

The Telangana Movement: Result of injustice in Public Employment

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Abstract

Employment is a crucial issue for the ongoing Telangana Movement. The movement has made job opportunities and appointments one of the slogans' rather important elements, along with water and resources. On every occasion, the Telangana Joint Action Committee (JAC) and the protagonists of the political movement Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) highlight the issue of unemployment and explain the betrayal of Andhra rulers and governments. This slogan not only helped the movement to mobilise the youth and students, but the data presentation related to historical injustice done to Telangana youth is becoming a major issue for bifurcation. The Srikrishna committee, which was constituted to find a solution through "wider consultation", is flooded with representations from various sections and stakeholders. Among all, the issue of unemployment and betrayal to Telangana youth in employment opportunities is emerging as one of the major reasons for the state's bifurcation. This paper is an attempt to explore the sociological reasons for unrest among the youth of the Telangana region with reference to the failures of the governments in keeping up the promises and implementing the rules and orders from time to time.

I. Introduction

Unemployment is a major sociological problem and a major social issue. It is a condition viewed as undesirable by some members of the community. It is also an issue opposed by quite a good number of people in society. Governments are trying to resolve the issue by providing employment opportunities in both public and private sectors. But in the case of Telangana, it appears that ruling governments over sixty years betrayed the youth of the region by violating the agreements, floating the rules, and restricting their opportunities. The reports and representations filed before the Srikrishna Committee, the Committee for Consultations on the Situation in Andhra Pradesh (CCSAP), is a committee headed by former chief justice B. N. Srikrishna to look into the demand for separate statehood for Telangana or keep the state united in the present form of Andhra Pradesh.

Though the Govt. of India took a decision in the year 1956 in favour of unification, the unification was not unconditional and subject to the conditions in the Gentlemen's Agreement. The Andhras promised certain safeguards to the people, particularly the youth of Telangana, in the form of resolutions in the Andhra State Assembly. The first assembly resolution was moved by the Andhra Chief Minister, Sri B. Gopala Reddy, on November 25, 1955. This assembly would further like to assure the people of Telangana that the development of Telangana would be deemed to be a special charge and that certain priorities and special protection will be given for the improvement of the Telangana Region, such as reservation in services and educational institutions on the basis of population. The resolution further says, "This is not something that is done by us in response to their demand. This is specially mentioned in this resolution in order to convey to them through this assembly the unanimous opinion and voice of all the parties here that we would look after them generously. The Govt. has absolutely no objection to conceding to them all the opportunities that are intended for Telangana people. "

The Second Assembly Resolution was moved by the Andhra Deputy Chief Minister, Sri N.Sanjeeva Reddy, on 1.2.1956. "In regard to appointments and employment in the Telangana region, they appear to be having some fears that educationally more advanced people from the Andhra region might usurp all avenues of employment, depriving Telangana people of their due share," the report says. I want to make it clear that we do not want anything in return for your share of employment. We are assuring you that we will not touch your 1/3 share in employment. Such an assurance was made not only on my personal behalf but also on behalf of this assembly and government. " Like all other conditions of the Gentlemen's agreement, this clause was also observed more in its breach.

Similarly, Mulki's rules were also diluted. In the Telangana region, as part of Hyderabad State, there was a regulation called Mulki Rule (Narayana Rao KV, 1977), which was intended to protect the interests of natives of Hyderabad State in terms of reserve jobs in government service and seats in educational institutions

exclusively for the natives of Telangana who had a stay of at least 12 years in the region. One of the conditions for the merger of Telangana with Andhra was the continuance of this regulation. It was also incorporated into the Gentlemen's Agreement (Kodandaram, M., 2009). The Mulki Rule was either relaxed indiscriminately or ignored intentionally. Job seekers from the Andhra area were also encouraged and patronised to get into employment in Telangana by obtaining false Mulki Certificates.

