

(5.0)

NAXALITE MOVEMENT IN ANDHRA PRADESH (1978-85)
A CASE STUDY OF ADILABAD, KARIM NAGAR AND
EAST GODAVARI

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the Degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

SATHARLA NAGABHUSHANA RAO

Centre for Political Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110 067

1990

D E C L A R A T I O N

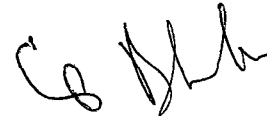
This dissertation entitled, " Naxalite Movement in Andhra Pradesh (1978-85). A case study of Adilabad, Karimnagar and East Godavari" submitted by S. NAGABHUSHANA RAO for the award of Master of Philosophy is an original work and has not been previously submitted for any degree, of this or any other university.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the Examiners for the award of degree of Master of Philosophy.



Prof. Balveer Arora
Professor and Chairman
Centre for Political Studies,
School of Social Sciences.

Chairperson
Centre for Political Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067



Prof. C.P. Bhambhri
Supervisor,
Centre for Political Studies,
School of Social Sciences.

DEDICATED

TO

MY PARENTS

J. SUGUNAMMA AND S. CHINNA VEERANNA

C O N T E N T S

Chapter		Page
	Declaration	
	Preface	
Chapter - I	Perspectives of Naxalite Movement in Andhra Pradesh	1
Chapter - II	Social and Economic Conditions of the Tribals and Peasants of Adilabad, Karimnagar, and East Godavari.	35
Chapter - III	Naxalite Movement in Karimnagar, Adilabad and East Godavari Districts	82
Chapter - IV	Government response to the Naxalite Movement.	110
	Conclusion	143
	Bibliography.	151
		157

P R E F A C E

This study attempts to understand the socio-economic and political structures which forced the birth of communist movement and later the Naxalite Movement in Andhra Pradesh. The major questions has been attempted to answer are : How did the tribals and poor people react to loss of their lands, to indebtedness and oppression? What was the role of landlords and Government in aggravating the Naxalite Movement? How far the Naxalites were successful in organising the discontented tribals, and peasants for the growth and perpetuation of the movement? What are the achievements and negative impacts of the movement in Andhra Pradesh?

The study basically aims at understanding the nexus between politics and violence, in the specific context of the Naxalite Movement in Andhra Pradesh - particularly, Adilabad, Karimnagar and East Godavari Districts.

The first chapter, reveals the socio-economic conditions of Hyderabad state under the Nizam rule which paved the way to Telangana peasants Armed struggle. The socio-economic exploitation of peasants and tribals by the Jagirdhars and Nizam Rule, Birth of Communist

movement in Andhra Pradesh, Naxalbari revolt (Maoists) in Darjeeling District of West Bengal and Girijan movement in Srikakulam (AP) which gave impetus to the Naxalite Movement in Andhra Pradesh have been discussed.

The Second chapter provides a profile on socio-economic conditions of tribals and poor peasants before and after Independence have been discussed. The case study includes Girijans socio-economic life from the turn of this century (20th century) as a consequence of the forest and revenue policies of the British and Indian Government, the process of land alienation of tribals in Adilabad and East Godavari district, the socio-economic conditions of poor peasants and landless labourers of Karimnagar district.

The third chapter expertises the growth of the Naxalite Movement in three districts viz. Adilabad, Karimnagar, East Godavari district.

In Fourth chapter, Government reaction to the movement, landlords reaction, police-Naxal confrontation, changing strategy of Naxalite Groups in post-Emergency period have been discussed.

In conclusion the positive and negative impacts, perpetuance of the Naxalite movement ^{are} appraised.

I am deeply indebted to Prof. C.P.Bhambhri, who has guided me with patience, leading through the maze of present research work.

I wish to thank Mr. John Wesley, V.Sekhara Rao, my friend with the rest for their timely help and valuable suggestions. I thank Mrs. H.Mureli for this neat manuscript.

I am grateful to my brothers & sisters, whose relentless encouragement gave the inspiration.

The financial help from U.G.C. is kindly acknowledged.

New Delhi
20th July 1990

S. Nagabhushana Rao
SATHARLA NAGABHUSANA RAO

CHAPTER - I

PERSPECTIVES OF NAXALITE MOVEMENT IN ANDHRA PRADESH

PART - I

- i) Armed Struggle in Telangana (1947-51)
- ii) Split in the Communist Party of India.
- iii) Naxalbari Movement (1967-72).

PART - II

- i) Girijan Movement in Srikakulam (1967-70)
- ii) Spread of the Naxalite Movement to other districts of Andhra Pradesh.

The history of Naxalite movement, can be traced back to the days of pre-Independence era. The peculiar socio-economic and historic conditions of Andhra Pradesh, had contributed to the growth and spread of communist and Naxalite movement in Northern parts of the state.¹

The Naxalites were successful in Tribal and poor peasants concentrated areas, who were exploited by landlords. Whenever the tribals had opportunity used to organise revolts against exploiters. There were many tribal revolts during pre-Independence era, even mighty British Imperialists Administration was perturbed by them. For Instance, Santhal Tribal uprising and Mundas Tribal uprising in Bihar (1856).² In post-Independence era, the tribal revolts led by Naxalite leaders, namely: Naxalbari Revolt and Girijan Movement in Srikakulam.

