REFUTING AN AGITATION

101 LIES & DUBIOUS ARGUMENTS OF TELANGANA SEPARATISTS



VISALANDHRA MAHASABHA



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Introduction

This book is an effort to carefully examine the claims, assertions, and allegations that are made by the separatists in Telangana. These have gone unexamined for a long time. Therefore, they went unchallenged and unquestioned. Not only those who want the state to be divided believed them to be true but also those who are opposed to the division thought initially that there might be a grain of truth in them. We do not know what the purveyors of these claims and allegations thought about them when they brought them into circulation. Did genuinely think that they were true? Or they just propagated them to serve their separatist agenda? If they genuinely thought that their allegations and claims were true, this book will give them the correct picture. They should then have no problem in reexamining their argument and revising their position. But if they deliberately distorted the facts to advance their partisan agenda, this book will expose them and call their bluff. We do hope that they reexamine their position in the light of the facts presented in this work.

Victimhood evokes sympathy. Telangana separatists repeated their allegations, claims and assertions in concert. They wrote continuously and propagated tirelessly that Telangana region was discriminated against, exploited, humiliated, and insulted. Those who did not have time or opportunity to verify these claims and allegations took them to be true. And as a consequence they found themselves in sympathy with the separatist cause. This is one of the reasons why in Delhi and elsewhere in the country many columnists, political commentators, and several prominent persons in the media and NGO sectors thought that they were lending their support to a deserving cause. Some political parties and their leaders, despite being unfamiliar with the realities in the state of Andhra Pradesh and in Telangana, also extended their support to what they thought was a genuine cause. But, as it turned out, it was uncritical acceptance of claims, undeserving sympathy for a cause and unthinking support for a demand. We hope that those who accepted the separatists' claims at face value will carefully examine and evaluate the narrative that we are presenting in this book.

The separatists began their agitation with the claim that Telangana region has been neglected, that it was backward, and that it was exploited. That was the overture to their concert of propaganda. They were emphatic about their claims as long as those claims went unchallenged. Nalamotu Chakravarthy's book My Telugu Roots was perhaps the first work that challenged those claims of economic exploitation and backwardness. His book conclusively showed that the region is not backward (no more backward or no less prosperous than any other region in the state) and in fact has registered impressive growth in every sector of economic activity since the formation of Andhra Pradesh state in 1956. That Chakravarthy hails from Telangana region is significant. Separatists could not tarnish his work as a biased interpretation of data by someone unsympathetic to the interests of his own region. They could not come up with a cogent rebuttal of his argument. Therefore, a cowardly physical assault on Chakravarthy was the only thing that they could do to lend force to their claims. They began to lose their cool as they began to lose their argument. Justice Srikrishna Committee also rubbished the 'economic backwardness - exploitation' argument in its report. This marked the final demise of the economic argument of separatists. The argument that jobs of Telangana people were taken away, that there was theft of irrigation water, and that the successive governments neglected the region, that agreements were violated and other related claims and allegations were proved to be simply incorrect and untrue.



With the demise of the economic argument, the separatists began to articulate 'self-rule' argument. Little did they realize that this argument in a pluralist, multi-party parliamentary democracy like ours is clearly nothing short of an absurdity. It showed that the separatists are oblivious that in our country every village, town, district, and constituency elects its own representatives based on universal adult franchise in a fair and free atmosphere. When this argument too did not work, they made some loose claims on the basis of history, language, and culture. They tried to portray diversity as dichotomy. We are sure that even a cursory examination of these claims will reveal their hollowness. This book deals with these assertions in detail.

Their present argument is 'people's sentiment' and 'overwhelming support' for the demand for division. This book shows that this argument is equally specious. Electoral outcomes since 2004 clearly are unconvincing. Earlier election results, indeed, proved that the demand for the division of the state was overwhelmingly and convincingly rejected by the people of the state in all the regions. It is interesting that elections to the State Assembly following the 1969 Jai Telangana agitation as well as 1972 Jai Andhra agitation conclusively showed that the roused passions for division of the state were short lived. Relevant sections in the present publication deal with this elaborately.

We are not unwilling to give credit to the separatists when they deserve it. Their propaganda is indeed very effective. We do give them credit for propagating a 'big lie' very skillfully. They are able to say that they have a case when they have none. Economic data does not support their allegations. Political developments and electoral outcomes do not corroborate their claims. History does not justify their assertions. And cultural and linguistic traditions do not in any way buttress their arguments. But they go on and on. They 'Bash on, Regardless'! This indeed is praiseworthy.

We have identified 101 claims, assertions, and allegations by the Telangana separatists. There can be many more. But these, we think, are more prevalent ones. We have put them into four categories: (1) Historical, (2) Economic, (3) Political, (4) Language and Culture. We examined each one of them with ample care. We gave them the due respect as any argument in a mature public discourse deserves. We actually wanted to see if any of them had any merit or truth or even had some support in the data that is available. We wanted to give every argument a fair crack of the whip. We did not find even a grain of truth in any one of them. The separatists can examine our refutation of their claims. We expect them to point out if they come across any flaws in our presentation.

It is pertinent here to mention that we have on several occasions asked the separatists to come forward for a debate on the issues they were raising. They never showed any enthusiasm. In fact, they were from the beginning hostile to the idea of a discussion. When they challenged or invited us for a debate on a couple of occasions, we readily agreed to participate. But they dropped out in the last minute. And on one occasion, we were physically assaulted by the separatists (under the leadership of a former Minister) even before we left on our journey for the venue of the debate. Our meetings, exhibitions, and media conferences were physically attacked, regularly disrupted, and on several occasions prevented. None of the civil rights activists came to the defense of our right to voice our opinion. They could not bring themselves to condemn the separatists when they disrupted our meetings and intimidated us. It is a very sad thing in a democratic country like ours. But it is a fact. To us it only means that the agitation is so weak in its argument that it is unable to face a refutation. We wonder if there could be any other meaning to the physical attacks carried out by the separatists and their refusal to engage in a civilized dialogue and debate. We feel such acts are resorted to only by those who have no confidence in the strength of their argument.



Visalandhra Mahasabha is on record saying that if Telangana separatists can show one reason to divide the state, we can show a hundred reasons to keep Andhra Pradesh united. If they show a hundred reasons for dividing the state, we can show a thousand reasons to preserve its unity. And if the separatists can show a thousand reasons to divide the state, we can show one hundred thousand reasons to keep the state together. We are yet to hear from the separatists.

We had debated amongst ourselves whether we should use the word 'Lies' in the sub-title. Some of us thought that it might be a bit too strong. They, however, did not disagree that what the separatists propagated were indeed lies. So ultimately the question that had to be decided had boiled down to whether to call a lie, a lie. We finally decided to call a lie, a lie. A lie by any other name would also be a lie. And a familiar word is better than a mitigated expression or a euphemism.

This book is the result of a true collective effort. Everyone in Visalandhra Mahasabha contributed to it in various ways and in different measures: In identifying the claims, allegations and assertions that are propagated by the separatists; in collecting data and material for refuting them; in putting them down in writing; in revising and editing; in deciding on the format; in designing; in proof reading; and in final production.

We are not professional agitators. Nor are we full-time political activists. We wish we could be more active. However, our professional obligations and life commitments do impose severe limitations on us. But we are a group that is passionate about the unity of Telugu people. Therefore, we strongly feel that it is our sacred duty to preserve the unity of the state. Our consciences feel uncomfortable if the false claims, allegations and assertions of the separatists go unquestioned and unchallenged only because they have the wherewithal to intimidate people who oppose division. We do believe that a majority of people in all the regions of the state desire unity. Those who want to divide the state are able to whip up passions now in Telangana. Their counterparts did it in Coastal and Rayalaseema regions earlier. Separatists were in a minority in 1969 in Telangana and in 1972 in Coastal and Rayalaseema regions. That is why the state stayed united. They are in a minority now too. Whenever separatist forces reared their heads and made shrill demands, it is the quiet force of unity that ultimately triumphed. We do hope that Telugu people will tide over the present disturbance and yet again the quiet forces of unity will prevail.

It is the belief that the Truth is on our side that gives us immense strength and courage.

We at Visalandhra Mahasabha always remember what Alexander Solzhenitsyn said in concluding the speech he made while accepting the Nobel Prize:

"One word of truth shall outweigh the whole world."

Sankranti Day, 14 January 2013 Hyderabad Dr Parakala Prabhakar General Secretary, Visalandhra Mahasabha



HISTORY

Telangana was a separate entity for 2200 years out of 2500 years of Telugu history.

Historically, this is untrue. From Satavahanas and Kakatiyas (A.D. 1162 - 1323) to the Vijayanagara Rayas (A.D. 1336 - 1565), Qutub Shahis (A.D. 1518 - 1687) and the Nizams (A.D. 1720 - 1948), Telugus were ruled as a single political entity for a large part of history. Even if you take the Muslim rule which is the recent past, most of the present day Andhra Pradesh was under the suzerainty of one political power.

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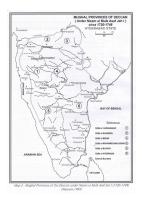
In A.D.1766, the Nizam signed a treaty with the British, whereby in return for the Northern Circars (most of the Coastal Andhra region- which was initially given to the French), the British agreed to furnish Nizam Ali Khan with a subsidiary force as and when required. As per another treaty, he surrendered the Guntur circar in A.D.1788. Yet another treaty was signed by the Nizam In A.D.1800 with the British to cede an area comprising the districts of Rayalaseema

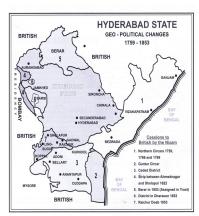
Even though different kings ruled different parts of the Telugu-speaking region albeit for brief periods, we cannot use historical balkanization to buttress arguments for dividing the state. This argument is as good as saying, India, which was ruled by 500 different kings and nawabs in pre-Independence era, should have as many states.

It is an undeniable fact that the entire Andhra Pradesh of the present day shared similar cultural and linguistic features all through the history, notwithstanding being under different political dispensations for brief spells.



and Bellary (now in Karnataka).





Map-3: Hyderabad State Geo-Political changes 1759-1853. (Nayeem, 1970)



There was communal harmony during Nizam's rule which was disturbed after the formation of Andhra Pradesh state

Muslims dominated the state administration during Nizam rule. Of the 1.7 Crore people living in the Hyderabad state, roughly twenty lakhs, about 12% were Muslims. Despite their small numbers, Muslims held 90% of the army and police jobs and occupied more than 80% of the government administrative jobs. The religious discrimination was so rampant that, in the railway stations of Hyderabad, there used to be two separate refreshment rooms labeled "Moslem Tea Room" and "Hindu Tea Room" according to a Time Magazine article that came out in August 1948 titled *The Holdout*.

Anjuman Thabli Gulislam, a religious organization supported by Nizam, actively converted poor and downtrodden Hindus to Islam. To counter these conversion activities, Arya Samaj formed an organization called Shuddhi Sabha. As a result, there was considerable hostility between these two religious groups.

Muslims were the rulers. They dominated the administration, and the cultural and intellectual spheres. The majority of the subjects in the Hyderabad State had to bear the domination silently because of their powerlessness. Their meek and silent endurance of brutal dominance by despotic rulers cannot be described as communal harmony. Absence of violent protest by the Hindus against the muslim domination cannot be termed as communal peace.

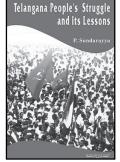
Telangana under the rule of Nizam had no relations with Andhra, which was under British rule.

Despite different political dispensations across regions during British and Nizam rule, the Telugu people yearned for one administrative and political unit, since their cultural and social unity continued to be as strong as ever.

In Andhra Pitamaha Maadapati Hanumantha Rao Jeevita Charitra there is a reference to Nawab Aliyavar Jung, a senior official in the Nizam Government, saying to Sri Madapati Hanumanth Rao: "it came to our government's notice that the purpose of your Andhra movement is to merge the Andhra districts of Madras and the Andhra districts in Nizam's dominion".

Nizam has given incentives to people of coastal region by a firmana and encouraged them to come and settle in Nizamabad, Adilabad, and Warangal under the then newly constructed irrigation projects.

The Telangana Armed Struggle attests to the fact that the shared cultural heritage was the prime reason for working together of peoples on either side of the artificial borders to bring down the Nizam regime. Many leading lights of the undivided Communist Party of India from Andhra and Rayalaseema regions such as Chandra Rajeswara Rao, P Sundarayya, M Basavapunnaiah and Tammareddy Satyanarayana played crucial role in the historic Telangana Armed Struggle and acted in concert with the leaders from the Nizam region like Ravi Narayana Reddy, Devulapalli Venkateswara Rao, Bhimreddy Narasimha Reddy, Makhdoom, and Baddam Yellareddy. Many leaders of the Andhra unit of the Communist Party led the guerrilla squads during the Telangana struggle.



For example, Kasani Narayana acknowledged that the marching song of the then Telangana fighters – "Telugu talli biddalam, Telangana veerulam, Matrudesa

mukti koraku porusalpa kadilinaam" (We the children of Telugu maatha, warriors from Telangana, fighting for the liberation of motherland are on a warpath) was composed by Sunkara Satyanarayana, a communist writer and fighter from Krishna district of coastal Andhra. It is the same Sunkara Satyanarayana who, along with Vasireddy Bhaskara Rao wrote the magnificent and popular play 'Maa Bhoomi' (Our Land) in 1947. It inspired millions of people (mainly in Telangana but also in Andhra) into anti-feudal struggles. The Praja Natya Mandali troupe which staged this play had artists mostly from the coastal Andhra region. The play was performed in border areas of Andhra (as it was not permitted in Telangana) to enable the people from Telangana districts to watch. "All these factors emphasise the nature of the Telangana struggle, namely that it was the concerted action of the leaders of both the units of the Communist Party of India in Telangana and Andhra" wrote P R Rao in his book *History of Modern Andhra*.

The separatists would not even like to mention about the glorious Telangana Armed Struggle because it was a fine example of the oneness of all Telugus.



Andhra Mahasabha was an organization run by the people of Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema

This is untrue and again part of separatist propaganda. In the early 1900s there were two organizations: one was Andhra Mahasabha led by Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema leaders and the other was Nizam Andhra Mahasabha led by Telangana stalwarts like Suravaram Pratap Reddy, Andhra Pitamaha Madapati Hanumantha Rao, Ravi Narayana Reddy, Burgula Ramakrishna Rao and several others.

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It is the Nizam Andhra Mahasabha under the leadership of communists that led the armed peasant uprising against Nizam's tyrannical rule.

Nehru was against Telangana's merger with Andhra.

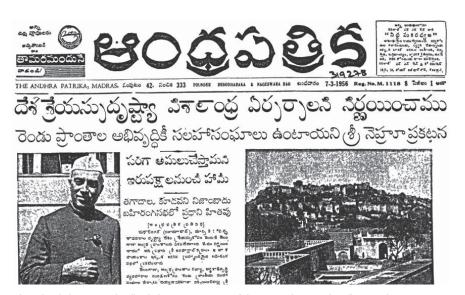
Jawaharlal Nehru was never against the formation of Visalandhra, contrary to the propaganda by the separatists. Nehru was initially against splitting the Hyderabad State, which consisted of Telugu, Kannada, and Marathi speaking areas, since he thought the State represented his idea of unity in diversity.

However, when the principle of carving out states on linguistic basis was accepted, he was very vocal in supporting the demand for creation of Visalandhra by merging Andhra state and the Telugu-speaking regions of the Hyderabad state.

5

In the *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* that has transcript of Nehru's speech given in Nizamabad public meeting, he said the following:

"This decision has been arrived at after prolonged discussions with both sides and great care has been taken to see that feelings on either side are not exacerbated. The people of Andhra and Telangana have to lead their lives and progress as parts of the larger entity, India. Therefore, petty arguments and tensions will lead nowhere. I hope all of you will accept this new proposal wholeheartedly and put it into practice. I want that you should become a part of greater Andhra and benefit by it."



'We decided upon Visalandhra's formation in view of the national interest'-Andhra Patrika 7-3-1956



Nehru accused votaries of Visalandhra as having a "taint of imperialist expansionism"

This is another travesty of truth. The separatists quote a purported statement by the then Prime Minister, which appeared in the Indian Express on October 17th 1953. While Nehru is reported to have used the words "taint of expansionist imperialism", he did not use them in the context of Andhra-Telangana.

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Indian Express reported Nehru's remark, in the following way: The Prime Minister said that the demand for

"visala-this, or visala-that was bearing a taint of expansive imperialism, at any rate the psychology

behind the demand was imperialistic."

Firstly, Nehru clearly did not say Visalandhra. Secondly, Nehru, in 1953, was not in favour of forming new states on linguistic basis, purely because he was convinced that the country was in the formative stages of transforming into a 'nation'. Nehru, for example, wanted to keep Maharashtra and Gujarat as one state, as he wanted to retain Hyderabad State with Telugu, Marathi and Kannada speaking regions intact.

Those who want to stand by his earlier critical attitude to linguistic states should also stand by his other opinions on the issue. They can't be selective and choose only those statements of Nehru that suit their parochial and divisive agenda. They should also note that Nehru argued against the "foolish and tribal attitudes" of provincialism. The states, he said, were only for administrative purposes, not for 'self-respect'. Telangana separatists keep repeating that the purpose of their agitation is to restore self-respect of the people of the region.

Nehru during the merger said that an innocent bride is being given in marriage to a crafty groom. According to Nehru, there was a provision of divorce at the time of merger.

This is another falsehood that the separatists have been spreading for too long. Nehru never uttered these words in his Nizamabad Speech where the separatists assert that he provided this blank cheque for future use.

The Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, which reproduced the Prime Minister's speech at Nizamabad in full, nowhere mentions this remark. In fact, if one observes the tone and tenor of the speech, Nehru was emphatic about the need for the people to live together for all-round development of the country. That he was so against regional, parochial arguments is clear from the following statement of his:



"India does not belong only to you or me but to all of us. Bharat Mata does not belong only to the people of Hyderabad, or Uttar Pradesh alone. All of us are parts of India and the whole country belongs to all of you from the Himalayas down to Kanniyakumari. You cannot tell me Hyderabad and Nizamabad belong to you and Allahabad and Delhi to me. I too have a right in Hyderabad just as you have claim to the Himalayas, Delhi and other places."



