

India's 29th State: Telangana

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Abstract

Telangana turns two on June 2 and the State government is pulling out all stops to make it memorable. The Telangana Formation Day also gives us an opportunity to revisit some of the key events that led to the creation of the 29th State of India. The seeds of Telangana struggle were sown in 1955 when the recommendation of the States Reorganisation Commission to retain Hyderabad as a separate State went unheeded. Telangana leaders accused the people of Andhra of "colonising the region" by grabbing their jobs and land, and the government of not investing in the region's infrastructure. On November 1, 1956, Telangana merged with the State of Andhra, carved out of erstwhile Madras, to form Andhra Pradesh, a united state for the Telugu-speaking populace. The main reason for emergence of the movement for separate state is the formation of Andhra Pradesh state based on linguistic formula. State Re-organization Commission too stated that language alone should be the basis of state reflecting the democratic aspirations of people. There are several districts socio-economic variations among the people who speak same language. The commission also recognised the variations during the colonial times also. Hence, the commission suggested that the distinctive historical specificities have to be considered in the formation of states. However, as the centre could not consider these suggestions in the formation of linguistic states, two different regions become a single state. This led to the situation where developed regions exploited the backward regions.

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Introduction

In these conditions the newly formed Andhra Pradesh state could be seen. The already developed Coastal Andhra hegemony was forced on the backward region of Telangana. Telangana Movement was started against the oppression of Andhra people. Telangana has its own distinct social, political and cultural identity.

There were very stray cases of people's

movements which won their democratic demands in independent India. One of such case is achievement of Telangana state. The struggle of Telangana people to achieve separate state is unique in history. This was possible only due to the selfless, democratic movement of the people, different political parties, and people's organizations. Civil society and all sections of Telangana participated enthusiastically in the movement. This is a long drawn struggle spread over 60 years. During the last phase of the struggle the Joint Action Committee emerged as a strong civil society platform for the movement for three long years that led to the path of success. Telangana movement into two phases - early phase and second phase. In this chapter we shall discuss the developments that took place from 1970s till the formation of Telangana State.

Post 1969 Developments

Ever since the formation of Andhra Pradesh state. Several struggles and movements for

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separate Telangana were taking place directly or indirectly. Especially the protests emerged out of 1969 movement turned entire Telangana a military camp. Though started as students protest slowly engulfed nine districts of Telangana leading all students and employees to the path of movement. Though economic causes were mentioned as major reasons socio-cultural aspects were also responsible for this movement. The fighting spirit was more pronounced among urban educated sections. Because of violations of Gentlemen Agreement Governments negligence in implementing safeguards to Telangana, youth also took the path of movement. Telangana youth were dejected as people from Andhra were appointed in jobs violating Mulki rules. Employees and Students called for strike schools and colleges were closed down. Telangana NGO's also joined the movement. Government resorted to impose PD act and other repressive measures. In this context, noting the gravity of situation, Central Government propounded Eight Point Formula to solve the Telangana problems. Eight point formula could not give any solution to Mulki Rule issue. With this developments the movement got intensified.

The major reason for the discontentment among Telangana youth was that injustice was done to Telangana in allocation of funds or employment through it constitutes 40 percent in terms of population and Geographical area. In education sector too it was discriminated. Every day, the protesters from villages, cities under the leadership of Dr. Marri Chenna Reddy, Mallikarjun, Konda Laxman Bapuji, Madan Mohan, Amos and other leaders. The struggle led by the students for eight months, withstanding several odds created history. In this context, Telangana Praja Samithi gave parliamentary shape to the movement. In the mid term elections of 1971, Telangana Praja Samithi won majority of seats. However the then Prime Minister subsided this movement by declaring five point formula. In this, mention was made about Mulki rules. With this the then Chief Minister of State Kasu Brahmananda Reddy resigned and Telangana Praja Samithi merged with Congress.

Though students and youth opposed this merger, their anger got subsided as a Telangana leader P.V. Narasimha Rao became the Chief Minister of state. P.V. Narasimha Rao participated earlier in Vishalandhra movement and worked in Kasu Brahmananda Reddy Cabinet, he didn't face opposition from Andhra people also.

In the year 1972, February 14th Andhrapradesh highcourt gave a verdict that Mulki rules are not

constitutional. Once again the controversies were emerged. Earlier also the major cause of outbreak of 1969 movement were violation of mulki rules. To subside movement the then Government issued GO 36 promising to send back 28000 Andhra employees. But the GO was challenged by the Andhra People at the High court declared that Mulki rules were unconstitutional and dismissed. This led to the discontentment among Telangana people once again. Among those Telangana people who didn't take any stand on Telangana joined in this movement with this verdict.

To subside the discontentment of Telangana people, in a public meeting held at Ajamjahi mills grounds at Warangal on 17th February 1972 the then prime minister Indira Gandhi declared that any injustice to Telangana shall not be allowed. As per Indira Gandhi directions P.V. Narasimha Rao Government moved Supreme Court challenging the verdict of Highcourt. Meanwhile P.V. Narasimha Rao took some constructive decisions in free time with the Central Government land reform act. Accordingly Andhra Pradesh government all land dealings as per the ordinance issued on May 2, 1972. In the same year on 15th September state legislature passed land sealing act. All these measures antagonised the land lords who distanced themselves from P.V. Narasimha Rao. During this time only Supreme Court gave a historical verdict on 3rd October 1972 stating Mulki rules are constitutional and upheld the rules. While welcoming the judgment P.V. Narasimha Rao stated that Supreme Court verdict removed all the suspicions and contradictions.