The fact that the revolts occurred in different places of India indicate that the causes of the revolts are more or less similar. Major causes can be attributed

-
1. Shankar (M.S.) - 'Terror' - Article in 'Sunday Deccan Chronicle' October 1, 1989 (Daily)
 2. V.R.Raghavaiah 'Background of Tribal Struggles in India' (in) A.R.Desai ed. 'Peasant Struggles in India', Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1979, p.11.

to safeguard their tribal honour, to protect their cherished freedom and to get redress against the Moneylenders, the Zamindars and Parasitic landholders, who tried to deprive them of all the tribals possessive.³

In Andhra Pradesh also, the tribal revolts occurred in pre-Independence era. The First revolt was launched in 1802-3 by the Koya tribe, under the leadership of Rambhoopathi. Now, popularly known as the Rampa - Fithuri Rebellion named after Rampa near Chodavaram of East Godavari.⁴ In 1842 Captain Blunt's troops were attacked by Bastar Gond tribals and as a result Blunt had to withdraw. In 1862 the Koya tribals revolted against Muttadars⁵ and their supporters (the British) in Andhra Agency area. In 1879 the Koyas revolted against the Muttadars as well as the British. In 1880, the Koya tribes again revolted against the Muttadars and the British under the Tammandora's leadership in Malkangiri

3. Ibid. p.12.

4. K.Raghavaiah "TRIBAL REVOLTS" published by Andhra Rashtra Adimajathi Sevak Sangh : Nellore (A.P.) 1971, p.31.

5. Muttadars - Petty Zamindars.

of Andhra, now in Orissa. Another great revolt was by Koya tribals in Andhra Agency⁶ area (1922-24) under the leadership of saint, warrior, patriot Alluri Sreerama Raju, paralysed the British Administration almost for 'two' years. In 1941 Gonds and Kolams tribes revolted, against British Government in Adilabad district, led by their own tribal leader "KOMARAM BHIMU". Even after the Independence of India tribals revolt occurred. But, the Ideologue (communism) was added to the post-Independence struggles.

The Andhra state has a long history of communist activity - it dates back to 1921, with the formation of communist party of India. The Armed struggle in post-Independence era 1947-51 provides the institutional framework for the later day Naxalite Movement in Andhra Pradesh.⁷

It is the specific Nature of the state of Andhra Pradesh and peculiar Socio-economic conditions that

-
6. Agency - The responsibility for providing justice and for the collection of revenue in tribal tracts was entrusted to the collector, who functioned as an 'Agent' of the Governor. Consequently, these tribal tracts came to be known as 'Agency areas'.
 7. Shankar (M.S.) op.cit.

provided the communists to organise the tribals and poor peasants, against the landlords and Nizam Government of Hyderabad state.

The Hyderabad state in Andhra Pradesh consisted of 'three' linguistic areas.

- (i) The Nine Telugu - speaking districts⁸ with the Hyderabad city, the capital of state, constituting Telangana areas.
- (ii) Five-Marathi speaking districts in the north west of the state, constituting the Marathwada region, and
- (iii) Three Kannada - speaking districts in South-western part.

In Hyderabad state, 50% was Telangana areas 28% Marathwada region and remaining 22% was Kannada region.⁹

The specific Nature of the Hyderabad state was that the ruler, Nizam was a muslim, vassal of British Imperialist. Again, one of the most important fact was that the Muslims

8. Nine districts, -Adilabad, Hyderabad, Karimnagar, Khammam, Mahaboobnagar, Medak, Nalgonda, Nizamabad and Warangal.

9. P.Sundarajah - "Hyderabad state - its Socio-political Background" (in) A.R. Desai ed. "Peasant struggles in India" Oxford University Press, New Delhi 1979, p.537.

constituted 12% of the total population of Hyderabad state, whereas Hindus constituted 80%. Though Muslims were in a minority, the administration of the Nizam rule consisted of 90% Muslims and the official language of the Nizam Ruler was Urdu. In contrast, most of the people of the Hyderabad state spoke different languages, depending upon the location of the districts.

The cause of the struggle in Telangana was feudal and inhuman exploitation of peasants, by the Nizam and landlords. The ^{land} relationship between the landlords and Nizam (Ruler) and people of Hyderabad state as follows : The whole Hyderabad state consists 53,000,000 acres. In this, 20,000,000 acres (i.e. about 60% of land) was under the Governmental land Revenue system called 'diwani (or) Khalsa'. 15,000,000 acres (i.e. about 30% was under the Jagirdhari system and the rest (about 10% of the land) was the Nizam's own estate called 'sarf khas' system. 10

In 'diwani or khalsa' system, land owners, were not called owners but treated as Pattadars (registered occupants). The actual occupants within each patta were called 'shikimdars' who had full rights of occupancy over land but were not registered. But, when the pressure on land mounted the shikimdars in turn leased out lands to the subtenants (called Asamishikims) for cultivation. These

sub-tenants were at the mercy of Shikimdars, neither they have any legal rights on land nor any protection against eviction.¹¹

The second system was called 'Jagirdari' system. The 'Jagirdari' system of land administration was the most important feature of the political organization of Hyderabad state. The 'Jagir' areas constituted 30 percent (about 15,000,000 acres) of the total state. The Nizam created his own type of Administration and also created his own noblemen and bestowed on them a distinguished rank and order and granted a large amount of land to these Jagirdhars. In return the Jagirdhars maintained an army which helped the Nizam at the time of the need. The Jagirdhars were called with different names viz. paigas, Samsthanam, Jagirdhars, Ijardars, banjardars, maktedars, in amdars or aghaharams in different places of Telangana area. The Jagirdhars exploited the poor people in different ways. The Jagirdhars had their own revenue officers to collect the taxes. The Jagirdhars also imposed more taxes on the peasants and submitted small amount to the state of Hyderabad or paid nothing.

11. D.N.Dhangare "Social origins of the peasant Insurrection in Telanagana 1946-51" (in) A.R.Desai ed. "The Peasant struggles in India", Oxford University Press - Delhi - 1979, p.488.