This went on unabated for more than a decade. The number of such illegal entrants into Telangana's job field was estimated to have crossed a disturbing number of 24,000. It was a major factor in the Telangana people's revolt in 1968-69, which took the form of an intense agitation demanding the separation of Telangana from Andhra. Then the government of the time tried -- or pretended -- to undo the damage by convening an all-party meeting in January 1969. A decision was taken to repatriate all those irregular and illegal entrants to their native regions by creating supernumerary positions, if necessary, and by filling the resultant vacancies in Telangana by the local candidates, then called Mulkis. A Government Order (GO 36) was issued in this regard. Instead of implementing this GO, certain important political leaders of Andhra at the time opposed it and instigated the illegal entrants to approach the court of law not only to get the GO 36 cancelled but also to question the constitutional validity of the very Mulki Rule. After a prolonged litigation, the Supreme Court of India upheld the constitutional validity of the Mulki Rules. Therefore, the repatriation of those 24,000 employees became inevitable.

When the Chief Minister of the time, PV Narasimha Rao, expressed satisfaction over the verdict of the Supreme Court, the Andhra elite and employees resorted to a counter agitation. Their demand was to invalidate the judgement of the Supreme Court, scrap all the safeguards given to the Telangana region at the time of its merger with Andhra, or to create Andhra State, bifurcating Andhra Pradesh. The agitation took a violent turn, leading to the dismissal of PV Narasimha Rao's government and the imposition of President's Rule. During that period, the Andhra lobby once again prevailed upon the national leadership. The national leadership, as usual, succumbed to the manipulative skills of the political leaders of Andhra and annulled the judgement of the highest judicial authority of India in a most undemocratic manner. It did not stop at that. Illegal appointments of 24,000 non-Mulki employees were made legal. All of the other protections that Telangana had to have in order to merge were taken away without a second thought.

As an alternative, a diluted formula, which has come to be known as the Six Point Formula, was foisted on the people. Under this formula, the duration of the residential requirement to become a local candidate was reduced from 12 years to 4 years; the state was divided into six zones; and the word "Mulki" was replaced by "Local Candidate. All of this has been mere eyewash. It came into operation in 1975 through a Presidential Order. And its violation also started simultaneously.

The violation of the Six Point Formula has been so persistent that by 1985, i.e., in a span of 10 years, about 60,000 nonlocals illegally infiltrated into the government jobs in Telangana and deprived the local candidates of Telangana of their rightful claim on these jobs. This figure was arrived at by a couple of committees of officials constituted by the State Government itself. The result was another spell of unrest, especially among the youth and the employees. The government of the time was, therefore, compelled to issue another order (GO 610) in December 1985 for the purpose of repatriating those 60,000 employees illegally appointed in Telangana to their native zones by creating supernumerary positions if necessary, and for appointing local candidates from the Telangana area to the resultant vacancies. It was categorically stated in the said GO that it would be implemented before March 31st, 1995. 25 years have rolled by, but ironically, it is yet to be implemented. It is necessary to know in this context that a similar GO was issued in the same month, i.e., December 1985, to repatriate a few employees from Andhra to Telangana, with the same condition of implementing it by March 31st, 1985. It was implemented much before the stipulated time.

In this regard, the JAC and TRS submitted separate and detailed memorandums to the Srikrishna Committee with all documents and evidence. According to TRS's memorandum, "there is a specific condition in the scheme of things to ensure a fair share to all regions regarding staffing pattern in all state level offices, including secretariat." The intention obviously is to maintain their levels, proportionate to the population of the respective regions. " Further, it explains, this resulted in the Telangana component of the staff in these offices being hardly 10% instead of 41%, and that too, mostly at the lowest levels of the hierarchy. It's not just about the number of jobs here. The issues involved are of greater significance, with consequences of a far-reaching nature. It involves the question of meaningful and effective participation in the administration of the state concerning the formulation of policies and programmes and their implementation at the highest levels of the system. In the Indian situation, it is the bureaucracy that controls and commands the administrative machinery of the state. In the Andhra Pradesh bureaucratic set up, the Telangana element is extremely insignificant. As a result, the state's administration has become alien and inaccessible to the people of Telangana. Even the positions of political leaders, including several ministers, are in no way different. It is well known that the damage done to Telangana interests by the state's non-Telangana and anti-Telangana bureaucracy is equal to, if not greater than, the damage done by the political leadership. The antipathy of the Andhra leadership, the connivance of the anti-Telangana

bureaucracy, and the marginalisation of the Telangana political leadership have pushed the people of Telangana into the present plight. They can extricate themselves from it only through self-rule.

