

Perspectives of Social Movements and its relevance to two contemporary issues in Andhra Pradesh

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ABSTRACT

The present paper is about two contemporary Andhra Pradesh regarding the social issues known particularly as social movements in which erstwhile Andhra Pradesh as well as present Andhra Pradesh involved. As we know that Samaikyandhra was a mass movement and its major collective effort being self-assured by the people of whole erstwhile Andhra Pradesh for a common cause, for the first time, because of two main but common doubts among its people, i.e., water and employment, as the combined Andhra Pradesh was a common base for several issues, especially the people who migrated from different parts of erstwhile Andhra Pradesh and as most of them being settled in Hyderabad for many years and on many reasons, hence did not want to go back or migrate again to their native districts. It was never in news, in view of protests or agitation, in which all category.

es of people came out to public for fighting against the partition even though it was not successful because of several political adjustments and manifestoes being made by different parties. However, the collective effort of erstwhile Andhra Pradesh people, did not succeed in stopping the bifurcation process as it had several historical reminiscences but it was a best example and stand as a best path of action in order to fight collectively for any common cause of public interest irrespective of varied social differences among themselves hence stand significant. Whereas, the second movement was based on two-fold, i.e., continuity of Amaravati as capital and withdrawing the idea of establishing three capitals. This agitation crossed more than 300 days by demanding the chief minister to withdraw the idea of shifting the capital to Vishakhapatnam, however, there is no positive response and hence this movement would continue until a positive decision that the present Chief Minister would throw.

In general terms a social movement is a type of group action containing large informal group of individuals or organizations who focus on specific political or social issues in order to carry out resistance undo for a social change. It formed one of an important subject matter of Anthropologists, Historians, Political Activists or Scientists and Sociologists and more particularly the latter's who noted it into several types, i. a reform movement which advocate changes in some norms or laws., for example i. a trade union with a goal of increasing workers' rights; ii. a green movement advocating set of ecological laws or to support the introduction of a capital punishment or the right to abortion, etc.; iii. A radical movement dedicated to changing value systems in a fundamental way, for example American Civil Rights Movement demanding full civil rights and equality under the law to all Americans, regardless of race, etc.; iv. An innovative movement in order to introduce or change particular norms, values; v. Singularitarianism movement advocating neoliberal action to effect and ensure the safety of

technological singularity, etc.; vi. Conservative movement to preserve existing norms, values, etc., for example, the anti-technology of 19th century Luddites movement opposing the spread of genetically modification for specific technological changes; vii. Group-focus movements affecting groups or society in general, for example, advocating the change of political system; viii. Individual-focused movements on affecting individuals, for example religious movements; peaceful movements which use non-violence to protest as part of a campaign of nonviolence resistance often called civil resistance and ix. Violent movements which resort to violence (Shah 1977). These can be distinguished into two major categories according to action plan and significance as old and new movements, the former being advocated for a change that existed for many centuries, especially dating to late 18th and 19th centuries, fight for specific social groups, such as the working class, peasants, whites, aristocrats, protestants and men who usually cantered around some materialistic goals like improving the standard of living, for example, the political autonomy of working class and the latter became dominant from the second half of 20th century like the feminist movement, pro-choice movement, civil rights movement, environmental movement, free software movement, gay rights movement, peace movements, anti-nuclear movements, alter-globalization movements, etc. Sometimes the latter five movements are known as new social movements. They are usually cantered on issues that go beyond but are not separate from class.

However, there have been many studies on social movements in India during the last four decades, though compared to many other areas, but their number is very small published after the mid-1960s mostly by historians, sociologists, political activists or journalists. Recently, social historians have produced many stimulating studies on social movements in general and peasant movements in particular, whereas sociologists focused on socio-religious reform movements, excluding the political dimension as beyond their scope. There is no precise definition of the term 'social movement' accepted by scholars of all disciplines or even scholars belonging to the same discipline. Like many other terms, such as 'democracy', 'masses', 'popular', 'equality', the term 'movement' is often used differently by different social activists, political leaders and scholars who have written on 'movements' and some scholars use the term 'movement' interchangeably with 'organization' or 'union' and some others use it to mean a historical trend or tendency. The ideological orientation is reflected in its definition, for example the works of Rudolf Haberle (1951), Neil Smelser (1963), John Wilson (1973) are

important, in this regard Paul Wilkinson (1971) advocated the following working concept of 'social movement', as a deliberate collective endeavour to promote direction by means of excluding violence, illegality, revolution or withdrawal, etc. and hence clearly specify different forms of historical movements, tendencies or trends. It is important to note, however, such tendencies and trends, influence the unconscious or irrational factors in human behaviour which may be crucial in illuminating the problems of interpreting and explaining social movement.