The 'third' system was 'sharf khas' system. About 10 percent of the land around Hyderabad state was Nizam's own estate. These are called 'crown lands'. The income from these crown lands was 20 million rupees annually. This entire amount was used for the Nizam's household and other luxurious expenses and also partly used to meet the cost of his army.¹² In addition to these the Nizam nawab used to be given Rs. 7,000,000 per annum from the state treasury.¹³

The areas in and around the Hyderabad city were the most exploited areas compared to other districts of Telangana area. Some of the big landlords called Jagirdhars or deshmukhs owned thousand of acres of land. This concentration of land ownership was more in Nalgonda, Mahabubnagar and Warangal districts, where the struggle was intensified.¹⁴

Some of the notorious landowners, (actually landgrabbers) Deshmukhs or Jagirdhars who owned tens of thousand of acres of land during the 1940's are listed below¹⁵

12. Ibid., p.488.

13. P.Sundarajah. op.cit. p.539.

14. P.Sundarayya. "Telangana people's Armed Struggle 1946-51" Published by National Book Centre, New Delhi 1985, p.14.

15. Ibid., p.15.

<u>Name of the landlord</u>	<u>Land (in acres)</u>
Suryapet Deshmukh	20,000 acres (Nalgonda district)
Vishnur Deshmukh	40,000 acres landlord over 40 villages, Nalgonda district.
Babasahebpet Deshmukh	1,00,000 acres Miryalagudem taluka
Kalluru Deshmukh	1,00,000 acres. Madhira taluka, Khammam district.
Janareddy, Pratapreddy	1,50,000 acres, suryapet taluk, Nalgonda district.

In Nalgonda, Mahaboobnagar and Warangal of Telangana area, about 60 to 70 percent cultivable land are known to belong to Deshmukhs. Moreover, in other parts of Telangana area, a few landlords have presumably known to possess more than 500 acres.

To say about Telangana people's armed struggle, the concentration of the land ^{in the hands of landlords} which was the prime factor of frustration among the rural peasants and tribals, who were exploited in different ways by the, so called Jagirdhars, paigas and Samasthanams. These feudal lords, who having an authority of revenue collections imposed different type of taxes on people. They extracted legal and illegal taxes from the peasants. These were 82 varieties of illegal exactions by these landlords.

The feudal landlords presumably acquired the enormous acres of land through different illegal methods. Landlords having powers in their hands were apparently able to register the land in their names, sometimes even without the knowledge of peasants. At the time of economic crisis during 1920-22 and 1930-33, the peasants were unable to pay their taxes because of the bad harvests or unfair prices for the crops. The Deshmukhs and Deshpandes used to torture the peasants whenever they were unable to pay their taxes and consequently confiscated the lands. Thereby the actual tenant of land were reduced to the landless labourers.

To quote P.Sundaraiah :

"Deshmukhs and deshpandes as collectors of taxes, grabbed thousands of acres of the best fertile cultivated land and made of their own property. The peasants cultivating these lands were reduced to the tenants - at - will. These landlords used to lend agricultural products like grain, chillies etc., to the peasants at fantastic usurious rates and later under the non-repayment of these loans used to confiscate the lands."¹⁷

The landlords were called as 'DORA' meaning 'Sir', master or the lord of the village. A 'DORA' is sometimes a combination of landlord, moneylender and village official to the local poor people. The confiscation of land and

17. P.Sundaraiah, op.cit., p.540.

suppression of the peasantry as well as another system called "Vetti system"¹⁸ (Forced Labour) reduced the peasants to the slavery level.

The "Vetti system" or "forced labour" were common ✓
to the tribal people as well as harijans. They were to go and serve the landlords. In contrast, during the "izam's Rule all kinds of people (all caste people) were affected by the Vetti system.

'Vetti system' or 'Forced Labour' existed all over ✓
Telangana area. In a village or hamlet, (in local term PALLE) each harijan family had to send at least one person to the landlords house to do different types of work including household work to assist, to carry the reports to the police stations and taluk office. In addition, the peasants were forced to work - whenever the village officials visits village. After, extracting work, these poor people were not paid or fed.

P.Sundariah describes how horrible the 'Vetti system' which reduces the human beings to the slavery :

"In village, Chilukur daily 16 harijans used to do vetti. They used to collect wood for fuel from the

18. Vetti System - Forced Labour in Telangana area. "A labourer was forced to render service to landlord in return for nothing."
NOTE: Harijans - Lower caste People.

forests and carry post also. For carrying post or supplies they were supposed to get an anna for two and half miles, which was of course not even honoured in practice. Further, the harijans who carried on the work of cobblers, tanning of leather and stitching shoes or preparing leather accessories for agricultural operations, for drawing water from wells, or yoke belts for plough cattle or drought bullocks were forced to supply these to the landlords free of cost while the rest of the peasantry used to pay them fixed annuities in grain and other agriculture products."¹⁹

It was the brutal suppression by the landlords that made the poor people to call themselves 'slaves' and the rich the 'lords'. Whenever, they addresses the landlords they always punctuate with the words, "I pray to your feet", "I will drink your urine etc."²⁰

The life of poor people in Telangana areas can be summoned with the Engels quotation :

"The lord reigned as he pleased over the peasant's

19. [bid., pp.541-542.

20. K.Seshadri : "A look into the peasant struggle in India"(in)K.N.Panikkar ed. "National and Left movement in India" - Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi-1980, p.157.

own person, over his wife and daughter, just as he reigned over his property. He had the right of first night. He threw the peasant into the tower whenever he saw fit...."21

During this miserable situations, communists in Andhra Pradesh Organised the peasants and tribals against the Nizam and landlords.

The communists started working in Telangana area even before the Independence of India. The communist party of India was formed in 1920. The British imperialists banned the party in 1934 because of its anti-imperialistic activities. But, the ban was lifted in 1942, because of anti-fascist war situation. The communist party of Andhra Pradesh was formed in 1934. However they started organizing the peasants only after lifting the ban on the party in 1942.

The Telangana armed struggle was organized by the "Andhra Maha Sabha" (AMS) which was founded in 1930s. Some of the Radicals in the Andhra Mahasabha who were also the members of the communist party of India, started working among the poor people of Telangana area to fight against landlordism and vetti system.