Six Point Formula

Six point formula was signed on 21st September 1973. The recommendations are as follows:

1. Constitution of state level Planning Board as well as sub committees to work for the development of backward regions.
2. Establishment of one Central University at Hyderabad to augment the existing educational facilities.
3. Preference to local Candidates in the appointment of Gazzetted Junior Engineers, Civil and Assistant Surgeon posts.
4. Constitution of High Power Administrative tribunal to deal with the grievances of Government employees. such as in matter of employment, seniority and promotions.
5. To bring out suitable constitutional

amendment in order to avoid any litigations of consequent uncertainty.

6. Its Continuation Implementation of Mulki Rules and continuation of Telangana Regional Committee.

Telangana people felt that abolition of mulki rules and Telangana regional committee are a clear indication of discrimination towards them. Ever since the formation of the Andhra Pradesh. People observed the breach of promises made by the ruling Government with regard to the utilization of the surpluses of this region for the development of Telangana. They also realized the systematic in sharing the funds, discrimination in matters of education, employment, medical, agriculture, irrigation, water, electricity and industrialization. This led to the widespread protests. In this context, the five point and six point formulas brought out by Smt. Gandhi to protect the unity of Andhra Pradesh could not yield much results. However peoples anger could not transform into a powerful movement due to the lack of strong leadership.

In 1969 movement not only students and employees large sections of people including women actively participated. Especially the participation of middle class women and rural people were significant. Muslims also supported this movement. Though this movement could not reach its goal of separate statehood it sowed the seeds of aspirations of the separate state among people of Telangana.

Zonal System

The Zonal system was established as per the president orders dated 18th October 1975. To make it possible G.O. No: 674 was issued. As per this Andhra Pradesh was divided into six zones. Four zones in Andhra and Rayalaseema and two zones in Telangana. But, few branches of Hyderabad were declared as free zones. Telangana youth expressed their discontentment.

G.O. No: 610

The rulers are consistently making efforts through different policies, facts and GO's to subsume the demand of separate state. In 1983, the then Chief Minister N.T. Rama Rao of Telugu Desam Party appointed three member committee to examine the Telangana peoples demand of allocating jobs in Telangana region. This committee recommended that there were about 60,000 Andhra people appointed against the posts allocated to Telangana

people, and hence they should vacate jobs. Keeping in view of the recommendations of the committee. NTR issued G.O No: 610 in December 1985 and stated that it will be put into effect from 31st March 1986. He also promised that the removed people will be sent back to Andhra by creating super numery posts. However, till the end of his tenure in 1989, this was not implemented. The successive Governments of congress and Chandrababu Naidu also did not bother to implement it. Owing to the pressure of the Telangana movement and the demand of the Telangana leaders to implement G.O No: 610, Chandrababu Naidu government constituted a single man committee headed by Girglani. The committee in its mid term report stated that there were very few Andhra People working currently in Telangana posts. With this report again the demand for separate state issue came into forefront.

Second Phase of the Movement

Though the separate state movement of 1969 continued in some or the other form and people's resentment persisted. Since 1985, different Organisations and intellectuals continuously debated over the issue of backwardness of Telangana and its development. Telangana intellectual Forum was started at Karimnagar to study the problems of Telangana. Telangana Information Trust was setup in 1986 to bring out information on injustices done to Telangana in the year 1988 big debate took place in the Assembly over the issue of Injustices done to Telangana. Telangana development forum took up several programs in 1989. In the year 1991 Telangana students front took up agitations at osmania university. Telangana engineer society under the leadership of K.V Srinivasa rao submitted memorandum on the problems of Telangana to the then Hon'ble Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao in 1992. On 1st Novemebr 1996 Telangana Vidhroham Meeting was organized. In the meeting organized by Telangana Praja Samithi in 1996 at Warangal, Telangana Mahasabha & Telanaga Praja Party emerged. People poet Kaloji Narayana Rao organized Democratic Telangana conference in December 1997 under the banner of All India People Resistance Forum. Telangana Jana Sabha formed later. Telangana Aikya vedika was formed with the merger of all forums of weaker sections in the year 1998 under the leadership of Prof. Jayashankar. Telangana Movement committee emerged with former minister Indra Reddy as its President. The movement spread from Hyderabad to other parts of Telangana and even abroad also.

Telangana Development Forum was started at New York, America in the year 1999.

Bhuvanagiri Declaration

During 8th and 9th 1997 a meeting was convened at Bhuvanagiri with a demand for separate state of Telangana. Resolving judicious share in resources for Telangana and other rights, the conference played a constructive role in the movement. There are two reasons for conducting the meeting on 8th and 9th March. One is on March 8th only 11th annual session of Andhra Mahila Sabha took place at Bhuvanagiri, secondly, on 9th March 1969, Ravindranath, the leader of the 1969 movement started his fast unto death.

The following Resolutions were made during the meeting

1. To lift the Electricity cuts in Telangana
2. To distribute the Government Surplus and Banjar Lands to the Poor.
3. Strictly implement 1/70 Act and re-allocate confiscated forest lands to Adivasis
4. Provide Drinking Water facility
5. Immediately release the funds required for the completion of Sriramagar and Left Canal of Srisailem Project.
6. To take up the works of Ellampally Project immediately.
7. To Complete the small and middle range project works and release funds to Ichampally lift irrigation project immediately.
8. To condemn the attitude of political parties who are not working for the development of Telangana
9. To stop oppression of Telangana people. And to ensure the congenial and free atmosphere to conduct meetings and conferences.
10. To strongly oppose insulting Telangana language in print, electronic media and movies.
11. To allocate 50% reservations in Social, Economic and Political Sectors
12. To stop the move of privatization of Sugar Industries and other institutions
13. To work with all those who agree with the above resolutions by adding local issues also and to conduct division and district wise meetings by forming committees to propagate the issues discussed through popular art forms such as

street plays (Veedhi Natakalu) by local artists.

14. Not to antagonize the feelings of the people of other regions who were not part of this injustice and loot of Telangana people.

