

## Views and Suggestions on situation in Andhra Pradesh

To,

Date: 15 Mar 2010

Hon' Member Secretary  
Room No. 248  
Vignan Bhavan Annexe  
Maulana Azad Road  
New Delhi

Dear Sir,

Sub: Memorandum to present the views and suggestions on present situation in Andhra Pradesh and to request for creation of separate Telangana submitted regarding

Ref: Your press notification dated 15/02/2010

In reference to the press notification released on 5<sup>th</sup> February, 2010, we on behalf of 'Professionals Forum for Separate Telangana', present this memorandum to invite your special attention to Terms of Reference No. (1) as mentioned in your notification

'Professionals' Forum for Separate Telangana' is a forum formed by the professionals of Telangana region working in different corporate companies to be a part of present movement for separate Telangana and to present their stand point.

We present our memorandum in 2 parts: Part 1 and Part 2 along with an executive summary in page 2.

Part 1 presents the summary of the following topics:

1. Historical perspective of the movement --- Page 3 - 6
2. The political process that started in 1990 when BJP for the first time promised Separate Telangana and continuing till date & the movement in the current era --- Page 6 - 8
3. The common people's view on events that happened pre and post Dec 9, 2009 --- Page 9 - 9
4. Options that are available in front of the commission – Pros and cons --- Page 10-12
5. Out appeal to the commission --- Page 10-13

Part 2 (appendices) presents the following topics which support our argument in Part 1 for a demand of separate Telangana through facts, statistics and cases:

1. Telangana - history and emergence --- Page 14-14
2. Andhra - history and emergence --- Page 15-15
3. SRC recommendations and the merger of Telangana with Andhra --- Page 16-17
4. Violation of agreements from time to time --- Page 16-17
5. Agricultural crises due to exploitation of water resources of Telangana --- Page 17-20
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## Executive Summary

Although the language is common between Telangana and Andhra there are a lot of socio-economic, cultural and other differences between the two regions. The regions have been merged against the suggestions by SRC-1 report and against the wishes of Telangana people at large. After losing almost the entire justified share the people need to get in terms of jobs, water and in many other ways, Telangana people also have faced a lot of humiliation for their language and backwardness. All the assurances of fair play given to the people of Telangana were never implemented in the past 50 years. All the exercises ultimately turned out to be futile as they were, at best, attempts to treat the symptoms rather than the malady. They lost hope in the leaders and the political system.

The Government even denied the several appeals for peaceful protests by students, for their meetings etc., and blatantly suppressed them by forces and paramilitary forces. Even after the order by Union Home Minister, the students who participated in Telangana agitation are not released from jail. The Osmania university campus has been made like an LOC. Human Rights commission and the Supreme Court had to step in to save the fundamental rights of the people. All these incidents have made the people deprived of their fundamental rights and made them feel as second rated citizens in the merged entity and triggered suicides by students and people of Telangana which are unending till today.

At this juncture, the people of Telangana are looking at one & only one option: The demerger of Telangana from Andhra Pradesh and formation of Telangana state. On the other hand, the people of Andhra region are looking at what can be their capital city and how they will develop it, will there be problems in sharing of water resources etc and will centre announce any package for developing Andhra region. We have already seen many news reports that the daily labour had to resort to selling their things to feed their family because of any bandh happening.

Our sincere appeal to the commission is that around 8 crore people of the two regions have a lot of hope on the report to be presented by you. A common man in any region is looking for a permanent solution to the vexing problem and not a temporary one. No one is willing to see the agitations repeating again and again. No one is willing to see the damage to public/private properties which will create a bad impact on the Nation as a whole and deeply hurt the people who can put fingers in their mouth only by their daily wages. We have already seen many news reports that the daily labour had to resort to selling their things to feed their family because of any bandh happening.

After discussing with many people from the two regions we feel the best option to give a permanent solution to this vexing problem is to demerge the states with clearly stating the justified share of water each region will get and keep Hyderabad as common capital for 3 to 5 years period, during which the Andhra region can develop a good capital city with enough funding/ support from the Centre.

## Part 1

"In the simplest of its meanings, freedom means "the power to exercise choice and make decisions without constraint from within or without". The choice made could be social, economic or political. Majority of the revolts in history have arisen when a particular section of people were deprived one or more of these. Today, India is the biggest democracy in the world which means there are more free people in India than anywhere else in the world. In contrast, we represent a section of people who were deprived of freedom in all its forms.

This contrast is a result of continual ignorance of interest and freedom of a particular section of people in their own motherland. This is a classic example of how the rich became richer and poor became poorer in what is so called the biggest democratic set up in the world. Telangana is not a cause, Telangana statehood is not a demand, Telangana statehood is not a revolt. Telangana statehood is a claim of our own fundamental rights in a democratic set up. If democracy is all about meeting the aspirations of the people, then we think it's important to hear our voice why we fight for a separate Telangana and to take steps to fulfill our long pending aspirations.

### Historical perspective of Telangana and Andhra

Historically, Telangana carries its own heritage which dates back to 1083 AD from Kakatiya's period. Few inscriptions found in the recent excavations suggest the existence of Telangana as a standalone region since the time of Mahabharata. Telangana was never under direct ruling of British. Telangana is a part of erst while Hyderabad state in Pre independence India. The region of Hyderabad state was spread over modern Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. While the divisions of Aurangabad and Gulbarga were merged with Maharashtra and Karnataka respectively, Warangal and Gulshahbad(Medak) divisions were merged with the state of Andhra in 1956.

Andhra also known for its rich heritage was ruled by popular dynasties like Vijaya Nagara Samrajya. Pre-independence, Andhra was part of Madras presidency with Madras as the capital. In 1953, Telugu speakers of Madras Presidency wanted Madras as the capital of Andhra state including the famous slogan Madras Manade (Madras is ours) before Tirupati was included in AP. Madras, at that time was an indivisible mixture of Tamil and Telugu cultures. On the basis of an agitation, on October 1, 1953, 11 districts in the Telugu-speaking portion of Madras State voted to become the new state of Andhra State with Kurnool as the capital.

From an historical perspective, we can see that Telangana and Andhra were never together for hundreds of years prior to the merger and therefore there evolved no common culture to hold these two regions together. But in 1956, Telangana was merged with Andhra by showing the most unreasonable reason, the common language.

### SRC views and recommendation

This merger was done much against the wishes of Telangana people and against the recommendation of first States Reorganization Commission headed by Justice Fazal Ali. That is why there arose a need for the so called "GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT", to pacify the people of Telangana, which was never implemented completely in letter and spirit by the rulers of Andhra area. When an agreement is not implemented, it stands cancelled demanding the restoration of status quo ante. Hence, the people of Telangana are demanding the demerger of Telangana with Andhra but not separation from Andhra.

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Releasing the SRC report in 1955, in Para 386, the Commission pointed out, " After taking all these factors into consideration we have come to the conclusions that it will be in the interests of Andhra as well as Telangana areas 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 of Hyderabad State expresses itself in favor of such unification."

The Fazal Ali Commission in the succeeding Paras also stated as follows.

"387. The advantage of this arrangement will be that while the objective of the unification of the Andhras will neither be blurred nor impeded during a period of five or six years, the two governments may have stabilized their administrative machinery and, if possible, also reviewed their land revenue systems etc., the object in view being the attainment of uniformity. The intervening period may incidentally provide an opportunity for allaying apprehensions and achieving the consensus of opinion necessary for a real union between the two States."

"388 Andhra and Telangana have common interests and we hope these interests will tend to bring the people closer to each other. If, however, our hopes for the development of the environment and conditions congenial to the unification of the two areas do not materialize and if public sentiment in Telangana crystallizes itself against the unification of the two states, Telangana will have to continue as a separate unit. "

But this was never allowed. The leaders of Andhra in the name of Linguistic States did not want to take chance and wait until 1961 and pressurized the Central Government to form Vishalandhra. The main reason for this can be found in the observations of first SRC itself as follows in Para 376.

"The existing Andhra State has faced a financial problem of some magnitude ever since it was created and in comparison with Telangana the existing Andhra State has a low per capita revenue. Telangana, on the other hand, is much less likely to be faced with financial embarrassment. The much higher incidence of land revenue in Telangana and an excise revenue of the order of Rs. 5 crores per annum principally explain this difference."

The first SRC also highlighted the apprehensions of people of Telangana as follows in para 378

"One of the principal causes of opposition of Vishalandhra also seems to be the apprehension felt by the educationally backward people of Telangana that they may be swamped and exploited by the more advanced people of the coastal areas. In the Telangana districts outside the city of Hyderabad, education is woefully backward. The result is that a lower qualification than in Andhra is accepted for public services. The real fear of the people of Telangana is that if they join Andhra they will be unequally placed in relation to the people of Andhra and in this partnership the major partner will derive all the advantages immediately, while Telangana, itself may be converted into a colony by the enterprising coastal Andhra."

Merger of Telangana with Andhra, Violation of agreements and Rise of Telangana Movement

But, the then Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's government decided to ignore the SRC recommendations and decided to go against the wishes of people of Telangana and merged Telangana with Andhra on November 1, 1956 on certain conditions. The conditions were named as Gentlemen's agreement which

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was never implemented in letter and spirit by the rulers. And also in Nizamabad meeting, he went to compare the merger to a matrimonial alliance having "provisions for divorce" if the partners in the alliance cannot get on well. Nehru during unification of Andhra Pradesh had promised that the merging of Telangana region with AP was only an experiment, and if it failed, Telangana people could reclaim the region. This is an on record statement that he made.

### Breach of agreements and total injustice to Telangana led to Telangana movement

Ever since the formation of the Unified State the very first principles of the 'Gentlemen's Agreement' signed by the representatives of both the regions have been ignored. For example the agreement says that the post of the deputy chief minister should be given to a leader from Telangana, in case the Chief Minister is from other regions, has never been followed. All the governments since the formation of the Unified State – both Congress and non-Congress governments have ignored the 'Gentlemen's Agreement'. Since then the policies pursued have been favorable to coastal Andhra. These pertain to jobs in the government and public sector, irrigation projects and policies of education and health. The bias always was toward the non-Telangana areas.