21. Ibid., p.157.

Until 1942, Andhra Mahasabha was under the joint leadership of both Congress and Communist leaders. But from 1944 onwards, the Andhra Mahasabha came under the communist party of India, when Ravi Narayan Reddy, a young man, member of the communist party became a president of Andhra Mahasabha. The branches of Andhra Mahasabha started establishing all over Telangana area. Although, the congress was also fighting for the mass support of people at that time it failed to win the support of the poor people in Telangana area, because unlike communists the Congress leaders did not take keen interest in the day today problems of the poor peasants.

The beginning of the struggle was against the landlord called Katari Ramachandra Rao. The Lambada tribals who were tilling his soil, occupied the land. Landlord Ramachandra Rao had employed the goondas and sought the help of reserve police to take forceful possession of the land from the tribals. But the Lambada tribals resisted. It turned out to be an unequal fight. That is the tribals were armed with the slings and sticks but the reserve police and goondas were armed with the rifles. This was the initial phase of the struggle.

The historic day of Telangana Armed struggle was July 4th 1946 when the poor people resisted the powerful landlord of Vishnur Deshmukh. Vishnur Deshmukh was

a notorious landlord. Arutla Ramachandra Reddy, who participated in the armed struggle describes the Vishnur Deshmukh :

"Ramachandra Reddy, the Deshmukh of Vishnur village was notorious. His word was law over sixty villages under him. He maintained a regular gang of toughs who could act at his bidding. Daylight murder, robbery, arson and loot were normal. Operation from his large mansion, a veritable fortress, he had absolute authority over all villages in his realm. And such ^{an} authority was unquestioned and unchallengeable."²²

Vishnur Deshmukh apparently had a plan to kill the leaders of the peasantry. He employed the goondas to provoke the peasant leaders. Goondas started pelting stones at the houses of the leaders. Against this provocation, the poor people assembled at local Andhra Mahasabha office and started a procession with red flags. When the procession reached the landlord's house gate on its way, the rifle firing was started from the Deshmukh's house in which two people were wounded. The leader of the Union, "Doddi Komarayya" who was leading the

22. Arutla Ramachandra Reddy : "Telangana Struggle memories" translated from Telugu by B. Narsinga Rao : People's Publishing House, New Delhi-1984, p. 32.

the procession was shot dead. News spread to the neighbouring villages, the poor people came to express solidarity. The goondas of the landlord were chased away by the people. But, the armed constabulary pacified the people and promised the punishing of the goondas. Doddi Kamarayya became the first martyr of the struggle, Doddi Komarayya's body was taken in a mammoth procession and cremated with revolutionary honours.²³ With this incident, Struggle spread to the other areas. Communists started organising the "peasant Sanghams" (peasant committees). More and more people were recruited into the 'Sanghams'. The Sanghams became more active. The 'Sanghams' gave a call to Sangham members to occupy the lands of landlords, who were occupied the land through illegal methods. The following declarations were given by the Sanghams.²⁴

- (i) land to the tiller
- (ii) No more forced labour.
- (iii) No more dog like slavery.

23. K.Seshadri - "A look into the peasant struggle in India" (in) K.N.Pannikkar ed., "National and Left movement in India" - Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi-1980 p.157.

24. Ibid., p.157.

- (iv) People's resistance against feudal atrocities.
- (v) People's courts to dispense justice.
- (vi) Punishment to traitors, paid goondas and **gangsters.**
- (vii) down with Deshmukh - Jagirdhar - Nizam atrocities.

The communists inspired the 'Sangham' people with their radical slogans "fight the exploitation" for the bright future". The slogans of the communists to inspire the people of that day were :

"Take up arms comrades, women and men together arm in arm, the fight will spread till the whole country is get rid of these pests and parasites; fight like heroes, die like heroes, if we live, tommorrow is ours."

The lava of roar of liberation
Erupts at last to storm the skies,
wipe out the past of want and sorrow;
The house of slavery shall fall,
And we will build a great
tommorrow;
We who are nothing shall be all.²⁵

25. ¹bid., p.157.

Suryapet, Huzaranagar, and Janagaon talukas became a centre of struggle in Nalgonda district. Soon, it spread to other neighbouring districts of Mehaboobnagar and Warangal. The struggle also spread to Khamman and Karimnagar districts. When the struggle and Sangham activities were intensified, the revenue officials did not dare to levy the taxes on people. The Government officials, who collected the revenue were not allowed into the villages. The deshmukhs and village officials who lived on forced labour either ran away or did not dare to raise the voice against the peasants.

But, the Nizam Government also reacted against the struggle. Military camps were set up everywhere in Telangana. Raids and mass arrests became a common in Hyderabad and around the city. Not only paramilitary but also Razakars²⁶ started attacking the people. At that time India was declared Independence (August 15th, 1947) by the British. The Nizam of Hyderabad (Princely state) who was under the influence of Razakars, refused to join in Indian territory, even started negotiations with the Pakistan.²⁷ Meanwhile, the Razakars violence

26. Razakars - The Razakar army (Muslims) was formed under the leadership of Karim Rizvi, the leader of the Majlis - Ittehadul Muslimeen and called upon Muslims to protect Hyderabad from Hindus.

27. K.Seshadri, op.cit. p.160.

mounted on Hindu people the situation became vulnerable. Even though, the negotiations were continuing with the Nizam Government by Independent Indian Government, the situation became too tense. Sardhar Vallabhai Patel, Home Minister, took police action, on 13th September 1948. The people of Hyderabad city welcomed the police action. There was a relief and ec-stasy among the Hindu people. The communists in the liberated areas were disappointed with the police action. But the Hindu people in Hyderabad and around the city supported the Indian Government. The Razakars violence was put down, simultaneously the Nizam Government was brought down by the Indian army :

Now the communists were in a dilemma as to whether the struggle should continue or be withdrawn. The differences existed among the communist leaders. Seeds of the split in the communist movement were sown. When the differences, became more and more, One section represented by P.Sundarayya and T.Negi Reddy adopted a militant line to continue the armed struggle telling that, hopes of the people shouldn't be betrayed. Another section represented by C.Rajeswara Rao and Ravi Narayana Reddy, had taken Non-violent approach,²⁸ and infavour

28. S.Rajappa "Naxalite problem now in Congress(I)'s lap" 'The Sunday Statesman' Feb.4,1990.

of withdrawal of the struggle saying that, Indian army was superior to the traditionally equipped people.