The working perception of social movement offers a precise definition but it may exclude protests and agitations which may not have an organization to begin with and the objectives, ideology, programs, leadership and organization are the basic components which are interdependent in nature and influence each other. Collective actions follow the path of acquiescence for social mobility and change in status are excluded. Action which is legally permitted and widely accepted as binding in society or part of society (Johnson 1966: 21) at a given point of time which is an institutionalized action. Such actions include petitioning, advocacy, lobbying, voting in elections, and fighting legal battles in courts of law. Sometimes these methods are accompanied by other collective actions which are used as tactics and in such cases, we treat them as part of social movement and the resistance of people against dominance, direction and commands of the dominant groups and the state is treated as a social movement. However, resistance is certainly an expression of protest but so long as it remains at an individual level and desists from confrontation due to involvement in collective action may not be a movement according to Scott (1985) and Guha (1989).

While explaining the conceptual problem of 'social movement' M.S.A.Rao (2006) denote that if we consider a social movement as an organized effort on part of a section of the population by involving the collective mobilization based on an ideology in order to bring out changes, either partial or total, in a social system, then we may come across the social processes in which interrelated social activities, interactions and events are related to ideology on the one hand and social or cultural changes on the other. But he emphatically proposed that the very character of a social movement as an instrument of social change which is quite different from an imitative or emulative process of mobility and change, as the latter being centred around acquiescence that emphasize the functional unity of social system and the former focuses on

protest of one kind or the other and emphasize on contradiction and conflict. Hence, the social mobility and change brought by social movements are based on challenge, protest, confrontation, aggression and revolt as opposed to acquiescence, request, obedience, loyalty, etc.

However, a social movement requires sustainable collective action over time and such action is often directed against the state and that takes the form of demanding changes in state policy or practice. Spontaneous, disorganized protest cannot be called a social movement and only collective action must be marked by some degree of organization which may include a leadership and a *structure* that defines how members relate to each other, make decisions and carry them out. Those participating in a social movement also have shared objectives and ideologies. A social movement has a general orientation or way of approaching to bring about (or to prevent) change. These defining features are not constant and they may change over the course of a social movement's life. Social movements often arise with the aim of bringing about changes on a public issue, such as ensuring the right of a tribal population to utilize the forests or the right of displaced people to settlement and compensation. Think of other issues that social movements have taken up in the past and present. While social movements seek to bring in social change, some counter movements sometimes cope up in protection of status quo. There are many instances of such counter movements for example, when Raja Rama Mohan Roy campaigned against sati and formed Brahmo Samaj, defenders of sati formed Dharma Sabha and petitioned the British not to legislate against sati. When reformers demanded education for girls, many protested that this would be disastrous for society. When reformers campaigned for widow remarriage, they were socially boycotted. When the so called 'lower caste' children enrolled in schools, some 'upper caste' children were withdrawn from the schools by their families. Peasant movements have often been brutally suppressed. More recently the social movements of erstwhile excluded groups like the Dalits have often invoked retaliatory action. Likewise proposals for extending reservation in educational institutions have led to counter movements opposing them. Social movements cannot change society easily. Since it goes against both entrenched interests and values, there is bound to be opposition and resistance. But over a period of time changes do take place.

A striking example is that of so-called 'Deccan riots' of the late nineteenth century against the government's land policy. Studies on such riots are included in the present theme, as they were a part of the larger peasant movement in Maharashtra. More often than not, political scientists and sociologists do not make a distinction between 'social' and 'political' movements. Sociologists assume, and perhaps rightly so, that the social movements also include those movements which have a clear objective of bringing about political change. Two volumes on social movements (1978), edited by the sociologist M. S. A. Rao, include two such studies: the Naxalite movement which aims at capturing state power, and the backward caste movement for asserting a higher status. Rudolf Haberle (1951) argued that all movements have political implications even if their members do not strive for political power. Political scientists, too, are not inhibited in using the term 'social movement'.

