionally mentioned at the time of elections, a separate Vidharbha State remained a dream. Khalistan terrorists who were for having a separate country for the Sikhs, were mown down by the security forces in the 'Blue Star Operation'. During her long and eventful rule, Mrs. Gandhi put down all separatist movements with an iron hand, revealing tremendous courage, firmness and determination.

We may also conclude that, there are grave risks involved in reposing excessive faith in politicians. The people of Telangana and Andhra seem to have unwittingly allowed themselves to be used and later discarded by the politicians of the state belonging to Congress as well as Non-Congress parties. The fact that, the public could be gulled not once but repeatedly was demonstrated by the leaders during the two separatist agitations.

Another important lesson that can be drawn from the separatist agitations is that, the student community, in their own interests, would do well to confine themselves to the pursuit of learning. They should not involve themselves in political agitations. However, it is not to deny them their rightful role in the affairs of the state. In fact, the student community has often played a crucial role in opposing or removing dictatorial regimes throughout the world. But it is sad to note that, the student community indulges in wanton destruction of private and public property and react violently to every issue. As a result, unrest among students has become a universal phenomenon causing immense concern to those who are genuinely interested in our future citizens. In the separatist Telangana and Andhra agitations a large number of students were killed by the law enforcing agencies. In the anti-Mandal agitation, scores of students lost their lives in self-immolations. This is indeed a grave loss to the entire nation. It is essential that, the students devote their undivided attention to their studies, without frittering away their energies playing into the hands of self-seeking politicians. The elders, too, have a duty to ensure that their attention is not distracted from the pursuit of studies.

A popular movement can not succeed through violent means. At the time of the separatist agitation in Telangana that preceded the Jai Andhra movement, the agitators has resort to violent methods for achieving their ends. But they failed to produce the desired results. In this context we may remember how a large number of students got massacred at the Tainaman square in the People's Republic of china, when a mob clamouring for Civil rights turned violent. That incident serves to prove the validity of the time- tested principle of non-violence preached and practiced by Mahatma Gandhi. His motto that "the means justify the ends" shall be a guiding principle to every civilized human being.

However, it is a difficult proposition to expect such an orderly behaviour from the angry mob. To quote Shakesphere,

"Mischief, thou art afoot,
Take what course thou wilt"

Thus, nobody can predict the shape of events to follow when the angry mobs take the law into their own hands.

As long as, the political leadership shows the spirit of accommodation and statesmanship it can be fairly assumed that ,there is no danger to the unity and integrity of the state in the foreseeable future. As long as regional disparities exist, the threat to the unity of the state remains. Hence, the primary objective of every State Government should be to eradicate the backwardness wherever and in whatever form it exists.

CONCLUSIONS

Andhra Pradesh came into existence with the merger of Telangana and Andhra State. But it was only Physical in nature. It was not an integration in true sense. That is why, within 12 years after the formation of the state there erupted a separatist Telangana agitation in 1969. Again the state witnessed another agitation in 1972-73 and this time it was in Andhra. Language failed to bind the people of the two regions of Andhra and Telangana. Even in Andhra there is no proper understanding and amity between the two regions of coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema. The major reason for the lack of integration is the uneven economic development of the three regions. In other words, the Politicians

and Political Parties, whose job is to educate the people are only poisoning their minds. They are also misleading the employees and students. The peaceful atmosphere in the state is getting vitiated, thanks to these self-centred, short sighted politicians. This danger must be averted. The government both at the Centre and States shall strive to bring in economic development in all the backward areas of the state. This is the only way to curb the sub-regional feelings among the people of the backward regions.

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13. For the detailed texts of Court Judgments, see Crisis in Andhra Pradesh: From Safeguards to Separation. Pemmaraju publications, Hyderabad, Pvt. Ltd 1973."
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