In 1948, Calcutta conference, P.C.Joshi who advocated withdrawal from the struggle were removed. B.T.Ranadive became the party's Secretary and gave a call for continuing the Armed struggle. But the Communists were unable to face the superior Indian army. The police action was mounted on the communists. Even though they are fighting the 'Guerilla Warfare', they were not able to cope up with the army. Arrests became a common, people were tortured for information of underground communists. 'Encounters'²⁹ became common. Many of the leaders were arrested and put into jails. Finally, October 1951, the Communist party abandoned the struggle because of serious pressure within the party.

The Telangana armed struggle was significant in the Indian history of peasant struggle. The struggle started against the feudal and inhuman exploitation but later it became communal because of Razakars violence on Hindus. But it was a heroic fight of the peasants and tribals against the nizam and landlords.

29. Encounters - Shot while trying to escape.

The serious differences sown among the leaders at the time of struggle continued³⁰ resulted in Ideological differences. Adding to this, the International factors like Indo-China war and China-Soviet Ideological dispute and personnel differences among the leaders finally brought the split in the communist party of India in 1964, forming another communist party of India (Marxist). The extremists who formed the CPI(M) wanted to follow the chinese leader Mao-Tse-Tung thought. CPI chose the non-violent approach. CPI(M) followed the militant way. But, after three years again, differences started within the CPI(M). One group headed by Jyoti Basu wanted to participate in the elections, to strengthen their mass base. Another group, represented by charu Mazumdar Secretary of the Darjeeling district Committee criticised the participation and betraying the armed struggle.³⁰ The charu Mazumdar group, who followed a chinese path (Maoist line) formed 'the All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (AICCR) in 1967. He finally formed an another communist party, named it as "Communist party of India-(Marxist-Leninist)" - CPI(M-L), on 22nd April 1969 on the hundredth birthday of Lenin.

30. Manoranjan Mohanthy, "Revolutionary Violence" - A study of the Maoist Movement in India : Sterling Publishers (Pvt) Limited : New Delhi-1977, p.72.

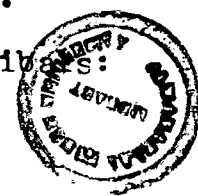
The party members of CPI(M-L), who were also called Maoists and extremists launched a movement in the Naxalbari area, Darjeeling district of West Bengal, in 1967. From that time onwards the followers of the Mao-tse-tung (Chinese leader) in India were called as Naxalites.

Naxalbari, was an area of 60 odd villages in the foothills of Himalayas. Geographically, it is a part of the Siliguri division of Darjeeling district, the northernmost part of West Bengal. The Darjeeling district borders with the Nepal in the West, Sikkim and Bhutan in the north and Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) in the South. Most of the area is forest area and famous for tea plantation and mountain resorts. Darjeeling has the lowest density of population in the state of west Bengal predominantly rural with a low literacy rate.³¹ The majority of the population in this area were tribals viz. Santhals, Oraos, Mundas and Rajbanshis.

The main cause of the Naxalbari revolt was the land tenure system, landlord - cum-moneylender exploitation of the tribals. National sample survey of 1966-67 shows that, 40% of the land owned by 5% of big farmers and landlords

31. Ibid. p.32.

TH-3574



lords who did not till their land personally. The 1960-61³² shows that the small peasants and labourers possessed no land or less than 2.5 acres each which constituted 57.59% of households and this land represents only 7% of the total land of the area.³²

The reasons for the emergence of Naxalite uprising was tribal unrest. The primitive method of cultivation has left the tribal far more behind than other peasants of West Bengal. Day by day the gap was becoming wider and wider causing frustration among the tribal people. Government tried to help the tribals through the West Bengal Estate acquisition act of 1954.³³ While the Government was implementing it, the communists branded the legislation as pro-landlord and said that, it would not be helpful to the tribal people. The condition of the tribals remained the same as it existed before 1954.

The tribals were also under the heavy burden of debt, borrowed from the landlords - cum-moneylenders on exorbitant rates of interest, which became a beyond

32. Sumanta Banerjee "India's Simmering Revolution". The Naxalite Uprising : Zed Books Ltd: London 1984 - pp. 273.

33. Through this legislation the tea planting lands were exempted from the ceiling of 25 acres.

their capacity to repay, the tribals failed miserably to repay the money and hence the landlords started occupying the lands of the tribals. This caused the land alienation of the tribals, which was the prime cause of most tribal revolts.

Adding to the problems, the Nationalisation of the forests, restricted their Natural right and nominal privileges of their right to collect forest produce as well as to cultivate land without obtaining prior sanction of the Government. With this, the tribals intimacy with the forest was cutdown by the Government legislation.

In this circumstances the faith of the tribals on the Government was declining. At the same time, the belief in the communists was increasing. Sohail Jawaid says how the communists influenced the tribals.

"From 1949 onwards the communists working in these tribal areas. They goaded the tribals to take an active part and play an effective role in building up a glorious future for themselves by eliminating economic disparity. The extremists emphasized the creation of a militant force to curb the authority and reduce the ill-gotten gains of the landlords : the frustration among the tribal people drawn towards the Maoists, to achieve better prospects in life was to welcome Maoist

revolution under the leadership of radical communists who promised prosperity and justice."³⁴

The Maoists organised the tribals into "Krishak Samithis" (peasant committees). More and more tribals joined in the Krishak Samithis, with the frustration and with the assumption that the line adopted by the radicals was the only cure to their economic maladies. The leaders of the movement charu Mazumdar, Kanusanyal and Jangal Santhal gave a call to launching attacks on landlords to seize the stocks of foodgrains as well as for land acquisition. The land seizure drive rapidly spread from one district to another. It gradually became a militant and violent.