Mulki Rules

The Mulki Rules formed part of the Hyderabad Civil Service Regulations promulgated in obedience to His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Firman dated 25th Ramzan 1337 H. The State of Hyderabad was then a native Indian state which had not acceded to the Dominion of India after the Indian Independence Act, 1947. Chapter III of the Regulations is contained in Article 39, which reads as follows:

39.No person will be appointed in any superior or inferior service without the specific sanction of His Exalted Highness, if he is not a Mulki in terms of the rules laid down in Appendix "N". "Any person whose domicile is cancelled under para 9 of the Mulki rules will be considered to have been dismissed from his post from the date of such cancellation."

The following rules in Appendix "N" may be set out:

1. A person is referred to as a Mulki if—

- By birth, he is a subject of the Hyderabad State, or
 - By residence in the Hyderabad State, he has been entitled to be Mulki or
- (c) his father was in the government service at the time of his birth, having completed 15 years of service, or
- (d).She is the wife of a person who is a Mulki.

2. A person shall be called a subject of the Hyderabad State by birth at the time of whose birth his father was a Mulki.

3. A person shall be called Mulki who has been a permanent resident of the Hyderabad State for at least 15 years and has abandoned the idea of returning to the place of his previous residence and has obtained an affidavit to that effect on a prescribed form attested by a Magistrate.

4. If a Mulki woman marries a non-Mulki but does not leave Hyderabad, her Mulki rights are unaffected.

5. Where a woman who marries a non-Mulki and resides outside the Hyderabad State along with her husband and returns to reside permanently in the Hyderabad State after the death of her husband or after obtaining a judicial separation, shall again be called a Mulki, but her children shall be called non-Mulki, unless they are entitled to be Mulki under these rules.

6. Subject to the foregoing provisions, the Taluqdar, Hyderabad District for Hyderabad City and Hyderabad District, as well as the Taluqdar of the District in the District, shall be competent to grant Mulki-Certificates on the prescribed form if the applicant's father, prior to his residence in the Hyderabad State or appointment in the Hyderabad Government service, or the applicant himself, prior to his residence in the Hyderabad State:

Violation of Mulki Rules began in 1948, soon after the erstwhile Hyderabad State joined the Indian Union. The Govt. of India appointed Vellodi, an ICS Officer, as the Civil Administrator for Hyderabad State to help the military till a popular government took over the reins of administration in 1952. During these 4 years, thousands of employees from Madras State were brought to Hyderabad State in the disguise that they knew English, in violation of Mulki Rules. Thousands of employees of Hyderabad State, especially Muslims, were mercilessly removed from their services. People couldn't show how upset they were about these hirings and firings because they didn't have any civil rights while the military was in charge.

Soon after the popular government took over the administration in 1952, agitation against the non-mulkies broke out in Telangana. "Idli – Sambar go back" and "Non-mulkies go back" were the slogans of the agitation. Instead of sending the non-mulkies back, the government used police force to crush the agitation. At least 13 students were killed as a result of police shootings. Finally, the Mulki agitation was brutally crushed, and non-mulkies continued to serve.

The government of Andhra Region encouraged an exodus of employees from Andhra Region into Telangana by relaxing the Mulki Rules on administrative grounds and issuing Mulki certificates to the non-Mulkies and allowing them to infiltrate into the jobs reserved for Mulkies. The Telangana Regional Committee repeatedly prepared reports with concrete evidence on mulki rule violations and submitted them to the government for correction. The TRC reports and representations of Telangana Employees' Associations were ignored by the Govt. The number of persons registered in employment exchanges in the Telangana region of Andhra Region was 7269 as on 1.11.1968, out of a total of 53,626. On the number of non-mulkies in Telangana, government circles estimated it to be nearly 5000, but according to the figures collected by the Telangana NGO's Union, the figure was nearly 10,000, which included teachers, medical staff, surveyors, electricity employees etc. To this extent, employment opportunities for Telangana youth were denied. As per rule-3 of the AP Public Employment (Requirement as to Residence) rules 1959, (a) in the posts within the Telangana Region, only domiciles will be appointed. (b) in the Secretariat and Heads of the Departments, the second vacancy in every unit of three vacancies will be filled by a Telangana person. Rule 3 of the said rules was blatantly violated. The rules were relaxed, interpreted and implemented to favour only Andhra employees.