Before the merger, the people of Telangana shared concerns that if they join Andhra they will be unequally placed in relation to the people of Andhra and in this partnership the major partner will derive all the advantages immediately, while Telangana, itself may be converted into a colony by the enterprising coastal Andhra. The same was mentioned in SRC by the Fazal Ali Commission. History has proved these apprehensions to become true. People of Telangana had to suffer heavy losses in form of exploitation of their resources like jobs, irrigation water etc. Their cultural identity was at stake and their livelihoods were at the sheer end.

When an agreement is not implemented, it stands cancelled demanding the restoration of status quo. Hence, the people of Telangana have demanded the demerger of Telangana from Andhra and led movements from time to time. Each time people fought for their rights, they were either deceived through some or the other agreement or they were suppressed by force. The widespread 1969 movement also popularly known as Telangana movement which was started by students of Osmania University in protest to the violation of Gentlemen's Agreement was suppressed by force killing hundreds of people including 369 students.

### Supreme Court upholds Mulki Rules

In the wake of huge protests by people of Telangana, Government prepared an all party accord in Jan 1969 which again was restricted to paper. Then a couple of packages were announced by then Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, styled as Eight point formula and Five point formula. But these formulas couldn't provide a solution to the root cause of the problem.

In 1972 Supreme Court upheld the Mulki rules but the leaders of Andhra and Rayalseema didn't even respect the Supreme Court ruling and implement Mulki laws but instead created a political and constitutional crisis by their resignations and finally brought presidential rule in the state. Soon after that, a six point formula was brought into the picture which again was never implemented in the spirit of it. In this way, each time Telanganites agitated for their rights, they were pacified for that moment by appeasing them through some or the agreement which never got implemented and betrayed people of Telangana. On one hand, they kept on making false promises in the name of agreements and on the other hand, a systematic suppression of the movement was planned.

### Systemic cultural invasion

The N T Rama Rao regime which came to power in 1983 through the Telugu Desam Party championed the 'Telugu pride' and 'self respect' vis-à-vis the Centre. Later, NTR shifted the Telugu film industry from Chennai to Hyderabad. This was a huge subterranean shift. From then onwards two processes happened: one, propagation of a discourse of Telugu pride and two, systematic rehabilitation of coastal Andhra interests in Hyderabad. In subsequent years, Chandrababu Naidu government qualitatively changed its tack and concentrated on a paradigm shift from NTR-style populism to neo-liberalism. Naidu, in his rule of about a decade, did his best to attract internal investment from coastal Andhra and external investment from the multinational corporate sector in high tech industries. He built the infrastructure needed for this in Hyderabad. There was also systematic exodus of coastal Andhra investors to Hyderabad. The rural sector and agriculture were neglected, which resulted in a large numbers of farmers' suicides; these particularly happened in Telangana. Naidu's focus was Hyderabad.

In this process, a systemic cultural invasion was planned and well executed. If we critically examine, we can find that Telangana freedom fighters like Komuram Bheem, Chakali Ilemma aren't given any importance in our text books. None of them are given right place in our history. Children of Telangana and Andhra regions are put under an illusion that freedom fighting of Telangana is nothing but freedom from British which is not true. It was freedom from Nizams. Even our traditional festivals like Batukamma, Bonalu, Medaram jatara, Komuravelli jatara are never mentioned in any of the academic textbooks where as other festivals that are specific to Andhra region are well glorified.

The culture existing in the villages of Telangana is completely different to that of Andhra and unfortunately we can hear about them only from our grandparents as there are no records of them. Literature of the region is not promoted at all. Works of literary stalwarts like Kaloji Narayana Rao, Dasaradhi Krishnamacharyulu aren't given proper importance. The arts and artists of this region aren't given the encouragement they deserve. Everyone in the state and many from outside would be aware of Kondapalli toys (Kondapalli is a town near Vijayawada in Andhra region), but not even few, from the state itself, would know about Nirmal toys (Nirmal is a town in Adilabad district of Telangana), many know about Dharmavaram sarees but not even few know about Sirsilla handloom products. In this way, the systemic cultural invasion and domination has led to the gradual disappearance the unique blend of Adivasi, Mughlai, Maharashtrian, Kannadiga and North Indian culture and artistic talent that existed in Telangana.

### Modern Era in Telangana Movement, Political Promises, Formation of Committees and Betrayals

1990 – 2004

#### A new life to Telangana Movement

1990 marked a new era in the fight for separate Telangana when BJP, the country's principal opposition party in today's political context has then promised Telangana through their Kakinada resolution. BJP created Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Uttarkhand states in year 2000 as promised. But to the disappointment of people of Telangana, the BJP could not create a separate Telangana state because of the opposition from its coalition partner, Telugu Desam Party.

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These developments brought a new life into the separate Telangana movement by year 2000. Congress party MLAs from the Telangana region, supported a separate Telangana state and formed the Telangana Congress Legislators Forum. In another development, a new party called Telangana Rashtra Samithi (or TRS) was formed with the single point agenda of creating a separate Telangana state, with Hyderabad as its capital lead by Kalvakuntla Chandrasekhar Rao, known as KCR.

2004 – 2009

Congress promises Telangana, betrays the people and forms Pranab Committee

In 2004, there arisen a hope when Congress party promised separate Telangana in its manifesto and fought the Assembly and Parliament elections in an electoral alliance with Congress. Congress came to power in the state and formed a coalition government at the centre and included separate Telangana state as a part of the common minimum program (CMP) of the coalition government. But, it never fulfilled its promise of separate Telangana and instead decided to form a sub-committee on Telangana with Pranab Mukherjee as its Chairman. The committee never came out a report on its findings and recommendation till now even after years of its formation. UPA completed its first term without taking any further step towards formation of separate Telangana and betrayed us by not fulfilling their election promise.

Rajashekar Reddy's political tactics and Formation of Rosaiah Committee

At the sheer end of his first term before going to the 2009 assembly elections, with an eye of gaining votes, Late Shri Rajashekar Reddy, the then Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh announced a legislature Committee headed by the present Chief Minister, Rosaiah to look into the demand of Telangana. None of Telanganites had any kind of confidence or trust in Rosaiah Committee and as expected, by not progressing even an inch towards the solution, the committee has proved that it's a committee announced just to pacify Telanganites in the elections and betray them.

Political parties promise Telangana in 2009 elections, cheat people openly in an open democratic set up

Ahead of the 2009 General Elections in India, all the major parties in Andhra Pradesh supported the formation of Telangana. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) again announced their policy of having smaller states and would create Telangana in 100 days, if they won the election.

On 9 October 2008, in a historical turnaround from its 26-year history, TDP announced its support for the creation of Telangana. Announcing the decision at the party headquarters in Hyderabad, TDP supremo N Chandrababu Naidu said, "Telangana was a 'historic necessity' and our party has taken the right decision in this regard. We do not take certain decisions only for political gains. We go by the people's wishes and respect them. The TDP will do whatever required 'legally, constitutionally and politically' for the creation of Telangana state." Having announced his decision, he fought the 2009 elections in an electoral alliance with TRS.

The Congress Party said it is committed to Telangana statehood and included the same in its manifesto.

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Late Shri Rajashekar Reddy maintained his support for Telangana even in his 2009 election campaign in Telangana region and soon after the polling is done in Telangana region in the first phase, he started his campaign against Telangana in his election meetings in Andhra which went to polls in second phase.

The Praja Rajyam Party (PRP), newly founded political party by film star Chiranjeevi, supported Telangana statehood prior to elections and went to people with his popular slogan "Samajika Telangana".

In this way, almost all the major political parties went to the people with the promise of separate Telangana in 2009 elections. It is a very important fact to note that no leader from any of the above mentioned political parties and none of the organizations of Andhra region which are now opposing separate Telangana had any kind of objection when the political parties went to elections by promising separate Telangana. But today, major political parties like Congress, TDP and the PRP have completely deceived the people of Telangana by grabbing the votes of Telanganites at the time of elections and taking a complete 'U' turn after elections. This is how we are openly betrayed by the political parties in an open democracy.

All parties announce their support for a resolution for Telangana on Dec 8<sup>th</sup>, 2009

On Dec 8th 2009, when an all party meeting was convened by the chief minister Rosaiah, almost all the Opposition parties, except CPI(M) and the MIM, promised to support the resolution in favor of Telangana state, if the Government moves it in the State Assembly. The opposition leader of Andhra Pradesh assembly on the records of assembly challenged the Government to put the resolution in the assembly and said that his party will whole heartedly support the resolution.

Chidambaram announces process initiation for Telangana formation on Dec 9, 2009, major political parties then take a U turn, Andhra leaders lobbied to force Chidambaram to change his decision

On Dec 9th, 2009, P Chidambaram, The central Home minister on behalf of Government of India announced that the Government would soon initiate the process for formation of Telangana. On that night, all people of Telangana celebrated throughout night by bursting crackers and dancing on the streets. But their happiness was short lived. It did not last even for 24 hours. The same opposition leader who challenged the Government to introduce a resolution has said how dare the Government to make such favorable statement for Telangana. The same leader who said he is for samajika Telangana said that it's an illogical decision by the Government to announce Telangana. The flood of resignations by MLA's and MP's of Andhra region killed their happiness and triggered suicides by students and people of Telangana which are unending till today. Then, after hectic lobbying by the selfish leaders of Andhra for their businesses and real estate in Hyderabad and political gains, the Central Government changed its stand again and again and said wide range consultations are needed.

Loss of faith in political system due to frequent betrayals

This is how the political parties and the Governments have cheated the people of Telangana time and again openly in an open democratic set up. No other movement in the history might have suffered such betrayals which we have faced. Having faced such heavy losses, sufferings and frequent betrayals, today the people of Telangana are questioning, "What happened to Pranab Committee which was formed 7 years back? What happened to Rosiah committee which was instituted by the then CM two years back? Wasn't 7 years time sufficient for Pranab Mukharjee to look into the matter? Wasn't two years sufficient

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for Rosaiah to understand the Telangana issue?" Having faced with such deceit, the people of Telangana have completely lost faith in political parties and political system.

Sir, we would like to frankly convey to you that the people of Telangana do not have enough confidence on whether your committee's recommendations would actually be endorsed by the Government and put to action to do justice to Telangana or not. We are doubtful whether the Governments which didn't honor the recommendation of SRC and the Supreme Court of India would actually honor your honest recommendations and act on them.