'Prime Minister Nehru announces government's decision to form Visalandhra ' - Visalandhra 7-3-1956



Telangana state was merged with Andhra against the wishes of Telangana people.

The separatists insist that Visalandhra was formed in 1956 against the wishes of the majority of the people of Telangana. They mention the opposition of some politicians like K V Ranga Reddy and Marri Channa Reddy to buttress their allegation.

The truth, however, is something else.

Visalandhra.

On 27th October 1955, Hyderabad City Congress Committee passed a resolution in support of Visalandhra i.e., merger of Coastal, Rayalaseema, and Telugu speaking areas of the Hyderabad State. The Committee wanted Hyderabad as the capital of

areas of the Hyderabad State. The Committee wanted Hyderabad as the capital of the newly formed state so that the importance of Hyderabad does not diminish as a result of Marathi and Kannada speaking areas going away from the Hyderabad State. Many major towns across Telangana and hundreds of Panchayats passed unanimous resolutions for the establishment of Visalandhra. Khammammettu, Gorentla, Mulkanooor, Illendu, Warangal, Shadnagar are only a few of such prominent towns. In fact, the entire length and breadth of Telangana at that time resounded with the slogan of

From the Assembly discussions, newspaper accounts, and several resolutions passed across villages and towns in Telangana it becomes amply clear that prior to 1956 it was the integrationist sentiment that was pervasive and overwhelming and not the separatist sentiment.

The Hyderabad Assembly discussed an official resolution on States Reorganisation Commission (SRC) Report from November 25 to December 3, 1955. Out of 174 representatives in the Assembly, 103 favored Visalandhra, 29 favored a Telangana state, whereas 15 members remained neutral. If one just takes people's representatives from the Telangana region, while 59 favored Visalandhra, only 25 favored Telangana, and 1 remained neutral.

Fazal Ali Commission recommended that Andhra and Telangana could be merged after the 1961 general elections if 2/3rd of the legislators favored such an action. Interestingly, the Hyderabad State Assembly favored the integration resolution by a 2/3rd majority five years ahead of Fazal Ali Commission's recommendation. Hence, the merger happened on the lines of Fazal Ali's recommendation, albeit 5 years earlier.

Contrary to the false propaganda that Andhra politicians have manipulated the merger, here is what Paragraph 382 of the States Reorganisation Commission Report (SRC) recorded: "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".

Characteristically, Prof. K Jayashankar distorted this entire sequence of events and wrote: "...paradoxically, the state of Andhra Pradesh was formed on 1st November 1956 - ignoring the wishes of people of Telangana, against a categorical recommendation of the SRC and contrary to the views of the tallest leader of the time, Jawaharlal Nehru. It was the outcome of manipulative politics..."

The contention of the separatists and the argument of Prof Jayashankar fly in the face of facts.





విశాలాంధ్ర ఏర్పడాలని. హైదరాబాదు నగర కాంగ్రెసు తీర్తానం

'రెండురాష్ట్రాలయితే ఆభివృద్ధి దొబ్బ తింటుంది

హైదరాజాడు, అక్ట్రోబరు 27 : అరేశృదాశా విశా లాంద్ర విషయం తేల్పకుండా ఉందవడ్డు। రాజధాని హైకోర్టు లకు హైదాబాదు కం[దంగా ఆంగ్ర తెలంగాణాలను పకం చేయాలి అని పక్షివంగా భారత (చేస్తానికి విజ్ఞ ప్రి జేన్లూ కైబాబాడు సగర కాం నేను కార్యవర్గం

కుంటి బా కౌ. యా గమ గద్ద మ ఆరర్షు ఎకంగా ఉందుకే అంగ్రం మం ప్రతి ప్రామం సిరిలో చవకారు ఉరయ రాహ్మాల (పథ్రాలు గాజా ప్రేమికం రోజ్నుకా పెద్దం కోల్నిక (పథ్రాలు గాజా ప్రేమికం రోజ్నుకా పెద ంగా కౌర్యకర్వంకాదు ఆళ్ళిస్తాయ మి దోవాక మరుంది అవి తీరాని నుంది కొన్నకర్వంకాదు ఆళ్ళిస్తాయ నుంది కొన్నకర్వంకాదు ఆళ్ళిస్తాయ నుంది కొన్నకర్వంకాదు ఆళ్ళిస్తాయ మాద్రాలు దోమికి దెబ్బు

ညီ နာ တာ ဝင္ထု కော မေးလွှဲသေဆိုလောက်သ

హైదాబాదు గర కౌంగ్ గు భారిపాల: "కారత మహ ఖన్లి రామ్మాల కుశ్రీ ర్మాణ భుత్రం తొమ్మలు గురించి భూలాలి పంఘం జల డెందిన అఖ్యాయాలతో ఈ సభ ఇద్దేంచిన ఆఫ్టిపాయాలతో ఈ ఇద్ద కారు ఈ చిక్కరుకుత్తాన్నది ఆయితే హైడా కారు కుర్మాను అయితే హైడా కారు కుర్మాను టాంతొలుకు మూఢ్క్రంగా తెలంగా బాను శ్రశర్తి ప్రశా తెలంగా

హైదరాబాదుకు దెబ్బ క్కుటి పంస్థాకంలో కన్నడ మకాట్ (పాంకాలు విడిపోయిక తిరు జాక చిన్న తెలంగాణా రాష్ట్రానిక ముఖ్యపట్టణంగా ఈ 8 మే, హైదా బాదువగరం (పతిపత్తి (హాముఖ్యంతగ డం మా(కేమేగాక, హీరుల ఆర్థికేవితం రూడా బాగా బొబ్బతింటుంది"

పాదనగరం సభ విజ్ఞ ప్తి

ಶಾಹಕಸರಂ, ಡಿ ಹಿಂಬರು 2 ಕಿ ಶಿಎಂ త త్వరగా ఆంగ్రా తెలంగాణా (హాం తాలను కలిపి చుర్తాంగ్రా రాష్ట్రం ఏర్పాటు చేయువలసిందిగా కౌరత్ ప భుత్వాన్ని కోరుతూ ఇటీవల ఇక్కడ జరిగిన తెలంగాణా ఆంధ్ర ఏకీకరణ పడిస్పులో తీర్మానించారు పట్టణకొం ్గామ ఆధ్యత్తుడు పై జరసింహాలలు గారు ఆధ్యమేతి కహించారు

విదిన గ్రామాలనుంచి మచారు 800 మంది సంఖకు వచ్చారు. (శీయాతులు ఏగరారి-చిబ్బప్ప, బ్. ఐ గరకుమూలా క్రి, బాజుక్రణ సత్యారాయణ, కొత్తారి စီခံတာရွေးလည်း, ချိုဆာခံကစ်လ

తాటాజులు తెలంగాణా ఆంగ్ర (పాంశాలను ವಂಟನೆ ಕರಿಸಿ ಹೆಯುವಲಸಿನ ಅಶ್ಯರಂ వివరించుతూ తాలూకొలోని వినిధ ్రామాలనుంచి ఇయ్యనుందికి హైగా పంఠకాలు చేశిక దిజ్ఞప్ప (శిశాగారా ్రక్కుతుందిన పంటించారు.

తెలుగు ప్రజల అభ్యున్నతికి

కలయిక అవసరమని సలహే

ఖమ్మంపొంట్లు, డిసెంబరు ర: "హై[దాబాద్ రాష్ట్రంలో నిర్వాద తెలుగు (పాంతాలైన రాయమారు, గుల్చరా, బీదరు ముదలైన పాంతాలతోందా తెలంగాణా జిల్లాలను వెంటనే ఆంగ్ర్మాంతంలో కలిపి హైదాబాద్ నగరం రాజధానిగా నమ[గమన ఒకేఒక తెలుగురాష్ట్రాన్ని ఏర్పాటుచేసి ఆరాష్ట్రానికి "హైదాబాద్రాష్ట్రం" అన పేరుపెట్టవలనిందిగా" ఖారత (వభుతానికి, అఖలఖారత కాం[గెస్ అధిప్లాన వర్గానికి విజ్ఞ ప్రీమేస్తూ తెలంగాణా ్రామాధికారులనంభు కార్యవర్గ సమావేశంలో తీర్మా నించారు.

ఆంధ్రపత్రిక . మంగళవారం డిసెంబరు 27, 1955

పిశాలాంధ్రను వ్యతిరేకించడం ఆభిపృద్ధిఆపక శాలసుకాలదన్నడమే

విశాలాంద్ర కోసం **గొర**ంట కాం గైసు తిర్మాసం

కూర్యా పేట, జకంబరు 80 గో కం EN THE SERVICE <u>ទទ្ស្សា គឺទា្រ សិទាទា០(</u>ស្រាស់ដែល្លី 🐌 सकुँठ भाग सामा केल राज्य हैं। अक्टू र्राज्य ఇవం ఇండు 26 ఇండు జరీగింది హైదరా జాడు రాజధానిగా సంక్వర విశాలాం(ధ హావసలా నో తెలుగువారికి ఈజ్వల భవ చ్యక్తు ఉబ్బడిని ఏక్రసీపంగా తీగాన్న నంచేశాడు తీరాము (వరులు హైద కాఖాజు (వమేశ్ హెంగాను, ఈఖల PIES TO THE, PIES (S # SS months hoberto.



States Reorganization Commission (SRC) headed by Fazal Ali was against merger.

This is another lie that the separatists have been repeating continuously. Any judgment of a court of

law or a report of a committee or a commission captures all the salient arguments for or against the issue under examination. The States Reorganization Commission, headed by Justice Fazal Ali, recounted all the arguments it heard during the proceedings and summarized them. The summary of an argument in the report cannot be shown as the opinion of the commission. The separatists however, mischievously quote the paragraphs that summarized the arguments against the merger submitted by some people as those of the commission's. Similar paragraphs that summarize the arguments for unity are also to be found in the report. However, the final recommendation of the commission after taking into account all these arguments is what is material to us. SRC's final recommendation is the following:



"386. After taking all these factors into consideration we have come to the conclusion that it will be in the interests of Andhra as well as Telangana, if for the present, the Telangana area is to constitute 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 a two thirds majority the legislature of the residency Hyderabad State expresses itself in favor of such unification."

It is abundantly clear from the above text that the SRC was NOT against merger. Secondly, the Commission wanted a two thirds majority in the Hyderabad Assembly, to favor the merger when it was put up for vote.

So, the only departure from SRC recommendation was advancing the merger timeline, as 2/3rd legislators favored immediate integration rather than waiting for 5 years.

Nehru in his Nizamabad Speech responded to this, saying, "..it seemed wrong to postpone something to be done after five years, to keep it pending for that long."

Nehru categorically said that this decision had been arrived at with the consent of all the parties concerned, according to The Hindu report on the Prime Minister's speech in Nizamabad public meeting.

Burgula Ramakrishna Rao, the first Chief Minister of Hyderabad State was against the merger.

Another lie that the Separatists planted is about the alleged opposition of the Chief Minister of Hyderabad State Burgula Ramakrishna Rao to the formation of Andhra Pradesh state. They show a letter purportedly written by Sri Burgula which is neither part of the official correspondence of the then Chief Minister nor is it part of his private papers. The separatists base their contention on a fabricated document.



This letter is made available through Wikisource for the separatists to make wide use of it, but without mentioning the fact that the document is neither on a letterhead nor was it signed. The value of document is questionable, says Wikisource.

Even if the letter was genuine, Burgula in fact did not support separate Telangana. Here is the concluding paragraph of the purported letter:

"I have sketchily summarised some of the pros and cons of the situation. It would be wrong on my part to give any opinion of mine. I have kept my mind open on the subject. I have summarised the situation in an objective and dispassionate manner. I shall write more about this in my fuller review of the situation from Bombay."

It is an established fact that Burgula put his weight as the elected Chief Minister of the State in favour of Visalandhra. He knew that he will not lead the new integrated state but went ahead in a spirit of sacrifice and statesmanship. According to the daily newspaper, Andhra Prabha, on October 24th 1955, Chief Ministers of the Hyderabad State Burgula Ramakrishna Rao and that of the Andhra State Bezawada Gopala Reddy issued a joint statement saying "on the subject of Vishalandhra there are no differences of opinion whatsoever".





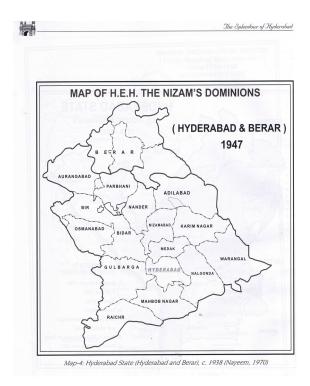
We are only asking to reinstate our Telangana state which existed prior to 1956.

Separatists have been saying that they have only been asking for the Telangana state that existed prior to 1956. This shows either their ignorance or an intention to wilfully distort history. Fact of the matter is, there has never been a Telangana state in existence. When India attained Independence in 1947, the Hyderabad State ruled by the Nizam was made up of Telangana, Marathwada and Kannada-speaking regions.

imagination and deliberately propagated to mislead the people of Telangana.



In 1956, during the Reorganisation of Indian States along linguistic lines, the state of Hyderabad was split up between Andhra Pradesh, Bombay state (current Maharashtra) and Karnataka. Hyderabad was the capital of the entire Hyderabad State, and not just Telangana. Thus, Telangana State in history was only a figment of separatists'





There was a large scale "Idli Sambar go back" agitation against merger during 1956.

After independence, Nizam refused to merge the Hyderabad State with the Indian Republic. He unleashed the Razakars on the peasants of Telangana. This led to armed uprising of peasants against Nizam and his feudal lords. During that struggle, over 7000 peasants have perished fighting the Razakars. While all this was happening, he toyed with the prospect of becoming an independent country. He even went to the United Nations on this subject.

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Eventually, as a result of the Police Action of September 1948, the Nizam acceded to the Indian Republic. Government of India brought in new administrative staff from Madras to run the government. This resulted in many Tamils taking key administrative positions. To protest the appointment of non-Hyderabadis in the government administrative posts, an agitation in the name of "Idli Sambar go back" was organized. The truth is "Idli Sambar go back" agitation was not against Coastal Andhra people, but was mostly against Tamils who came from Madras.

Now, the "Idli Sambar go back" agitation was given a new definition by the separatist "historians" to whip up the sentiments of Telangana people.

Some leaders betrayed the aspirations of Telangana people and merged the Telangana Praja Samithi with the Congress Party.

After the 1969 Telangana agitation, mid-term polls to Loksabha were held in 1971. Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS) running on a separate state plank won 10 out of 14 Loksabha seats in the Telangana area. Despite this landslide win, M. Channa Reddy-led TPS merged with Congress ending the agitation for separate Telangana state.



Many leaders differed with this merger and formed a new party named Nava Telangana Praja Samithi (NTPS). When the elections for State Assembly were held in 1972, NTPS contested 40 seats in the Telangana

area. Only one candidate from the party won the election and rest of the candidates not only lost their deposits but polled a meager 1.7% of the total votes. Hence, one cannot claim that the merger of TPS with Congress is a betrayal of the aspirations of the people of Telangana. The 1972 State Assembly election results in which Congress won by a landslide majority is an indication that people of Telangana endorsed the merger of TPS with the Congress Party.

As Andhra people left Madras city at the time of formation of Andhra state, now they should leave Hyderabad and build their own capital.

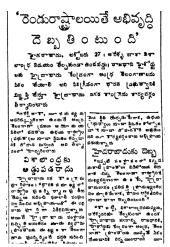
When Andhra state was carved out of Madras state, Telugus laid claim to Madras city. Unfortunately, they did not succeed in their endeavor. Also, many Telugu speaking regions which legitimately should have come to the newly formed Telugu state, such as Bellary, Barampuram, and Hosur, were merged with other states.

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When Andhra Pradesh state was formed, Rayalaseema people have foregone the opportunity to have the capital city in Kurnool. They have done this in the larger interest of Telugu unity. In fact, the Telugus of

erstwhile Hyderabad state wanted Hyderabad to be the capital of the newly proposed Vishalandhra. This was done to retain the importance of Hyderabad city whose prominence was going to suffer as Kannada and Marathi speaking regions, which made up almost half of Hyderabad state, were being merged with Karnataka and Maharashtra.

Choosing Hyderabad as capital was in accordance with aspirations of Telugu people of all three regions of the state. On 27th October 1955, Hyderabad City Congress Committee passed a resolution urging the creation of Andhra Pradesh state. The resolution specifically urges the union government to form the new state with Hyderabad as its capital. In addition to that, there are numerous resolutions passed by towns and villages across Telangana demanding the creation of a new state with Andhra and Telangana.



Andhra Patrika, 29-10-1955

Loss of regions, where Telugu speaking majority lived, to other states, should be seen as an unfortunate occurrence in the larger perspective of Telugu unity. However, the Telangana separatists often say that the Andhras were thrown out of Madras, and they say it with unconcealed glee. It is sad that one Telugu expresses happiness at the raw deal meted out to the other Telugus.



After Jai Telangana agitation of 1969, All Party Accord was formulated and scrapped within 6 months. Then an 8-point formula, and a 5-point formula were announced. The Supreme Court upheld Mulki rules. Andhra elites could not digest it, and launched Jai Andhra agitation. Central government yielded as usual to Andhra elite's tactics, and introduced 6-point formula. Even this was violated many times, robbing Telangana the opportunities that rightfully belonged to it.

During the period following the 1969 agitation an All Party Accord was reached among all the political parties in the state and it was in fact implemented. However, the exception was pertaining to *mulki* rules. A.P. High Court stayed the mulki rule provision in the All Party Accord. The contention that All Party Accord was not implemented is untrue. Government's hands were tied by the court order.