The studies on riots are not fully excluded from this study but taking some collective actions are often labeled by the authorities as 'riots', however, they are more often than not part of ongoing movements apart from good deal of debate among Marxist scholars on theoretical and methodological issues. Recently, a group of historians who are not non-Marxist(subaltern studies group) have begun to study 'history from below' and criticize the 'traditional' for ignoring the history of the masses, as if the 'subaltern classes' do not make history of their own, depending solely on the advanced classes or the elite for organization and guidance, hence it is argued that the traditional Marxist scholars have undermined cultural factors and viewed a linear development of class consciousness (Guha 1983a, 1983b; Chatterjee 1983, 1985; Hardiman 1987). On the other hand, the subaltern studies historians are strongly criticized by other Marxist scholars for ignoring structural factors and viewing 'consciousness' as independent of structural contradictions. There is a great deal of variation amongst the non-Marxist scholars in their approach to analyse social movements. The ideological positions regarding a need or social and/or political change, and the role of movements therein differ. Brahminical ideology and hierarchical social structure have made the oppressed classes to become docile, obedient and fatalist (Moore 1967; Chandra 1977; Badrinath 1977). Such assertions are refuted by other scholars who pointed out number of struggles by the oppressed classes in pre- and post-independence India (Cough 1974; Thapar 1977; Damle 1977; Dhanagare 1983). This is the result of the conflict between traditional values and attitudes on the one hand and modern institutions on the other. The scholars who adhere to the theory of political development consider that the rising aspirations of the people

are not adequately met by existing political institutions which are rigid or incompetent. David Bayley (1962) argues that public protests have a certain 'functional utility', hence even it divides 'coercive public protest' into legal and illegal protests and each category is further subdivided into violent and non-violent protests. Some others classify movements into grassroots and macro movements. Social movements are also classified on the basis of issues around which participants get mobilized and they are known as the 'forest', 'civil rights', 'anti-untouchability', 'linguistic', 'nationalist' and other such movements. Some others classify movements on the basis of the participants, such as peasants, tribes, students, women, dalits, etc. In many cases the participants and issues go together to achieve over the issues of contemporary times like that of recent Samaikyandhra movement and the present Amaravati Capital issue. As such, social movements often arise with the aim of bringing about changes on a public issue which result in the issue of ensuring the right of displaced people to settlement and compensation of certain interests like regional developments in view of education, agriculture, industries, etc., hence a movement like Samaikyandhra happened which originated from the heart of people of Andhra Pradesh as against the apprehensions like safety, security, employment and other socio-economic perspectives in order to safeguard the linguistic, cultural, political and other unification of erstwhile Andhra Pradesh and change of the capital of Amaravati even though the previous government has declared it as Andhra Pradesh capital and which has been accepted by the central government and been accepted by its location along with capitals of different states in India.

Erstwhile Andhra Pradesh was an unique, specific and significant areas in many ways, i.e., social, cultural, economic and political point of view, because of its variant physical dimensions in view of food culture and behavioural pattern of its people since time immemorial hence stand a significant areas in action and claim of movement like that of Samaikyandhra in which all sections of men, women and others took part against the partition of the then existing Andhra Pradesh for the cause of unification in several social, political and economic ideological perspectives with its emphatic ideology to save with a slogan -Jai Samaikyandhra-, not just a slogan nor a theme but something that came from the hearts of Telugu speaking people from different parts of Andhra Pradesh in order to agitate without any involvement of Political Leaders at the beginning but later on with their involvement. It witnessed vigorous involvement of general public who rather came onto streets and protested for demanding not to separate the state. It was supported by government employees, students from 14 universities,

advocates in entire Andhra and other regions along with various occupational groups on the basis of several problems like State's major income coming from capital city Hyderabad, implementation of welfare programs equally all over Andhra Pradesh, the exact account of Taxes paid by people of erstwhile Andhra Pradesh depending on the issue of developments that took place in cities and towns in Telangana Region, water problems on the upstream of Krishna and Godavari rivers, division and conversion of agricultural lands ultimately making Farmers into Daily Wagers as the most fear of Farmers and Water-User Associations, location of advanced Engineering College and Universities in Hyderabad which became a hub for Job-Oriented Courses or IT Companies, Consultancies, worried about the well-being of people who seeks to settle in Hyderabad in order to leave everything behind which may lead to Non-Residents of Hyderabad, unclear about the investments-made and properties built by those people, and the list went on like this, hence people lead to decision through various means of agitations, bandhs, hartals, strikes, raised voices of protests, procession of several unions, human chains, etc.