Telangana Agitation 1969

In 1968-69, the Telangana agitation was launched by the students and employees of this region for safeguards assured in the Gentlemen's Agreement when the governments headed by the Andhra Rulers did not care for the demand for the implementation of the Gentlemen's Agreement. Due to the irresponsible attitude of the leaders, the movement turned into a movement for a separate Telangana State. The government of Andhra Pradesh deployed police and military/CRPF battalions to suppress the movement. Lathi charges and firings continued for months together across the Telangana Region, especially in the city of Hyderabad. About 369 students and innocent people died in the firings. Employees in this region went on strike for 11 months during the movement.

In view of the seriousness of the Telangana agitation on 11-4-1969, the then Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, made a statement in Lok Sabha announcing the Eight Point Programme for Telangana Development. Education, Employment, and Plan Implementation Committees, besides the High-Power Development Committee, were proposed to be set up. One of the points which is relevant here is Point-IV- "The possibility, of providing for appropriate Constitutional safeguards in the matter of public employment in favour of people belonging to the Telangana region will be examined by the Government of India in consultation with a committee of Jurists". As was the case with all other formulas, this one too was not implemented.

The residential qualification in the Mulki Rules will apply only for the purposes of recruitment to non-gazetted posts and posts of Tahsildars and Civil Assistant Surgeons in the Telangana region. It will also apply to such posts as were non-gazetted on 01-11-1956 but have since been made gazette. However, in the case of composite offices such as Secretariat, the offices of Heads of Departments and common institutions of the State Government, these rules will apply for the purpose of filling the second vacancy in every unit of three direct recruitment vacancies in non-gazetted posts. Since the above proposals and arrangements were not in accordance with the gentlemen's agreement, the said proposals were not accepted by the agitators.

Mulki Rules: Supreme Court

The government, succumbing to the pressure of agitation, issued G.O. 36 to repatriate all the non-local employees from Telangana. The government's order was challenged in the high court by the Andhra employees. The Full Bench of the Hon'ble High Court of AP upheld the constitutional validity of G.O.Ms.No. 36 and Mulki Rules on July 9th, 1969. The petitioners appealed to the Hon'ble Supreme Court and the case was referred to a constitutional bench consisting of 5 judges. After prolonged arguments, the Supreme Court pronounced its judgement on 3-10-1972 in SLP (Civil Petition No) 993 of 1972, reported in AIR 1973 SC Page No 827, and upheld the constitutional validity of the Mulki Rules as follows at paras 16 & 18:

16. It was argued, however, that the impugned rules were part of a number of other rules that became void upon the commencement of the Constitution; all of the Mulki rules formed one integrated scheme regulating appointments to services and posts under the old Hyderabad State, and if the other rules were void, so would the impugned rules. But this principle of interpretation cannot be applied to Art. 35 (b), for it expressly saves laws like the impugned Mulki Rules. If we were to apply the suggested principle of interpretation, we would be rendering Art. 35 (b) nugatory, for ordinarily rules like the impugned rules would be part of Civil Service Regulations or laws dealing with appointments, especially in the old Indian States. We must give effect to the intention clearly expressed in Art. 35 (b). The Judges of the Full Bench also came to the same conclusion, and in agreement with them, we hold that the impugned rules were continued in force by Art. 35 (b) of the Constitution".

"18. Accordingly, we are of the view that the impugned rules continued in force even after the constitution of the State of Andhra Pradesh under the Re-organization of State Act, 1956."

After this historical judgement of the Supreme Court, there were no obstacles to implementing G.O.36 and Mulki Rules as agreed in the Gentlemen Agreement. In terms of the G.O.Ms No. 36, all the non-local employees from Telangana who were appointed in violation of Mulki Rules have to be repatriated. Unfortunately, the government of Andhra Pradesh, headed by Andhra Rulers, never respected the Gentlemen Agreement and these historical judgments of the Supreme Court.