The 8-point and 5-point formula denied job and education opportunities to coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema people. This effectively turned them into aliens in their own state capital. This acted as a trigger for the Jai Andhra agitation. People of coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema demanded a separate State, when they could not have equal rights in their own state capital.

6-point formula was a compromise that was worked out by the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. It was a formula accepted by the prominent leaders of all regions. The Constitution was suitably modified to reflect the formula.

The allegation that 6-point formula has been violated is sheer misrepresentation. Jobs reserved for locals are still being given to locals as per the 6-point formula. The minor deviations if any have already been addressed via G.O. 610. The remaining few deviations are mostly spousal cases, wherein husband is from one region and the wife is from another and they intend to work in same location.

Therefore, the incessant allegations of violations is only being done to incite people.

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Andhra and Telangana are two different people and two different cultures.

Telangana etymologically means the land of Telugus. Throughout history the present region called itself and referred to by others as Andhra.

The word "Andhra" has been recently turned into a synonym for abuse in the separatists' lexicon. The word is being deliberately and extensively used as an antonym to "Telangana". Andhra, which connotes all Teluguspeaking people, has been reduced to mean those living in coastal region and Rayalaseema. 'Andhra' has now acquired sinister connotations of exploitative, evil class, thanks to the incessant and malevolent efforts made by the separate Telangana State advocates of all hues.



Interestingly, all through history, the present region of Telangana (etymologically, the word means 'the land of Teluqus') called itself Andhra.

One of the foremost classical Telugu poets, Potana, who hailed from the present day Telangana region rendered Bhagavatam into Telugu and it is titled: "Srimad **Andhra** Mahabhagavatam".

A doyen of modern Telugu literature Sri Suravaram Pratap Reddy's notable work on social history of Telugus is titled "**Andhrula** Sanghika Charitramu" (The social history of **Andhras**) and was published in 1949 by **Andhra** Saraswata Parishad. Golkonda Kavula Sanchika, a renowned publication edited by Sri Suravaram was introduced as 'golkonda andhra kavivarenya kavitaa vilasa pushpamu' (The flowering of the poetry of Golkonda Andhra Poets). During the Nizam rule, the word "Andhra" was widely used as an expression of defiance against tyranny of the rulers, and also as a celebration of identity. The term "Telangana" was not in popular parlance at all prior to 1947. It first came into usage during the peasant armed uprising which came to be known as "Telangana Sayudha Rytaanga Poratam"

One of the tallest political and social leaders of Telangana region, Sri Madapati Hanumantha Rao, was hailed as **Andhra** Pitamaha.

The seeds of cultural renaissance in Telangana under Nizam flowered as long back as the beginning of the twentieth century. Starting with Srikrishnadevaraya **Andhra** Bhasha Nilayam which was established in 1901 in Hyderabad, Rajaraja Narendra **Andhra** Bhasha Nilayam established in 1904 in Warangal and a series of such literary and cultural clubs were founded across the length and breadth of Telangana. Most of them are in existence to this day.

In fact the famous Telangana peasant armed uprising in 1945-48 against Nizam was led by an organization called **Andhra** Mahasabha. Nawab Aliyavar Jung, a senior official in the Nizam Government once said to Sri Madapati Hanumanth Rao: "it came to our government's notice that the purpose of your Andhra agitation is to merge the Andhra districts of Madras and the Andhra districts in Nizam's dominion".

But the Telangana leaders stuck to the word 'Andhra' and refused to substitute it with Telugu or Telangana. While this is the truth, the separatists have been making pathetic attempts at pitting Andhra against Telangana as if they are mutually exclusive or even antagonistic.



Ours (Telangana) is a different and unique culture with a different language.

Telangana culture is only a part of the grand Telugu culture. Even within Telangana, there are several strands of culture, which vary from Adilabad to Nalgonda. Telugus as a whole share similar cultural patterns that define them as one distinct ethnic group. In any case, culture is not homogenous and does not remain static. There has been a lot of assimilation among Telugu people of all regions in the state, especially after the emergence of Andhra Pradesh.

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You don't need a linguist to tell you that Telugu is the language of all the people of the state, and all Telugus living across the world. There are regional and sub-regional dialects, like in any other language. That does not make a dialect or a sub-dialect a language by itself.

Those who argue that Telangana Telugu (even that is not homogenous) is different from coastal Telugu or Rayalaseema Telugu are only saying that dialects are more important than the language itself. Renowned poet Potana wrote in the same language as that of Tikkana. Suravaram Pratap Reddy's language is no different from that of Rallapalli Anantha Krishna Sharma. These instances trash the theories of different or dichotomous cultural identities.

కళ్ళు తెరుచుకోలేవా?

స్థీసామ్ము స్ట్రీపజలు స్ట్రీకు కాకుండా స్ట్రీజ్ మంలైన స్ట్రీకు లేకుండా విరుగు తెరుగులతోటి కరినిపోతూ ఉంది

తెలుగుబిడ్డా! కళ్ళు తెరచుకోలేవా? సీమల్లొ మనగీత చెరిగిపోయింది మనయిల్లె మనపేరు మఱచిపోయింది నెన కెళ్ళడొ మాఖాగ నెరిగిఉంటే ఏమి

తెలుగుబిడ్డా! కళ్ళు తెరుచుకోలేవా? ఉత్కళంబని కొంత ఊడిపోయిందీ సైజాముకని కొంత నడిచిపోయింది

> మదరాసు నఱవలూ మంగళం చేస్తారు

తెలుగుబిడ్డా! కళ్ళు శౌవాచుకోలేవా?

నేడు నైజాము పాలించు నేలయందు బహుళ భాగమ్ము తెలుగుల పాతయిల్లు, ఆ సమ్ముదమ్మునందు ననర్భ మణులు పాతుకొని యుండెరా చూచువారు లేక.

A poem from the times of 'Andhrodyamam' in Nizam Telangana



Coastal Andhra Telugu was imposed on Telangana in all spheres of life.

This line of argument is a classic example of how the separatists dig out sub-strands of culture and show them as dichotomous.

Written expression is standardized. From Potana till the present day, including Suravarm, Vanamamalai Varadacharyulu, Dasarathi, Kaloji, and the self-styled revolutionary poet Varavara Rao all wrote in standardized Telugu language. However, folk songs and folk literature have their own character in every region of the state. Even Namaste Telangana newspaper (a paper floated by the separatists to ostensibly uphold the region's unique language and culture), doesn't write in any different Telugu than what one finds in Eenadu , Andhra Jyothi, or Saakshi.

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It is also instructive to note that Golkonda Patrika or Andhra Bhoomi, the papers published from the Nizam region since before the formation of Andhra Pradesh have always written in the standardised Telugu and have never employed the idiom or dialect claimed to be the representative of the region's unique tongue.

This goes to show that the linguistic dichotomy that the separatists are showing is only a contrived one.

Two and a half districts' language has been imposed on the entire state. Text books use Andhra Telugu. Telangana Telugu has no place.

The argument that the language of two-and-a-half districts (apparently those of Krishna, Guntur and West Godavari), was imposed by coastal people on the rest of Andhra (and Telangana!) is untrue. The standardized Telugu as we write and read today has evolved as a result of efforts by scholars from all the regions of the state starting from Gidugu Ramamoorthy, Gurajada Apparao, Duvvuri Rami Reddy, C. Ramalinga Reddy, Vishwanatha Satyanarayana, Rallapalli Anantha Krishna Sharma, Suravaram Pratap Reddy, Sri Sri, Kaloji, Dasarathi, C. Narayan Reddy and scores more.



The cultivated style of Telugu that came to be recognized and used in all matters of social interaction is very different from the dialects spoken by the village folk in different parts of Andhra Pradesh.

Ironically, Namaste Telangana, the mouthpiece of Telangana Rashtra Samithi employs the same style of language that is used in the rest of the Telugu media.

${f T}$ elangana culture is composite; everybody in Telangana can speak Urdu.

Making sweeping, tendentious and completely misleading statements on cultural aspects of Telugu life is an active part of the separatist propaganda. Take these scandalous conclusions by Prof Tirumali published in *Namaste Telangana* (on june 30th, 2012) the mouth piece of Telangana separatists.

"Telangana culture is not dependent on language. All the people in Telangana speak Urdu along with Telugu. "

The intent of Prof Tirumali and his ilk is more than evident here. Separatists are trying to invent a new culture, which is stand-alone, independent of language. Making a vain effort to equate a statistically incorrect assumption of Urdu being a language spoken as widely as Telugu in



Telangana region, the separatists are trying to belittle Telugu, only because it remains an undeniable binding factor among the people of Andhra Pradesh.

The fact is, only a section of Telangana population can converse in a smattering of Urdu, the usage of which has declined considerably since Independence, as it has everywhere else in the country. Telangana history itself is full of anguish as to how the mother tongue of the village folk was meted out hostile treatment by the ruling establishment, which included Nizam as well as the wealthy landlords serving him. It is now part of history how the library movement, and the agitations for Telugu medium schools formed a major part of the struggle against the Nizam rule.

"Moreover, here (in Telangana) there is secular outlook. Till the Andhra fellow came here, the officer would wear sherwani. That (the dress) belongs not just to Muslims. After transforming the people here into Telugus, they brought differences between us and the Muslims."

The innuendo is that Andhra and Rayalaseema are not secular, though there are more Muslims in these regions than there are in Telangana. Andhra and Rayalaseema pale in comparison to Telangana as far as history of communal tension is concerned. Now, the sherwani bit is amusing, if not repugnant. The Professor is feeling bad that officers are no more wearing sherwani, and this, he attributes to the formation of Andhra Pradesh state. The statement is so manifestly absurd that we don't need to say that sherwani is no more part of the dress code anywhere for reasons other than the Telugu nationalism!

Telangana is more cosmopolitan. Andhra is mono-cultural. Telangana is modern and Andhra is obscurantist.

Separatist intellectuals have been working overtime to construct a new historiography of Telangana. According to one aspect of this imagined history, the region comes across as the only 'cosmopolitan' place in the entire country. This argument again is intended to show Andhra and Rayalaseema in poor light in cultural terms. Besides, it helps to contend that the' cosmopolitan Telangana 'cannot co-exist with mono-cultural Andhra.

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Hyderabad can be described as cosmopolitan, as it was the capital of three regions that spoke Telugu, Marathi, and Kannada. However, it is evident that Telangana excluding the cosmopolitan city of Hyderabad is as mono-cultural as Andhra or Rayalaseema or any other region in the country. Iranians, Turks, Kayasthas, Marwaris, Rajputs, Gujaratis, Africans from Abyssenia, Bengalis, Syrian Christians, Marathis, Tamilians, Jews and Parsis, who live in Hyderabad, are by no means found across the length and breadth of Telangana.

The Muslim nomenclature of districts in Telangana such as Adilabad, Nizamabad, Mahbubnagar, Karimnagar are named after the rulers and their progeny, imposed from above, and connote cultural and political domination by alien rulers. But separatists find these names to be testimony to Telangana's cosmopolitan heritage. Even Andhra and Rayalaseema had several English names such as Masulipattam, Cocanada, Waltair, Chicacole, but their original Telugu names continued to be used by the people of the region in an exercise of true choice.

Since the British rule was less tyrannical than the Nizam rule, the Andhra and Rayalaseema culture witnessed the flowering of Telugu genius during the colonial rule and helped the people acquire a cosmopolitan outlook. The additional benefit of participating in the national

freedom movement only further enhanced their national and global perspective. They were exposed to a host of political theories, democratic movements and literary and cultural sensibilities.

"After the Revolt in 1857, in the Telugu land the northern circars witnessed lot of development. The people of Rayalaseema were lagging behind. The Telangana people were more backward than even Rayalaseema people. The development in northern circars could only be attributed to their (British) government," says Telangana's literary genius Suravaram Pratapa Reddy in his book *Andhrula Sanghika Charitramu (page 355)*.





Under Nizam's rule Telugu people had the freedom to promote their language.

 $\label{thm:continuous} \mbox{Hyderabad State was made up of Telugu speaking region as well as Marathi and Kannada speaking ones.}$

Majority of the people spoke Telugu. Yet, Urdu was imposed as the official language of the State. The state's educational institutions, courts, and administrative offices all used Urdu as the official language. Private schools, language libraries, and even literary associations using languages other than Urdu were required to get special permission, which sometimes took years and, in many cases, was denied. Educational institutions in the Telangana region were very few compared to the Marathi and Kannada regions of the Hyderabad state. There was only one English medium school for all the eight Telangana districts. As a result, the literacy rate



in the state stood at an abysmal 6%. A book titled *Andhra Pitamaha Maadapati Hanumanth Rao Jeevita Charitra* written by D. Ramalingam provides additional insights into this subject.

It is undeniable that the State under Nizam's rule forcibly suppressed local languages and actively worked to stifle the intellectual flowering of the Telangana people.

Our poets were not recognized. No prominent Telangana person's statue was erected on Tank bund. Our poet Dasaradhi was insulted.

This is a patently false allegation. Every poet from every region of our state, as well as Telugu poets and writers from other parts of the country are held in high esteem by Telugu people. There is no question of any writer or poet of merit not being recognized or given due importance.

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Dr. C. Narayana Reddy, hailing from the Telangana region, was the Chairman of the committee that decided the names of the Telugu stalwarts whose statues were to be installed on the Tankbund. It was not caste, creed, religion, region or gender that was part of the selection criteria.

It was these luminaries' contribution to Telugu glory that was the determining factor. Of the 32 statues that once stood on Tankbund, 8 of them were from the Telangana region. They were: Salivahana (the empire's earliest capital was Kotilingala in Karimnagar), Potana, Tani Shah, Ramadasu, Suravaram Pratap Reddy, Maqdoom Mohiuddin, Mehboob Ali Khan, and Rani Rudramadevi. Among the 32 statues, Sir Arthur Cotton and Tyagaraja were not even born in the current regions of Andhra Pradesh.

It is unfortunate that separatists attribute regions to the luminaries of Telugu society whose accomplishments stand above region, religion, caste, and creed. These stalwarts should not be reduced to be identified for their region or caste or religion of birth.

Film industry is dominated by people from Andhra

Cinematography in the country began in British India and was concentrated in the Presidency capitals of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. Almost the entire south Indian movie industry, including Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, and Kannada was concentrated in Madras. Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions being in the Madras Presidency had a head start in movie making. Telangana Telugus living under Nizam rule, lacking access to film production infrastructure, understandably lagged behind the other two regions.



After the formation of Andhra Pradesh state, Telugu movies continued to be made in Madras till late 1970s. With the initiative of the then Chief Minister M. Channa Reddy, state government offered incentives to the film makers to shift their operations to Hyderabad.

The absence of commensurate representation of Telangana people in the movie industry is due to potent historical reasons. The head start that Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions had in film-making is the main reason for it. It is wrong to attribute not only regional colors but also region or caste to an industry that mainly thrives on its artistic talent and popular acceptance.

Despite the historical disadvantages that Telangana had, a number of producers, distributors, directors, actors in Telugu film industry are from Telangana. Dil Raju, alias Venkata Ramana Reddy, who hails from Nizamabad, is a leading producer, financier, distributor and exhibitor of Telugu films. Chandrabose is the most recognized and sought after lyric writer for Telugu films. Chakri is a celebrated music director, who worked with leading directors of the industry. Suddala Ashok Teja carved a niche for himself as a lyric writer. Director Surender Reddy (Atanokkede, Ashok), young hero Nitin, comedians Venu Madhav, Babu Mohan, Shiva Reddy are some of the successful film personalities from Telangana.

But even before Telugu cinema shifted to Hyderabad, a few creative people such as hero Kanta Rao, character artiste Prabhakar Reddy and writers C Narayana Reddy and Dasaradhi were names to reckon with in 1960s and 70s Madras based Telugu cinema industry.

Attributing regional colors to the representation in any creative field is fundamentally flawed. However, ever since the movie industry shifted to Hyderabad, the representation of those from the Telangana region is constantly rising.

Telugu films ridicule Telangana dialect.

To say that Telangana is the target of ridicule in cinema is, to say the least, overstretched. Even the dialects of Godavari, north coastal Andhra, Nellore region and

Rayalaseema have been object of fun in a whole lot of Telugu movies. In fact, the villain character in Telugu films is often shown as someone from the Rayalaseema region.

These tendencies are not unique to our state. For that matter South Indian language and culture is often ridiculed in Bollywood. Most of us are familiar with the way Sardarjis are a butt of jokes. Similarly, Irish slang and culture is a source of humor in several English movies.



These pet prejudices run across caste, class, gender, religion, state, nation, and value systems in popular art forms in all societies. However, this doesn't mean that these regional entities are disrespected.

Even after 60 years of merger, there has been no assimilation of cultures between Andhra and Telangana. Hence division is the only alternative for preservation of Telangana culture.

Culture is not static. It is a fact, that due to a variety of reasons, it undergoes tremendous changes. For example, after the formation of Andhra Pradesh, the media and movie industry shifted base to Hyderabad. No wonder that since 1990s, a profusion of Urdu and local Telugu expressions can be seen in our cinema and in our newspapers and television channels as a result of this association with Dakhni culture.

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As Amartya Sen says in his book, *Identity and Violence, The Illusion of Destiny*, a lucid exposition on cultural understanding, "Culture cannot be seen as an isolated force independent of other influences. The presumption of insularity – often implicitly invoked – can be deeply delusive".

There are a great many variants even within the Telangana sub-culture, as it is elsewhere. One can reasonably argue that there is no semblance of likeness in the language, culture and attitudes between the people of Hyderabad and Adilabad. The Gond in Adilabad lives in a radically different cultural milieu, when compared to a Brahmin from Warangal, whose cultural ethos is a lot similar to his counterpart in Godayari district.

Hence, to cite one of the variants of sub-cultures as the ultimate differentiator for the purpose of identifying one's cultural heritage and roots is not only misleading but mischievous.