But sir, with a last hope for justice and with a complete confidence and trust in your committee and the credentials the members of your committee carry, we would like to tell you the inner feelings of people of Telangana post Dec 9, 2009 and what they feel should be the way out for the problem.

The people of Telangana were not even allowed to peacefully protest for the injustice done to them. They were inhumanly laticarged by the police on several occasions post Dec 9, 2009 and were put in jails by fling cases under irrelevant sections. Para military and police force was introduced in Universities, the temples of learning. Students were not even given permission by the Government for organizing a meeting to freely express their voice against the betrayals. Schools and colleges were closed to curtail the protests. Harshful sections were imposed to restrict the movement of people on streets and thus to suppress the movement. Courts instructions were not put to implementation. The directions of human rights commission are not cared. In this way, by its force and power, Government has exploited the fundamental right that the constitution provided to its people. It violated the basic norm of democracy i.e, to respect the opinion of the people. That's the reason why we are seeing endless row of suicides by students of Osmania and other Universities.

It is definitely the failure of the leaders and the governments who didn't do justice to the people of different regions of AP. Had they done enough justice, this situation wouldn't have arisen at all. If people have to live together in a common state, it can only be by love and not by any GO/rule/agreements/packages. The same has been proved in our country on numerous occasions. In spite of the different religions, castes, trades, cultures etc. we are all together united and will be united forever by our love for the Nation, which makes us very proud.

In our country there are many great intellectuals who give best recommendations but our fellow politicians overlook them and the same has happened in 1956 when Government of India has overlooked the recommendations given by Fazal Ali Commission in SRC report clearly suggesting that the states of Telangana and Andhra should not be combined until the public opinion in Telangana is crystallized and only after 1961.

Having made a good analysis, we think that the committee at the end of the day might have four options in front of them. After interacting with our corporate colleagues from both Andhra and Telangana regions and understanding the feelings of the people in different regions, here is what we feel about the options:

### 1. Continue with Common state

The regions have been merged based on Gentlemen's agreement of 1956, which was never implemented and was the cause of the agitation. When the very basis on which Telangana is merged

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with Andhra is not respected and is violated, where does the question of continuation of unified state prevail?

Although the language is common between the two regions there are a lot of socio-economic, cultural and other differences between the states. After losing almost the entire justified share the people need to get in terms of jobs, water and in many other ways, the people also have faced a lot of humiliation for their language and backwardness. How long can we expect them to fight peacefully for their justified share? How fair is it to ask them to fight for more than 50 years for a legitimate demand in a democratic country?

All of us know how lava comes out when a volcano erupts. The same is coming out from the hearts of the people of Telangana now. Today, every Telanganite is asking one common question "How long should we struggle??" They have decided that this time they won't step back whatever it may cost and how many ever security forces the Government may bring in and they have got themselves prepared to sacrifice their lives for the cause.

The Government even denied the several appeals for peaceful protests by students, for their meetings etc., and blatantly suppressed them by forces and paramilitary forces. Even after the order by Union Home Minister, the students who participated in Telangana agitation are not released from jail. The Osmania university campus has been made like an LOC. Human Rights commission and the Supreme Court had to step in to save the fundamental rights of the people. All these incidents have made the people deprived of their fundamental rights and made them feel as second rated citizens in the merged entity and triggered suicides by students and people of Telangana which are unending till today.

When India achieved independence we just had 15 states, now we have 29 states, what happens if the 30th state, the state of Telangana gets formed.

2. Continue with Common state with some special provisions for some regions:

Whenever an agitation arouse, the Government issued a GO like 6-point formula/610 GO etc which were never implemented and used all the tricks to bring down the agitation, but none of the leaders ever tried to solve the real problem the people are facing. They always tried to hide the fire within by pouring water but never tried to identify the cause of fire and resolve it.

All the assurances of fair play given to the people of Telangana were never implemented in the past 50 years. How can the people believe in new assurances now?

All the exercises ultimately turned out to be futile as they were, at best, attempts to treat the symptoms rather than the malady. Consequently, the exploitation of the region and its people continued unabated under the patronage of political leadership irrespective of the region it hailed from and irrespective of the party it belonged to. In this process the so called concept of Telugu Brotherhood has become an empty rhetoric (clearly evident from the fight between the High Court lawyers post Dec'9) placing the people of Telangana in an extremely unenviable position.

None of the assurances will ever get implemented in the common state where Telangana people are discarded by the tyranny of the majority. (175 MLAs from Andhra region)

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The leaders of Andhra region have changed their views completely and took U-turn between their stands in CM's all party meet and Chidambaram's announcement. Again the same leaders are going to rule the state. How can the people trust them if we show them an alternate solution?

All the leaders & political parties of Telangana region used the 'T' card to gain votes, rise positions and to get in to power. Once they are in to power, they completely betrayed the wishes of the people. Any agreements made to provide special provisions have to be implemented by the ruling party, which will definitely have a CM from Andhra region because of the political set up (175 MLAs from Andhra region & 119 MLAs from Telangana region). Time and again history has proved that the agreements will never be implemented in true spirit. The leaders from Telangana will again act as dogs (for the biscuits by Andhra CM) and will cheat the people for their ranks & posts and the political future of their families. Deprived of their legitimate share in the fruits of development, marginalized in the political process and administrative setup, belittled on the cultural and linguistic fronts they are virtually reduced to the status of second-rate citizens in their own homeland. Therefore, the demand for a separate state continues to persist and nothing else can make the Telangana people happy.

### 3. Declare two separate states

Smaller states will definitely pave the path for better governance, faster growth & better reach in resolving people's problems. Jharkhand, Uttarakhand and Chattisgarh are achieving tremendous progress after being a separate state and have exceeded the five-year plan expectations. This argument is well presented in part two of the report with supporting statistics and cases.

More than 60% of states of India are smaller than Telangana and are progressing well and are not causing any harm to National integrity.

The people are not asking Centre to declare the state in a day or so. They felt very happy and celebrated the complete night in streets when Mr. Chidambaram announced that "the process for forming the state of Telangana will be initiated". Everyone knows that the process will take time and the people are expecting the Centre to come up with a time bound program that the process will start within a month after the state returns to normalcy/peace and the process shall be finished within a year or so with due co-operation from all stake holders.

Telangana will still be a part of India and every Indian by constitution has right to live there. Even before 1956 large number of people from Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Punjab came to Telangana and are living here happily and peacefully. Majority of the timber businesses, cloth businesses, sweet shops in Hyderabad are run by these people who settled here long back. They have been doing their businesses very well without any hurdles. Our constitution provides right to live/work/trade anywhere (except J&K) in India and Telangana greatly respects it in principle and in practice.

The people from Andhra region will be a bit disappointed with this decision although they are not completely against the demerger of states. They have certain apprehensions created by the Andhra leaders that the people won't have access to Hyderabad and the migrants from other places will be sent back. Some of them have even made statements like the Telangana region won't give water from Krishna & Godavari rivers to Andhra region etc. which are completely untrue. The movement in Andhra region post December 9th is completely driven by selfish politicians and businessmen by creating false apprehensions among the people.

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If the people of Andhra are completely against the demerger of the states, the people of Andhra wouldn't have been silent when almost all major political parties promised separate Telangana in their manifestoes. The Congress led alliance with TRS would not have come to power in 2004 elections. If the people in Andhra region are against the demerger and the events happened after Dec'9th in Andhra region are true and had it been a people's movement, then the result would have been completely different in 2004 elections as nothing had changed much in the last 5 years.

4. Declare separate states with some special provisions like Hyderabad will be a common capital for both states for around 3-5 years etc.

The major doubts expressed by the people in Andhra region are about the capital city and sharing of water, if the regions get demerged.

State of Hyderabad:

Hyderabad had been an integral part of Telangana for hundreds of years in the history. This has been presented with enough facts and statistics in Part2. Telangana region doesn't have at least one second tier city like Vizag/ Vijayawada/Tirupathi which can be converted in to a state capital in due course of time.

No one has developed Hyderabad for any philanthropic purpose. Hyderabad had been the fifth top city in the country even before 1956, which it is now and everyone came here to do business for their gains because of the infrastructure and the opportunities the place has. Hyderabad is a metropolitan city and people from all parts of the country are living here happily doing their jobs/business.

At the same time, we do agree that the city has got some extra benefits being the capital city for a larger state and Andhra state needs a capital which has to be shaped up.

Hyderabad is at the centre of Telangana region geographically and anyone coming from other states should definitely cross Telangana region to reach the city. All the developments like Airport, Hitech city, Fab city etc are present in Rangareddy/Medak/ Nalgonda districts of Telangana region, which can't be separated. Clearly the option of having Hyderabad as Union Territory or as common capital can be ruled out.

Many politicians also argue that there were no agitations for a separate state by the regions with capital city in history. But, this is a completely different case. Some of them also argue that the separated state would have to develop its own capital city. But they also should know that Andhra Pradesh adopted Hyderabad as the capital city which served as capital for Telangana for 400 years prior to the merger.

In any case, if a demerger has to happen, only one region will get the existing capital city and the other region has to develop its second tier cities in to capital cities. We can use Hyderabad as the common capital for around 3 to 5years or so during which a nice capital city can be brought up in any of the second tier cities (Vizag/Vijayawada/Tirupathi etc) in Andhra region. We all can fight with the Centre for a package to build a nice capital in Andhra State and the centre will definitely support it.

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### Sharing of water:

We don't think that sharing of water is a major issue as we have Central Water Commission (CWC) which can clearly regulate the justified share a state has to get. We feel that this is the best possible option to make everyone happy as majority of the Telangana people don't want to see any other alternative other than demerger of the region and majority of the people in Andhra region are looking for a package/ provision for developing a capital city and water sharing agreements.

### Our appeal to the commission

We, as professionals working in different corporate companies who have nothing to gain from the current issue have tried our best in interacting with our corporate colleagues and common people from both Andhra and Telangana regions, in understanding the feelings of the people in different regions and in collecting the relevant information from the best sources possible and making a critical analysis of the issue. Having done that, we present you our honest and unbiased views and suggestions on the current situation through this memorandum that is submitted to you.