In 1972, the leaders of Andhra Region started the "Jai Andhra" Movement in Andhra Region, opposing the Supreme Court judgement and demanding the formation of a separate Andhra State. They wanted to scrap all the safeguards provided to the people of Telangana and demanded a state without any restrictions if the combined state was to be continued. The Jai Andhra movement gained momentum. Succumbing to the pressure of the Jai Andhra Movement, the Govt. of India proposed a formula called the "Six Point Formula" in 1973.

The political leadership of Telangana, without analysing the effects of the six-point formula, blindly accepted it. The immediate result of it was the abolition of Mulki Rules and the Telangana Regional Committee, which affected the dilution of the Gentlemen's Agreement. The percentage of local reservation in employment was reduced from 100% to 60% in Gazette level posts, 70% in zonal level non-gazette posts and 80% in the

district level posts. For the purpose of employment, A.P. State was divided into six zones, and Telangana was divided into two zones instead of one zone.

End of the Mulki Rule

The Six Point Formula (SPF) was evolved by the leaders of Andhra Pradesh in consultation with the Central leaders and declared on 21-09-1973 in order to remove the misgivings then prevailing about the future of the State and to arrive at a settlement in the wake of the Telangana Agitation of 1969 and the Andhra Agitation of 1972. It is reproduced below:

1. Accelerated development of the backward areas of the state and planned development of the State Capital with specific resources earmarked for these purposes and appropriate association of representations of such backward areas in the State Legislature along with other experts in the formulation and monitoring of development schemes for such areas should form the essential part of the developmental strategy of the State Constitution at the State Level of a Planning Board as well as Sub-Committees for different backward areas should be the appropriate instrument for achieving this objective.

2. The establishment of uniform arrangements throughout the State enabling adequate preference to be given to local candidates in the matter of admission to educational institutions and the establishment of a new Central University at Hyderabad to augment the existing educational facilities should be the basis of the educational policy of the State.

3. Local candidates should be given preference to a specified extent in the matter of direct recruitment to (i) non-gazetted posts (other than in the Secretariat, Offices of Heads of Department, other State level offices and institutions and the Hyderabad City Police) To improve their promotion prospects, service cadres should be organised on an appropriate local basis, first or second, as administratively convenient, to the extent possible.

4. A high-powered Administrative Tribunal should be constituted to deal with the grievances of the services regarding appointments, seniority, promotion and other allied matters. The decisions of the Tribunal should ordinarily be binding on the State Government. The constitution of such a tribunal would justify limits on recourse to the judiciary in such matters.

5. In order that implementation of measures based on the above principles does not give rise to litigation and consequent uncertainty, the Constitution should be suitably amended to the extent necessary, conferring on the President enabling powers in this behalf.

The above approach would render the continuance of Mulki's Rules and Regional Committee unnecessary. Thus, they dispatched the historical Mulki rule and, further, in pursuance of the Six Point Formula, a necessary amendment was passed in Parliament to the Constitution of India, as Article 371-D of the Constitution, which reads as under: -

"371-D. Special provisions with respect to the State of Andhra Pradesh." (1) The President may, by order made with regard to the State of Andhra Pradesh, provide for equitable opportunities and facilities for people belonging to different parts of the State, in the matter of public employment and in the matter of education, and different provisions may be made for different parts of the State."

The major irreparable losses that occurred to the people of Telangana by accepting the six point formula and subsequent issue of the Presidential Order on the employment opportunities and allocation of seats in the educational institutions are as follows:

1. Local reservations were reduced from 100% to 60%, 70%, and 80% for various levels of post as explained above. The rest of the posts were to be filled up on an open merit basis and not reserved for non-locals. But they were treated as reserved for non-locals.

2. In terms of Mulik's Rules, the Telangana Region is one zone for the purpose of recruitment in public employment. According to the Presidential Order, Telangana is divided into two zones: Zone V, which includes the districts of Adilabad, Karimnagar, Warangal, and Khammam, and Zone VI, which includes the districts of Nizamabad, Medak, Hyderabad, Ranga Reddy, Nalgonda, and Mahboobnagar. For some appointments, a separate city cadre was organised. This provision was misinterpreted by Andhra officials, and Hyderabad was created as a VII Zone or free zone for the purpose of recruitment and transfers in all departments.