The movement took shape on 9th December, 2009 when the then Union Home Minister P. Chidambaram announced that Indian government would start the process of forming a separate Telangana state pending the introduction and passage of a separate resolution in the then Andhra Pradesh assembly. It resulted in widespread protests across coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions. Leaders and activists of Seemandhra political parties and several elected representatives and leaders of the Congress went on one day hunger strike extending their support to the cause of united Andhra Pradesh and also supported the hunger strike of Lagadapati Rajagopal demanding that the state be kept united. Students, workers, lawyers & various organizations in both regions launched agitations and peaceful demonstrations (dharnas) challenging that the state be kept united. MP's from these regions also submitted their resignations in protest seeking a reversal of home minister's statement. Two activists also allegedly committed suicide in protest against the division of the state. However, TDP leaders such as Devineni Uma and Paritala Sunitha undertook fast-unto-death as an act of protest in Vijayawada, Anantapur, Guntur, Ongole, etc., who were arrested and forcibly shifted by the police to hospital. On 3rd February 2010, the government announced a five-member committee headed by former Supreme Court judge Justice Srikrishna to look into the issue. It also announced Terms of reference to Srikrishna Committee, with a deadline 31st December 2010 to submit its report. The committee members toured all the regions

extensively and invited people from all sections of the society to give their opinion on the statehood. It received over one lakh petitions and representations from political parties, organizations, NGOs and individuals. It also held consultations with political parties and general public. It also gave interest in the opinion of different sections of people (Fig. 1) such as women, children, students, minorities, other backward classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In a report submitted to the Home Ministry of India on 30th December 2010, the committee opted to keep the State united and favored for bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh, however, the proponents of the movement were against the report and recommended option. Telangana leaders accepted the recommendations of the Committee Report and insisted on the formation of a separate Telangana State with Hyderabad as its capital.



Fig.1: A girl with a play-card opposing the division of Andhra Pradesh.

The people of Andhra Pradesh opposed the State Division and expressed their disinterest in the partition and requested the Congress Government to Revert Back the Decision. They also requested for considering the emotions of people from the other regions too in the entire Andhra Pradesh but by pointing on true facts. People and NGO's protested (Fig.2) against the decision through various unique means such as Agitations, Bandh, Hartal, Strike Action, One Lakh Voices Protests, Procession by Several Unions, Human Chain, and the meeting held by AP NGO's in Hyderabad is one of its kind.



Fig.2: NGO blowing Conch for demanding Samaikyandhrapradesh



Fig.3: Girl students in Samaikyandhra Rally.

The general public, students, NGO's, and all others single slogan was that 'We don't want any Committee's nor Packages nor a New Capital' and all we want is to keep our Andhra Pradesh as it is, United Andhra Pradesh, Jai Samaikyandhra'. They also demanded with continuous issue unless there would be a New Amendment in Constitution for 'No New States' to be demanded by Political Parties nor People in our Constitution. However, the overall argument of the public during the movement being focused on two major issues, i.e., 1. Water, that if state division would result in water problems in Coastal Andhra & Rayalaseema. The

farmers & water-users associations expressed feared division would render upland areas in Krishna delta into a desert and force farmers to migrate as daily wage earners. According to water experts, the Polavaram Project could take up to 15 years for completion and due to the state division its reservoir would be located in Telangana region which could further intensify the already existing interstate disputes over the project and 2. People in Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions expressed worry about the safety of their friends and relatives who have settled in the state capital, Hyderabad and secondly, they were afraid if they would be considered 'non-locals' in their own state, hence they also expressed that they are not ready to lose Hyderabad since they opined, they had contributed more for the development of Hyderabad.