Our sincere appeal to the commission is that around eight crore people of the two regions have a lot of hope on the report to be presented by you. A common man in any region is looking for a permanent solution to the vexing problem and not a temporary one. After discussing with many people from the two regions we feel that the best option to give a permanent solution to this vexing problem is to demerge Telangana from Andhra Pradesh by clearly stating the justified share of water each region will get and keep Hyderabad as common capital for 3 to 5 years period, during which the Andhra region can develop a good capital city with enough funding/ support from the Centre.

Regards

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## Part 2 - Appendices

Part 2 presents the following topics which support our argument in Part 1 for a demand of separate Telangana through facts, statistics and cases:

### 1. Telangana - history and emergence

To understand a place, its culture, its traditions, values and what it stands for, it is very important to go back to the past and understand its history. Historically, Telangana carries its own heritage through its rule by some of the great dynasties like Satavahanas and Kakatiyas. Few inscriptions found in the recent excavations suggest the existence of Telangana as a standalone region since the time of Mahabharata. The name Telangana means the land of Telugu speaking people representing Warangal and Gulshanabad divisions of erstwhile Hyderabad state. The usage of Telugu in this region goes back to the reign of Chalukya dynasty that was believed to have used Telugu in some inscriptions.

Pre - Nizam: Telangana has been place for some greatest dynasties in the History. Following is the list of various dynasties who ruled the area of Telangana:

Kingdom	Time	Duration	Capital city
Satavahanas	200 BC	400 years	Kotilingam(Karimnagar)
Chalukyas	755-968 AD	200 years	Vatapi/Vengi
Kakatiyas	1110-1325 AD	200 years	Warangal
Brahmanis	1325 - 1527 AD	200 years	Gulbarga
Quthub Shah hi	1550 - 1687 AD	200 years	Hyderabad
Mughal(Nazims)	1687 - 1724 AD	35 years	Hyderabad
Asaf Jahi()Nizams	1724 - 1948 AD	200 years	Hyderabad

### The Hyderabad State

Hyderabad State is the largest princely state in the erstwhile British Indian Empire. It was ruled by Hereditary Nizam, from 1724 until 1948. It consisted of 4 divisions namely: 1) Aurangabad Division (In today's Maharashtra) 2) Gulbarga Division (In today's Karnataka) 3) Gulshanabad Division (Medak) 4) Warangal Division.

The rule of the seven Nizams saw the growth of Hyderabad both culturally and economically. Hyderabad became the formal capital of the kingdom. Huge reservoirs, like the Nizam Sagar, Tungabhadra, Osman Sagar, Himayat Sagar, and others were built. The state was the richest and the largest among the princely states of India. The land area of the state was 90,543 mi<sup>2</sup> its population in 1901 was 50,073,759. When India gained independence in 1947, the British left the choice of independence or unification up to the local rulers of the princely states. Being Muslim-governed state, the Nizam wanted to join Pakistan but the Indian Government carried out the so called "Hyderabad Police Action" and the Indian armed forces ended the rule of the Nizams of Hyderabad by the forceful incorporation of the princely state of Hyderabad into the Indian Union. After the 1952 General Elections, the first ministry headed by B.Rama Krishna Rao took charge of the State.

## 2. Andhra - history and emergence

Andhra denotes as "south" in Sanskrit. Satavahanas were Maurya officials titled Andhra-Bhritya (Officers of South). The early Indian people in this area derived the name Andhra from the Satavahanas. At independence, the territory now comprising Andhra Pradesh formed parts of Hyderabad State and Madras State then. In 1953, Madras State was partitioned to create Andhra Rashtram.

Pre - British Raj:

Kingdom	Time	Duration	Capital city
Satavahanas	200 BC	400 years	Kotilingam(Karimnagar)
Chalukyas	755-968 AD	200 years	Vatapi/Vengi
Kakatiyas	1110-1325 AD	200 years	Warangal
Vijaya nagara	1336-1646 AD	300 years	Vijayanagara(Bellary)
British Empire	1684 - 1947 AD	300 years	Madras (Today's Chennai)

### Madras Presidency

Madras was one of the three provinces originally established by the British East India Company as per the terms of the Pitt's India Act. Madras Presidency, also known as Madras Province and known officially as Presidency of Fort St. George, was a province of British India. At its greatest extent, Madras Presidency included much of southern India, including the present-day Indian State of Tamil Nadu, the Malabar region of North Kerala, Lakshadweep Islands, the Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions of Andhra Pradesh, Brahmputra and Ganjam districts of Orissa and the Tulu Nadu region as well as Bellary district of Karnataka. The presidency had its capital at Madras (now known as Chennai). The Presidency was dissolved when India became independent on August 15, 1947. On January 26, 1950, when the Republic of India was inaugurated, Madras was admitted as one of the states of the Indian Union.

### Madras Manade Movement

In 1953, Telugu speakers of Madras Presidency wanted Madras as the capital of Andhra state including the famous slogan Madras Manade (Madras is ours) before Tirupati was included in AP. Madras, at that time was an indivisible mixture of Tamil and Telugu cultures. It was difficult to determine who should possess it. Although historically and geographically it is a part of the Andhra region, the greater political dominance of the Tamils in 1953 at both Central and State level politics caused Madras to remain in the Tamil region. According to the JPC report (Jawahar Lal Nehru, Bhogaraju Pattabhi Sitaramayya, C. Rajagopalachari) Telugu people should leave Madras for Tamils if they want a new state.

In 1956, the Telangana region of Hyderabad State was merged along with Andhra Rashtram (another Telugu State which existed from 1-10-1953 to 31-10-1956) to form Andhra Pradesh (1-11-1956).

From an historical perspective, we can see that Telangana and Andhra were never together for hundreds of years prior to the merger and therefore there evolved no common culture to hold these parts together.

### 3. SRC recommendation and violation of agreements from time to time

Having made a good analysis on the issue, Fazal Ali Commission in SRC report clearly mentioned that there are apprehensions among people of Telangana against the merger and suggested that the states of Telangana and Andhra should not be combined until the public opinion in Telangana is crystallized and only after 1961.

But the Government ignored SRC-1 views and merged Telangana with Andhra in 1956 against the recommendations by SRC-1 report and against the wishes of Telangana people. Nehru compared the merger to a matrimonial alliance having "provisions for divorce" if the partners in the alliance cannot get on well. Nehru during unification of Andhra Pradesh had promised merging of Telangana region with AP was only an experiment, and if it failed, Telangana people could reclaim the region. The merger of Telangana with Andhra was, however, not unconditional. It was facilitated by a number of solemn promises made and constitutional safeguards given to the people of the region as a protective umbrella against the possible exploitation in the enlarged state. SRC-1 report expressed many doubts about the possible exploitations that can happen in common state. All the doubts expressed by the commission have become true. As feared, nothing could prevent the successive governments from exploiting Telangana region in every sphere – economic, political, administrative, cultural and linguistic. The promises were made not once. They were made umpteen times and were also broken umpteen times.

#### The Gentlemen's agreement and its violation

The Gentlemen's agreement of Andhra Pradesh (1956) refers to an agreement that was signed between Telangana and Andhra leaders before the formation of the state of Andhra Pradesh in 1956. The agreement provided safeguards with the purpose of preventing discrimination against Telangana by the government of Andhra Pradesh. The Gentlemen's Agreement of 1956, which was an assurance of fair play given to the people of Telangana to facilitate the formation of Andhra Pradesh, was scuttled the very same day on which the state was born, by the very same "Gentlemen" who were signatories to the agreement. The formation of Regional Standing Committee with enough powers, giving Deputy CM post to the other region, allocation of local jobs and seats in educational institutions etc were not implemented as stated in the agreement. The result was a massive revolt of the people of the region as Jai Telangana Movement in 1968-69 demanding separation of Telangana from the state of Andhra Pradesh.

#### Eight Point Formula, Five point Formula and their violation

The governments of the time in the state and at the centre then woke up and tried (or pretended) to undo the damage done to the region. The first step was the All Party Accord of January 1969. But it was shelved in less than six months time. Thereafter, a couple of packages were announced by the prime minister of the time, Indira Gandhi, styled as Eight Point Formula and Five Point Formula. In 1968-69, the State Government of the time issued an order that has come to be known as G.O. 36 of January 1969, aimed at repatriating about twenty five thousand non-Mulki (non local) employees illegally appointed in the Telangana region, to their respective places and appointing local candidates in the resultant vacancies. When the modalities of giving effect to these packages were being worked out the Supreme Court of India gave a historic judgment validating, what were then known as, Mulki Rules.

### Six point Formula and its violation

During the movement, to correct what critics said, on Indira Gandhi's recommendation, P V Narasimha Rao (from Telangana) was made the first CM of AP on September 30, 1971. The result was another agitation for a separate state, and this time for a separate Andhra state. It is referred to as Jai Andhra Movement. The leaders of Jai Andhra Movement demanded either scrapping all the safeguards given to the people of Telangana including the judgment of Supreme Court of India on the validity of Mulki Rules or bifurcating Andhra Pradesh into Andhra and Telangana states. At the end of 1972, when the Supreme Court upheld the Mulki rules, P V Narasimha Rao had to resign as CMr on January 10, 1973. Presidential rule was declared in the state. Finally, a political settlement was arrived at under the aegis of the Central Government. A Six-Point Formula was agreed upon by the leaders of the two regions to prevent any recurrence of such agitations in future.

After nullifying the Mulki Rules, the so called Six-point formula - a diluted form of safeguards - was foisted on the people. Even this formula has been, and continues to be, violated with impunity, robbing the people of Telangana of whatever little was left in the name of safeguards. It was estimated that between 1973 and 1985 around fifty nine thousand non locals were recruited in the Telangana region. As a result, the people of the region became once again restive and the government was compelled to issue G.O. 610 to rectify the situation. The sum and substance of G.O.610 was to repatriate all non local candidates illegally appointed in the Telangana region to their native zones and appoint local candidates in the resultant vacancies. The entire process was to be completed by the end of March 1986. According to several unofficial, but reliable surveys the figure has already crossed two lakhs till now. The house committee of the state legislature has not yet done anything tangible to arrive at the number of illegal appointments made in several departments at various levels i.e. district, zone, and region.