Warangal Declaration

Warangal meeting which took place in the year 1997 discussed several issues along with the need of separate state of Telangana. It demanded the change in the centre state relations, Major portion of funds allocation to the states and to implement directions of Sarkaria Commission which was in favor of states interests. It also demanded the grass root development using local resources not merely succumbing to the interests of World Bank. It aspired for evolving the development model for the welfare of the people of all districts of Telangana and the fruits of the development should be distributed among all social groups. They demanded the Telangana state which ensures the right to life and inclusive Governance. It gave a call to fight with Government, political leaders and institutions aiming democratic Telangana. The Resolutions taken in the meeting were as follows.

1. Formation of democratic Telangana state which ensures food, clothing, housing, education, health and other basic facilities with freedom and dignity.
2. Formulate land reforms system by amending rationally the existing law and implement Kouldari Act which ensures land to tiller. Distribute Government lands, Endowment and Inam lands to the poor.
3. Unconditional implementation of 1/70 Act in agency areas and confiscate the lands from non Tribals and re allocate them to the Tribals.
4. Provide water to the agricultural lands. However not to take up major irrigation projects for this as it causes displacement of people, submerge of low & forest lands and environmental problems. In its place minor & medium irrigation projects check dams, tanks and watershed projects repairs of tanks and ponds to be taken up.
5. Only Ichampally irrigation project to be constructed on Godavari. Care to be taken not to submerge the forest lands stop the Pulichintala project which submerge uplands of Nalgonda & Guntur and take up minor irrigation project as an alternative.
6. River water, to be distributed on the basis of

- the needs of regions population and extent of area.
7. Provide irrigation facility to Cheryal, Ghanpur, Janagaon of Warangal District, Husnabad, Mahadevpur, Sirsilla of Karimnagar, Aler, Bhuvanagiri of Nalgonda district through lift irrigation scheme.
 8. Provide water to irrigation facilities from waters of Krishna and Tungabadhra to the drought prone Mahabub Nagar.
 9. Provide irrigation facilities to Medak district Singur reservoir.
 10. Provide irrigation and drinking water facility to Adilabad from Godavari Penganga and other sources stop the coastal Andhra elite illegal purchase of water command area.
 11. Provide water from left canal of Srisailam to Nalgonda through tunnels.
 12. To extend lift irrigation project to left bank of NagarjunaSagar and provide and due share of water to Telangana.
 13. Immediately complete Sriram Sagar project and provide water for irrigation and drinking purpose in Khammam district and to take up flood control canal construction though project.
 14. Stop Polavaram project which submerge large tracts of Telangana region and as an alternative,construct small scale projects.
 15. Stop land reclamation at Sriramsagar through construction of Govunooru project.
 16. Stop privatization of production and service sectors. Industries, Electricity, transport, communications, Education and Health sectors should be under Government control only. Reservations should be provided to Dalits, backward castes, Minorities and women in existing private organisations - slowly convert private sectors into public.
 17. Social security measure shall be formulated to safeguard the families who lost their livelihoods due to the liberalization policies.
 18. Not to private electricity board. Allocate electricity to Telangana on the basis of population and needs. Solve the problems of low voltage and power cuts.
 19. Implement safe drinking water and safeguard fluoride victims.
 20. Follow self sufficiency in production high Technology, high machinery, foreign investment & foreign technical knowledge to be avoided.
 21. Avoid bringing funds from world bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) as an alternative.
 22. Start medium range industries which less capital and more employment opportunities.
 23. To follow native self supportive policy in production. Foreign investments, Machinery and Foreign technology are not to be adopted.
 24. To avoid the policy of getting funds from World Bank and International Monetary Fund.
 25. To revive the Sirsilk mill Mill, Alwin Auto Unit, Republic Ford Company, Miryalaguda Sugar factory, Antargoan Mill to renovate the factories which were on the verge of lock ups, such as Ajamjahi Mill, Ramagundam Fertilizers Factory, Bodhan and Adliabad Spinning Mills.
 26. Government should take initiatives to start Industries- Native industrialists to be encouraged and agro based industries to be encouraged.
 27. Al kabir mechanical kabbela to be closed down and Government should not give permission to this types of Kabbelas
 28. To ensure right to work and stop Higher mechanization which takes away the employment opportunities of workers.
 29. Development policy should target to fulfil the basic needs of very backward regions and people.
 30. To redistribute rationally the resources of Telangana to all districts.
 31. To use the coal from Singareni mines for local needs only e excess coal to be exported.
 32. To guarantee the democratic rights of people to stop state oppression and police camps, fake encounters. To sent back BSF, CRPF, and other Para Military forces.
 33. To release the long sentenced jail inmates who were convicted under TADA and public security Act.
- Intellectuals like Prof. Jayashanker, Prof Janardhan Rao continuously interacted with Telangana people living in America by conducting seminars and conferences. Telangana People who were living abroad involved in the movement in one form or the other.
- In the development activities and allocation of funds the discriminations towards Telangana continued. This is clearly evident in the implementation of various projects. Un-viable

projects such as Ichchampalli, Devadula were formulated in Telangana, Whereas projects like Polavaram were well conceived to benefit coastal Andhra. After 1990's due to the emergence of information technology (IT) job prospects for students increased. But that was confined to only urban English educated students. In the wake of privatization, the withdrawal of Government towards welfare reduced government jobs. This caused the discontentment among rural youth.

In the year 2000, the Legislative Members of Telangana started Telangana Legislative forum and submitted a Memorandum to Smt. Sonia Gandhi about the need of Telangana. Following pressures exerted by Telangana Congress Leaders the central working committee of Congress sent a resolution to the then NDA Government in 2001 seeking Constitution on second SRC to look into the demand of Telangana state. This was rejected by then Union home minister LK Advani saying "Smaller states were neither viable nor conducive" to integrity of the country. Later in August 2002 Advani wrote a letter to Member of Parliament A Narendra stating that "regional disparities can be solved by development policies and proper utilization of the resources and hence the NDA government rejects the proposal of Telangana State".