3. The period for local candidature was reduced to 4 years from 12 years. Thousands of Andhras were benefited by this reduction and they became locals in Telangana, especially in Zone-VI, who reside in and around Hyderabad City, being the capital of A.P. State. The native people of Hyderabad City and the Districts of Zone VI have lost thousands of jobs since 1975.

4. Prior to the Presidential Order, every second vacancy in every unit of three vacancies was reserved for Telangana in the Secretariat and HODs. **The Presidential Order** of 1975 removed such reservation for Telangana under para 14 of the said order. Therefore, the Secretariat, offices of the HODs, PSUs, Corporations, Boards, Govt. Aided Institutions, etc., have been excluded from the local reservations and have become dens of Andhra employees. The power centers, where policy decisions and budgetary allocations are made, have insignificant representation from Telangana, not more than 15%. Equitable opportunities and facilities for

people from different parts of the state in terms of public employment, as envisaged in Art. 371(D) of the Indian Constitution, were denied to Telangana under the guise of the provision of savings under Para 14 of the Presidential Order 1975. The dominance of Andhra over Telangana has crystallized.

Violations of Presidential Order

The Presidential Order, 1975 has been violated, as was done in the case of Mulki Rules. In 1985, Telangana NGOs Union represented the Govt., indicating specific cases of violations of Presidential Order from 1975 to 1985 and prayed for their repatriation to their respective Zones/Districts. The then Chief Minister, Sri N.T. Rama Rao, had appointed a three-member committee to look into the matter. After thorough enquiry, it was established by the committee that 58,962 non-locals were infiltrated into the posts meant for Telangana in violation of presidential orders and recommended for their repatriation to their native districts/zones (GO 610). G.O.610 says "The Departments of Secretariat shall complete the review of appointments/promotions made under the Presidential Order as required under para 13 of the said order by 30.06.1986." In spite of such orders, the G.O. was not implemented. Identification of non-locals was not taken up. The G.O. was not made available to the public until the Telangana agitation was started in 2001 to press for the implementation of G.O.610.

In 2001, the government appointed a One-Man Commission with Sri G.M. Girglani, IAS (Retd) as Chairman to investigate the violations of Presidential Order, 1975 and submit a report with recommendations. The Commission worked for 3 years and submitted a detailed report in 3 volumes consisting of 750 pages in 2004 to the Government of Andhra Pradesh with recommendations enumerating how the Presidential Orders of 1975 have been violated since their promulgation and till date. It is submitted that there are several violations. The Commission categorically commented that these violations are equal to constitutional violations and further recommended long-term and short-term rectification measures for the implementation of G.O.610 and following the Presidential Order, 1975 in its true spirit. The Govt. of A.P. accepted the report on the floor of the House but never bothered to implement the short-term and long-term measures recommended by the Commission despite repeated representations submitted by the Telangana Employees, Teachers, and Workers Unions. Contrarily, the Govt. has issued G.Os.72, 399, and 415 in the name of implementation of G.O.610, which are against the principles laid out in Presidential Orders of 1975. Later, they were withdrawn, succumbing to the resentment of Telangana employees and the public as well.

The state government has called for an all-party meeting on June 15, 2001 regarding the implementation of the Six Point Formula in zones V and VI (Telangana Region) pursuant to G.O.Ms.No. 610. On the floor of the Andhra Pradesh Assembly on December 29, 2001, several members stated that an injustice is being done to locals in terms of appointments due to the non-implementation of said G.O. After prolonged agitation, the then Chief Minister agreed to constitute a House Committee. This House Committee functioned for years together and several meetings were conducted and called upon the heads of all the departments, including the Chief Secretary of the Government, for speedy implementation of 610 G.O. Since the majority of the officers belong to the Andhra region, many of them did not cooperate with the House Committee. As a result, this committee failed in identifying the non-locals. However, this committee submitted its two interim reports at the least bothered. After the elections in 2004, a new government was formed and constituted several new committees for the rectification of violations of Presidential Order and G.O.Ms.No. 610. At least four committees worked on this issue over five years with a group of ministers and a group of officers but failed to identify the violations.