Amartya Sen describes the importance of culture and its limitations as follows: "Our cultural identities can be extremely important, but they do not stand starkly alone and aloof from other influences on our understanding and priorities. There are a number of qualifications that have to be made while acknowledging the influence of culture on human lives and actions. First, important as culture is, it is not uniquely significant in determining our lives and identities. Other things, such as class, race, gender, profession, politics, also matter, and can matter powerfully."

Obviously, culture cannot be unitary, homogeneous and all-encompassing. But the separatists have been seeking to foment "the illusion of singular identity" for too long now.

As there are many Hindi speaking states, why not two or more states for Telugu speaking people?

This is a misleading argument often made by the separatists. After India's independence, all the British Presidencies and about 600 princely states had to be politically reorganized into logical geographical entities for administrative convenience.

The States Reorganization Commission (SRC) appointed by the Central Government recommended using language as the basis for redrawing the political map of India. However, there were regions that did not have a predominant language as it was the case for Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam,



Marathi, or Bengali speaking areas. For instance several north Indian states had local dialects such as Bhojpuri, Avadhi, Madhubhani, Bundelkhandi, Kanykubji etc. These became the so called Hindi speaking states. However, it should be noted that Hindi is not a regional language in the same sense as Telugu, Kannada, Bengali or Gujarati. It is an aggregated language and an artificial construct which is not closely associated with a particular culture or region.

Making a demand for more than one Telugu speaking state citing the example of the existence of more than one Hindi speaking state is therefore totally flawed. It is not comparing like with like.

I I	
6 HINDI	422,048,642
1 Awadhi	2,529,308
2 Bagheli/Baghel Khan	2,865,011
3 Bagri Rajasthani	1,434,123
4 Banjari	1,259,821
5 Bhadrawahi	66,918
6 Bharmauri/ Gaddi	66,246
7 Bhojpuri	33,099,497
8 Brajbhasha	574,245
9 Bundeli/ Bundelkhan	3,072,147
10 Chambeali	126,589
11 Chhattisgarhi	13,260,186
12 Churahi	61,199

13 Dhundhari	1,871,130
14 Garhwali	2,267,314
15 Gojri	762,332
16 Harauti	2,462,867
17 Haryanvi	7,997,192
18 Hindi	257,919,635
19 Jaunsari	114,733
20 Kangri	1,122,843
21 Khairari	11,937
22 Khari Boli	47,730
23 Khortha/ Khotta	4,725,927
24 Kulvi	170,770
25 Kumauni	2,003,783

26 Kurmali Thar	425,920
27 Labani	22,162
28 Lamani/ Lambadi	2,707,562
29 Laria	67,697
30 Lodhi	139,321
31 Magadhi/ Magahi	13,978,565
32 Malvi	5,565,167
33 Mandeali	611,930
34 Marwari	7,936,183
35 Mewari	5,091,697
36 Mewati	645,291
37 Nagpuria	1,242,586
38 Nimadi	2,148,146
39 Pahari	2,832,825
40 Panch Pargania	193,769
41 Pangwali	16,285
42 Pawari/ Powari	425,745
43 Rajasthani	18,355,613
44 Sadan/ Sadri	2,044,776
45 Sirmauri	31,144
46 Sondwari	59,221
47 Sugali	160,736
48 Surgujia	1,458,533
49 Surjapuri	1,217,019
Others	14,777,266

Various Dialects of Hindi and number of speakers - Census 2001 information



Our festivals are different.

Hindu faith is a polytheistic faith. In addition to vedic and epic gods, Hindus worship innumerable local deities, often called grama devathas - village gods. Every region, in fact every village has its own variety of pantheons. For instance, Sammakka-Saralamma, Muthyalamma, Sirimaanu, Bathukamma have a local character.

It would be absurd if a Northern Andhra person says since Sirimaanu is not celebrated in Chittoor it is evidence of irreconcilable cultural differences. Same can be said Sammakka-Saralamma festivities in Medaram of Warangal district, Muthyalamma in West Godavari or Thimmamma Marrimanu in Anantapur district.



Despite this cultural diversity, there are also many festivals that are common to all the Hindus in the state as well as the country. For instance Ugadi and Sankranthi are festivals that are celebrated by all the Telugus across regions. Deepavali and Dasara are celebrated by the Hindus across the state and the country.

Unfortunately, separatists have used the rich cultural diversity of Andhra Pradesh for their narrow political goals. A perfectly local festival like Bathukamma was used as a tool to drive a wedge between the regions and people. However, it is an undeniable fact that Bathukamma is just like scores of other festivals that are unique to a region and a village. These phenomena can be observed across the entire Indian subcontinent.

To claim that these differences as evidence of cultural dichotomies between regions, shows a lack of basic understanding of the diverse Indian social and cultural fabric.

ECONOMICS

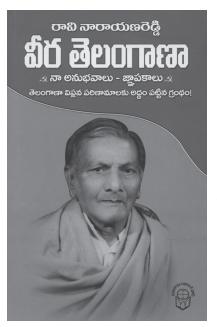
Prior to 1956, during Nizam's rule, Telangana was more prosperous than Andhra area.

This is factually incorrect. Sri Ravi Narayan Reddy in his book *Veera Telangana* wrote that taxation in the Hyderabad state ranged from 25% to 300%, enormously more than in other areas of the country. Peasants were required to pay a fixed tax called a levy, which they had to pay regardless of output derived from the farmland. If there was a dispute between two people, before it could be settled, they had to pay a "dispute tax." If a family member died, one could not cremate that person unless an "ash tax" was paid. Not to mention a war tax to finance the



British in World War II. There was an atrocious form of exploitation of Telangana citizens through *vetti*, a system of forced labor. Feudal landlords harassed and looted peasants that eventually resulted in an armed uprising. For example, feudal lord Jannareddi Pratap Reddi of Suryapeta owned one and a half lakh acres of land, whereas Kalluru Deshmukh of Madhira in Khammam owned one lakh acres.

Though the lives of Telugu people living under British rule weren't any better, life under Nizam's rule was indeed miserable.





నిజాం నిరంకుశవాలన నుంచి, భూన్విముల అమానుష పీడన నుంచి విముక్తికోసం, భూమికోసం, భుక్తికోసం, తెలుగుజాతి సమైక్షతకోసం, గుండె నెక్తురులు తర్ణణ చేసిన నాలుగువేల

తెలంగాణా వీరులకు

Ravi Narayan Reddy dedicated his 'Veera Telangana' to 4000 martyrs of Telangana peasant struggle for laying down their lives for Telugu people's unity



Telangana region's government revenues were more while the expenditure was less and surplus funds were spent in the Andhra area after the formation of Andhra Pradesh state.

This was a patently false allegation used to whip up people's sentiments during the 1969 Telangana agitation and continually brought up by separatists to this day.

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Government of Andhra Pradesh had appointed an independent commission headed by Justice Bhargava to examine the issue of surplus funds issue

raised by the separatists. The Commission in its report wrote: "The figures contained in the Annexures G-1 to G-12 show that in almost all the years during this period, the expenditure on development in Telangana has been in excess of its proportionate share and that, in fact, a large portion of the revenue surplus arising in Telangana has been utilised in accordance with the 'Gentlemen's Agreement'. The amounts that have remained unspent have not been very large. In the last two years 1966-67 and 1967-68 the development expenditure in Telangana was so much higher than its due proportion that a sum exceeding Rs. 11 crores out of the previously unspent surplus was utilised."

Government Order (GO)-610 was violated. Girglani Commission found large scale violations in job reservations.

In order to end the separate Andhra agitation of 1970s, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi introduced a 6-point formula, according to which the districts in the state of Andhra Pradesh were grouped into 6 zones. 60%-80% of the jobs, depending on the class, were reserved to locals of these zones. When allegations surfaced that these zonal rules were violated, the then Telugu Desam Party government in year 1985 issued GO - 610 ordering repatriation of employees who were working outside their home zones.

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It is important to note that if an employee whose home district is Warangal (which falls in Zone-VI) is working in Nalgonda (which falls in Zone-VI), despite both districts being part of Telangana, is considered a violation. Therefore, GO-610 violation doesn't necessarily mean Coastal and Rayalaseema people are working in Telangana nor Telangana people working in Coastal and Rayalaseema.

The violation of zonal regulations have happened in all the three regions. In other words, not only employees from Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema zones have come and worked in Telangana zones, but also employees of Telangana went and worked in the Coastal and Rayalaseema zones.

Zone	Districts	Region
I	Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, and Visakhapatnam	Coastal Andhra
II	East Godavari, West Godavari, and Krishna	Coastal Andhra
III	Guntur, Prakasham and Nellore	Coastal Andhra
IV	Chittoor, Cuddapah, Anantapur, and Kurnool	Rayalaseema
V	Adilabad, Karimnagar, Warangal, and Khammam	Telangana
VI	Hyderabad, Ranga Reddy, Nizamabad, Mahbubnagar, Medak, and Nalgonda	Telangana

Even after GO-610 was issued, the allegations of widespread violations and lakhs of jobs belonging to the Telangana region being looted continued to persist. To get to the bottom of these allegations, the State Government appointed the Girglani Commission. Mr. Girglani observed in section 18.1.9 of his report: "The statistical part of non-locals has been examined by the Commission and it will be seen that the percentage of non-locals in the zones V and VI is negligible and far below the sealing of 20 per cent. Therefore, on the statistical aspect there is no question of any action on implementation of the G.O."

Alas, lakhs of jobs being looted turned out to be not true once again. Yet separatists continue to use this issue to muddle the minds of unemployed youth of the Telangana region to further their political goals.



Small states are better suited for good governance.

Small state for better governance is a fallacy being pushed by the protagonists of separate state for a long time. If Telangana state were formed, it would be the 12th largest state in the country by population. If the demand is based on geographical area, it would still be the 12th largest state in India.

Even the political parties championing division of the state speak in different voices. For instance, BJP supports division on the basis of small states principle. Whereas, TRS leaders harp that the Telangana state would be larger than the state of West Bengal.

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With the technological advances that have happened in the 21st century, distance or population is no longer a barrier for effective administration of a state. Hence, size is hardly a criterion to divide the state. Here is what the Justice Srikrishna Committee has said about smaller states demand: "It is not the size of the State that matters but the quality of governance ... that is important".

Separate Telangana will be an economically viable state.

Economic viability is an old and outdated theory. Extending the same logic, Greater Hyderabad would be an even more viable state than the proposed Telangana State. However, that is simply not the basis for creating the new state. There are many countries in the world that are much bigger yet not economically viable and vice-versa.

But the best refutation of the small states argument was articulated by Srivatsa Krishna, a serving IAS officer. Writing in the Times of India of July 17th 2011, he observed:



"...what does the data say about smaller states? Are they truly superior? Let's take some key metrics, which are telling and smash all doctrines, both for and against smaller states, to smithereens:

Population below poverty line: 32% (Chhattisgarh) vs 14% (MP); 25% (Uttarakhand) vs 14.40% (UP); Ration shops/ lakh of population: 46 (Bihar) vs 47 (Jharkhand); 43 (Chhattisgarh) vs 28 (MP);

Per capita generation of electricity (kwh): 861 (Chhattisgarh) vs 282 (MP);

Percentage of rural electrification: 95% (Chhattisgarh) vs 96% (MP); 31% (Jharkhand) vs 61% (Bihar);

Gross irrigated/gross cropped area: 61% (Bihar) vs 9.7% (Jharkhand); 27% (Chhattisgarh) vs 32% (MP); 48% (Uttarakhand) vs 76% (UP);

Per capita revenue receipts of the state: Rs 5854 (Jharkhand) vs Rs 4353 (Bihar); Rs 7791 (Chhattisgarh) vs Rs 5613 (MP);

Percentage of outstanding liabilities/ state GDP: 30% (Jharkhand) vs 46% (Bihar); 20% (Chhattisgarh) vs 39% (MP); 40% (Uttarakhand) vs 50% (UP)

Share of development expenditure/ total expenditure: 65% (Jharkhand) vs 68% (Bihar); 75% (Chhattisgarh) vs 62% (MP); 62% (Uttarakhand) vs 60% (UP).

Not one of these indicators is so overwhelmingly tilted in favor of the small state so as to justify the destruction of public assets, and colossal losses to establishments and common people, running into crores every single day. The above data establishes that carving out a Telangana or a Gorkhaland will not automatically mean lesser transmission and distribution losses, and therefore, better electricity availability. A smaller state would not automatically improve attendance of school teachers and doctors in the villages. Nor would it automatically rein in the burgeoning fiscal deficit of state governments."

The data therefore clearly establishes that size of a state hardly matters when it comes to developmental and economic indices.



Injustice was done to Telangana in irrigation sector. No new irrigation projects were built in Telangana during the last five decades and Andhra rulers willfully neglected tank irrigation.

Since the formation of the state, 15 lakh hectares of additional land was brought under irrigation in Telangana. Whereas in Coastal Andhra it was 10 lakh hectares and in Rayalaseema only 2 lakh hectares additional area was brought under irrigation. In percentage terms, the land under irrigation rose by 191% in Telangana, while Coastal Andhra registered 57% growth and Rayalaseema only 44%.

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It is worth noting that only two major irrigations projects- Nagarjuna Sagar and Sriram Sagar - were constructed in the state since 1956. While Sriramsagar caters entirely to the Telangana region, 3/4th of the left canal water from the Nagarjuna Sagar project was allocated to the Telangana districts.

Gross Irrigated Area *

Telangana registered highest percentage growth in gross irrigated area 15 Lakh hectates added, compared to Coastal Andhra's 10 Lakh Hectares. 200 180 160 140 Region 1956 2006-07 Growth 120 Coastal 1897479 2971669 1074190 100 80 Rayala 473623 684333 44% 210710 60 40 Telangana 828814 2413568 1584754 20 0 Coastal Andhra Rayalaseema Telangana 191 * Area in Hectares 57 41 * Source: Statistical Abstract of AP - 1957, 2008 Growth

Telangana has the largest Krishna and Godavari basin catchment area, but doesn't get proportionate river waters.

River waters across the world are not allocated based on catchment areas. Priority is given to the existing users of river water. This was the conclusion reached by the Bachawat Tribunal.

Two barrages built on Krishna and Godavari catering to the Coastal region were built in 1850's by Sir Arthur Cotton. As per international norms, these projects get a priority over other demands for river waters. Despite these ground realities, the water allocated to Telangana is not

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meager. 366 TMC of Krishna river water is allocated to Coastal Andhra, while Rayalaseema gets 122 TMC, and Telangana 260 TMC.

Krishna river originates in Maharashtra state, passes through Karnataka, and goes through Andhra Pradesh before flowing into Bay of Bengal. A large portion of the river's catchment area is in the other two states. If the upstream states of Maharashtra and Karnataka use the same principle of catchment area that the separatists espouse, Andhra Pradesh will be left with a fraction of Krishna River water.

The Krishna river water allocated to Telangana by Bachawat committee was taken away by Andhra rulers to coastal areas.

This is a false allegation often made by the separatists. However, there is no truth whatsoever in it. According to the Bachawat tribunal ruling on Krishna river, Coastal Andhra gets 366 TMC, while Rayalaseema gets 122.7 TMC, and Telangana was allotted 260.43 TMC.

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The water is released as per the rulings in the Bachawat tribunal with the consent of the local leadership.

The separatists claim that Nagarjuna Sagar project which was built to serve both Coastal Andhra and Telangana benefits 75% to Coastal and a mere 25% to Telangana. However, an enquiry made under the RTI act on the canal outflows indicate that between the years 1997-2007, a total of 1,683 TMC has been released from the right canal which serves the Coastal Andhra region and 1,526.17 TMC has been released from the left canal which almost fully caters to the Telangana region.

Having said that, river water allocations made as per Bachawat tribunal must be strictly adhered to, so that no misgivings arise between regions. Any deviations, if at all, to the tribunal's allocation must not be at the discretion of the state government, as it happened with Pothireddypadu Head Regulator. Laws should be enacted to make legislative consent mandatory for any re-allocation of river waters to different regions or projects.

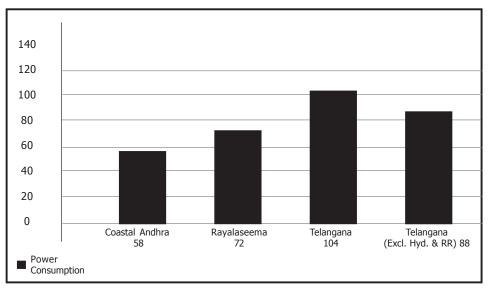
Because Telangana farmers depend on bore wells and motor pumps they have to spend more money on irrigation than the farmers in coastal Andhra.

It is true that the Telangana region uses more power than the other two regions of the state. For every one lakh population, Coastal Andhra utilizes 58 million units of electricity, Rayalaseema 72, Telangana 104, and Telangana excluding Hyderabad and Rangareddy districts utilizes 88 million units.

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Telangana's agriculture sector suffers from geographic limitations as it is situated largely on the Deccan plateau. However, it is important to note that power is heavily subsidized in our state and farmers receive free power. Clearly the farmers of Telangana have more to gain from free power than those in the other regions. Telangana's natural geographic limitation is offset by free power that the farmers enjoy.

Power Consumption in Million Units per One Lakh People



Source: Statistical Abstract of Andhra Pradesh, 2010



Andhra rulers failed to solve the decades old fluorosis problem in Nalgonda

This is one of the favourite arguments put up by the separatists repeatedly as a justification for division of the state.

Fluorosis problem is not unique to Nalgonda. It is equally rampant in Coastal Andhra's Nellore and Prakasam districts and Rayalaseema's Anantapur district. In addition to fluorosis there are hundred other public grievances, which have not been attended to by the successive governments that ruled the state. These are issues of governance or lack of it.



Telangana's coal and minerals are being looted by Andhras. For instance coal from Singareni is taken to the power plants operating in the Andhra region.

Andhra Pradesh is uniquely endowed with many natural advantages. Rayalaseema region is rich in many kinds of minerals, whereas Coastal Andhra has surplus agricultural production, fisheries, and natural gas. Telangana, on the other hand, made big improvements in agriculture and education, has mines in the region. Resources in one region are complementary to the other regions aiding overall economic growth of the entire state.