Protests during 2010 to 2013 were intensified as the leaders of Samaikyandra students JAC were arrested near public Gardens in Hyderabad when they tried to hold a meeting at the venue. They also raided houses of MLAs in the Coastal Andhra & Rayalaseema regions demanding them to resign and prevail on the central government to keep the state united. Students under the banner of the Samaikyandhra Vidyarthi Joint Action Committee (SVJAC) held rallies urging the Centre to come out with a clear-cut announcement for keeping the State united at several places in all districts. The bandh call given by 'Samaikya Andhra' supporters was, by and large, voluntary, total and peaceful, barring few sporadic incidents of violence. Educational institutions and business establishments kept their shutters down, with people from all walks of life extending their support for the cause of a unified state.

The protests also included exclusive demonstrations by advocates, teachers, students, automobile mechanics, bus and lorry owners, drivers, tailors, barbers, butchers, goldsmiths, carpenters and merchants in different parts of the region. The protesters, raised slogans like for 'United Andhra Pradesh'. Petrol bunks, educational institutions, cinema halls, shops and establishments were closed at most places even as various forms of protests, including hunger strike, rallies were organized. One minister and 18 legislators from the Congress Party in Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions resigned over the bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh. The decision to create a separate state triggered protests across the Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions and by several government employee unions in Hyderabad. There were bandhs, blocking highways and roads, sporadic protests by students JAC, the NGOs (the non-gazetted government employees) and other sections of the public. Protesters raised slogans expressing their ire at the Congress president Sonia Gandhi and burnt effigies of Sonia

Gandhi and KCR (Deccan Chronicle 14-08-2013). In Vizianagaram, a home guard committed suicide in protest against the decision and another death, of a student, was reported from Guntur over the same issue. APSRTC employee's union, AP Government Doctors Association, Lawyers condemned bifurcation of the State and went round the court premises holding banners demanding that the Government keep the State unified. All commercial activity came to a standstill and educational institutions were closed. All private business establishments, banks, government offices, hotels remained closed. The protests also included exclusive demonstrations by advocates, teachers, students (Fig.3), automobile mechanics, bus and lorry owners, drivers, tailors, barbers, butchers, goldsmiths, carpenters and merchants in different parts of the region. The protesters, raised slogans like for 'United Andhra Pradesh'. Samaikyandhra movement (Venkatasubbaiah et al 2018:1-24).witnessed a major collective effort of the people for a common cause for the first time because of two main but common fears among its people, i.e., water and employment, as the combined Andhra Pradesh was a common base for several issues however, it has shown a path to the public in order to collectively fight for any common cause of public interest irrespective of social differences among them, hence stand significant, however, it resulted in the formation of two separate states in the first week of June 2014, Telangana being better position than Andhra Pradesh, as the latter has been thrown into financial crisis and in debt.

The second important contemporary issue of social movement of the state at present being the issues related to continuation of Amaravati as state's capital and establishment of capitals at three places in anticipation of regional development which led to vigorous agitation for the last 300 days by the people and farmers who donated their lands of 30,000 acres. However, one can visualized the historical importance of the capital region recognised by one of the Scottish Army Officer namely Col. Colin Mackenzie through his meticulous work of cartography in the light of History and Culture of ancient Amaravati town known as 'Dhanyakataka' and its contiguous villages in Guntur District (Paddayya 2005: 28-32 and 'Hindu' 4th March 2017: Fig. 4) as early as 1816 and its history dates back to 2nd century BCE when it was the capital of Satavahana Dynasty of the Andhras considering one of the earliest Indian empires and the ancestral dynasty of Andhra Pradesh who inaugurated the festival of Telugu New Year, Ugadi. Their main language was Prakrit which is written in Brahmi script that served the base for the script of present Telugu language as well as religious treasure (News Minute 2019) which were partly responsible for the prevalence of Buddhism in the region,

especially Mahayana Buddhism where a large Buddhist Stupa known as Mahachaitya or popularly known as Amaravati stupa after Amaravati school of Art, a centre of Buddhist learning which attracted many followers of Buddhism from South East Asian countries. As an ancient city along with Nagarjunakonda which is viewed as one of the richest holy sites of Buddhism in entire India.