Meanwhile, the Separate Telangana Movement, started by TRS in 2001, reached its peak. Telangana employees as well as the employees of the region rallied behind the movement. Keeping the movement in view, the state government issued a statement stating that out of 12 lakhs of government employees, it had gone into the details of 4.5 lakhs of employees only. The Govt. has no information about 67,000 employees. 18,000 employees were only found to be non-locals who were appointed, transferred, and deputed in violation of Presidential Order 1975, and they would be sent back to their respective districts or zones. As a result, the government issued a few repatriation G.Os, but all of them were stayed by the A.P. Administrative Tribunal/High Court, and everyone remained where they were. Since then, nothing has taken place. The government has not taken steps to ensure the interim stays are vacated by filing the counters and vacate stay petitions.

Employees' Censuses 2006

In terms of the report of the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, particulars of the Sixth Censuses of State Government and Public Sector Employees published on 11-2-2008 are as follows:

The total number of employees in the state government and public sector as on 31-03-2006 was 12,89,635. Exclusively state government employees, there are 6,15,878. Employees have 3,29,573 local bodies. State public sector under-taking employees number 2,53,550. University employees are 15,872. Other work-charged and aided institutional employees total 74,762. The employees working in the State Capital, i.e.,

in Hyderabad, are (including Secretariat, HOD's and other state level offices) 1,10,724. Employees in the Government Sector: Gazetted Officers are 57,899; Non-Gazetted Officers are 5,49,877; Class IV Employees are 1,40,287.

According to the District wise census report, there are 1,10,724 employees working at the State Capital. In the Telangana Region, 4,98,359 and in the Andhra Region, 6,80,552. In the State Capital, i.e., in Hyderabad, 90% of the employees hail from the Andhra Region and 10% only from the Telangana Region. Out of 4,983,359 who were working in the Telangana Region, about 40% of them were non-local employees (Andhra Region), i.e., 1,993,344 were working in violation of Presidential Order. Whereas in the Andhra Region, i.e., out of 6,80,552, not even 1% of Telangana's employees work there. Out of 57,899 gazetted officers in the state, only 10 to 12% of officers hail from Telangana. In the Non-Gazetted Officers Category, the recruitment agencies, i.e., APPSC, DSC, Police Recruitment Board, etc., never bothered to follow the provisions of the Presidential Order for the last 40 years. As a result, thousands of non-local employees were recruited in the Telangana Area in violation of local reservation. Whenever the violations were brought to the state government's notice, the State Government was not serious about rectification of such violations of Presidential Order.

According to the above analysis, Telangana residents have lost access to approximately 2.5 lakh job opportunities over the course of the combined state's 53-year existence. The number of non-local employees who were working in Telangana in violation of Mulki Rules in the initial stage and subsequently in violation of Presidential Order as estimated by the various committees appointed by the government is around 80,962. Its cumulative effect is estimated to a tune of TLK 2.5 lakhs by the Telangana Employees based on the findings of the One-Man Commission up to 2005. Thus, it is to be stated that Telangana is marginalised in the field of public employment. The youth of Telangana are feeling betrayal, discrimination, and hatred towards them in AP and they are on the warpath, fueling the Telangana movement.

II. Conclusion

The Telangana Statehood movement is at its peak with overwhelming participation of people. According to Telangana intellectuals, "The protagonists of a united Andhra Pradesh would conveniently blame the politicians of Telangana, who have 'ignited' the demand for statehood for 'partisan' ends for the division of Andhra. They would never like people to know about the policy mess they created. Identity politics is a convenient explanation to overlook neglect, underdevelopment, or disparities. "But identity politics thrives on political and economic realities". (K. Nageshwar) The leaders of a united Andhra Pradesh should have understood that unity cannot be preserved by emotional songs or slogans. Empty political rhetoric is futile. When Hyderabad state merged with Andhra state in the 1950s, the concerns of the people in Telangana were addressed in the form of several safeguards given to the region.

All the agreements, constitutional safeguards, Supreme Court Judgments, Formulae, Commissions, Committees, Govt. orders right from 1956 to till date have failed to protect the interests of Telangana. Telangana did not get its rightful share in the administrative machinery and distribution of resources, mainly water, power, jobs, and revenues. Telangana has been virtually turned into an internal colony of Andhra, and the people of Telangana have been marginalised in all spheres of life. This resulted in the massive movement for a separate state of Telangana.

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