This allegation is completely baseless. Coal from Singareni and other mines can be supplied not only to power plants within Telangana, but also to power plants in the rest of the state and the country. Similarly, electricity produced in Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema is wheeled to Telangana. The fact that Telangana consumes more power than the rest of the state, shows that it is drawing power generated elsewhere in the state and the country.

This kind of an allegation undermines the principle of interdependence of different states and regions in the country. It is tantamount to saying that Krishna Godavari basin that is in Coastal Andhra be stopped from sending natural gas to Telangana. Thermal power plants in Andhra Pradesh not only use Singareni coal but also use coal being imported from Bihar and Australia.

The allegation of looting and exploitation is nothing but political rhetoric to incite people of one region against the other.



No new power projects in Telangana despite having coal mines. Thermal power generation in the region is minimal while coal is taken to other regions.

Both in terms of consumption and production, Telangana is on a par with Coastal Andhra and much better placed when compared to Rayalaseema.

As of 30th June 2010, power generation's installed capacity by region is as follows- Coastal Andhra: 5242 MW, Rayalaseema: 1840 MW, and Telangana: 4368 MW. Telangana with 40% of the State's population is not too far behind the other regions when it comes to installed capacity.



Thermal power generation installed capacity in Telangana is 1783 MW is comparable to Coastal Andhra's 1760 MW. Rayalaseema's installed capacity is 840 MW.

APGENCO is currently adding new thermal plants including Kakatiya Stage II in Warangal, Karimnagar Project and Sattupalli TPS that are under construction.

Also, Telangana region consumes higher electricity than the other two regions of the state. While Telangana consumes 30,949 million units (MU), Rayalaseema consumes 9679 MU, and Coastal Andhra 18,430 MU.

It is also important to note that the Telangana region is the largest beneficiary of the free power scheme implemented in the state. Telangana region draws 10,14MU free of cost, when compared to Coastal Andhra's 3788 MU and Rayalaseema's 4349 MU.

This goes to show that the separatists' allegation regarding the power sector is totally baseless and is leveled only to incite people of one region against the other.

Telangana urban lands, especially in Hyderabad, are doled out to Andhra entrepreneurs

Over the last decade, state governments across India have enticed Pharmaceutical and Information Technology industries by offering incentives such as subsidized land and low taxes. Andhra Pradesh government pursued a similar approach for employment generation and economic growth.

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In fact distribution of lands to large corporations is not unique to Hyderabad. It has happened extensively in Vizag also. For that matter, similar land allocations were made in other parts of the country including Bangalore, Chennai, Noida, Pune, and Gurgaon.

Attributing regional motives to these land allotments is nothing but an attempt to spread regional hatred. In fact, a majority of these beneficiaries were companies belonging to other states in the country and many in fact to other countries, including Wipro, Infosys, TCS, IBM, and Microsoft.

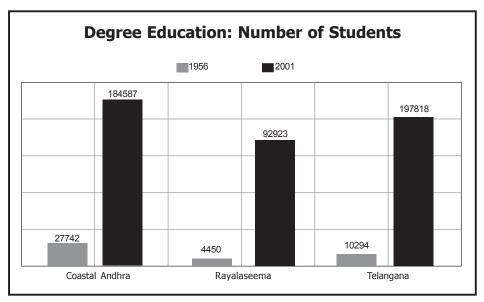
Traditionally entrepreneurs from all over the country have come to Hyderabad to set up businesses. During Nizam's rule, in Hyderabad there were many businesses owned by Marwaris, Marathis, Gujaratis, Rajputs, Tamils and others. A few examples are, Vazir Sultan Tobacco, Zinda Tilismat, Nizam Sugars, Praga tools, DBR mills, Mozamjahi Mills, Siripur Paper Mills.

Education was neglected in Telangana since the formation of Andhra Pradesh state.

Nothing can be far from truth. Telangana region has made phenomenal progress in education since the Andhra Pradesh state came into existence. Prior to 1956, under Nizam's atrocious rule, the system of education in Telangana was a shambles. For instance, in 1956, 12% of the Coastal Andhra population was in the school system, whereas in Telangana it was mere 6%. By 2010, the scene has changed dramatically. Today, while Coastal Andhra has 15% of its population in the school system, in Telangana the number stands at 21%. The Telangana region has registered a stunning 242% growth in school education since the State of Andhra Pradesh came into existence.

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Literacy rates in the Telangana region have also witnessed a spectacular 457% growth since the State formation.



Source: Statistical Abstract of Andhra Pradesh, 2008



Most of the corporate educational institutions in Telangana are owned by Andhras.

It is a fact, but not to the detriment of Telangana student community. There are historical reasons why entrepreneurs from the coastal areas have been ahead in establishing educational institutions since the British times. Several schools and colleges across Andhra and Rayalaseema were founded through the largesse of the philanthropists. Christian missionaries too contributed significantly to the development of educational institutions in Andhra.



It is this ecosystem that helped spawn private enterprise in education sector, because the demand for good education witnessed rapid growth in Andhra region. They grew in size and numbers through the 1980s and utilizing their expertise they made a pan-AP expansion. Remember, many of these institutions have expanded beyond the borders of the state and have spread their wings to other South Indian and North Indian states too.

The observation about the ownership of corporate educational institutions may be valid, but the point is it has nothing to do with regionalism. The debate should dwell into the pros and cons of the private corporate educational institutions and not their ownership.

The deliberate confusion created between these two issues is only intended to sow the seeds of division between regions.

People from Andhra area settled in Telangana and they became wealthy by exploiting innocent people here.

If history is any guide, those who migrate by free will are wealth creators and not exploiters. The exploiters are those that control means of production via force - for example, the British occupation of India. Throughout history, there is ample evidence to show that voluntary migration creates wealth, creates local jobs. Migrants bring their skills, tools and capital with them to the area they are migrating to. Millions of Indians emigrating to Europe, North America and Middle East create wealth in local economies and are not regarded as exploiters.



Farmers from coastal areas have not only come to Telangana but also went to Karnataka, Orissa, Maharashtra, and Madhya Pradesh. These farmers have brought new areas under cultivation and created wealth and employment in those areas. It is totally wrong to look at wealth creation as exploitation. The separatists are labouring under the outdated perspective that wealth creation is only possible through exploitation.

Andhra people are looting Hyderabad. They have exploited the resources of this city.

Strangely, separatists look at migration into Hyderabad and the resulting economic expansion as detrimental to the region. This is outdated economic perspective. Successive governments in the state have developed the capital city of Hyderabad, at the expense of rest of the state. While the Telangana districts surrounding Hyderabad have benefited immensely from the rapid growth of the city, the rest of the Telangana districts, coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema have suffered neglect.



As the capital city of Andhra Pradesh state, Hyderabad has become the epicenter for many government organizations. In the research and development field, CCMB, IICT, NIN, NRSA, NMDC and other science and technology institutions were established in Hyderabad. Similarly, defense establishments such as DRDO, DRDL, DMRL, BDL, Midhani, Ordnance Factory, Nuclear Fuel Complex are located in and around Hyderabad. Not to mention public sector undertakings such as BHEL, IDPL, Allwyn, HMT. Given this economic head start, Hyderabad eventually became a pharma hub and IT hub for the state and the country.

The flow of wealth since the formation of the state has been into Hyderabad rather than out of Hyderabad into any other region of the state. As a result of these economic opportunities people came to Hyderabad from Telangana, Coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema and practically from every state of the country. So, accusing Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema people as "looters" of Hyderabad city is nothing but by now familiar hate mongering mindset of the separatists.

Even though Hyderabad city generates 50% of the state revenue, it is not used for the development of Telangana.

While Hyderabad is geographically located in the Telangana region, it has been the capital of Andhra Pradesh for nearly six decades. As the capital of the state, it houses all important government, business, industry and private and public sector offices and in most cases their headquarters.

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Even though the revenue of a firm is not generated in Hyderabad, if it is headquartered in the city, it will pay taxes in the city. Most of the registered offices of various industrial and business houses with operations across the state are located in Hyderabad.

Therefore, to claim Hyderabad revenues as Telangana revenues is disingenuous. The revenues of Hyderabad are not owned by any one region. They are the collective property of all the people of the state. Hence, it is important that revenues of Hyderabad are fairly distributed across the state and regions in accordance with population.

Separatists' claim of having exclusive ownership over revenues generated in Hyderabad is untenable. It would be as illogical as people of Delhi claiming that the central tax revenues generated in Delhi belong exclusively to them.

Regionwise Financial Sitution - Revenue Collection

Region	1956	% Contribution	2005-06	%Contribution
Coastal Andhra	862	41%	228139	20%
Rayalaseema	217	10%	50387	4%
Telangana	1010	48%	849376	75%
TOTAL	2088	100%	1127903	100%
Telangana(Excl. Hyd. & RR)	752	36%	148075	13%

Revenue Collection in Rupees Lakhs

Source: Statistical Abstract of AP, 1957, 2008. For 2005-06, excise, revenue contribution is

Separatists claim that Telangana generates 75% of land, excise and sales revenue. However, when Hyderabad & Rangareddy are excluded, this contribution drops to 13%



Hyderabad city was well developed even before merger and later on nothing was done to it. It was the fifth largest city earlier and remains the same now also.

Prior to India's independence, three British presidency capitals of Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta as well as capitals of princely states such as Mysore, Gwalior, Hyderabad, and Baroda were developed cities.

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Hyderabad state was made up of not only today's Telangana, but also Marathi and Kannada regions which together made a little less than 50% of the population. When Marathis of Hyderabad State have

decided to join Maharashtra and similarly Kannadigas have decided to be part of the Karnataka state, it was not possible to sustain capital city Hyderabad with half the size of the original state. Hyderabad Congress Committee when discussing the prospect of Visalandhra in 1955 had expressed the fear that Hyderabad city's prominence cannot be sustained in a much smaller State. Hence they proposed Hyderabad be the capital of new state comprising the Telugu speaking parts of Hyderabad state and the newly formed Andhra state.

In the fast changing modern world, in order to stay where you are, you need to run.

Hyderabad City after the formation of the state of Andhra Pradesh continued to thrive as it had before. Efforts of the people coming from not only all parts of the state, but also coming from all parts of the country have contributed immensely to the growth of the city. Hyderabad also benefited from being the capital of one of the largest states in India. Central government has bestowed a lot of attention on Hyderabad. Most of the central government projects have been located in Hyderabad to the immense benefit to the people of Telangana. For example: organizations such as CCMB, IICT, NIN, NRSA, NMDC, DRDO, DMRL, DLRL, Midhani, Ordnance factory, Nuclear Fuel Complex, BHEL, HAL, HMT, ISB, IIT, IDPL, ICRISAT, Shamashabad International Airport, IIIT, Central University, HiTech City have all been a boon to the development of Hyderabad city and the surrounding districts of Telangana region.

Capitals of other princely states such as Mysore, Gwalior, Baroda, and Junagadh have all lost their prominence after independence. Hyderabad retained its prominence and is in a position to compete with other metropolitan cities in the country because it is the capital of one of the biggest states in the county. Had it not become the capital of Andhra Pradesh, one wonders if it could become as prominent and prosperous as it is today, keeping in mind the fortunes of cities like Mysore, Junagadh and Gwalior in mind.

Telangana remained economically backward because of Andhra rulers.

This allegation has been conclusively proven to be false. Various economic indices such as per capita income, electricity consumption, kilometers of roads, primary healthcare centers, irrigation, factory employment, literacy, school education etc., show that Telangana has registered impressive growth since the formation of Andhra Pradesh. In some ways the growth in Telangana is much higher than Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema. Even a cursory examination of district wise data available

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at the Directorate of Economics and Statistics and Planning Commission of India will amply demonstrate that the growth and development of Telangana is in no way less than the rest of the state.

Sri Krishna Committee has reinforced this finding. In its report that was submitted to the Central Government, it said: "...when a study of rate of change, growth rate and shares in the state economy is evaluated, nothing unusual emerges....the rate of growth of most of the parameters of development has shown robust growth in Telangana. Coastal Andhra has natural advantages and a long history of development in agriculture, but it is the Telangana region which has shown commendable growth in agriculture during the past three-four decades. Thus, on the whole, it would appear that the deprived region is Rayalaseema not Telangana."

In the light of this hard and incontrovertible data the main pillar of the separatist argument completely collapses.

Region - wise Financial Situation Per Capita GDP

Region	1993-94	2003-04	%Growth
Coastal Andhra	1993-94	26586	200%
Rayalaseema	8753	20204	131%
Telangana	8498	25584	201%
Telangana (Excl. Hyd. & RR)	7888	22725	188%

Per Capita GDP IN Rupees

Source: Analyzed data from State Domestic Product (1993-94 to 2003 - 04) & Distict Domestic Product (2002-03) of AP. Used 91 population for 93-94 capital GDP calculation & 2001 population for 2003004 per capital GDP Culculation.

In Per Capita GDP, a good indicator of economic well-being Telangana's growth was the fastest after the merger, compared to other regions.



There were many industries in Telangana before 1956 and were closed down by Andhra rulers.

Closing down of industries is a harsh economic reality. Industries that are unproductive, non-profitable, and fail to innovate are bound to close down. Yes it is true that some industries such as Nizam Sugar Factory, Azam Zahi mills, Praga tools that existed before 1956 are no longer in business. However, prestigious industries that came into existence after 1956, such as Allwyn, IDPL, A.P. Scooters have also closed down.



It is anything but natural that in a growing and evolving economy while some industries become obsolete, newer and better industries come up in their place. We cannot overlook the phenomenal growth of manufacturing and IT industry in the region including world renowned companies like Reddy Labs, Aurobindo Pharma, ITC Badrachalam, Mahindra Satyam, Infosys, Wipro, Microsoft that have significant operations in the state capital.

Telangana districts lack industrial development. There are more industries in Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema than in the Telangana region.

This again is a baseless allegation. Even if the lack of industrial development allegation were taken to be true for the argument sake, it cannot be attributed to discrimination. For instance Gujarat and Punjab have more industries than Andhra Pradesh. Does it mean A.P. was discriminated against by the central government? Similarly, Odisha's industrial sector is less developed than that of A.P.'s. There are many reasons why some states, some regions, and some districts advance in certain economic sectors - it may have to do with geography, location, mineral resources, government policies, local population's enterprising culture etc.



It is an undeniable fact that the Telangana region's industrial development since the formation of the state is faster than that of Coastal Andhra or Rayalaseema. The number of factory workers and employees by region offers ample evidence to refute this allegation. According to the Statistical Abstract of Andhra Pradesh - 2010, in Coastal Andhra there are 5,96,071 factory workers, and in Rayalaseema 1,37,461. Whereas in Telangana there are 13,95,240 employees. Even if we don't count factory employees from Hyderabad and Rangareddy districts, there are 10,34,936 factory employees and workers in the Telangana region.

The numbers speak for themselves and show that this is yet another attempt to fabricate facts by the separatists to advance their divisive agenda.

Industries - Factory Employment & Emoluments

Region	2001 Population	Total(Workers + Employees)	Employment/ 10000 People	Employments in Lakhs	Employments in Rupees/ Persons
Coastal Andhra	31,705,092	527,8585	166	175,782	554
Rayalaseema	13,517,644	103,264	76	25,680	190
Telangana	30,987,271	1,086,366	351	256,069	826
Telangana (Excl. Hyd. & RR)	23,582,454	839,570	356	146,668	622

Source: Statistical Abstract of AP, 2008



Most of the industries in Hyderabad are owned by Andhra people.

 $This again is an absurd all egation. If entrepreneurs from Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema \ region \ were$

given licenses or permissions to set up industries while denying such opportunities to entrepreneurs belonging to Telangana region, this allegation merits some attention. However, there is not even a shred of evidence to show that to be the case. In fact, in the state of Andhra Pradesh, in every region, people belonging to different parts of the country have set up enterprises; not to speak of businesses set up by multinational corporations. For example, Foods, Fats, and Fertilizers (FFF) owned by Goenkas is located near Tadepalligudem in West Godavari, ITC in Badrachalam is located in Khammam district, Horlicks factory located in East Godavari, R.A.K. Ceramics in Samarlakota in East Godavari, A.P. Rayons in Warangal, family of G. Venkataswamy of Telangana owns the



prestigious Visakha asbestos industry in Visakhapatnam, Kapil Chitfunds owned by Vaman Rao belonging to Telangana has branches in almost all the important towns across Andhra Pradesh.

Ownership of an industry or enterprise cannot be attributed exclusively to a particular region. As shown above, industries were established in all the regions of the state not only by people belonging to different regions of the state but also from different parts of the country.

Once Telangana State is formed, each family will be given 3 acres of land

This again is an inducement and false promise made in order to bolster the agitation. There is not that much cultivable land available in Telangana to meet this promise. There are many practical issues in the implementation of land redistribution in a society like ours. Even a well thought out and well drafted land reform measures are not implemented fully till today. This fact must be well known to the separatist leadership that has decades of political experience under their belt. Yet, they try to woo the people with such insincere and false promises.

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Every unemployed in Telangana will be given a job if Telangana is formed

This is yet another false promise being made by the leaders of the separatist movement. This is being done to engender hate against Andhras and to make the Telangana youth believe that they are unemployed due to Andhras usurping their jobs. They are being told that in a divided state, jobs held by Andhras will now be given to them.

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However, the reality is quite different. Unemployment is there in all three regions of the state as much as it is in different parts of the country. Unemployment is caused by economic and other structural reasons.

In fact, a strong case can be made that division of the state will result in a contrary outcome. That is, reduction of jobs, but not creation of new jobs. In a divided state, the government would be less than half its original size. As a result, government employment in the capital city will drop significantly. This will affect the secondary and tertiary sectors and result in further shrinkage of employment opportunities. In addition, some of the private businesses may also move their operations to Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema region. This will be an outcome of the hate campaign conducted by the separatists for over a decade. This will only exacerbate the unemployment problem.