#### 4. Agricultural crises due to exploitation of water resources of Telangana

As we all know, our Indian economy is majorly an agrarian economy. As a part of this Mother India, Telangana people also have their major livelihood as agriculture. Agriculture mainly depends on water; the sources of this would be rivers, lakes, canals etc. The major rivers like Godavari and Krishna flow through Telangana towards Andhra. But unfortunately, the backbone of Telangana economy has been destroyed by denying the water resources. In Telangana regions, only few areas cultivate one crop a year and very rarely two crops a year while most of the land doesn't even cultivate single crop. Despite 69% (river catchment area) Krishna, 79% Godavari flows through Telangana, the lands in Telagana have been converted to deserts.

The lands in Telangana depend on bore wells and entire cost of operations such as digging, power, bore well, motor, pipes etc which include to the total Irrigation cost of Rs.1500/acre is on the farmer whereas 13% of Krishna, 21% Godavari flows through Andhra and the total irrigation cost there is just Rs.150/acre. As a result of discrimination since the merger, the total irrigated area in Andhra region increased from 24.45 lakhs hectares to 26.00 lakhs hectares where as the total irrigated area in Telangana region decreased from 9.12 lakh hectares to 7.18 lakh hectares, about 22% decrease shows a dangerous trend of decreasing cultivable lands in Telangana. The allocation of water is based on the universal principle of available water in catchment area and the land available for irrigation. But, this

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was completely ignored by the rulers. This was not the sort of balanced development of all the regions of the state contemplated in article 371 (D) - 1 of the constitution.

### Region wise Total Irrigated Area

Region	Canal	Wells
Coastal Andhra	12,24,559	1,31,002
Rayalseema	1,24,567	1,68,077
Telangana	3,00,621	5,88,884

### Catchment area of Krishna river in AP

Region	Catchment area	Allocation of Water	Actual Utilization
Andhra	13%	49%	87%
Rayalaseema	18%	16%	13%
Telangana	69%	35%	Less than 1%

### Catchment area of Godvari river in AP

Region	Catchment area	Utilization Water
Andhra	21%(310 TMC)	23%(320 TMC)
Telangana	79%(1170 TMC)	9.6% (143 TMC)

Total loss of water share of Telangana merging with Andhra is 1125 TMC. 1 TMC serves 10000 acres, i.e. total cultivation land lost in Telangana is 11, 25,000 acres.

### Injustice in Projects undertaken and stalled / incomplete in Telangana:

- 3 TMC of water from Gandipet is sufficient to supply drinking water to Hyderabad city. Every year 1700 TMC of water is wasted and is flown into Bay of Bengal from river Godavari. Starting from Nizambad to Bay of Bengal there is no project allowed to build on Godavari.
- Jurala Project which is the first project on river Krishna meant for Telangana is the smallest of all the projects built on this river. Tribunal allocated just 17.5 TMC water for this project, but Govt. reduced its storage capacity to 60%. The actual utilization so far has not been more than 10%.
- Two major rivers Krishna and Tungabhadra enter the state of AP in the district of Mahaboobnagar(the biggest district in Telangana) but the district always remains the worst drought hit areas along with Anantapur because there is no project and process with which the water can be utilized. The plans for utilization have been pending for decades.
- Nizamsagar was built in 1931. Due to neglected maintenance all its 83 tributaries, 243 distributaries have been silted up and eroded. World Bank sanctioned 30 crores for the project, which was never spent and Veligonda project is being constructed on war footing basis. This will drain 60 TMC of water from Srisaillam. This project is not allotted water share by the tribunal and do not have clearance till now.

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- Devadula Project, provides water for 5 lakh acres, was promised to be finished in 5 yrs in 2001, but the work is yet to begin. The fact is Sriram Sagar is yet to be completed for last 40 yrs which provides water for 4 lakh acres. Two major projects proposed on Godavari - Ichampally (Telangana) & Polavaram (Andhra). Irrigation potential of Polavaram would be 7 times more than Ichampally. Ichampally power (975 MW) project never started. Dummugudem Hydal power station remained a promise on paper.

Following are the cases to show how badly Telangana water resources were used:

**NAGARJUNA SAGAR:** Built on: River Krishna, Location: Nalgonda district.

River Krishna will enter AP in Mahaboobnagar. 69% of its path is in Telangana, 13% in Andhra region and 18% in Rayalaseema. But Andhra uses 65% of its water, and Rayalaseema uses 20% of its water. Right canal and left canal of this dam are supposed to provide equal water to Andhra and Telangana regions respectively, now for various reasons Andhra is getting water to irrigate 20 lakhs acres and Telangana is getting water for only for 5 lakh acres. Under the Nagarjuna Sagar Project's left canal, 161 TMC of water should have been allocated, but only 82 TMC of water is available for irrigation. The original dam was supposed to be build much ahead of its present location but the location was changed so that it falls in the Telangana region. Due to the construction of the dam several hectares of Lime stone mines vanished as part of the dam back waters. 21 villages of Nalgonda got submerged.

**SINGUR PROJECT:** Built on: Manjeera River

Singur Project was built on Manjeera River to irrigate the fields of Medak but it was used to quench thirst of Hyderabad which is filled with settlers. Why are they fetching water from a Telangana district? And the Rs 250 Crores that was spent on this project was shown to be spent on Telangana. When this question was raised, government brought Krishna water to Hyderabad in a gigantic feat by laying huge pipe lines.

**SRISAILAM DAM:** Built on: River Krishna, Location: Kurnool district of Rayalaseema

Palamoor of Mahaboobnagar got its name as it was rich in cultivation and domestic animals were very abundant. Now after this dam was constructed the picture turned upside down, after Orissa, Palamoor is the largest provider of migrating labour. Mahaboobnagar which fell in the catchment area of the dam lost 117 villages & 2 lakhs people were made homeless for the construction of the project.

**TUNGABHADRA:** Built on: River Tungabhadra

Nizam started the project in 1948 and is supposed to give 20TMC (Thousand Million Cubic Feet) of water to Mahaboobnagar, but the canal which was to siphon water till Mahaboobnagar was stopped abruptly. Rajolibanda diversion laid the last nail to the coffin to irrigation in Mahboobnagar; it is diverting all water to Rayalaseema. Bachawat tribunal awarded 17TMC (Thousand Million Cubic Feet) of water to Jurala project(on river Krishna) and 30 years after the verdict the project capacity has been reduced to 10 TMC and it is still on hold as Govt. of AP is hesitating to pay 30 crore compensation to villages in Karnataka and Palamoor is still starving.

Godavari water and Godavari irrigation scheme:

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Of its entire path in AP, Godavari flows 79% in Telangana and 21% in Andhra but numbers change when it comes to irrigation 10% of land in Telangana is irrigated and need not tell about delta irrigation of Andhra. Pochampad project of Nizamabad which was started 35 years ago got rechristened as SRSP (Sri Ram Sagar Project) and it is still waiting for some or the other work to be done. But Telugu Ganga of Andhra region which was started 13 years ago is completed and is functioning well. Godavari runs in Andhra Pradesh for a length of 770kms from the confluence of Manjeera River. After construction of SRSP near Pochampad, the balance of 700 kms is left with out any project up to Sir Arther Cotton Barrage. The water in the river is mostly contributed by river Pranahita and Indravati river. The total annual flow is estimated at 1480 TMC and the excess and unutilized water is flowing in to the sea. Hence the government of Andhra Pradesh has decided to utilize the excess water by lift irrigation schemes, as Godavari lift irrigation project to supply 50 TMC of water to Ichampally project, to bring under irrigation vast lands in Karimnagar, Warangal, Nalgonda and Medak districts. As the river flow at 90 meters level, and Ayacut in these districts is at +360 to 500 meters contours (up to 430mts), only the lift irrigation is the solution.

The following figures will give an idea as to what extent the planning of various projects was manipulated and revised to the advantage of the Andhra region

Planned originally in coastal Andhra region

River	U/Godavari	U/Krishna 5.87	U/Penna
Original planning	4.38 1k.Ac	5.87 1k.Ac	1.751k.Ac
Now U/Irrigation	10.69 1k. Ac	12.65 1k. Ac	2.851 k.Ac

The picture can be seen clearly from the above data and statistics how brutally share of our water and resources have been deprived and how reluctantly the projects are going on. This is the pain of a farmer of the Telangana region.

### 5. Loss of cultural identity of Telangana in United Andhra Pradesh

The people of ay region are known by their culture. The festivals, the food, the music, arts, crafts, the marriages and customs, the bond between people etc define that culture. Cultural identity is what brings people together. When that identity is lost, it destroys the cohesiveness of that group or region and in testing times, the group strength becomes reduced and may lead to destruction. A culture can be preserved only by practicing and passing on to the younger generations in a proper way.

Cultural distinction between Telangana and Andhra:

Culturally the two regions are miles apart. Telangana culture is a unique blend of Adivasi, Mughlai, Maharashtrian, Kannadiga and North Indian cultures. Vast differences existed between the two regions in the days of Nizam's rule. The native dresses of Telanganites still differ from those of Andhras. In the olden days, native Telangana men wore turbans and dhotis while Andhras preferred lungis and bare heads. Telangana women in pre-independence days wore saris in style similar to rural women in Maharashtra. The cuisines of both regions are vastly different. Telangana cuisines reflect Moghlai and Islamic tastes while Andhra cuisines are heavily reflective of Tamilian mould.

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There are appreciable differences in languages. Telangana language is more overlaid with Urdu, Maharashtrian and Hindi words. Plenty of Urdu words are intertwined into Telangana Telugu such as Pa-ray-shan (worry), Sa-maj (understand). The tones are different so also the verb endings. All in all the Telangana and Andhra Telugu languages are very incongruous. It is fair to say that they are two different dialects. Many Telangana festivities are not found in Andhra region such as Holi, Batukamma, Bonalu, Kolatam, etc. Telanganites fly kites during Sankranthi in a frenzy of passion that is comparable to kite flying in Ahmedabad, Gujarat. Incidentally Telanganites observe Muslim festivals too. Peerila festival (Muharram) is one of them.

Loss of Culture due to unification:

Since the merger of two regions, Telangana culture was shadowed by that of Andhra. Various means that help in preserving cultural and traditional values have seen Andhra domination. As with other cases no equal importance was given in promoting the culture of the region and this led to loss of cultural identity of Telangana region.