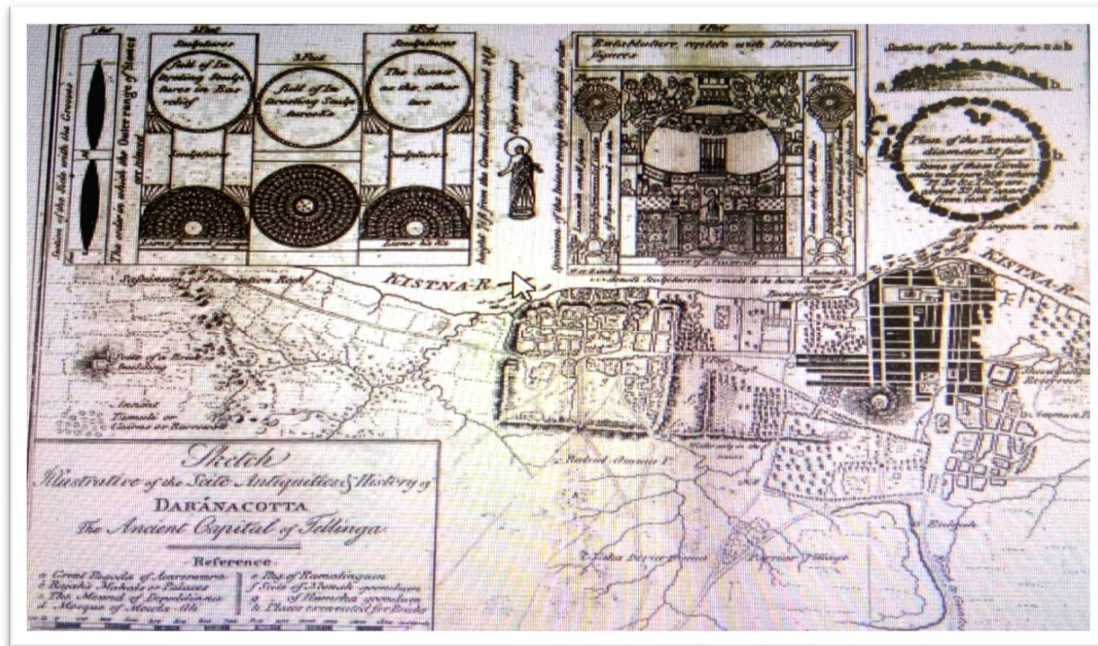


Fig.4: Map of Amaravati site (1817: Modern town, Buddhist sputa, Early Historic fortification at Dharanikota and a cluster of stone circles: After Paddayya 2005:Fig.13).

The entire region referred here was under the rule of different dynasties, i.e., Ikshvakus, Vishnukunds, Pallavas, Cholas, Kakatiyas, Delhi Sultanate, Musunuri Nayaks, Bahmani Sultanate, Vijayanagara, Empire, Sultanate of Golkonda and Mughal Empire successively before the foundation of Nizam of Hyderabad in 1724. It was ceded to France in 1750, however it was captured by the British in 1759 but Guntur returned to Nizamate and in 1768 it was ceded to Britain till 1788 and also then ruled by Vasireddy Venkatadri Nayudu finally became part of Madras presidency during the British colonial period. As per the Andhra Pradesh reorganization Act, 2014, Hyderabad became capital of the then newly formed state of Telangana because of post-bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh and it would have remained as the joint capital of both states for a period not exceeding ten years, till Amaravati being built to serve as the capital of newly formed Andhra Pradesh as per the foundation laid at Uddandarayunipalem on 22nd October 2015, for which the then Prime Minister Narendra

Modi, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, N.Chandrababu Naidu, the Vice-President of India and then Chairman of Rajyasabha Venkaiah Naidu, then the Governor Narasimhan, Japanese minister for economy trade and industry, Yosuke Takagi and the Singaporean minister for Trade and Industry, Iswaran laid the foundation for the Capital city Amaravati because of two primary reasons as it is located on the southern bank of river Krishna as the primary city of the state's Capital Region being selected due to its closeness to geographical centre of the state. Office of the Chief Minister has been operated from Velagapudi since April 2016 but the Legislature remained in Hyderabad till March 2017 when it relocated newly constructed interim legislature buildings in Velagapudi. The newly formed government under Telugu Desam Party wanted to capitalize this region into a world-class capital city through promoting the glory, rich culture, historical and religious treasure of Andhra Pradesh through the design prepared by a Singaporean company under the supervision of international consultants in association with both governments (Live Mint 2016 and India Today 2019). In the presence of Prime minister and other dignitaries, as mentioned above, the former chief justice of India, Ranjan Gogoi has laid foundation stone for the Andhra Pradesh High court at Amaravati (Hindu Business Line 2017 and BBC 2020).