Girglani Commission

Along with emergence of later phase of Telangana movement pressure of the legislative assembly members demanded of implementing 610 G.O., the then chief minister Chandrababu Naidu Government appointed J.M.Girglani one man commission. By observing the dissatisfaction among employees, Chandrababu Government appointed this commission on June 25th 2001 under the leadership of Mangaldas Girglani. This committee submitted its mid term report on 6th October 2001 and final report on 21st September 2004. However, Government did not make it public for quite a long time. This commission stated that as local representations are as per constitutional provisions here if we disallow them it is amounts to disobeying the constitution itself. Some of the decisions taken in past were deviations are arranged in terms of 18 deviations due to the lack of monitoring machinery of implementation of reservations. Those deviations are further discussed below.

Local reservations were not implemented because of cutting down jobs which fall under six point formula and increasing heads of Branches

office numbers. In the beginning irrigation projects were exempted later in 1985 amending Presidential Orders. The Heads of projects were treated as HOD's only to the extent of Non-Gazetted categories of staff except Asst. Executive Engineers and Deputy Executive Engineers. Even posts not used for project works and posts in projects where work was completed, continued to be labled as Project posts for keeping them out of local cadres and out of presidential order. Hence, local reservations were not implemented. Similarly, the fair share of principle for deputations to posts in the excluded organizations has been flouted deputation process has been very often misused. Other sectors after the reserved posts, others to be filled in open categories. For these posts locals are also eligible but these posts were treated as non-locals and were filled up with them which was against law.

Emergence of Telangana Rashtra Samithi - April 27, 2001

The Telangana Rashthra Samithi (TRS) emerged from the deep rooted discontentment and deprivation of Telangana state. K Chandra Sekhar Rao who was in the Telugu Desam Party sensing the mood of sub region and in order to give a Political vent to it resigned from the party and formed Telangana Rashthra Samithi. The Formation of TRS on 27th April 2001 is a milestone in the Telangana movement. People welcomed this party as it was formed with the single aim of attaining separate state for Telangana. KCR made it clear that Telangana Rashtra Samithi operates on the political ideology of Regionalism. The Chief claim to fame in its uncompromising spirit to make the dream and aspiration of Telangana a reality. The party leader made it clear that they sought peoples mandate in elections and make them as partners in the movement. Initially the party focused on spreading the regional ideology. The party successfully encouraged the spirit of Telangana ignited by the people's organizations, Poets, Writers, Journalists and Intellectuals and channelized the anguish of Telangana people towards the path of movement. The party got the support of Telangana leader such as Kaloji, Narayana Rao, K.Jayashanker, Konda Laxman Bapuji this movement spread to all sections of Telangana.

Even for the parties too, Telangana has become a serious electoral issue. While operating ideology of regionalism, TRS made its position strong with its Election agenda. TRS played a crucial role in highlighting the discrepancies done in sharing river water, misappropriations of government

allocations, down the language and culture of Telangana and discrimination of Telangana in all spheres. With the help of cultural troops they took all these discriminations to the public. By conducting scientific studies, they made it public the deviations of the facts of Andhra leaders since formation of state. The aspects which favoured the strong emergence of TRS was the backing of forces such as writers, artists and activists and the historical identity of Telangana and the continuous attack on it, and more importantly the powerful leadership of KCR.

Role of Congress Party

Indian National Congress Played a crucial role in the formation of Telangana State. In the Karimnagar Meeting held in 2004, the president of Congress Party clearly declared that Congress party will fulfill the aspirations of formation of separate state after it comes in power. Accordingly when it came in to power included the Separate Telangana issue in the president's speech of 7th June 2004. However, it dragged the Telangana issue for a quite long time to gain the all round acceptance, constituted a sub committee under the presidentship of Pranab Mukharjee. This committee tried to get the acceptance from all political parties. Almost 36 political parties submitted their letters in favor of Telangana- still Congress did not take any decision. In the consecutive elections of 2009 also congress reiterated its adherence to Telangana. The dragging continued later also. Unprecedented developments took place in Andhra Pradesh politics with the accidental death of the then Chief Minister Dr. Y.S. Rajashekhar Reddy on September 2nd 2009 at Nallamala. Rosaiah became Chief Minister, however during his time only Court gave Judgement declaring Hyderabad a free Zone. This accelerated the Telangana Movement once again. Against this verdict, K Chandrashekar Rao resolved to fast un to death aiming separate state. His fast received great response from people. Life became standstill. In these conditions the then Central Home Minister Chidambaram gave a declaration on separate state of Telangana on 9th December 2009. Later, they declared that the Congress Party decision was withheld due to the pressure from Andhra Leaders. Congress Party called for all party meeting and constituted Sri Krishna Committee under the leadership of Justice Srikrishna. This committee submitted its report in December 2010. Central Government made its report to public on 6th January 2011. On 30th July 2013 Congress working

Committee issued a notification that Telangana will be formed with ten districts. It constituted Group of Ministers from all parties under the chairmanship of A.K. Antoni on 8th October 2013. They requested all political parties to give the opinions. Central Cabinet accepted Telangana draft bill on 5th December 2013. On February 13,2014 UPA Government introduced the State Reorganization Bill in Loksabha. on 18th February 2014 Loksabha accepted this bill. Later, the bill was introduced on 20th February 2014 in Rajyasabha and got approval on the same day. June 2nd 2014 are declared as the formation day.