Some of the instances which justify the above explanation are:

Traditional festivals of Telangana like Batukamma, Bonalu, Medaram jatara, Komuravelli jatara etc are never mentioned in any of the academic textbooks where as other festivals that are specific to Andhra region are mentioned. The culture existing in the villages of Telangana is completely different to that of Andhra and unfortunately we can hear about them only from our grand parents as there are no records of them.

- Telangana freedom fighters like Komuram Bheem, Chakali Ilemma aren't given any importance in the text books. None of them are given right place in our history. Children of Telangana and Andhra regions are put under an illusion that freedom fighting of Telangana is nothing but freedom from British which is not true.
- Literature of the region is not promoted at all. Works of literary stalwarts like Kaloji Narayana Rao, Dasaradhi Krishnamacharyulu aren't given proper importance.
- The dialect of Telangana is made fun in the movies. Urdu which was the official language and highly prevalent once couldn't be seen any more.
- The tourist destinations (except Hyderabad) aren't developed and promoted as they are done for the Andhra region. Thus we lose an opportunity to showcase our culture to the rest of the world. Similar is the case with pilgrimages and holy places of the region.
- The arts and artists of the region aren't given the encouragement they deserve. Everyone in the state and many from outside would be aware of Kondapalli toys (Kondapalli is a town near Vijayawada in Andhra region), but not even few, from the state itself, would know about Nirmal toys (Nirmal is a town in Adilabad district of Telangana), many know about Dharmavaram sarees but not even few know about Sirsilla handloom products. This is leading to disappearance of such talent as that wouldn't be a profitable choice for the artists

### 6. Employment woes of Telangana

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Every common man of a particular region needs a little share of that land because of his contribution towards that land since ages. They need not be given an importance of a king but should be treated like a soldier. These apprehensions were there in the minds of Telangana people that they would be robbed from their share of jobs and that would make them backward class people. That was what has happened in reality. Below paragraphs explain the argument.

### Scenario of Educational sector in Telangana

	Andhra	Rayalaseema	Telangana
Junior colleges	266	138	176
Degree colleges	167	70	74
All kinds of schools	26,786	12,857	17,594
Teachers in schools	88,435	38,552	65,040
Literacy rate	39%	38%	30%
Amount spent on aided Junior colleges (in crores)	17.4	7.73	2.63
Amount spent on aided Junior colleges (in crores) from 1969	365	162	55
Amount spent on aided degree colleges (in crores)	38.52	8.74	5.76
Amount spent on aided Junior colleges (in crores) from 1956	848	181	121
Primary schools (%)	48	23	29

Information as per 2001-02 government records

Telanganites constitute 40% of the state population while Andhra and Rayalaseema population constitute 43% and 17% of the AP population respectively. Going by these figures, even a lay man expects a relative proximity in the number of schools, junior and degree colleges in the regions of Telangana and Coastal Andhra. Unfortunately facts are speaking a completely different story .It is horrifying to observe that for every 1 lakh Andhra people and 70,000 Rayalaseema people there is a government junior college and in Telangana for every 6 lakhs students there is a government junior college. In case of Govt. Degree College in both the regions, for every 1, 75,000 students in non-Telangana region there is a college and every 3, 75,000 Telangana students have a college.

### Scenario of Employment sector in Telangana:

Intentional failures by the Andhra dominated government in implementing the agreements made to secure the right of employment of Telanganites, through Gentlemen's agreement, GO 610 etc., casted a death spell on thousands of unemployed youth. Without much discussion into the terms of reference of the Gentlemen's agreement and GO 610, here is a bulleted history of discrimination Telanganites are facing on the issue of employment in Govt Depts.

### Chronology - Saga of Govt Job denial to Telanganites :

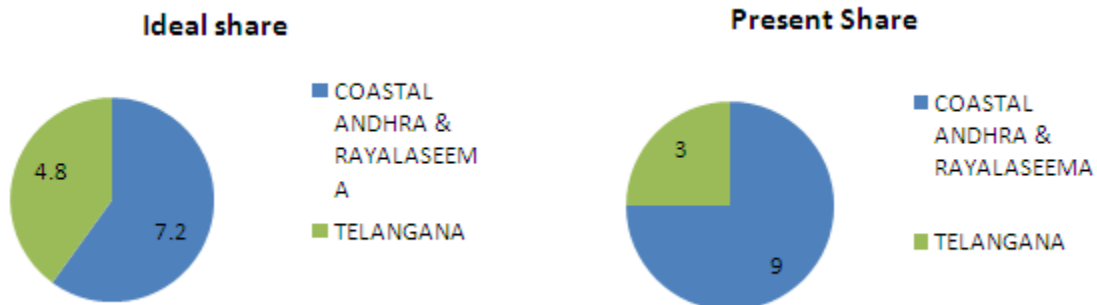
- Nizam formulated Mulki rules in 1919, which state that for a person to get a job, he/she must be in Telangana for 15yrs, but now Andhra rulers reduced the period to 4yrs

## Views and Suggestions on situation in Andhra Pradesh

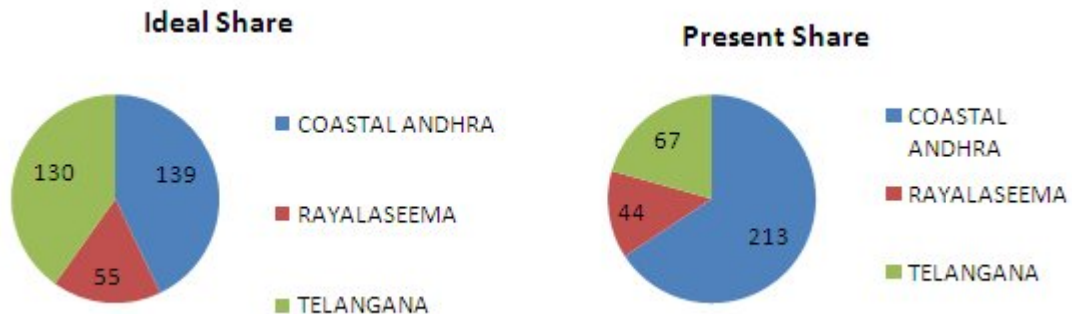
- During the merger, the leaders agreed to continue Mulki rules in Telangana. As per this, 100% employees in Telangana should be from Telangana only. Post 1969, as per presidential order Telangana people should get reservation of 80% in district level posts, 70% in zonal level posts and 60% in Gazetted posts. Remaining 20%,30%,40% shall be open to other regions
- In 1972, PV Narasimha Rao made an attempt to implement the verdict of Supreme Court validating the Mulki Rules. The verdict was in favour of Telangana. Andhra rulers managed to cancel Supreme Court judgment by passing a bill in parliament, and then 6 point formula was introduced for jobs. As per this formula, Telangana is split into zone 5 & zone 6.
- In 2001, Chandra Babu Naidu (CM) appointed Girglani Commission which submitted report in 2004, which said 2 lakhs Non-Telangana employees are working in Telangana.
- Based on the proportionality at least 40% of jobs, i.e. 6 lakhs out of 15 lakh Govt. jobs, should have gone to Telangana. But the total number of jobs now occupied by them is less than 3 lakh

Following pie diagrams help us get a clear image of the discriminatory attitude of Andhra rulers.

Government Job recruitments (in lakhs)

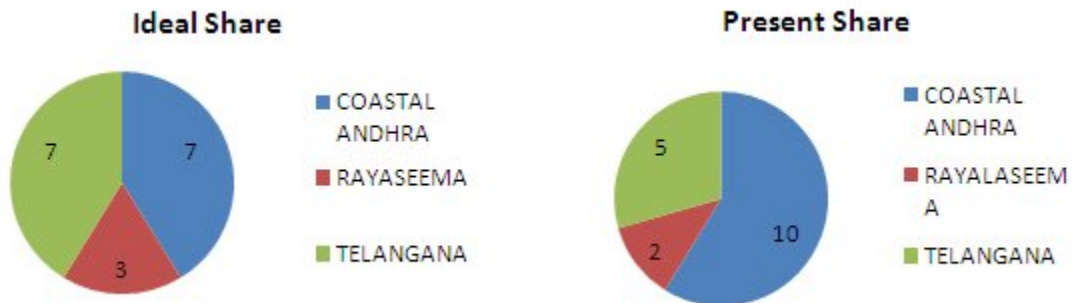


IAS, IPS, IFS and other similar Cadre Posts Recruitment – Region wise

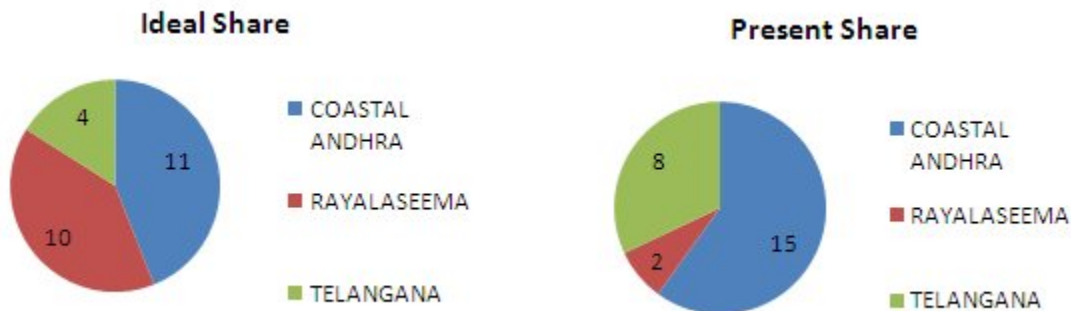


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### Vice Chancellor Post Recruitments – Region Wise



### High Court Judge posts recruitments – Region Wise



### Private sector:

Telangana people are being meted out with discrimination in the private sector too. The development of Hyderabad city, in any way didn't contribute to the reduction in the unemployment of the region. It is a known fact that more than 80 % of the industries in and around Hyderabad are controlled by Andhra capitalists. Almost all the positions in these factories are being filled by Andhra migrants into the city. Except for a few daily labour jobs, local people are being denied of employment opportunities which were formed on the very lands of these locals who deliberately (sometimes forced to) sell their land to the government at very nominal prices. Reports suggest that Ranga Reddy district alone has around 1,60,000 skilled and unskilled labor from Andhra region. This argument shouldn't be seen as an agitation against the right to earn a livelihood by an Indian citizen in his country but against the discriminatory policies followed by Andhra industrialists while recruiting people.