The separatist leaders' tall claims of lakhs of new jobs are not only unrealistic, but their current approach will result in even more unemployment.

Muslims will be provided 12% reservations if a separate Telangana state is formed.

This is a brazen attempt to woo the muslim community that has been indifferent to the demand for a separate state ever since the agitation started. In order to induce the muslims to join the agitation the leaders of the separatist movement are resorting to these unrealistic promises. Reservations based on religion is a constitutionally contentious issue. Moreover, it is very well known that an attempt to provide a much smaller 4.5% muslim reservation by the Government of Andhra Pradesh is mired in legal controversy. Despite knowing these facts, offering 12% reservations to muslims, shows the lengths to which the separatists can go to gain support from different sections of the population.



12% reservation will be given to Lambadas and other Scheduled Tribes

At present in Andhra Pradesh, Scheduled Tribes enjoy 6% reservation based on their population in the state. Separatists try to entice the Scheduled Tribes that in a separate

Telangana state STs would constitute 12% and would enjoy 12% reservations. In other words, in a separate Telangana state STs would double the quota of their reservations.

However, it is important to note that if Telangana has more STs than the other regions, they would already be availing more than 6% of the reservations by the strength of their higher population in Telangana. We can also extend the same logic to the Manya Seema (Tribal Land) state being demanded by the tribals. Tribals of hilly and agency area are



demanding a state be carved out of regions where tribals are in a majority. If this demand is conceded, tribals can have more as much as 50% reservation based on the proportion of their population in that state.

If separatists are planning to give more reservations to STs, they should be asked to spell out, whose percentage are they going to prune, to conform to the 51% norm set by the Supreme Court of India. The separatists should make it clear whether they will reduce BC reservations or the SC reservations.

The separatist leaders are trying to mislead the Scheduled Tribes by promising more reservations. At face value, this seems like an attractive proposition. However, upon closer examination we find that the tribals in Telangana by virtue of being in large numbers already access substantial opportunities from the existing 6% quota and it is doubtful if the promised 12% would in reality entitle them to anything more.

${f I}$ n a divided state, Telangana region will develop faster than before.

This is a myth being propagated by the separatists. Today, Telangana is the fastest growing region when compared to Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema. Since 1956, Telangana region registered significant growth across all important economic sectors. The State capital Hyderabad being in the heart of Telangana is an economic powerhouse and therefore turned out to be a boon to the adjoining districts of Medak, Mahbubnagar, Rangareddy, and Nalgonda. Investments from all three regions of the State and other parts of the country have flowed into the capital city Hyderabad.

Division of the state would adversely impact this economic climate and alter the growth trajectory to the disadvantage of the region. A smaller government and potential loss of business to Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema would result in economic slowdown. This being the likely scenario, the separatists are painting a rosy economic picture when the reality is starkly different.

Andhras have a disproportionate representation in IAS/IPS/IFS and other UPSC services.

UPSC is an all India service examination. Candidates are selected by their merit at the national level and no consideration is given to a region, sub-region, or a State. It is absurd to bring the regional hate propaganda to an examination that is conducted at an All India level.



We will provide irrigation to 1 crore acres.

This is an admirable goal. However, this is unrelated to the agitators demand for a separate state.

In the current environment, where there is intense competition between states over their rights on river waters, there is limited scope to bring additional areas under irrigation through canals. There is limited water in the Krishna River and all of it has been fully allocated. Even if the controversies surrounding river waters in the Srisailam reservoir are resolved, there isn't enough canal water to supply to tens of lakhs of acres that the separatists have promised to farmers. In addition, division of the state would make river water sharing a lot more contentious issue as the project is shared between Telangana and Rayalaseema regions.



As far as Godavari river is concerned, Telangana region is at a disadvantage due to its higher geographical altitude. Other than improvements to Sriram Sagar project, the only alternative to bringing additional area under canal irrigation is to implement lift irrigation projects which are power-intensive solutions. Procuring electricity needed for lift irrigation projects would be much easier in a united state.

The implicit assumption behind this promise made by the separatists to the people is that the Telangana region has suffered in the irrigation sector. It is important to note that the Telangana region has made major strides in irrigation since the formation of the state. Compared to Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema, Telangana region has grown the fastest in the irrigation sector. Since 1956, Coastal Andhra's irrigation has improved by 71%, while Rayalaseema grew by 64%. However, area under irrigation in Telangana has gone up by 228%.

It is clear that the Telangana region made major strides in the irrigation sector since the state formation. It is desirable to bring 1 crore acres under irrigation in Telangana. However, whether the state is divided or united will have little impact on this admirable goal. A determined leader can achieve this in a united state. A united state with a large irrigation budget would afford economies of scale that are otherwise difficult.

Hyderabad Central University is filled with Andhras, whereas every Central University in India has 60% of its places reserved for local region.

This allegation is baseless. The Hyderabad Central University was established to placate those that participated in the separate Andhra agitation in 1972. It is not established for the exclusive benefit of the Telangana region. In addition, Central Universities admit students from all over the country and do not have a provision for 60% reservation for local region.



All the data that is being shown as proof of Telangana's development has been cooked up by Andhras.

This argument does not carry any merit. If one were to objectively analyze the data published by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics from 1950s, it is consistent. The data published by the government is collected at the mandal and district level and then consolidated. It is being collected and published annually since 1950s. One cannot go back in time to manipulate the already published data. Therefore, it is next to impossible to fabricate data when such complex collection procedures are involved. Also, there are many central government agencies that

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have been collecting socio economic data for decades. These include, Planning Commission, Central Statistical Organization (CSO), National Council for Applied Economic Research (NCAER), National Sample Survey (NSS), and the Census Commissioner.

If we question the accuracy and authenticity of the data released by these central government organizations, then the entire country's socio economic data published by these organizations will come into question. If the separatists believe that the data published by various government agencies is incorrect, then what are the correct numbers? Who published them?

Data published by many of these organizations have consistently shown that the Telangana region developed the most since the formation of Andhra Pradesh state. It is virtually impossible for all these organizations to fabricate data for over five decades. Moreover, it is highly unlikely that someone working in the Central Government cooks up the data to hurt the Telangana region.

It is amply clear from the data that is available, since the formation of the state, Telangana region has developed faster than the rest of the state. Unable to defend their allegations of under development, separatists are guestioning the veracity of the data itself.

Agriculture sector in Telangana suffered due to government negligence.

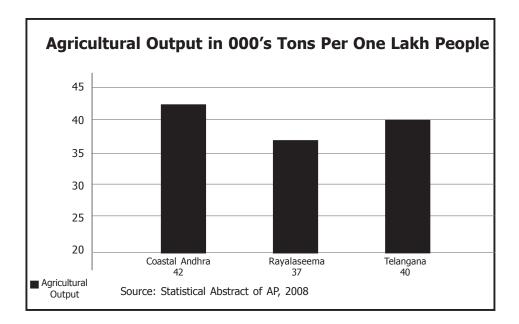
This is a myth that has been propagated by the separatists for a long time. Many have accepted this as a fact till recently. However, a closer review of agriculture production data from 1956 till date reveals an entirely different picture. It shows that the Telangana region has made significant progress since the formation of the state.

In 1956 area under paddy cultivation in Telangana was over 19 lakh acres. After fifty five years, that number is over 36 lakh acres, more than 80% growth. As a result of increase in the area under paddy cultivation, rice production went up from over 5 lakh tonnes in 1956 to

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over 44 lakh tonnes, nearly 700% growth. The growth numbers in other areas of agriculture production is equally dramatic. Maize production is up by over 75% in the last 50 years, pulse production went up by over 200%, cotton production by over 500%, and sugar cane production grew by over 200%.

The growth in agriculture output across different crops has gone up significantly over the last five and a half decades. The allegation that Telangana region has suffered in agriculture sector due to government negligence is completely untenable.



People in the Telangana region are poor compared to their Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema counterparts.

It is another instance of false propaganda. The best indicator for a region's economic well-being is its per capita income. As per 2010 Statistical Abstract of Andhra Pradesh, Coastal Andhra's per capita income is Rs. 36,281, Telangana's Rs. 35,783, and Rayalaseema's Rs. 33,066.

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All the three regions of the state more or less enjoy similar economic status. If at all, it is the Rayalaseema region, from where a majority of the state Chief Ministers hailed, that is marginally lagging behind the

other regions of the state. Therefore, the claim that the Telangana region is poorer compared to the other regions is untrue.

Socio-economic Indicators

Category	Coastal Andhra	Rayalaseema	Telangana	Telangana (Excl. Hyd &RR)
Govt. Primary Health Centre per 10 Lakh People	21	23	20	24
Govt. Hospital beds per one lakh people	46	55	56	41
Agricultural output in 000's tons per one lakh people	42	37	40	NA
Power consumption in million units per one lakh people	58	72	104	88
Roads (In Kms) per one lakh people	230	315	273	331
Per-capita Income (Rupuees)	36,281	33,066	35,783	32,018

Source: Statistical Abstract of AP, 2008, 2010

Telangana is at par with other regions across several socio-economic indicatiors.



Healthcare infrastructure in Telangana is poor due to government's deliberate negligence.

The facts about government health care facilities in each region shows that there is absolutely no truth in this charge. Take for example the data on primary health care centers in each region. For instance, in Coastal Andhra for every ten lakh people there are 21 primary health care centers, in Telangana there are 20, while in Rayalaseema there are 23 centers. Similarly, in Coastal Andhra there are 46 beds for every one lakh people in the government hospitals. In Telangana the number of beds is 56 and in Rayalaseema it is 55.



One also cannot overlook the fact that some of the best multi-speciality hospitals in the state are located in the capital city of Hyderabad. This provides easy access to quality healthcare to the residents of Telangana. The same luxury is not available to remote districts in the Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema.

In other words, people of Telangana have good access to health care both in the public sector as well as in the private sector.

25 24 23 22 21 20 19 18 Coastal Andhra Rayalaseema Telangana Telangana (Excl. Hyd. & RR) 24 21 23 20 **PHCs**

Govt. PHCs Per 10 Lakh People

Source: Statistical Abstract of AP, 2008



POLITICS

Regional council created as per the Gentlemen's agreement was unfairly disbanded.

As per Gentlemen's Agreement, the Telangana Regional Council was supposed to be in effect for 5 years only. There was an option to extend the council by an additional 5 years if Telangana legislators so desire. In fact, the Telangana Regional Council was in existence for three terms. Regional council was never intended to exist indefinitely.



Gentlemen's agreement is a statutory agreement.

Gentlemen's agreement was not a statutory agreement. On the contrary, it was a power sharing agreement among the Congress party leaders at that time from both the regions.

In the elections that were held in 1951 for the Hyderabad State Assembly, Congress party polled about 1/3rd of the vote and won 42 out of 99 Assembly seats in the Telangana districts. With only 1/3rd of the popular vote and lacking a majority in the Telangana region, Gentlemen's Agreement signatories were only Congress Party leaders. 2/3rd of the popular vote and the parties that had majority legislators had no representation in the so-called Gentlemen's Agreement. Except G. Lacchanna, all the signatories from Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions were Congress Party leaders.



An objective reader of the agreement will immediately realize how most of the clauses of agreement were about sharing of political power. The Communists and Socialists who had substantial vote share but were not signatories of the agreement. This goes to show that it was essentially a Congress in-house arrangement. The profile of the signatories to the agreement does not reflect the social composition of both the regions. This agreement has no legal, constitutional or legislative status.

	Gentlemen's Agreement Signatories					
	Telangana		Andhra			
	Name	Party	Name	Party		
1)	B. Ramakrishna Rao	Congress	B. Gopala Reddy	Congress		
2)	K. V. Ranga Reddy	Congress	N. Sanjeeva Reddy	Congress		
3)	M. Channa Reddy	Congress	A. Satyanarayana Raju	Congress		
4)	J. V. Narsing Rao	Congress	G. Latchanna	Congress		

Gentlemen's agreement required that if Chief Minister is from Coastal Andhra or Rayalaseema region, the Deputy Chief Minister be from Telangana region and vice-versa. However, this agreement was violated on Day One.

First Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy violated this clause of the agreement. However, it is important to note that K.V. Ranga Reddy, who in all likelihood would have become the Deputy CM, said: "What is there in the Deputy Chief Ministership, more than what I have now? It is like 'angushtha sesham' (sixth finger)." Neither Ranga Reddy nor any other important leader had made that as an issue.

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Deputy Chief Minister post then and now does not have any special constitutional privileges. The status of Deputy CM was not any different from that of a cabinet minister.

In addition, Chief Ministers from Telangana T. Anjaiah and Marri Channa Reddy also didn't have Deputy CM post in their cabinet.

Mulki rules were not followed and 2.5 lakhs jobs were usurped by Andhras prior to 1969 Telangana movement.

This allegation is a complete travesty of truth. Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh J.V. Narasinga Rao, a tall leader from the Telangana region, on August 14th, 1969 wrote in Andhrabhoomi that out of 107,000 non-gazetted employees in Telangana only about 4,500 were non-mulkis. Of these, 1800 were nurses who mostly came from Kerala. 1600 were teachers, and 400 were stenographers who were not available locally. Most important aspect of the appointment of 4,500 non-mulkis was that they were brought in by the leaders of local bodies like Panchayat

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Samitis and Zilla Parishads. They were not appointed by the State government. In other words, the non-mulki appointments were made by elected leaders of local bodies from Telangana region to fill in vacancies in their respective areas, to serve their local areas. However, the jobs myth continues to be propagated with a view to excite passions of gullible youth of the Telangana region.

When three new states could be formed, why can't Telangana state be formed for administrative convenience?

While the debate on the wisdom of forming three new states out of UP, MP, and Bihar remains inconclusive, it should be remembered that there is a significant difference between the formation of the three new states of Uttarakhand, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand and demand for a Telangana state. Firstly, these states have not been carved out of linguistic states. Secondly, the newly formed Chattisgarh's geographic identity is based on its Chattisgarhi language. This actually reinforces the principle of linguistic states in two ways. Formation of Chattisgarh

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state is not a result of dismemberment of a linguistic state. It means linguistic state as the organizing principle for carving out states is not given up. In addition, the fact that Chattisgarh is formed largely consisting of Chattisgarhi speaking districts of Madhya Pradesh shows the validity of the principle of linguistic states. Lastly, the three new states were geographically distant from their capital cities, while Telangana is not.

It is ironic that the Telangana region which is geographically closest to the capital city Hyderabad demands a separate state on the basis of the principle of administrative convenience. It is indeed a strange case wherein a region that actually has the capital demands separation on the basis of administrative convenience. The demand for Telangana state based on administrative convenience is disingenuous to say the least.

Smaller states with consensus: Advani

The Indian Express, Dec 16 2009

"Most demands for a separate state usually come from regions far away from the state capital, Chhattisgarh and Uttarakhand, for instance. The Telangana statehood demand belongs to another category, for it comes from regions close to the state capital. This difference notwithstanding, the approach to deal with any statehood demand must be one of evolving a consensus before any concrete action."

http://www.indianexpress.com/news/smaller-states-with-consensus-advani/554753/0



The leaders who are in the forefront of the agitation have been consistent in their position and committed to the cause of separation.

K. Chandrasekhara Rao (senior TDP leader, former minister and former deputy speaker, quit TDP to form Telangana Rashtra Samiti (TRS) to agitate for the division of the state.)



We Should Abolish Zonal System

"We are losing out because of six point formula and then the zonal system in the state. If there is a surplus staff under any project, we are not able to use that staff in other areas of the state. The government should have that kind of an elbow room to utilize such staff. We should begin to dismantle this kind of zonal system."

(On 16/07/1996 in the AP State Legislative Assembly)



CM should take steps to see that Jai Telangana slogans do not recur

"People are starting some Samiti in the name of an agitation in Telangana and Rayalaseema.... You have Rayalaseema Vimochana Samiti, Telangana Praja Samiti etc. People who start these movements and Samitiis, when they get some political position, they are enjoying their positions and they are not continuing their movements. Sri Damodar Reddy has given a slogan Jai Telangana at the end of speech and sat. The Chief Minister should take urgent steps to see that such slogans do not recur." (On 26/02/1997 in the AP State Legislative Assembly)

Nagam Janardhan Reddy (a Minister in TDP government, senior leader, quit TDP over Telangana issue and floated his own small party favouring Telangana)

I was once a separatist, but now an integrationist

"Those days, a few Congressmen have joined the movement and sacrificed the lives of 350 people. What have they achieved? Channa Reddy garu has become the Chief Minister....but we went to jail and lost our education for two and a half years. Only if the state is united is development possible, that is my belief." (On 22/08/1988 in the AP State Legislative Assembly)





Devender Goud (TDP Leader who quit the party to work for separate Telangana, floated a party called Telangana Praja Party, merged it with Chiranjeevi's Praja Rajyam, quit Prajarajyam and rejoined TDP after the 2009 general elections, and now speaks in favour of the division of the State)

Only Coastal people have given us education

"We had no one to teach us... Only those who came from the coastal districts have taught us. The political leadership in the coastal area establishes schools in the name of their elders and ancestors and gives education to their people. But the sick leadership here in [Telangana] has no such commitment." (On 17/05/2008 in the AP State Legislative Assembly)



Kadiam Srihari (Former Minister and TDP leader who is now a staunch advocate for separate Telangana state)

Divorce for Old Couple?

"The marriage took place in 1956... almost about 47 years ago. The newlyweds in 1956 have now children, grandchildren. Now these people are talking about divorce! Are you trying for divorce for an old couple?" (On 29/03/2005 in the AP State Legislative Assembly)



350 people sacrificed their lives during 1969 agitation.