Role of Congress Party at State Level

State Congress Party played important role in the separate state formation right from formation of Andhra Pradesh till the declaration of separate Telangana state. Telangana Forum was formed in 1990 with Jana Reddy as its convener. They submitted memorandum highlighting injustice meted out to Telangana to then Chief Minister Janardhan Reddy and also Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao. Later Telangana Legislators Forum was started under chairmanship of Chenna Reddy. They have decided to raise Telangana issue in Assembly. In 2000, they submitted memorandum to Smt. Sonia Gandhi. After Congress Party came in to power, Y.S. Rajashekhar Reddy appointed Rosaiah committee in 2009 to gather opinion about Telangana. There was a criticism against Y.S. Rajashekhar Reddy that he worked against Telangana. When Rosaiah after becoming Chief Minister convened all party meeting. In that though all parties took a positive stand on Telangana, Congress Party did not take a clear stand. The movement intensifies as Nallari Kiran Kumar Reddy who succeeded Rosaiah also was not positive towards Telangana issue. The action taken by Congress roused mixed feelings among people but one cannot rule out their role in the history of movement.

Role of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)

Since the beginning of the movement, BJP played a positive role towards Telangana. Vajpayi declared that their Party is for Telangana in the 1997 Election Campaign. In the same year in their State level annual conference held at Kakinada took a resolution to bifurcate Andhra Pradesh and formation of Telangana state 'One vote two states' was their slogan. However, after coming to power, though they announced the formation of a new states of Chattisgarh, Jharkhand, Uttaranchal, Telangana

issue was not taken up. The NDA Government could not take any decision towards this as the then Chief Minister Chandrababu Naidu did not put up any demand for bifurcation. Discontented with the decision of BJP, Ale Narendra left the party and formed Telangana Sadhana Samithi. Later he merged his party with TRS on 11th August 2002.

BJP clearly stated its infavour of Telangana in the all party meeting. It conducted 'Sankalpa Yathra' meeting on 13th November 2008 at Secunderabad. BJP contested all elections with a slogan 'One vote two states'. BJP Cadre actively participated all protests like 'Bandhs', 'Rastaroko', 'Vantavarpu', 'Manavaharam' 'Million March'. The state BJP leader G. Kishan Reddy took up 'Poruyathra' in all the villages of 88 constituencies igniting Separate Telangana feeling among public. National leaders like Sushma Swaraj, Rajnath Singh participated in all the meetings and promised that they will declare the separate Telangana if they get power.

Role of Telugu Desam Party (TDP)

Telugu Desam Party declared its support to the bifurcation of state in October 2008. Though initially it was against division of state, in the changed political conditions stated that it is not against separate state of Telangana. Senior leader Devendar Goud came out of Party and formed 'Nava Telangana Party' later in 2009 he merged with 'Praja Rajyam' Party. He joined again in Telugu Desam Party. TDP wrote a letter to Pranabh Mukharjee Committee stating that they are for formation of separate state. However, within the party the Andhra leaders supported Samaikyandhra and TDP Telangana leaders led Telangana Movement. Which roused criticism that it was due to the failure of the Party leadership. Telangana leaders participated in all the meetings convened by JAC and also took up independent protest programmes. Chandrababu Naidu resorted to Deeksha at Delhi protesting against Centers policy on bifurcation while Telangana TDP MP's supported the Bill, Andhra MP's opposed it in Lok Sabha.

Telangana Praja Front

Telangana Peoples Front was founded by People's Poet Gaddar with the aspiration of Telangana separate state. He said in Telangana Dalit, Adivasi, Minority and Backward classes people should live with self respect. It was formed with a demand of achieving democratic Telangana. It propagated

alternative politics with its Leaders Vimalakka, Vedakumar, Akula Bhumaiah, Prabhakar and others.

Role of Left Parties

CPI and New Democracy Parties also supported Telangana state issue. Though supported Samaikyandhra earlier, CPI soon changed its stand and supported it in later phase of movement. Its leader K. Narayana took up Jana Chaithanya Yatra demanding formation of Telangana. It made its stand clear in all the forums such as Sri Krishna Committee, all party meeting.

New Democracy Party cadre and leaders too actively participated in Telangana Movement. They led militant movements. When KCR was arrested and hospitalized, the workers and leaders of New Democracy Party, PYL, POW, PDSU protested in different forms and sustained the movement. Later they also led the Million Marches called by political JAC. Maoist Party too supported separate state of Telangana. It demanded equal distribution of resources and fruits of development in new state and took up several protest programmes.

However CPM from the beginning was for Visalandhra, continued in later phase too. It made very clear that their party is not for separate state and they adhere to their earlier stand of not to divide the states formed an linguistic basis. It raised its voice in all the committees of bifurcation. MIM also opposed formation of new state. YSRC party followed middle path. Loksatta Party opined that this problem should be discussed comprehensively and welcomed separate Telangana state.

In this background, Congress Party which aligned with TRS came to power in 2004 assuring Telangana state formation. At center too, UPA Government under Congress leadership came to power and in state TRS Party shared power. Later when the state and centre failed to keep up their promise, TRS party walked out of the coalition Government of State and Centre.

Several Caste Associations, Peoples Organizations, NGO's, Peasants, Workers, Students and intellectuals voluntarily started participating in the movement. Journalists and Teachers started to bring out small pamphlets, booklets and articles in Newspapers about injustice done to Telangana and conscientized people. Students joined in the movement in large numbers as there were no recruitments and adverse conditions prevailed in the Universities. In 2009 General Elections,

TDP, TRS & Left Parties formed great alliance. Though fought unitedly against Congress, and lost elections. Once again, Congress came to power at state and Centre.

Indefinite Strike by KCR

As a protest against the Center's attitude of postponing the formation of Telangana, KCR started fast until death on 29th November at Siddipet, Medak Dist, demanding the Congress Government to introduce the Telangana bill in Parliament.