### Migration of Telangana youth to Mumbai and Gulf countries

Denial of employment opportunities in government offices, prolonged failures of agriculture due to shortage of water, intentional neglect in promotion of industrialization in other Telangana districts except Hyderabad and Ranga Reddy left Telangana youth with only one choice – migration. Today, Telangana has tons of villages, posing a bare look, with almost everyone in the village having migrated in

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search of livelihood. There have been news reports of cases where the families left elderly folk as guardians to their (valueless) assets and indirectly leaving them to die their own death. It is horrifying to realize that 14 lakh people out of Mahabubnagar district's 30 lakh have migrated to the other parts of the country in search of livelihood. People are suffering in the prisons of gulf countries on the charges of expired visa and illegal entry into their countries. If proper justice was done to the region in utilizing its rightful share this damage would have been avoided.

### 7. Hyderabad, an integral part of Telangana

In today's scenario the people of Telangana lost everything from culture to resources; from jobs to identity everything has been lost. At this point of time when there is a movement going on for development of our part, people are speaking about Hyderabad and development of Hyderabad. The argument that Hyderabad is developed by the Andhraites or people who came and settled is not true. When the great floods of 1900's ravaged away the Hyderabad, Nizam ordered engineers to design the city in a proper way and the result was Moksha Gundam Vishveshwarayya, the legendary civil engineer designed the city with good sanitary system with well lined drainages canals to discharge the downpour etc. In 1956, Hyderabad was a place with an Airport, Railway lines to connect it to main land built by Nizam.

The list of buildings and Infrastructure Hyderabad had before the merger

Assembly, Secretariat, High Court, Kachiguda Railway Station, Nampally Railway Station, Secuderabad Railway Station, Begumpet Airport, Hakimpet Airport, Osmania University, City College , Women's College , Monda Market , Mojzamjahi Market, Abids Market

Charminar, Golconda Fort , Mecca Masjid Taramati-Tomb Qutubghai TombsSalar-jung-museum Husainsagar, Osman-sagar-lake

Was Hyderabad really developed by Andhraites

"They say we people of Andhra brought infrastructure to Hyderabad" If so what about the things which I mentioned above and do Kurnool actually had all those? Kurnool the Capital of Andhra State before merger don't even have one single infrastructural building that is required to put up a capital. Where was its secretariat? It was in tents. And papers and documents of that period state that pigs used to disturb the meetings and eat away the files. They had a special budget for protecting files from pigs. And six months they were not at work because of rains which used to effect the tents were they used to work. Such pathetic was the condition. Still they claim they sacrificed it for us.

Here are some of the statements made by the 'rulers' of Andhra state prior to formation of AP

"If hyderabad joins us, then all our problems will be resolved, but how it is possible, how we can achieve, we have to think" - T Prakasam, 1st CM of Andhra state

"We do not have a place to put-up Capital City, not even a place to setup Distict header quarters" - Kadapa Koti Reddy, 1953

"In Andhra, we do not have cities which are developed in Trading, we have VISHAKA (harbor) that too a small one". A. Gopala Rao in 1954

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"In Andhra, we do not have COAL and Oil Resources and there is no provision to generate Electricity" - Bezawada Gopal Reddy, 1953

"We do not have any place which is capable of holding Capital City resources" - Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy 1953

Such was the Imperialism shown by the Andhra Politicos.

Like all cities elsewhere, Hyderabad City has also experienced growth in terms of population and space. Growth of the city turns futile, if city's growth is not planned properly, the target group of beneficiaries of development is not identified in a precise manner and the development of the local inhabitants is not envisaged. Like any other states there has been an artificial development because of the IT. After that false boom people of Andhra started shifting heavily and this saw a development of few areas like Kukatpally, Miyapur, Madhapur Jubilee hills and Banjara hills which once upon time considered as jungles. Now, let us take a look at the pattern of development of residential colonies in the city and its peripheries. Most of the new residential development took place in the eastern, northern and north - western parts. The development in the south, which has always been the place of habitation of the local populace, has been very insignificant. It is not out of context to mention that an overwhelming proportion of these are migrants. The picture that emerges is that the original inhabitants of the city continue to live in squalor and decay; the migrants live in relative luxury in newly-built residential neighborhoods appropriating the infrastructural facilities that were meant for the local people. This was only to the high end people and Aam Admi dint get anything out of it.

Did the slums of Hyderabad develop in anyway?

Hyderabad is characterized by a very significant presence of the urban poor, with a growing poverty profile. Slum settlements have multiplied over decades and the living conditions of the poor have not improved. Environmental decline, vehicular pollution, inadequate basic services and infrastructure in the poor settlements hit the poor hardest. Slums are scattered across the city and surrounding municipalities, with high population densities and the number of people inhabiting them estimated to be around two million. People of Telangana had put their sweat in developing the city and all the fruits of development have been hijacked by Andhra migrants and local politicians. Does anyone wonder where the native people of these villages are now? They shifted to neighboring villages and you can find majority of them running road-side chai shops and working as laborers in Andhra establishments. When the original Hyderabad isn't able to enjoy the fruits of the so called development by Andhraites, should we still regard their contribution as 'development of Hyderabad'?

Population comparison

United Andhra leaders are trying to create false notion that 40 lakh Andhra people are residing in the city of Hyderabad. Hyderabad is in the heart of Telangana and is surrounded by Telangana districts. Greater Hyderabad has been formed by including parts of Telangana districts. A close look at the statistics would reveal that the population in Hyderabad was 3.6 million in the year 2001. This has grown to become more than 4.0 million by 2009. The rise in the number of people residing in the city has catapulted it among the most populated Indian cities. According to estimates, if the population in the metropolitan area is also taken into account, it will be around 6.3 million. These are the official estimates. Unofficially, there might be a million more making it about 7.5 million or 75 lakhs. It has also

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been observed that the native Muslim community in Hyderabad forms about 40% of the total population, because they stay in the major share of Hyderabad land. So, it would roughly be around 30 lakhs. Now, of the remaining 45 lakh population, these Andhra leaders are saying that 40 lakh are from Andhra. So it should be an exaggeration! A realistic estimate would be 5 to 10 lakh. This indicates the standards to which the Andhra leaders seem to have fallen to claim Hyderabad for their vested interests.

### Damage done to Hyderabad

Dr.B.R.Ambedkar suggested Hyderabad second capital of India. He said Hyderabad is better than Delhi. Now were we Fifth position. Is it the development or damage?

It's a fact that Hyderabad has been victim and destroyed in the last 40 years. Where have the lakes gone, where has Urdu gone, who is responsible for communal politics in Hyderabad and Telangana, Who has taken Wakf lands, Who destroyed Telangana culture and language, what is the Matlab of setting up of 40 SEZs in Atraf Baldia out of 50 SEZs in AP? What is the use of creating GHMC when they can't even manage street lights and slums? In India any citizen can go and settle anywhere in the country, but why Andhra leadership fears if they have not committed any sins. Visakhapatnam is fast emerging as a counter metropolis in its own way. In reality, Visakhapatnam is the fastest growing million cities in Asia according to Census of India Organization. Per capita DDP of Visakhapatnam was Rs 2026; in Telangana while per capita DDP in Hyderabad is Rs 1758. So who is developed and who is damaged?

### Damage through Universities

There has been a huge damage done through universities by shifting major universities of Telangana to Hyderabad and showing the development at the cost of rural Telangana. Addition to the six universities with regional jurisdiction, there are six more universities having their jurisdiction over the entire state. None of these universities is located in the Telangana region. Of these six universities, the University of Health Sciences is located in the Coastal Andhra region (Vijayawada) and the Women's University in the Rayalaseema region (Tirupati), while all the other four universities, i.e., Agricultural University, Technological University, Open University and Telugu University are in the capital city. Further, the Agricultural and Technological Universities have their campuses and colleges in the Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions as well, but no such facility exists in the Telangana region. It may be recalled that the Technological University was actually started at Warangal in the Telangana region, but was subsequently shifted to Hyderabad for inexplicable reasons. Similarly, the Open University was initially launched at Nalgonda in the Telangana Region, but was later started in the capital city, again for no valid reasons. There are two institutions of higher learning deemed to be universities, namely, the Nizam's Institute of Medical Sciences and the S.V. Institute of Medical Sciences. The former is located in the capital city and the latter at Tirupati in the Rayalaseema region. There are two more institutions in the capital city which are fully funded by the University Grants Commission. They are: The Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, a deemed university and the University of Hyderabad, established in the year 1975, as an offshoot of the Six Point Formula, the Jawaharlal Nehru Technological University which was originally started at Warangal and subsequently shifted to the capital city does not have even a single college located in the Telangana region.

Even with regard to the starting of private engineering colleges, the Telangana region has been discriminated against. There are nine government medical colleges in the state, out of which four are in the Coastal Andhra region, two in the Rayalaseema region, two in the capital city and only one in the

Telangana region. The three nursing colleges in the government sector are shared equally by Coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema and the capital city, with the Telangana region drawing a blank.

### Moral of the Story

Why that is not even one single university of Andhra or Rayalaseema shifted to Hyderabad, why it was always the people of Telangana who have to sacrifice. Even with such sacrifice they say that we developed Hyderabad with these universities. How ridiculous is that and how can one support their argument? Educational development affects, and in turn, gets affected by the pace of economic development. There is a bi-directional linkage, and in this process the low rates of literacy and economic backwardness sustain each other. This precisely is the problem of Telangana.

### Film Industry

The film industry that has flourished in the capital city because of innumerable concessions given to it in terms of allocation of land, water, electricity etc., depriving the common man of Telangana of these facilities, is solely controlled by the Andhra migrants. People were given money to start up film industry at Hyderabad, a part of Telangana when madras film industry sent them away. Lands were given to build studios but they criticize the slang of Telangana. The film industry monopolized by the Andhras does not allow Telangana talent to flourish and made fun of the language, slang and cultural variations of this region. How fare is that to do such things when people of this land saved when they were thrown away.