However, it is essential here to note the activities of previous government when it formed the government in 2014 with an idea of establishing a new capital at Amaravati. The new riverfront capital of Andhra Pradesh took away eminently cultivable land from farmers of Guntur and Krishna Districts about 33,000 acres of land to the Government of Andhra Pradesh on land pooling for Amravati and tied up with an amount of Rs.17,500 crores for the Housing and Urban Development Corporation through World Bank, Andhra Bank, Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and planned to raise the balance through public-private partnerships, investments, bonds, lease rental discounting, etc., estimated a budget of over Rs.1 lakh crore for the green field capital city for which the government of India sanctioned only 2,500 crores and promised to grant more in future. However, the present new government stopped major projects and contracts backed by APCRDA (Andhra Pradesh Capital Region Development Authority) and ADCL (Andhra Pradesh Development Corporation Limited) stating that the previous government has committed abuse of information, insider trading on several properties in Amaravati. Apart from this development many construction works including laying roads have come to halt those of undertaken by private companies who

continued albeit slow as the government appointed several committees for review, whereas, in July 2019, the World Bank dropped \$300 million capital project and gave a statement that 'India withdrawn request for financing Amaravati project and subsequently Beijing-based Asian Infrastructure Bank as well withdrew funding the Capital city project which lead the state government into financial crisis. During November 2019, the Singapore consortium comprising Ascendas-Singbridge and Sembcorp withdrew from capital city start up area project as the state government decided not to proceed further owing to its other priorities. Regarding the construction of capital city at Amaravati, Urban development minister Bosta Satyanarayana said that "Our priority is not to build London or Paris, it is not our priority and nor our capacity also" as the region is not conducive for building a green field capital city as it was prone to floods. Moreover, citing the financial condition of the state due to the economic slowdown and alleged misdeeds of previous regime, Finance minister Buggana Rajendranath had expressed inability to continue work on several large projects at Amaravati as conceived by the previous government (Amaravati protests, 2019-2020: Wikipedia, the free encyclopaedia)

On 20th January, 2020, the cabinet chaired by Chief Minister, Y.S.Jaganmohan Reddy approved the proposal on three capital cities aimed at "decentralized and inclusive development of all regions of the state". It also approved repealing the Capital Region Development Authority (CRDA) Act and establishes the Amaravati Metropolitan Development Authority. "The logical solution would be to lay emphasis on distributed development and decentralized administration to ensure that the fruits of the socioeconomic progress are enjoy equally by people of various regions," said the Bill placed before the assembly for its approval. The YSR Congress government has decided to offer financial packages to the farmers of the Amaravati region who had pooled the land for the capital city construction. Hundreds of farmers were taken into custody by the police in Amaravati when they attempted to lay siege on the assembly where a special session was convened to pass the Bills on capitals. The government has proposed to retain Amaravati as the legislative capital, while making Visakhapatnam the home for executive and Kurnool the judicial capital. On the advice of speaker Thammineni Sitaram, the assembly decided on a probe into alleged large-scale irregularities and insider trading over land transactions in Amaravati, before the then TDP government selected it for the capital city. The TDP countered the allegation and demanded a judicial probe, not just into land transactions in the Amaravati region but also in Visakhapatnam

during the past eight months of the YSR Congress regime. The agitation regarding the continuation of Amaravati as capital has been under way by the Amravati Parirakshana Samiti Joint Action Committee (APSJAC) protested in Nandigama town of Krishna District recently and demanded the retention of Amaravati as the sole capital of Andhra Pradesh and by 12th October, 2020 it has reached 300 days.

Meanwhile the former minister Umamaheswara Rao and TDP leaders took part in the protest in which the former said that YSRCP had admitted for Amaravati capital when they were in opposition, but changed their stance after coming to power and he further declared that it is the judiciary that is saving the state today and he was confident that justice will definitely win. The agitation will not stop until Amaravati will be declared as the sole capital and all those who are fighting for this cause will have a place in history. He blamed the ruling party stating that the YSRCP leaders want to shift the capital only to increase their assets and properties and YSRCP is trying to destroy the capital with public consent and sacrifices of farmers. Even though, the Amaravati region farmers and women are fighting for the past 298 days, YSRCP leaders are speaking in a tone that insults the agitating farmers and women (Fig. 5). YSRCP government is trying to suppress the Amaravati agitation with the brute force of the police.