Amidst dramatic situations KCR was arrested and shifted to Khammam Jail and then later to Nizam's Hospital at Hyderabad. KCR continued his fast even in Hospital. Student organizations, employees unions and various public organizations supported KCR's demand. KCR's health deteriorated. The student's of Osmania University, Kakatiya University and all other educational institutions rose in protest. Police detained them in their campuses; they opened indiscriminate Lathi charge, releasing Tear gases on the protesting students. Hundreds of cases were booked against the student leaders. Those students who escaped from the police went to NIMS Hospital in support of KCR resorted to violence. Later, on 10th December students gave a call of seizure of Assembly, thousands of students reached Assembly. Major opposition parties extended their support for separate state. The resultant massive protest in Delhi and reports of the gravity of situation in Andhra Pradesh forced the then Union Minister of Home affairs Sri. P. Chidambaram to announce that the Indian Government would start the process of forming a separate Telangana state on 9th December, 2009. With this announcement KCR ended his 11 day fast stating that this was a true victory of the people of Telangana

Protests in Andhra Region

The leaders of all political parties who in written expressed their solidarity for Telangana earlier changed their minds and resigned their posts protesting against Centre's decision of forming separate state. They exerted pressure on the Centre to take back its decision. At several places in Andhra Region Samaikya Andhra Movement was started. In this movement students and employees played a crucial role. In this context, on 23rd December 2009 center again issued another note that they need more consultations regarding division of state.

As the Center backed on the formation of Telangana dejected students and youth committed

suicides in large numbers, the crisis ridden youth saw a solution for all problems in the state formation and resorted to self immolations. Nearly 1812 students attempted suicides and out of 73 lost their lives till 2010 and many more students and youth sacrificed their lives for the cause of Telangana. The Sacrifices of Srikantha Chary, Venugopal Reddy, Yadaiah, Adireddy and Ishan Reddy and many more will remain forever in Telangana History. Realizing the deception of the Andhra leaders all the sections of people irrespective of parties united and fought collectively for state. They expressed their aspirations of achieving new state through various means of protests. Amidst these conditions Central Government constituted Sri Krishna committee.

Telangana Peoples Response

As the Central Government took wavering stand on Telangana issue, the movement reached to the grass root in anger. The Telangana people felt that they were betrayed. The movement took a new turn and included all castes and classes. The Employees, Lawyers, Journalists, Students, Caste Associations formed in to JAC's and tookup anti Government Programmes. The protests spread the voice of Telangana through Bonalu, Bathukamma and Ganesh festivals also. Washermen, Barbers, Toddy tappers, Katikaaparlu, Dalits and other caste groups intensified movement by forming JAC's. In Katepally village of Nalgonda district the protest against those opposed to Telangana was experienced in the form of drawing rangoli in burial grounds. The movement reached its peak in northern Telangana.

In Medak, the weaker sections that constitute 83 percent caste associations held relay fasts. At Siddipet they drew Rangoli as protest. Window panes of RTC Busses were broken in Sirsinagandla village of Kondapaka. Lunch was prepared on the roads of Akshapur in Mamgunur Mandal. A procession of Bullock Carts was held, a 'Padayathra' was taken out in Chegunta. Dharnas were conducted in front of Narayankhed and Jogipet police stations. Dalit women of Nizamabad took out a Bonalu procession in Nizamabad in which mayor and corporators participated. The caste associations like Aaryavysya, Yadava, Padmasali took out processions. Bonalu, Bullock-Cart, Tractor and Bike rallies were held in Jamnagar chowrasta. Rastaroko was held in Tadwai in which Zilla Parishad Chairman participated.

Shri Krishna Committee Report

On 3rd February, 2010 the Central Government constituted the 5 member Shri Krishna committee under the leadership of Justice BN Shri Krishna, to look into Telangana issue. This committee toured Telangana extensively and gathered information from different sections of people. They have collected nearly 1 Lakh Memorandums. On 30th December 2011, they have submitted 505 pages report in 2 Volumes to the Home Minister. They have suggested 6 solutions to the Telangana committee. They are:

1. To keep the state united
2. To divide state and make Hyderabad as Union Territory and keep combined capital for both the states
3. To Constitute Rayala Telangana clubing both Rayalseema & Telangana and make Coastal Andhra as separate state. Hyderabad to be made a part of Rayala Telangana.
4. To divide state into Seemandhra and Telangana and make Hyderabad a Union Territory.
5. To divide state into Seemandhra and Telangana and making Hyderabad as the Capital city of Telangana and have a new capital for Seemandhra.
6. To keep state unified and suggested measure for socio-economic development and political empowerment of Telangana region through statutorily empowered Telangana regional council.

However diverse opinions were expressed on the Telangana people that this is another deceitful act. High court also commented that the Shri Krishna committee exceeded its limits. Eighth chapter could not be made public after court stayed order. This committee also did not fulfill the aspirations of the Telangana people.

Telangana Joint Action Committee (TJAC)

Telangana Joint Action Committee was formed with the aim of bringing all organizations and associations which are fighting for Telangana under single platform. Prof. Kodanda Ram was elected as chairman. Majority political parties joined JAC. Along with Student's JAC, Employees JAC's Caste JAC's, Professors's JAC were also formed. These JAC's continued the movement with diversified protests. These protests were undertaken at Mandals and Villages too. Leaders took special care

not to allow this movement a violent turn as in the case of 1969 movement.

Songs as forms of protest in Telangana Movement

Telangana is a rocky area surrounded by hills and hillocks. Telangana people used to strive hard to shift those rocky areas in to agricultural fields. In this process, they used songs as a way to forget their toil. There is no scope for grammar in those songs. But those songs are very close to nature and near to folk songs. All the songs have particular rhythm which soothes their minds. It touches heart. The farmers and working people dance accordingly to the songs.

Telangana Jagrithi

Telangana Jagrithi, a socio- cultural organization was founded by Kalvakuntla Kavitha. In June 2008 to protect the Telangana folklore, Culture, Art forms, Literature, Language and Accent. They conducted Bathukamma festival in a big way and through this propagated Telangana Cultural identity. Even the women abroad expressed their solidarity to the movement by organizing Bathukamma. This organization played a key role in making women as partners in the movement.