So this shows a scenario of how people of Andhra came to Hyderabad and how the name of development was used by some people to make big bucks. This shows how terribly Hyderabad was hit by the Andhra people and development has cost its brand name.

### 8. Other facts and statistics in support of Telangana

1. There are 10 districts in Telangana, 9 in Andhra, 4 in Rayalaseema. Out of these 7 districts in Telangana, 3 in Andhra and 1 in Rayalaseema are considered severely backward districts which means 70% of districts in Telangana are backward while in Andhra - 35% and in Rayalaseema - 25%
2. 65% of Industries in Telangana are owned by Andhra. One Telangana person (close relative of Sri Jaipal Reddy) tried to start industry in west Godavari, he was harassed and tormented so much that he gave it up half way through.
3. Manuguru thermal power station proposed by Central Govt due to proximity of coal mines was lobbied to be shifted to Vijayawada, transporting coal from Telangana (singareni). This led to shortage of power due to pump set usage by Telangana farmers. Dummugudem Hydal power station never even started construction – this remained a promise on paper.
4. There are more than 130 posts of heads of departments. Out of them only 7 or 8 are held by the officers belonging to the Telangana region. All housing board colonies in capital city – 93% people are from Seemandhra.

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5. Sales Tax collection (2001- 2002) – Andhra 21%, Rayalaseema 5%, Telangana 74%. Excise Collections (2001-2002) – Andhra 24%, Rayalaseema 10%, Telangana 66%. 100% power of Vizag thermal (simhadri) is being used for Andhra only, but 27% power of Ramagundam is being used for A.P.
6. Most backward district in AP is Mahabubnagar, was granted 4% white ration cards. Most developed dist in AP is West Godavari dist was given 7% white ration cards.
7. 150 forts are about to ruin in the Telangana which were built by various dynasties. They are symbols of great cultural heritage. 450 tribal villages, millions of tons of limestone, rich minerals, and lot of natural biodiversity are going to submerge if Polavaram project is built. Metro Rail project is being designed dilapidating 5000 shops, 2500 houses, 147 schools, 120 hospitals, 60 Temples/Masjid/Churches. Historical monuments will disappear. All shops and complexes throughout Metro rail route are with Seemandhra thugs.
8. Government buys sugar cane from farmers (per quintal) in Andhra – Rs 1200, Telangana –Rs 890 Andhra lands are canal cultivated but Telangana are on bore wells. AP dairy buys milk from farmers from Andhra Rs 24.30, Telangana Rs 22.30
9. Kothagudem thermal power station sabotaged on purpose to obtain repair contracts to Andhra contractors in 1978, this is confirmed in single man commission (Sundar Ramaiah commission – 1979). All APSEB scams occurred so far at high level in board are targeted towards Telangana power supply and distribution, never to Andhra or Rayalaseema region. Higher officials found guilty by Vimal Lal commission, the recommendation were never implemented.
10. Proportional representation says Telangana should get 42% jobs in the Secretariat, but only 9% are working now. How can a people representative, MLA, MLC can get a work done if 91% do not help?

### 9. Smaller state for better governance

People say that smaller states will affect the growth of the state and push it into financial problems. Following are the facts which prove it wrong and make a point that smaller states will develop with much better pace.

#### Statistical Analysis of the Economy Growth:

Post independence, the organization of states between the period 1947 and 1950 occurred under Shri Sardar Vallabhai Patel. At the time hundreds of small princely states were very rapidly integrated into 28 units. The objective, at the time, was to ensure rapid integration of otherwise diverse states into the Indian Union. It was well recognized that this was not a long term solution and a more sustainable solution was essential. This resulted in the formation of the State Reorganization Commission in 1953, which gave its well known language based states' recommendations in 1956. Since the mid-sixties, three cases of major state reorganizations have occurred.

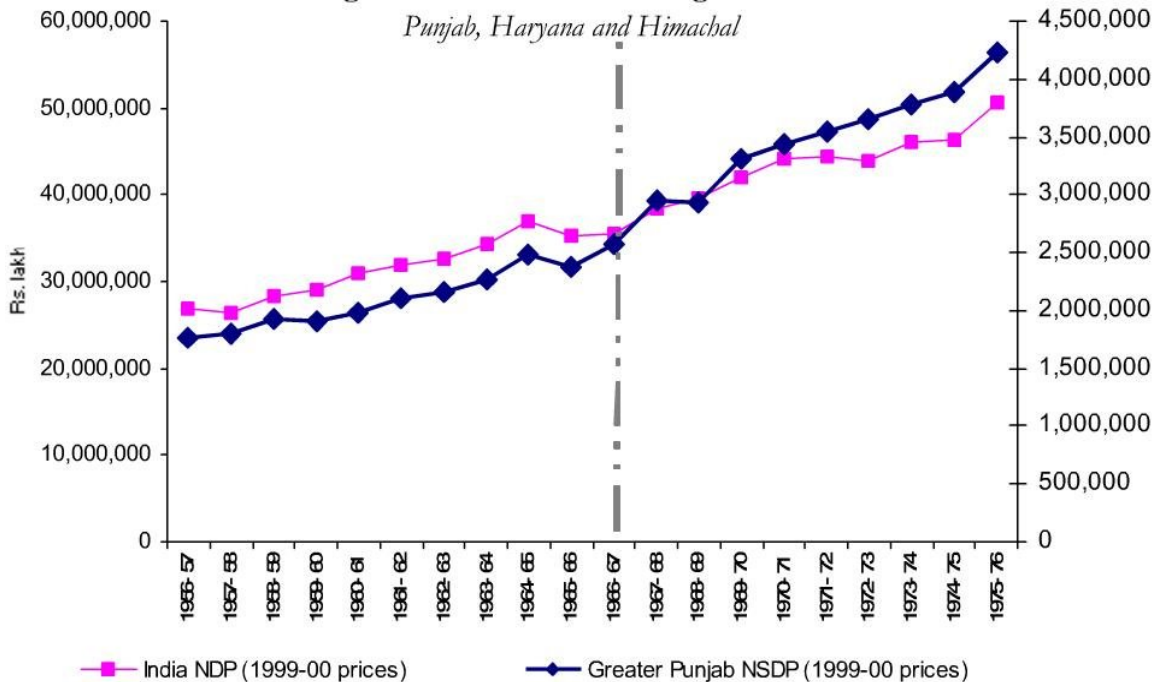
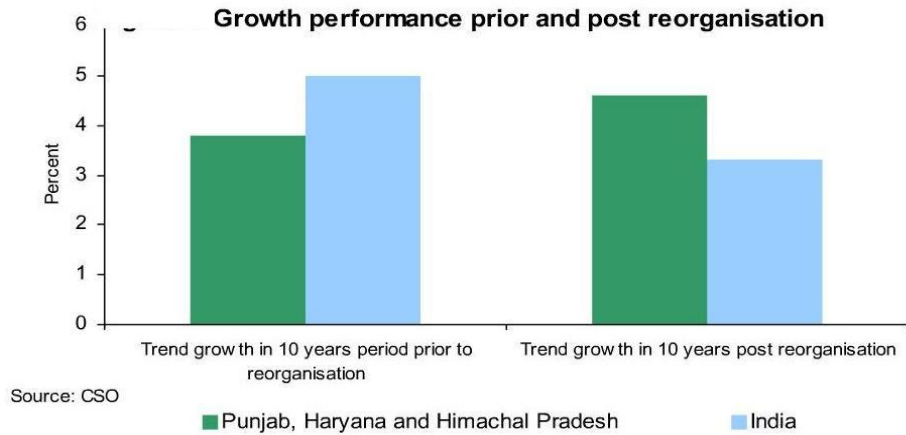
1966: Haryana was carved out of Punjab and some districts went to Himachal Pradesh

1971: Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya and Mizoram were separated from the state of Assam

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2000: Uttaranchal (re-named Uttarakhand in 2007) created from Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand from Bihar and Chhattisgarh from Madhya Pradesh. There was also the separation of the UT – Goa, Daman and Diu into the state of Goa and the UT of Daman and Diu.

Following graphs shows the economy growth of the Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh 10 years prior and post re-organization.



Courtesy: Kale and Bhandari, mimeo. Indicus Analytics, December 2009

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Following graphs shows the economy growth of the UP, Uttarkhand, MP, Chattisgarh, Bihar and Jharkhand prior and post re-organization

**Annualized Trend Growth pre and post Reorganisation of 2000**

	1993-94 to 2000-01	2001-02 to 2008-09	Percent Point Change post re- organisation
India	6.2%	8.1%	+2.0%
UP	3.9%	5.8%	+1.9%
Uttarakhand	3.1%	9.0%	+5.9%
UP + Uttarakhand	3.8%	6.1%	+2.2%
MP	5.1%	4.7%	- 0.4%
Chhattisgarh	1.6%	7.9%	+6.3%
MP + Chhattisgarh	4.1%	5.6%	+1.5%
Bihar	4.8%	8.5%	+3.7%
Jharkhand	4.6%	8.7%	+4.1%
Bihar + Jharkhand	4.8%	8.6%	+3.8%

We find evidence that the reorganization of states in the past has been followed by higher economic growth except thin Chattisgarh. Employment, Education when improved, would directly reflect the economy growth of any state. Apart from the past records, the following advantages reinforce our point that smaller states provide a conducive environment for economic and social well being.

- New employment opportunities will be created once the bifurcation of states is done for forming Government bodies.
- When the state is small, it easy for a common man to analyze the budget made by the government. At present it's difficult even for a well educated person to analyze it.
- The ruling body can focus on the under developed areas when the number of people or area under it is small.
- Today as our states are big, many times villagers from remote places even find it difficult to reach the place of district court, forget about the High court of state
- When state is small, if any government employee or law maker or politician will do the fraud, immediately it will show the effect on the other projects as it will become very difficult for that chief minister to bring new funds or hide his black deeds. Just take the example of classroom of 100 students and classroom of 25 students. In the case of 25 member classroom, it will be easy to manage and give the results.
- The United States, with about one third our populations, has 50 states, a number that's only grown over time.
- Smaller states may do better as administration can be more responsive to local needs and regional differences combined with greater homogeneity.

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