The leaders followed the strategy of 'annihilation policy i.e., killing of landlords. The movement spread to 'three' districts of Siliguri division. But later, in 1969, the leader of the movement charu Mazumdar gave a call for 'seizure of the state power',³⁵ eliminating the main mass demand of land seizure. This

34. Sohail Jawaid - "The Naxalite Movement in India" Associated Publishing House : New Delhi:1979,pp.32,33.

35. J.C.Johari - "Naxalite Politics in India" Research Publications, Delhi-1972, p.66.

alienated the mass from the struggle, because seizure of the state power was not the mass demand. State Government has also responded against the Naxalbari movement. The United Front Government of the State collapsed in 1969. The Central Government of India promulgated the presidential Rule on March 19th 1969. The massive police action was launched on Naxalites. Mass arrests and torture of the common people to findout Naxalite hideouts became common. The Naxalites were arrested and put into the Jails.

The Naxalite movement in West Bengal Completely ended with the death of leader Charu Mazumdar, on 28th July 1972. Afterwards the Naxalite movement faded away in West Bengal.

There appears to be a lot of impact of the Naxalbari revolt of West Bengal, on the Srikakulam movement of Andhra Pradesh. That is the increasing militancy of the Srikakulam movement in the later half of 1967.³⁶ After the Telangana armed struggle, the Srikakulam movement was launched by the Andhra Communists, who followed the thought of the chinese leader Mao-tse-tung. But, it was only the clarion call of

36. Manoranjan Mohanthy, op.cit., p.142.

Charu Mazumdar for armed revolution and 'Spring Thunder'³⁷ of 1967 gave a impetus to the Naxalite activities in Andhra Pradesh.³⁸

PART - II

The peculiar socio-economic conditions of the tribals in Srikakulam district gave an opportunity to the communists (Maoists) to launch another movement in Andhra Pradesh.

Srikakulam is one of the Coastal district of Andhra Pradesh, it became a seperate district from the Vizagapatnam district in the year 1950. Srikakulam is bounded by Koraput and Ganjam districts of Orissa on the north and west, Bay of Bengal on the east and by Visakhapatnam district on the South. The district divided into 'two' natural regions. Namely (1) The hill region called Agency³⁹ area i.e. North-Western of the district.

37. "Spring Thunder" - The description of Naxalite Movement by the Chinese Press.

38. M.S.Shankar, o.c.it.

39. Agency - The responsibility for providing Justice and for the collection of revenue in tribal traits was entrusted to the collector, who functioned as an "Agent" of the Governer, Consequently, the tribal traits came to be known as 'Agency areas'.

- (ii) The plain portion which was mostly sandy on account of its proximity to the sea.⁴⁰

In hill region, (Agency area) most of the people are tribals. There are 'two' main tribes in this area. They are (i) Jatapus and (ii) Sevaras ('Sora' as the tribesmen themselves pronounce it.). These 'two' tribes constitute 68% of the ^{tribal} population of the Srikakulam district. The other main tribes in the district are konds, Doras, Godabas, Khonds, Manne Doras and Mukha Doras. The Sevaras tribes are the least developed and Jatapu tribes occupies, high position in terms of economic progress.⁴¹

Girijans⁴² have, strong unity and community feeling. They are honest and lead simple life and natural existence. Tribals have their own way of living. The tribals have their own tribal leaders called 'Naidu' or uripedda (Village head). They have their own Panchayat. The Panchayat deals with the social offences like elopement with a married woman and land disputes and other such matters.

The family is the smallest social unit. The vast

40. Census 1961 - A.P. District Census Hand book - Srikakulam District published by the Govt. of A.P. - 1969.

41. Kondaveeti Chinnaya suri "Girijan Movement in Srikakulam Study of Political violence 1964-75" Dissertation to J.N.U. 1980- p.34.

42. Hill People.

majority of the tribal population live in hamlets. They are constantly subjected to attacks of the disease called malaria fever." There is also a high rate of infant mortality. The literacy rate among the girijans was very low (4%).

The economy of the tribals in Srikakulam was based on agro-forest. They usually resorts to podu Cultivation or shifting cultivation". The land will be abandoned after 'two' or., three harvests. The shifting or podu cultivation is not a form of agriculture but it is way of life for the tribals.⁴³

The problems started for the tribals from the beginning of the present century (20th century). There is an external interference in tribal's peaceful life. The external interference in the form (i) Government regulations, (ii) commercialisation of the economy, (iii) and the migration of plainmen into the tribal areas. All these interferences drastically changed the tribals socio-economic life.⁴⁴

From the beginning of the 20th century, the people from the plain areas started migrating to the forest areas. The plainmen, (Non-tribal) entered as petty traders

43. Ibid. p.37.

44. Santha Sinha "Maoists in Andhra Pradesh" Thesis to J.N.U. - 1977, p.173.

and merchants, they got the new opportunities in these areas. The tribals never knew the true nature of the plain people. The plain people started friendship with the tribals through 'Nestham Kattadam.'⁴⁵ The plainmen observed the weakness of illiteracy, innocence, ignorance of the tribals, started lending money to the tribals with the exorbitant rates of Interest. They manipulated the accounts that, the tribals could never repay that money. Whenever the tribals failed to repay the debts the plainmen appropriated their land. They also used another ^{method} to occupy the tribals land. That is the non-tribals lured the tribal women with attractive gifts and made them their concubines and then registered the land in the name of concubines and thus plainmen enjoyed the produce.⁴⁶ The tribal people probably didn't realise that land is a property. In fact, living in the forest area they were not aware the existence of private property. It is the migration of New plainmen into the tribal areas that reduced the tribals to slavery.