Role of Media

Though all Caste Associations, Employees, Students, Intellectuals, Lawyers, Journalists, Women and all groups of people participated actively in Telangana Movement, the contemporary press has not covered this in their news papers, the reason is that the News Papers published from Telangana are largely under Andhra Managements and Andhra Journalists, Editors are in decision making bodies. Therefore Telangana People felt that the press is not objective. Print and Electronic Media is not analyzing separate Telangana Movement in a objective manner. The feeling that their language, accent and culture were humiliated and indirectly hegemonising their power. Telangana people also felt that the water, surpluses and employment opportunities were enjoyed by Andhras only. The intellectuals felt that instead of reflecting people's opinions the media was working for their selfish motto. They also felt that Press failed to show the intensity of Telangana Movement. In this situation they strongly felt the need to start a Newspaper which support the Telangana Movement and started 'Namasthe Telangana'. This was started under the Editorship of Allam Narayana on June

6th 2011. Within no time the paper got massive peoples support as it gave prominence to Telangana language, accent and regional identity and also publishing Telangana history, culture and peoples living. Another popular daily Andhra Jyothi from the beginning openly supported Telangana Movement.

The 24 hours News Channels which were started by Andhra Capitalists with high technical knowledge also failed to reflect the movement and its peoples aspirations. Succumbing to their selfish motives, slowly distanced themselves from the students and intellectuals. Sometimes they became the targets of students when the movement was at its peak. However, Prof. Ganta Chakrapani, Kodanda Ram, N.Venugopal, Pasham Yadagiri, Allam Narayana, V. Prakash, Sandhya, Vimalakka, Rasamayi Balakishan, Papi Reddy, R. Vidyasagar Rao and others participated actively in discussions about Telangana in these News Channels. And they highlighted the regional discriminations and giving correct information to the people.

Dalit, Adivasi and Minority Movements

All Dalit, Minority, Caste associations formed into Democratic Forum for Dalits and Minorities (DFDM) in 1994 to work unitedly for the development of Telangana. These groups played key role in the movement with a democratic demand that along with political changes, social changes that fulfill the aspirations of Marginalised communities and bring qualitative changes in their living. The Caste Associations like Tudum Debba, Lambadi Nagara, Erukala Kurru, Madiga Dandora, Kuruma Golla Dolu Debba, Moku Debba strived for Telangana state. Toddy tappers, Sheppards, Weavers, Fishermen, Washermen and all castes and tribes associations actively participated in the movement.

Tribal and Caste Organizations such as Tudum Debba, Lambadi Nagara Bheri and Erukala Kurru etc., organized their protests demanding Telangana State. Madiga dandora, Kurumal Golla Dholu Debba and Mooku Debba were formed. The caste professions such as toddy tappers sheep grower, weaving, fishing, and washermen communities also actively participated in the movement.

Role of Students

The role of the students in sustaining later phase of Telangana Movement will remain forever in history. The birth place of movement, Osmania University Arts College was the Centre of activities. All student Unions united together

and formed Joint Action Committees. This struggle enabled the inevitable situation to form Telangana State. Alongwith Osmania University, Kakatiya University, Satavahana University, Telangana University, Mahathama Gandhi University, Palamuru University students staged their protests against Governments during the time of KCR's fast and during other phases of the movements. The then Government filed hundreds of cases on the protesting students. They have resorted to several repressive actions. Many students like Venu Gopal Reddy, Yadaiah, Srikantha Chary, Aadireddy and others became Martyrs. During Telangana Movement Police firings, Water Cans, Lathi Charge, Police Camps and Iron Barricades became common in University Campuses. Whatever decisions, Programmes taken up by OU Campus JAC is followed by all student associations and JAC's of other Universities across Telangana region. Pidamarthi Ravi, Daruvu Yellanna, Balka Suman, Addanki Dayakar, Kailash Netha, Gadari Kishore, Balalaxmi, Rajesh, Balraj, Ravi, Anjanna, Raju, Shankar, Padma, Sharath, Mahesh and others gathered students and intensified movement. Women students played key role along with men in all the Programmes.

Role of Lawyers

Lawyers played multifaceted roles in Telangana movement. While actively participating in the different protest movements also fought in Courts, against the false cases imposed on the leaders of the movement. They also played constructive role in getting Court permission for holding students Maha Garjana and vacating the police camps in the University Campuses. Advocates JAC remained inspiration to others in bringing out the facts of regional discrimination and the fight against it. Advocates like Rajendar Reddy, Nallapu Prahlad, Mangari Rajendar, Sahodhar Reddy, Mohan Rao, Ranga Rao, Govardhan Reddy, Jyothi Kiran and others led the movement .

Role of Women

Women played commendable role in the later phase of Telangana Movement. Ammala Sangham, Chaitanya Mahila Sangham, Pragathisheela Mahila Sangham, Mahila JAC's played crucial role in the movement. Telangana Mahila Joint action Samithi was formed in 2009 to motivate women towards movement. On 31st January 2010. State level convention of this was conducted at Hyderabad. Women actively participated in all the protests

called by the JAC. Sandhya, Jhansi, Ratnamala, Aruna and others led this movement. Along with them Surepally Sujatha, Rama Melkote, Jupaka Subhadra, Arundhathi Reddy through their writings expressed the need of Telangana.

Variety of Protests

People resorted to variety of protest methods to express their demand through cultural programmes Dhoom Dhams and Songs. The more interesting programmes include the Vanta Varpu (the cooking food) on roads and high ways and played Bathukamma and sports on the streets and the roads.