Fig.5: Rally of farmers at Thullur village in Guntur district on 11th October, 2020.

In connection with the agitation of shifting the capital as well as establishment of three capitals the JAC (joint action committee) leaders staged a protest (dharna) in Guntur on 11th October, 2020 in which the leaders of TDP, BJP and the left parties participated and at one

point mild tension prevailed when the police stopped the leaders from going ahead with a rally. Whereas, on 13th October TDP general secretary Nara Lokesh and MP Galla Jayadev (Fig. 6) extended their solidarity towards the farmers stating that the YSRC regime is inhuman and ruthless as well as visited the protest camps in the capital villages and reiterated TDP's solidarity to their demand for 'One State, One Capital'. Meanwhile, Chandrababu Naidu, the former chief minister alleged that the TDP would stand by the farmers and extend them all support whatever it may be on completion of 300 days of the agitation.



Fig. 6: TDP party leaders extending solidarity to Farmers on the 300th day Rally.

Conclusion:

As we know that Samaiyandhra was a mass movement and its major collective effort being self-assured by the people of whole erstwhile Andhra Pradesh for a common cause, for the first time, because of two main but common doubts among its people, i.e., water and employment, as the combined Andhra Pradesh was a common base for several issues, especially the people who migrated from different parts of erstwhile Andhra Pradesh and as most of them being settled in Hyderabad for many years and on many reasons, hence did not want to go back or migrate again to their native districts. It was never in news, in view of protests or agitation, in which all categories of people came out to public for fighting against the partition even though it was not successful because of several political adjustments and manifestoes being made by different parties. However, the collective effort of erstwhile Andhra Pradesh people, did not succeed in stopping the bifurcation process as it had several historical reminiscences but it was a best example and stand as a best path of action in order to fight collectively for any common cause of public interest irrespective of varied social differences among themselves hence stand significant.

Whereas, the second movement was based on two fold, i.e, continuity of Amaravati as capital and withdrawing the idea of establishing three capitals. This agitation crossed more than 300 days by demanding the chief minister to withdraw the idea of shifting the capital to Vishakhapatnam, however, there is no positive response and hence this movement would continue until a positive decision that the present Chief Minister would throw. This social movement is restricted to capital region as is dominated by particular section of people who donated their lands for a common cause, however, there is a hidden meaning in several socio-political issues based on caste and creed of Andhra society. Five years almost completed by 2020 Vijayadasami for the foundation stone laid by Prime Minister Narendra Modi followed by the construction of capital being initiated as a 'yagna' for the benefit of Andhra people in all the 13 districts of present Andhra Pradesh and all efforts were made to overcome the losses caused during the bifurcation with the plan of inviting several national and international companies in view of overall developments according to former Chief Minister statement recently and by reiterating the farmers cooperation in donating 33,000 acres of land for the capital because of their trust on the government which formed part of Indian democracy. Keeping away the diversity of caste and creed as well as political scenario, the YSRC government should take firm decisions in avoiding breach of trust and thus help the lives of future generations in all spears so that the Telugu speaking areas, especially Andhra Pradesh would regain its original name and fame by keeping the personal interests apart. The former movement can be well compared to historical failures of unified Telugu kingdoms like that of Vijayanagara to Bahminis, the fall of Mussunuri kingdom to Turks and the Vijaya Rama Kingdom to the British, whereas the second one may lead to trajectory between castes as well as race over the capital city between two regions and an outcome of uneven weaving together of politics and strategies that are shaped to a large extent by the regional political economy structured around caste and need not to explain further and if this continues the prospects would enmesh caste politics and land speculation around the future capital was not only material (speculative capital) but also immaterial (involving symbolic capital) for the two competing and powerful castes as they becomes the axis of accumulation and dispossession, revolving around regionalism. In view of the present situation particularly in Andhra Pradesh and India in general the academicians and social philosophers should think and evaluate the political, socio-economic and religious perspectives in order to protect the democratic values of our nation and bring major changes among the general masses by their revolutionary ideas

in several sociological, economic, political, educational, religious, psychological, philosophical, etc., issues so that India can grow stronger and stronger in all fields meritoriously.

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