This is a blatant lie. Agitators have been repeating this lie time and again. On 24th January 1974, after

Telangana and Andhra agitations ended, Chief Minister Jalagam Vengala Rao, told the Legislative Assembly that 57 persons were killed during the Telangana agitation and 69 persons were killed during the Andhra agitation. He was the home minister during 1969 agitation. He further stated that police resorted to firing 96 times during the 1969 Telangana agitation which resulted in the killing of 57 persons. He also informed the house that 8 persons were killed by agitators. During this agitation altogether 12 students were killed. 8 in Hyderabad city, one each in Medak and Nalgonda districts and two in Mahaboobnagar district. He



also challenged Mrs. Eswari Bai who, on the floor of the Assembly, claimed that more than 300 people were killed, to provide the list of the deceased. He asked her to name at least one person other than the 57 persons that were on his list. She failed to provide even one extra name and merely said that 57 itself was not a small number. This clearly establishes that the agitators cooked up figures.

In fact, several people who were killed in both the agitations were bystanders unconnected to the agitations. For example, in Kachiguda, when police fired into the air, one student who was reading in balcony of his building was accidentally killed. In another incident, persons who were on their way to Bombay were killed in police firing near the Secunderabad railway station.

More than 750 youngsters committed suicide for the sake of Telangana.

It is true that there was a spate of suicides after Mr. Chidambaram made the statement on 23rd December

2009 stating that the situation has altered after his 9th December statement. However, the separatist leaders misled the people that the Union Government has conceded on 9th December the demand for a separate Telangana State, but yielded to the pressure of the leaders from the Coastal and Rayalaseema regions and retracted it. This led to a state of unwarranted despair among the youngsters who were made to believe that their situation can only improve in a Telangana state.

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However, there is another angle to the issue of suicides in the Telangana region. While there are some genuine cases of suicides there are several that are not. Reputed journalist and resident editor of Times of India Hyderabad Kingshuk Nag personally visited several families where a member has committed suicide. He found out that not all suicides are genuine. In the concluding paragraph of his article *The Anatomy of a Suicide* dated February 24th 2010, he wrote: "By faking suicide cases, aren't these local T-activists harming their own cause? After all this faking will be found out sooner or later."

During the year 2010, in the state of Andhra Pradesh more than 15,500 persons committed suicide. Psychiatrists analyse the root cause of suicide is long drawn state of depression. Housewives, students, software employees, farmers, unemployed are at the top of the list. After depression takes hold of the person, the craving to commit suicide becomes compulsive and she/he will for one reason or the other commit the act. Instead of discouraging suicides, separatist leaders seem to encourage them. They are glorifying them as acts of martyrdom. They tacitly endorse the opinion that a separate state could be formed as an outcome of the suicides.

Telangana agitation is 60-year-old and can't be compared with other similar demands.

The Telangana agitation being 60 years old is a myth that the separatists have propagated. Yes, the demand did come up in 1950s, but it did not have traction in the mainstream of the society and was confined to the fringes. The demand for separation was a desire expressed by a minority of people, many of whom were feudal landlords who lost power after Nizam was dislodged. They were unable to reconcile to the democratic governance which would not recognise their privileges. However, it is important to note that an overwhelming majority of the people, legislators, and civic bodies demanded a Visalandhra state.



After Andhra Pradesh state was formed in 1956, till 1969 there has not been a demand for division. A hunger strike taken up by a student in Khammam stirred up the Telangana agitation in 1969. In 1971 Parliament elections, Congress Party dissident Marri Channa Reddy's Telangana Praja Samiti (TPS) party contested on a separate Telangana platform and won 10 of the 14 Loksabha seats. This was the only time when electoral support for a Telangana state was in evidence. However, this support did not last for long.

A mere year later Channa Reddy merged TPS with the Congress party which stood strongly in favor of integration. Many leaders differed with this merger and formed a new party named Nava Telangana Praja Samithi (NTPS). When the elections for State Assembly were held in 1972, NTPS contested 40 seats in the Telangana area. Only one candidate from the party won the election and rest of the candidates not only lost their deposits but polled a meager 1.7% of the total votes. The 1972 State Assembly elections results in which Congress won by a landslide majority is an indication that people's aspiration for a Telangana state was short-lived.

When the 1972 Andhra agitation for a separate state paralysed the Coastal and Rayalaseema regions, the demand for a Telangana state was, strangely, non-existent. It is incomprehensible that the Telangana separatists did not take advantage of one of the most opportune times to realize their "dream". Yet, we keep hearing claims of a 60-year old agitation.

After the 1969-72 Andhra and Telangana agitations, there absolutely was not a trace of separatist sentiment across the state. On the contrary, Andhra Pradesh saw the rise of an actor turned politician N. T. Ramarao to power on the plank of Telugu culture and glory.

Even the current agitation, which only came into fore, when the leader of Telangana Rashtra Samiti (TRS) Chandrashekhar Rao was denied a berth in the Telugu Desam Party cabinet. However, going by electoral verdicts, it becomes quite clear that to this day, barring the by-elections held post December 9th 2009 events, demand for separation never had a majority support in Telangana. In 2004 elections TRS contested



54 Assembly seats in alliance with Congress and could win only 26. However, it is important to note that in constituencies where TRS had to face CPI or CPI(M) or even a Congress rebel, it lost the election. TRS won only in those constituencies where it confronted the then ruling Telugu Desam Party (TDP). The number of seats won by TRS in alliance with Congress was more as a result of anti-incumbency against the ruling TDP rather than an endorsement of its stance for the division of the State. Where the contest was not between TDP and TRS, the latter could not win a single seat in 2004.

In 2008, 16 TRS legislators resigned and they could only win back 7 seats in the by-elections.

In 2009 elections, TRS contested as part of the grand alliance which consisted of TDP, CPI, and CPI(M). In this election, the TRS could win only 10 out of the 45 seats it contested. In these elections, the TRS President himself has scraped through in his Loksabha seat with a meager 15,000 votes margin. And in the Sircilla assembly constituency, which is a so-called separatist hotbed, the TRS candidate K. Taraka Ramarao, son of Chandrashekhar Rao, managed to win the seat with just 150 votes difference.

The separatist agitation, apart from spurts of activity, has never been a sustained movement. Ever since the state of Andhra Pradesh came into existence, except for one Loksabha election, it never had a majority support. Given these facts, to claim that the Telangana agitation is 60 year old is a hyperbole.

Chief Ministers from Telangana were not allowed to complete a full term in office.

Ironically Rayalaseema, the most backward region of the state, is home to the highest number of Chief Ministers among Coastal Andhra, Telangana and Rayalaseema.

Except Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy none of the Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh completed their five year term. Former CMs N. T. Ramarao and Chandrababu Naidu dissolved Assemblies in 1989 and 2004 and went for early or mid-term polls without completing 5 year term. Since the formation of the state, only two parties came to power- Congress and

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TDP - and CMs belonged to only these two parties. By attributing caste, religion, place of birth to a Chief Minister and subsequently promoting enmity between different groups on grounds of religion, race, place of birth is abhorrent.

Andhra leaders held all the important cabinet portfolios.

As far as important portfolios in the state cabinet are concerned, the Home Ministry was held by the

legislators from Telangana for maximum number of times (13) and for the longest duration (31 years). Legislators from the coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema region combined held it for only 11 years. Another important portfolio of Revenue was shared between Telangana (13 times and 23.10 years) and the coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions held it for 26 years between them.

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Although legislators from Rayalaseema held the post of CM for longest duration, they seldom had important portfolios – Finance: never (except when the CMs from Rayalaseema held it themselves for brief periods), Home: twice (total duration 1 year 4 months), Revenue: 3 times (duration 4 years 9 months).

Irrigation is another important portfolio. Ministers for irrigation are distributed over minor, medium and major irrigation. A simple calculation of medium and major irrigation ministers shows that Telangana held positions for 20 years, coastal Andhra for 16 years and Rayalaseema for 6 years.

Though 40:60 rule has become obsolete after 1973 6-point formula, Telangana continued to have more than 40% share in the important cabinet portfolios.

We want to get liberated from Andhra domination and we want self-rule.

"Self-rule" is a new line of argument that has been put forth by separatists after their allegations of economic under development have been conclusively refuted. Demand for self-rule is absurd because similar line of argument can be extended to the Prime Minister of India too. If the PM is from north India a south Indian could claim that they don't have self-rule and a similar argument can be made by a north Indian if the Prime Minister hailed from a southern state.

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It is our democratic political process that decides who our Prime Minister, President, and Chief Ministers are. Separatists suggest that because

the Chief Minister is not from Telangana area, the government is alien to the people of Telangana. However, MPs, MLAs, ZP Chairmen, Mayors, Sarpanches, ward members and corporators not only in Telangana but everywhere else in the country are elected by local population. Telangana had its share of Chief Ministers such as Jalagam Vengal Rao, P.V. Narasimha Rao, Marri Channa Reddy and T. Anjaiah. Lastly, Telangana region had given the country one of the best Prime Ministers India has had since independence.

4.5 crore Telangana people are demanding a separate State.

Almost every leader from Telangana says that the entire 4.5 crore people of Telangana yearn for separation. Political leaders of all hues as well as many self-styled senior journalists and intellectuals cite the figure at the slightest provocation.

According to 2011 census the population of Andhra Pradesh state is 8.46 crores. If the population of the Telangana region is 4.5 crores, then the population of coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema put together should be less than 4 crore. As usual, facts are different. As per 2011 census, population in the Telangana districts is 3.52 crores (35286757), coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema districts together have a population

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of 4.93 cr (49378776). Coastal Andhra by itself has a population of 3.41 crores (34193868), and Rayalaseema – 1.51 crores (15184908).

One should note that among the Telangana districts, Ranga Reddy with 52.9 lakh people has the highest population, followed by Mahbubnagar 40.4 lakhs and Hyderabad 40.1 lakhs. Given that Ranga Reddy and Hyderabad have a large number of people from other states and from other regions within the state, the actual Telangana population is much less than the figure mentioned above.

There is no widespread support for a united Andhra Pradesh.

Separatists claim that the agitation for Visalandhra (united Andhra Pradesh) is not as widespread and vociferous as the agitation for division. It is important to note that when the state already is united, the demand for unity will not evoke passion. As you can see when the unity was jeopardized on December 9th 2009, the Visalandhra agitation arose overnight with intense passion. This groundswell of opinion opposing proposal for division forced the Central Government to retract its announcement.



A similar observation can be made about the secessionists in Kashmir.

The demand for secession in Kashmir appears to be widespread. However, it doesn't necessarily mean that a majority of Kashmiris want to secede from India. The fact that people who want Kashmir to be an integral part of India are not vocal, doesn't necessarily mean that they are in a minority.

Similarly, those who do not want the state to be divided may not be vocal. But, that is not necessarily an indication that integration lacks widespread support.

It is also worth noting that not the entire population of Telangana is in favor of division. Multiple electoral results have made it amply clear that there is a large section of population that either doesn't support separation or is indifferent to the issue. Those that are in favor of integration are intimidated and their voices cannot be heard. A large number of Visalandhra Mahasabha activists hail from Telangana and this goes to disprove the claim that the entire Telangana population is in favor of separation.

${f S}$ eparate Telangana state alone can restore self-respect of Telangana people.

Under Nizam's rule, political, economic, and social power was wielded by two dominant castes namely Reddy and Velama. They were the Jagirdars, and Desmukhs. These feudal lords were a law unto themselves. People were scared to question their hegemony. It was the brutal exploitation in the form of *vetti* (bonded labor) by these feudal lords that robbed Telangana people of their self-respect and dignity. The entire literature in the form of songs, poems, stories, and novels held the doras-feudal lords responsible for the miserable condition of the Telangana people.

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After the great Telangana peasant armed uprising and the subsequent exit of Nizam as King, these feudal classes lost all their power and lakhs of ordinary Telangana people got liberated from their clutches and their self-respect was restored. With the subsequent abolition of Patel and Patwari system, the last vestiges of power of feudal classes was lost. Over the course of history their dominance over the region and its people diminished.

Ironically these classes that robbed Telangana people of their self-respect are the ones that have raised the slogan of "self-respect" now and are inciting the people of Telangana.

Why can't we have new states?

Before we start creating new states, there must be a set of definite criteria that defines the basis for redrawing the political map of India. The States Reorganization Commission was constituted by the Government of India to look into this issue and make recommendations, which it did in 1956. As a result, country had its non-Hindi speaking states carved out on the basis of language.

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If new states are to be formed 50 years after SRC made its recommendations, we need to take a comprehensive re-look at the whole issue and develop a cogent alternative framework for reorganizing

the state boundaries across India. However, the political map of India cannot be redrawn in an adhoc manner responding to an agitation here or a demand there. We should also debate the wisdom of doing away with the framework of organizing our states on a linguistic basis.

Maoist threat is a bogey raised by those that oppose division.

The nature and style of the Telangana agitation and the various groups supporting it are a give-away of the Maoist underpinnings of the agitation. Internal security analysts have already documented the role of Maoist cadres in the prolonged agitation and the game-plan behind the demand.

We quote briefly Ajai Sahni, Editor of South Asian Terrorism Portal, on the Maoist angle to the Telangana agitation.

Sahni says, "The only possibility of the recovery of Maoist influence and dominance in Andhra Pradesh is envisaged through the Telangana agitation. Significantly, a detailed plan to encourage such separatism was drawn up in the Fourth North Telangana Special Zonal Committee Meeting of the People's War Group (PWG, now CPI-Maoist) in 1997...."

Sahni continues, "Indeed, in the PWG's State Conference in 1995, a resolution had already been passed to start an agitation for the formation of a separate Telangana. What we are seeing in the Telangana region today is a slow and systematic unfolding of the Maoist plan for a sundering of the State, through various proxies, in order to restore their own disruptive dominance."

Sahni points out that, "All the formations currently spearheading the separatist movement, including the Telangana Rashtra Samiti (TRS) and the Telangana Praja Front (TPF), have a large representation of ex-Maoist cadres and leaders, and have synchronised their campaigns with various Maoist directives on the issue."

An important revelation in this regard is the intimidating nature of the separatist agitation in silencing its opponents. This is largely part of the Maoist tactics of threatening any opposition.

Ajai Sahni concludes with this ominous prophecy: "There is a grave and imminent danger of a Maoist revival in the Telangana region if a separate State is created there."

On 7th December 2009 all political parties in Andhra Pradesh unanimously accepted for the formation of Telangana state.

This is another blatant lie which is being continuously propagated by the separatists. The truth of the matter is, the meeting was called not to discuss the bifurcation of the state but had a totally different agenda. The agenda was to find a way out to end the hunger strike of K. Chandrashekhar Rao.

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The minutes of the All Party Meeting sent to the center tell us a different story. TDP and Praja Rajyam have said that they will not oppose if the Central Government decides to divide the state. In other words, TDP

and Prajarajyam have not taken a clear stand in favor of the division but rather tried to shift the burden onto central government's shoulder. CPI, TRS and BJP on the other hand demanded division. While the CPI(M) and MIM opposed the decision, MIM went a step further and said Assembly was proper forum to discuss such an important issue.

The ruling State Congress Party said that a decision in this regard would have to be taken by their central leadership. Lok Satta said it will support Congress Party, if decisions were evolved carefully.

It is evident from the above that there was no unanimity over the issue of bifurcation of the state. Out of all the political parties, only TRS, BJP and CPI expressed their support for division. We cannot overlook the fact that the views of BJP and CPI, with barely a handful of MLAs, do not carry the same weight as positions taken by Congress or TDP. The major political parties in the state, Congress and TDP, which together have largest number of seats and highest share of vote have not expressed their views unambiguously. Therefore, to say that on December 7th all parties have agreed to the division of the state is far from truth.

Congress party promised separate telangana state time and again.

Congress Party never officially declared that it will divide the Andhra Pradesh state. Nowhere in any of its successive Election manifestos can one find clear statement on division. Even the President's 2004

address to the joint session of Parliament does not talk about division of the state. It only mentions the government's intent on working towards building a consensus to address the issue of Telangana. Before the 2004 elections, the Congress Working Committee (CWC) has clearly resolved that the formation of any new State will be considered only on the basis of recommendation of a new States Reorganization Commission (SRC). In fact, Sri A. Narendra, then a leader of the Telangana Rashtra Samiti (TRS), signed a document on behalf of his party agreeing to the Congress proposal.



While respecting the report of the first State Reorganisation Commission, the Congress Party notes that there are many valid reasons for formation of separate States in Vidarbha and Telangana. However, the Reorganisation of existing States raise a large number of issues. The Congress Party feels that the whole matter could be best addressed by another State Reorganisation Commission to look into all the issues involved.

A. Noneman

On December 9th 2009, Telangana was given by the Central Government and the same was announced in parliament next day. But it was forcibly prevented by the Seemandhra capitalists.

The statement made by the Home Minister Chidambaram on December 9th of 2009 was made to placate the leader of TRS who was on an indefinite hunger strike. This decision was not vetted by the cabinet, was made in haste and has not been reached via consensus. KCR himself has claimed that Late Prof. Jayashankar personally drafted the note that was read by the Home Minister. This only reinforces the belief of many people that December 9th statement was a conspiracy hatched by the separatists against the will of the people of Andhra Pradesh state.



Also, a decision taken by the Government is not inviolable. There are many decisions that the government has reconsidered and rewrote as new information became available. Central Government has realized that their announcement of December 9th was a mistake and it was only logical that it retracted its statement on January 23, 2010. And the Home Minister himself has said that the 'situation has altered'.

Govt. of India should take into consideration emotions and sentiments of the people of Telangana and form a separate state immediately.

Emotions and sentiments of the people cannot form a basis of decisions that will have long terms implications for our polity. It is known that emotions and sentiments are short lived. Having said that, it should also be noted that there isn't an overwhelming desire in the Telangana region for a separate state. None of the electoral outcomes since 2004 has demonstrated that this demand has strong support in the region. Telangana Rashtra Samiti, the party espousing separate state, has never got a convincing mandate from the people of the region. The electoral aspects of this issue has been analyzed in greater depth in the allegation



titled: "Telangana agitation is 60-year-old and can't be compared with other similar demands."