Non Cooperation Movement

On 17th Feb 2011 a Non Cooperation Movement was started. Nearly three lakh Government employees participated in various protest movements as a part of Non-Cooperation call given by the Telangana JAC. The plan was to request Government employees not to work, not to pay taxes or utility bills, not to buy tickets in public transport, organize rallies and block highways. This movement lasted for sixteen days causing loss of six billion revenue to the Government. In the month of February, March Assembly sessions were also boycotted. Governors address also disrupted. They called bandhs on 22nd and 23rd February in solidarity with the movement. On March 1st TJAC successfully conducted Rail Bandh with a slogan 'Each village on Rail Track'. Telangana Members of Parliament protested in parliament too.

In later phase of Non-Cooperation movement, they took different forms of protests such as cooking on roads (Vanta Varpu) and eating there itself. While coming out this protest, the cultural troops inspired people with their songs and plays.

Million March

Million march was organized by Telangana JAC in Hyderabad on 30th September, 2012 on the lines of Dandi March. This march was against the delay in formation of the state by the Centre. Telangana Ministers and Various parties supported the march. The Police did not give permission apprehending the attacks on the properties of Andhra People. In order to disrupt the march police arrested thousands of activists throughout state and closed down entry points into Hyderabad state. When TJAC Promised to conduct march peacefully the

police permitted the march to be conducted only on Tankbund, Necklace road from 3pm to 7pm though the permission was given police tried to stop it, all trains were cancelled, Osmania University was closed down. In spite of all these restrictions around five lakhs people reached tankbund. And by evening two more lakhs people joined the march. Telangana songs, Bonalu, Bathukamma and other cultural programmes were performed. An incident of putting fire to a media van caused chaos. The police released tear gas, used water cans to disperse the agitators. They continued their march till midnight. They called off the march in the midnight due to heavy rain 30th September, 2012. This remained glorious day of Telangana struggle

Collective Resignations

In the month of July 2011, 81 out of 119 Telangana MLA's, 12 out of 15 Telangana Ministers, 13 Lok Sabha Members out of 17, 1 Congress MP in Rajya Sabha and 20 MLC's resigned their positions in protest against the delay in formation of Telangana State. However speakers of Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha and State did not accept their resignations.

Sakala Janula Samme (All People Strike)

The most significant phase in Telangana movement is Sakala Janula Samme in which all the sections of the society, Government and Private employees, various organizations under the leadership of Telangana Joint Action Committee (TJAC) launched strike on 13th September 2011. Educational institutions were closed down. RTC busses were stopped, Government offices were closed down, Lawyers boycotted courts, Government employees voluntarily boycotted their duties and participated in protests. Coal mine workers participated in the strike enthusiastically. Entire Telangana expressed its desire for separate state. Infact people's life came to stand still. TJAC called off strike after 18 days. TJAC, Chairman Prof. Kodanda Ram declared that though the strike was called off the protests will go on till they achieve the Telangana State.

Police registered cases on the Leaders, Students and all those who participated in the Strike. Later BJP Leader Kishan Reddy started the March in January, 2012. He toured extensively all over Telangana for 22 days. The Freedom fighter Konda Laxman Bapuji at the age of 97 participated in the Satyagraha at Jantar Mantar in New Delhi.

Sagara Haram

Telangana Joint Action Committee called for Telangana March on 30th September 2012 at Hyderabad with a demand of introducing Telangana Bill at Centre and State. This Telangana March was renamed as Sagaraharam. On September TJAC Chairman in his statement on 7th July 2012 said that he is planning to organise 'Chalo Hyderabad' on 30th September 2012 to put pressure on Centre and State Governments. JAC also gave a call to one from each family with flag in their hands- Chalo Hyderabad'. TJAC gave in writing that there won't be any kind of violence in the March hence Police gave permission to conduct the March at Necklace Road.

Telangana March started from various places. Protest Marches from Gunpark, Indira Park, Khairathabad Fly Over, Secunderabad clock tower etc. Started from morning 11 A.M itself. Several peoples organizations, students, workers and others took the lead in this march. First time the political leaders were sidelined.

In spite of various protests, there was no positive response from the Governments. TJAC intensified its movement. National Highway 7 in Mahaboobnagar district was blocked. Some protesters constructed walls on the bordering roads of Telangana and conducted protests in front of entry doors of Parliament and gheroed five congress MPs. Telangana Congress MPs strived hard and become successful in directing members attention on Telangana issue. In June 2013 TJAC gave a call to Chalo Assembly. As though Government did not give permission, students and Professors successfully conducted this programme.

Conclusion

Recognizing the intensity of the movement center called for all party meeting on 28th December, 2012. Representatives of eight main political parties attended the meeting. The parties such MIM, CPM, opposed the Telangana State. YSR Congress maintained its silence. The congress members of seemaandhra opposed the division of state. All the Telangana leaders supported it. Telugu Desam party reiterated that it will abide by its earlier support to the Telangana in its letter written to Pranab Mukherjee in the year 2008. After the meeting center declared that within the month a positive decision will be taken up after that congress core committee discussed the matter and took a decision to divide the state. Andhra Leaders

tried Maximum to stop the formation. Later the Bill was passed in Parliament. Starting the formation of Telangana state comprising 10 districts and Hyderabad as unified capital for both states for ten years. All the parties along with UPA, BJP, BSP, CPI supported the bill. And on 18th February, 2014 the bill passed in Lok Sabha and on 20th February 2014 it was passed in Rajya Sabha also. President gave his ascent to the Bill on 1st March 2014. Realizing the aspirations of Telangana People and as a symbol of the eternal spirit of the leaders of movement Telangana emerged as the 29th state of India on 2nd June, 2014. In its 65th year of democracy Parliament passed the act of Andhra Pradesh Reorganization Bill 2014. The Telangana Movement for separate state is rooted in historical context. Spreading over sixty years it developed into a unique political form. It was hailed by many intellectuals as a symbol of democratic struggle against political domination and economic exploitation.

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