To quote chinnaya SURI words :-

"A New set of people, from the plains, started migrating to this area. They came to teach civilization to the uncultured tribal people. The tribals, once

45. Nestham Kattadami - Tightening the bonds of friendship through exchanging to gifts.

46. SURI, op.cit.,p.51.

unchallenged King of the forest were reduced to a position of a foreigner. He was not allowed to do podu cultivation nor allowed to collect minor forest produce in the reserved forest. The tribals only customary rights on the lands failed to establish their claims to any land. They never knew that a piece of land could permanently belong to a person. The concept of private property on land was unknown to them."⁴⁷

The land alienation and the heavy burden of debt of the tribals made them to become the slaves of the plainsmen. Ultimately tribals were treated as a bonded labourers.

To quote further Chinnaya Suri words :

"Land alienation was the biggest tragedy of the Srikakulam tribes. The tribals was not only deprived of his land, but also became a bonded labour. Indebtedness had driven the tribals to starvation, landlessness and migration. The exploitation of the tribals by the plainsmen resulted in 80% of the tribal families in debt. To pay debts and taxes and to meet the expenditure of social ceremonies, they had to sell their forest and **field** produce even before it reached to them."⁴⁸

47. Ibid., p.39.

48. Ibid., p.50.

Furthermore, the Nationalisation of forests deprived the tribals their natural rights from collecting the food and they were prevented from free cultivation. The benefits of Government welfare programmes were unable to reaching the tribals. Their normal life were disturbed and hence dissatisfaction and frustration arose among the tribals. Unable to solve their problems, the tribals were ready for any movement outside the legal system which promised them better life in future.⁴⁹

In these circumstances, the communists started working among the tribals. Palle Ramulu, a school teacher started organising the tribals on issues like illegal collection of revenues and meagre wages for forest tribal labourers. Later he met 'Vempatapu Sathyam' another school teacher at parvathipuram, where the tribal struggle was intensified. In the early 1950's the tribal people suspected the Communist organisation. One incident made the tribal to believe the communists organisation. Vempathapu Sathyam a school teacher, humiliated the pagadala Naidu, a landlord of Nilakantapuram, in front of the tribals and this incident had an immense positive psychological effect on the tribals.⁵⁰ Courage, self respect and dignity

49. Ibid.

50. M.S.Shankar, op.cit.

became a principal issues. More and more people joined the tribal organisation (which was organised by the communists). They were organised into 'Sanghams' (committees). Soon it became a mass movement. The Sanghams started taking militant agitations on the issues of bonded labour. Tribals stopped going VETTI (Forced Labour) to the officials. The mamools (bribes) were stopped to the petty revenue and police officers and some of the lands were taken by the tribals. This resulted in the occupation of 4000 acres.⁵¹

In 1968 the Srikakulam tribal movement was intensified. CPI (M.L) consciously built these tribal movement. They followed the strategy of attacks on landlords i.e. annihilation of landlords and appropriation of their property. The mass movement raised to the highest level, that is the Revenue officials, police Constables, petty government functionaries were not able to enter into the tribal villages without permission of the tribal Sanghams. The landlords (plainsmen) also reacted to this tribal movement. They started attacking on Sangham activities. For instance : that the landlords had stripped a tribal women naked , who went to the Mondemkhal Sangham meeting in a dazed condition and reported her torture.⁵²

51. Ibid.

52. Suri, op.cit., p.06.

At this moment, the organisational crisis, within CPI (M) and formation of AICCR (All India Coordination Committee of Revolutionaries) and leader of the Naxalbari revolt Charu Mazumdar gave a call for 'immediate seizure of state power through armed struggle.' Indian Government also reacted against the tribal movement with severe police action and simultaneously announcing welfare programmes to the tribals. The Maoists (CPI M.L.) were not able to face superior equipped police. They started Guerilla warfare. The police controlled the communist activities in plain areas easily. In contrast, in hill areas the police faced the strong unity of the tribals. But later, with severe police action the movement was put down even in the forest areas. The Guerilla activities and their call for seizure of state power alienated the masses from the movement. The tribals supported the movement as long as their demands were taken up. Later, they also got alienated from the movement because 'the immediate seizure of state power' was not their demand.

The movement virtually came to an end when the leaders of the movement vempatapu Sathyam and Adibhatla Kailasam were shot dead by the police at bori hills in parvathipuram taluk on July 10, 1970.

The Srikakulam movement was put down by the police by 1970. At the same time Naxalite activities (CPI M-L) spread to other 15 districts of Andhra Pradesh. Along with the forest areas, Naxalite activities were spread to the plain areas. Now the Adilabad, Karimnagar, Warangal, Nizamabad, Khammam, East Godavari districts were the most affected, Naxalite areas.

Although in 1970's, upto the 1977, the Naxalites maintained a low profile, in the post-Emergency period the Naxalite activities spread and started becoming active than never before.

In Next Chapter the causes for the spread and growth of Naxalite Movement in the Forest areas of Adilabad, East Godavari and plain area of Karimnagar dealt with.

...

CHAPTER - II

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE TRIBALS
AND PEASANTS OF ADILABAD, KARIMNAGAR, AND
EAST GODAVARI.

PART - I

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS BEFORE
INDEPENDENCE

PART - II

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AFTER
INDEPENDENCE

Adilabad

"We give you chicken, Eggs, and
sweetened Dal,
May fortune favour us,
Crush our enemies under your feet,
Going in front, coming behind,
May your blessing shield us;
May we meet with no tigers,
May they flee from us,
seeing us, May They run away"¹

The "Gonds", aboriginal tribes of Adilabad
worship their Great God "Persa Pen"² for protection
against all the dangers. They also worship their
supreme God "Persa Pen" for their success and
wealth.

-
1. Quoted from the "The Cult of the Clan Gods
among the Raj Gonds of Hyderabad" - by
Christoph Von Furor - Haimondorf, - Man in
India (quarterly)- vol. no.25, no.3, September
1945. p.33.
 2. 'Persa-Pen' - The Supreme God, Clan diety of Raj
Gond Tribals of Adibabad, who worships the 'clan
diety' with full of faith and devotion.