"There are some things which are part of our national life. It is true that the question of linguistic States was very much a part of the national movement. There was no getting away from it. The units of every part which was in existence at a time, were formed on the basis of language in spite of the British Provinces having different areas. There is an overall rationality in the formation of our various States and we should be very careful not to break this foundation of rationality in momentary passions. As I said at the beginning we should consider the feelings of people but it would be very wrong for the Government to be swept away by feelings. We must see what is in the larger interest of the people themselves. We are not saying that the interest of the people of Telengana should be sacrificed for our interest or for the interest of other parts of India. But the Government must think in a very calm manner about the interest of the people of that very region and see what will serve their interest best."

Excerpts from Loksabha debate on Mulki rules (Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's reply on December 21, 1972)

Only Andhra capitalists oppose separate Telangana. The people in Andhra have no problem with division.

This is another propaganda ploy employed by the Separatists to give their sectarian agenda an ideological flourish. They deliberately overlook the fact that there are lakhs of people in the Telangana region who are opposed to the division of the state and want Andhra Pradesh to stay united. This becomes apparent if the election results of the past decade are analyzed. It is important to note that demand for unity and demand for division co-exist in all the three regions of the state. Historically, despite rumblings for division in all the three regions, it is the desire for unity that prevailed time and again. This is true in 1956 when the state



legislature with a 2/3rd majority favored integration. Same holds true when Nava Telangana Praja Samiti in 1972 won 1 seat and most of its candidates lost deposits, despite contesting on a separate state agenda. The last decades' electoral performance of TRS, the party with a single point agenda of division, is unconvincing. Demand for division in Telangana as well as in other regions is weak compared to the desire for unity.

Businessmen from Andhra opposing the division is an uncorroborated allegation. Entrepreneurs do business all over the country and world. Their chief interest is in economic opportunities but not regional politics. Whether the state remains united or divided has minimal impact on the businesses. In fact, there are several businessmen from Telangana who have industries in Coastal Andhra-Rayalaseema and viceversa.

There is a vertical split in the society between Andhra and Telangana. Therefore it is not feasible to continue the status quo.

In 1969 there was a student agitation followed by a political agitation for the division of Andhra Pradesh state, popularly called the Jai Telangana agitation. Scores of children and youngsters died during that agitation and residents of Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema were harassed during that period. The enmity between both the regions was at its peak.

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Following the Telangana agitation, in 1971 came the Andhra agitation which was far more violent. Many buses were burnt and train stations gutted. There was total blackout as the electricity supply was disrupted. Army was brought in to control the violence. Later on President's rule was imposed.

Despite the above two violent agitations, once political parties reconciled to keep the state united, peace reigned in the region and people quickly put the bitter past behind and got along well, to a point the call for Telugu unity and pride put a non-Congress party Chief Minister N. T. Ramarao in power in 1983.

The current separatist agitation pales in comparison to the Jai Telangana and Jai Andhra agitations of 1969 and 1971. If people of all regions have reconciled with each other after such a bitter struggle of the past, the current differences will be forgotten in mere weeks if the Central Government takes a firm decision against division of the State.

Since Andhra and Rayalaseema MLAs are in majority, justice will never be done to Telangana.

This is an illogical argument in a pluralistic and mature democracy like India. If the same argument is extended to an all India level, other than UP and Bihar every other state can claim that they can never receive justice in India's parliamentary system.

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In a democracy, starting from Mandal President to Zilla Parishad members and Chairmen, as well as MLAs, and MPs are all elected by the local citizens. Also, in the state Assembly, Telangana region has a 40% representation, which is not insignificant compared to Coastal Andhra's

41%. Ironically, Rayalaseema despite having only 18% of the seats had maximum number of Chief Ministers which defuses the allegation that you need a majority to receive justice. Similarly, Dr. Manmohan Singh, P. V. Narasimha Rao and Deve Gowda, who hail from states which hold very few seats in the parliament could not have held the position of Prime Minister if the number of seats their states had was the criteria. It goes to show that it is not mere numbers, but the collective wisdom and overall sense of justice is what prevails in a pluralistic parliamentary democracy.

There is no necessity for the resolution in State Assembly. Central government is fully empowered to form a separate state as per article 3 of Indian Constitution.

Article 3 of our constitution is only an enabling clause and government decisions are subject to judicial review. The general convention for the creation of new states has always been to pass a resolution in the State Assembly. Supreme Court has also said that the government cannot arbitrarily divide States.



Separatists claim that a resolution in the Andhra Pradesh State Assembly will never pass as the majority is made up of non Telangana legislators.

However, there is enough evidence to indicate that if the smaller regions have a genuine need for division, the majority will agree. In the case of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, and Bihar the legislators from the majority region did not object to the creation of smaller states. If the smaller, remote, and neglected parts of any large state have a justifiable demand for separate state, there is enough evidence to show that the majority will agree. A resolution to divide Andhra Pradesh is unlikely to pass in the Assembly as the demand is not justified and is based on allegations that are patently false.

Agitating for a separate state is our fundamental right.

Demanding a state is a democratic right. But our contention is that the bases for demanding a separate Telangana state are completely flawed. In fact, this book is an endeavor undertaken to dispel the separatists' false propaganda.

The demand for a separate Telangana state is broadly based on allegations that can be categorized as economic, political, historical, cultural, and linguistic.

It has now been proven conclusively, based on the data since 1956, from the official records of State and Central Governments, that

Telangana region has not been discriminated against and it in fact registered a much faster growth than the Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions. It is also now established that except for a brief period of 150 years, Telugu people have lived together under the same political dispensation. However, diversity in Telugu culture does exist as it does in every other culture. This diversity should not be perceived as a dichotomy. It not only exists at the regional level between Telangana, Coastal Andhra, and Rayalaseema, but also within respective regions at district, mandal and sometimes even at village level. Similarly, accent and dialects not only differ from region to region but within the regions as well.

As these facts emerged over the last few years, it became clear that separatists' argument lacked vigor, power, or truth. As the foundation on which their argument has been built crumbled, they have brought out a new argument of "self government" and "self-rule". Self-rule is an absurd argument in a pluralistic democratic country like India. We elect our leaders through a democratic process where every individual gets an opportunity to express their views via the voting process.

${f T}$ elangana agitation is democratic and non-violent.

Telangana agitation is anything but non-violent and democratic. The separatists' actions speak louder

than their claims to democracy and nonviolence. The destruction of the statues of Telugu luminaries on tank bund, violence in Osmania University, numerous bandhs that have been forced on the people, assault on MLA Jayaprakash Narayan on Assembly premises, attempt to attack the Governor in the State Assembly, persistent attacks on Visalandhra Mahasabha members and disrupting integrationist meetings, forcible closing of schools and colleges for weeks together, are only a few examples from a long list of acts of violence that have taken place during the separatist agitation. Leaders of the separatist agitation on a regular



basis publicly issue violent threats right in the presence of media. A visitor to Hyderabad city would be surprised to see most of the shopping malls and business houses covered in nets to protect themselves from the stoning agitators. The leadership of separatist agitation under the name of various Joint Action Committees (JACs), extort large sums of money from business establishments.

Therefore, to call Telangana agitation non-violent is a travesty of truth.









Justice Srikrishna Committee was bought over by Andhra capitalists.

Justice Srikrishna and the other members of committee are nationally renowned for their personal integrity and competence in socio-political analysis and jurisprudence.

Since the findings of Srikrishna Committee have not come in favor of the separatists, they are attempting to tarnish its image. Separatists did not hurl these allegations during the yearlong examination that Justice Srikrishna Committee had conducted by touring the entire state and listening to different constituencies. The allegations of selloff emerged only after the release of the report. Therefore one can see that this is a motivated allegation made out of frustration.

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Srikrishna Committee's 8th Chapter is a conspiracy, aided by Andhra politicians.

The allegation of conspiracy lacks ground. The contents of Chapter 8 were a secret, but the existence of

the chapter itself was well known. In fact Chapter 8 was listed right in the table of contents of the report. The committee clearly states in its report that the contents of the report were based on memoranda and discussions the members had with political parties and various others groups including stakeholders that the committee members met at the district and village level.

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One may disagree with the analysis and way forward prescribed by the Srikrishna Committee. However, that doesn't necessarily entitle one to call this a conspiracy.

Given below is the text of the prefatory remarks to Chapter 8 of the Srikrishna Committee Report.

8.1.01 During the Committee's tenure, immediate law and order problems, and also the long-term internal security implications, including the growth of Maoist/Naxal activities were examined. These apprehensions had been expressed in the memoranda submitted by the Political Parties and various other groups, and also during interactions with different stake holders at the State level meetings as well as when the Committee visited the districts and villages. Besides, the Member Secretary had one to one discussions on this subject with senior officers of the State Government, Police Department and local administration (in seventeen districts). Inputs were also obtained from various other sources. A note on the above covering all aspects has been prepared and is being submitted to the Ministry of Home Affairs in a separate cover along with this Report. The Committee has kept these dimensions in view while discussing various options included in Chapter 9 of the Report, i.e., "The Way Forward".

We will make a Dalit as Chief Minister in a separate Telangana state.

In our democratic system a Chief Minister is elected by the legislators who in turn are elected by the people. It is popular mandate rather than the benevolence of coteries that makes somebody a Chief Minister.

In fact, this is a patronizing and condescending offer. Dalit community does not need someone's benevolence to become Chief Minister. This shows the undemocratic and feudalistic mindset of the leadership of the Telangana agitation. In a vibrant Democracy like ours, Mayawati who is a Dalit and a woman, could become Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh-



India's largest state - thrice without anybody's benevolence. The Chief Minister's position was not doled out to her by the feudal leaders. She won it on her own merit.

The promise of Chief Ministership to a Dalit is only being made to bolster the agitation by throwing a carrot to a particular community. In other words, it is an inducement to a particular community to participate in the agitation. This shows the separatists' desperation to co-opt different sections into the agitation by making false promises.

Whoever participated in the agitation or taken into custody by the police will be given pensions similar to the benefit that freedom fighters are given.

This is a ploy used by the leaders of the separatist movement to induce people to join the agitation. Separatist leaders' daily dose of incendiary language and false propaganda of discrimination has incited many a youngster to react violently during the agitation. As a result, many students had police cases filed against them. These police cases have started discouraging the current and potential recruits to the separatist agitation. In order to stem this loss of recruits, the leadership came up with this ingenious plan of freedom fighter benefits to those that participated in the agitation or taken into custody by the police.



All persons who oppose separate Telangana are traitors of Telangana.

Protagonists of Telangana have cleverly packaged their message in such a way that love for Telangana and Demand for Separate Telangana State are shown to be one and the

same. One can love Telangana, be an uncompromising champion of Telangana but still be not in favour of a division of Andhra Pradesh, or a separate Telangana State. Separatists suppress the fact that there is no contradiction between being a champion of Telangana interests and at the same time be a staunch supporter of a United Andhra Pradesh.

There have been many tall leaders from Telangana who were staunch supporters of an integrated state. Their love for Telangana is

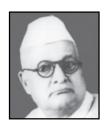
unquestionable. Leaders such as Burgula Ramakrishna Rao, Suravaram Pratap Reddy, Ravi Narayana Reddy, Andhra Pitamaha Madapati Hanumantha Rao, Dasarathi, Devulapalli Ramanuja Rao are all from Telangana, and were champions of an integrated state.

Sri Ravi Narayan Reddy was one of the tallest leaders of Telangana peasants uprising against Nizam. He was one of the early leaders who championed the cause of Vishalandhra. He remained an integrationist and wrote extensively in support of integration till his last days.

Sri Burgula Ramakrishna Rao was the Chief Minister of the Hyderabad State. In order to achieve the dream of Vishalandhra, he sacrificed the post of Chief Ministership. Burgula's passion for integration led him to give up his position and career. Can he be considered a Telangana traitor?

Sri P.V. Narasimha Rao was one of the visionary Prime Ministers that India has had since independence. He hailed from Telangana, loved Telangana, and yet, was bitterly opposed to the division of the state. He boldly stood for integration at the height of the separatist movements in 1969 and 1972.





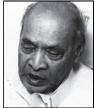
Burgula Ramakrishna Rao Madapati Hanumantha Rao



Ravi Narayan Reddy



Suravaram Pratap Reddy



P.V. Narasimha Rao

Therefore, it is clear that those who support division are not necessarily the well-wishers of the Telangana region. Today, in the separatist agitation you find many whose love for power far outweighs their love for their region.

\mathbf{T} elangana employees are facing discrimination in the state government.

There is a wild and uncorroborated allegation. If employees are actually discriminated based on region, there are many ways available in the current administrative structure for redress, including departmental, tribunal, and legal. The fact that one scarcely finds complaints of discrimination on the basis of region to the competent authorities or forums shows that this allegation is more a part of the hate campaign than a real grievance.

TRS candidates won the by elections with resounding majority and all other parties lost deposits. This signifies the wishes of the people.

An analysis of electoral outcomes since 2004 shows that the endorsement of the demand for a division of the state is unconvincing. In 2004 elections TRS contested in 54 Assembly seats in alliance with Congress and could win only 26 seats. However, it is important to note that in constituencies where TRS had to face CPI or CPI(M) or even a Congress rebel, it lost the election. It won only in those constituencies where it confronted the then ruling TDP. The number of seats won by TRS in alliance with Congress was more as a result of anti-incumbency against the ruling TDP rather than an endorsement of its stance for the division



of the State. Where the contest was not between TDP and TRS, the latter could not win a single seat in 2004.

In 2008, 16 TRS legislators resigned and they could only win back 7 seats.

In 2009 elections TRS contested as part of the grand alliance which consisted of TDP, CPI, and CPI(M). It could win only 10 seats out of the 45 seats it contested. In 2009 elections, the TRS chief KCR himself has barely scraped through in his Loksabha seat with a meager fifteen thousand votes margin. And in the important Sircilla assembly constituency, the TRS candidate KTR, son of KCR, managed to win the seat with 150 votes difference.

It is only in the recent by-elections of 2012 that some of the TRS candidates have performed well. However, even that trend has not sustained. In the by-elections held for the Parakala constituency in 2012, in TRS' bastion Warangal district, the party barely won the election.

When TRS wins, separatists showcase it as a victory for separatist movement. Even when they lose an election, they claim that it is a victory for the separatist agitation as other parties are also in favor of division. This is a convenient "heads I win, tails you lose" kind of an argument.

The separatists say that there is widespread electoral support for the demand for division only when they win a few seats convincingly during the emotionally charged times. They would want us not to look at their electoral performance in 2004 general elections, 2008 by-elections and 2009 general elections for both Assembly as well as Loksabha. It is also important to note that TRS has not even been able to find a single candidate to file nominations for the Hyderabad Municipal Corporation, which has 150 divisions.

Our fight is not with the people who came here for livelihood, but with those who are exploiting Telangana people.

Separatists argue that exploiters come from Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema. This strange construction doesn't pass even a cursory examination. Crony capitalists don't have a region. They exist in Coastal Andhra, and Rayalaseema as they exist in Telangana as well as the rest of the country. This line of argument is aimed at generating hate towards people belonging to other regions. This is akin to hate mongering we see against certain religions and ethnicities. Separatists still cling on to the outdated view of industrialists as exploiters but not as wealth creators. By their standards, are all the MNCs in Hyderabad and rest of India exploiters?



Separatists sweet talk that their fight is not with the people who came here for livelihood. However, reality is different. Separatists have stoned passenger buses that are plying between Coastal Andhra and Telangana region and have threatened to cut off access to the capital city similar to the blockade in the North East. They raise slogans such as "Telangana Wale Jaago, Andhra Wale Bhaago". Threats such as "Moosi river will turn red" has caused people from other regions to live in fear.

The double-speak of the Separatists is all the more evident in a collection of poems brought out by Telangana Writers Association called "Singidi". The language used against people of Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema in this book is so abhorrent that it is unprintable. The book is the best example of how the people of Andhra and Rayalaseema as a whole – and not the so-called 'capitalist class' - are the ones that are the targets of the hate propaganda. It is racial/regional profiling of a new kind, unheard of in Indian history.

If development was the justification for keeping an alien ruler in place, India should have never been free from British rule

This allegation made by separatists speaks volumes about their extreme thinking. Comparing fellow Indians in an independent democratic country with alien British rulers is proof of the lowest point that the separatists can stoop to.

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Britishers have not developed India, but destroyed it. Before the East India Company stepped on the Indian sub-continent, India was one of the wealthiest countries on the planet. At the time British left in 1947, we were one of the poorest countries. Yes, they have laid railroads and

gave us an unwieldy administrative machinery, but they have also destroyed once thriving Indian economy in the process.

We want to be left alone so that we can go and form our own Telangana state. We want to choose our own destiny. However, Rayalaseema and Coastal Andhra exploiters are stopping us.

It is important to note that Andhra Pradesh State came into existence based on the ardent desire of people from all the three regions of the state. The people of Telangana have welcomed those from other regions with open arms. Andhra Pradesh state and its capital Hyderabad were developed

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with the sweat and toil of people from all parts of the state.

When separatists demand a Telangana state, it is not that they want to go away, but are asking people from other regions to leave. Never in the history of India did a region which has the capital located in it has asked for separation. The demand for Telangana is not similar to Chattisgarh or Uttaranchal or Jharkhand. These regions were far away from the capital of their erstwhile states and felt acute negligence by the powers that be. On the contrary, the capital of Andhra Pradesh is located in Telangana and demand for a separate Telangana state is tantamount to expelling people of other regions from the state's capital. In other words, Telangana separatists are not demanding that they would like to go away from the other two regions. Rather, the demand is that the people of the other two regions leave the capital.

Andhras are exploiters.

Historically, almost all the literary works by Telangana writers have identified Nizam rule and the local feudal domination as the cause for exploitation.

Accusing the feudal lords for rampant discrimination, mistreatment and economic hardship of peasants was in vogue till early 1990s. In order to suppress the population and keep them in servitude, the feudal lords prevented their access to education and other benefits of modernity. This was the burden of almost every play, novel, and poem written in the Telangana region.



It is puzzling that suddenly the same writers train their guns against people from Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions, as cause for their woes. Ironically, the agitation for Telangana state is led by the same old feudals who were blamed in the past for subjugating the common people of Telangana.