"Great King, Give me food,
May My crops prosper,
May Good fortune be Mine,
May my Grain be plentiful,
May my house be prosperous,
Give me Good fortune."³

'Adilabad' is the northern most district of Andhra Pradesh. The district derives its name from Adilabad its headquarters town which was named after Adilshah, the ruler of Bijapur.⁴ Originally, Adilabad was not a fulfilled district but sub-district named Sirpur-Tandur which was created in 1872 with Edlabad (Adilabad) Rajma and Sirpur as its constituent taluks. In 1905 the status of this sub-district was raised to that of an independent district with headquarters at Adilabad.

Adilabad district is bounded on the north by yeotmal, on the east by Chanda District of Maharashtra on the South by Karimnagar and Nizamabad districts and on the west by Nanded district of Maharashtra state.⁵

3. Ibid., p.41.

4. Andhra Pradesh District Gazetteers: Adilabad - Printed by the Government of Andhra Pradesh, at the Government Central Press - Hyderabad - 1976.

5. Ibid.

The district was divided into 11 taluks, namely, (i) Adilabad, (ii) Asifabad, (previously known as Janagaon), (iii) Boath (iv) Chinnur, (v) Khanapur, (vi) Lakshettipet, (vii) Mudhol, (viii) Nirmal, (ix) Sirpur, (x) Utnur and (xi) Wankadi.⁶

The Adilabad district has a long history. This district was ruled at different periods of time by various dynasties namely, the Mauryas, the Sathavahanas Vakatakas, Chalukyas of Badami, Rashtrakutas, Chalukyas of Kalyani, Yadavas of Devagiri, Kakatiyas, Bahamanis, Imedshahis of Ahmednagar, the Great Mughals, Bhonsle of Rajas of Nagpur and Asifjah. But, the Great Rajas who ruled this District was Gond Rajas of Sirpur and Chanda from 14th Century to 18th century, still lives in the district as a Aboriginal tribes.⁷

Rivers

The most important river that drains in this district is mighty river Godavari. Godavari, the largest river in peninsular India, rises in the western Ghats at Triambek near Nasik in Maharashtra state enters in Adilabad district near 'Basar' in Mudhol taluk. This

6. District Census Handbook - Adilabad - 1981.

7. Andhra Pradesh District Gazetteers - Adilabad-1976.

mighty river forms the Southern boundary, of separating this district from Nizamabad and Karimnagar districts and skirts of Southern borders of Chinnur, Lakshettipet, Khanapur, nirmal and Mudhol taluks.

Another river 'Penganga' forms part of the northern boundary of District other rivers of less importance are the 'Wardha', the Pranahita, the Kadam (Kaddam) and the Peddavagu which are tributories to the Godavari. Besides these, there are also rivulets like the Satnala, the Swarnavagu and Siddhavagu which drains in this district.

FOREST :

Forest forms the important among the people of Adilabad. The district is rich in forests. The Forest area of the district is 7,600 sq.km. i.e. nearly 42.43% of the total land area. Except in Mudhol taluk forest is well distributed all over the district.

The Adilabad district does not hold out much attraction to immigrants owing to its limited irrigation sources :

The people inhabiting this district are :-

- a) Chiefly the aboriginals who have been settled, on the land since time immemorial and subsist principally on Agriculture.

- b) The bards, musicians and craftsmen associated with the aboriginals.
- c) The settlers of Maratha and Telugu people and
- d) The Banjara tribes.⁸

Till the beginning of the twentieth century. The Adilabad district was rich in forests covering (60%) sixty percent of the land. The beginning of the twentieth century drastic changes have taken place in the district. The Forest conservation policy of the British (1894, Forest Conservation Act), with the improvement of Communications. The immigration of Non-tribals brought drastic changes in the Aborigines life in the Adilabad district.

Aboriginal Tribals Life

The main tribes of the Adilabad district were :

- (i) Rajgonds or Gonds
- (ii) Pardhan
- (iii) Kolam
- (iv) Naikpods
- (v) Banjaras
- (vi) Lambadas
- (vii) Mathuras
- (viii) Wanjaras

8. The District Gazetteers - Adilabad - 1976.

The Gonds or Raj Gonds are the most numerous of the "tribes" in the district. Gonds constitute the great mass of the aboriginals occupying comparatively large tracts as a compact population. Gonds, once belong to the Ruling class, now reduced to the position of tribes who live in the forests and hillareas. They are the only Indian tribe who set up a kingdom with fifty two 'garhs' and ruled the greater part of Central India called 'Gondwana', about 14th century to the 18th century A.D. But, when they were conquered by the Mughal and Maratha powers they were retired deep into the forests.⁹

Gond society has both vertical and horizontal stratification. But with the decline of the raja families, the vertical stratification based on hereditary rank has been reduced in relevance, the division of society into exagamous patrilineal units has retained its importance.¹⁰

The basis of social structure of Gonds is a system of 'four phratries', each sub-devided into class and the origin of this system is attributed to the mythical cultural hero 'Pahandi Kupa Lingol'.¹¹

-
9. M.Chakrabarthi and D.Mukherjee, "Indian Tribes" Saraswathi Press, Calcutta, 1971, p.75.
 10. Andhra Pradesh District Gazetteers - Adilabad - 1976.
 11. Christoph Von Furor-Hainondorf, " Tribes of India" - The Struggle for Survival". Oxford University Press - Delhi-1982 - p.15.

The Gonds are divided into six clans :

- (i) Raj Gonds or Gonds
- (ii) Pardhan
- (iii) Toti
- (iv) Dadve
- (v) Gowari and
- (vi) Kolam. All are of which endogamous.

The worship of a clan-diety is a dominant position in Gond life and is firmly anchored in an elaborate mythology. The members of each clan worship a diety described as "Persa Pen" (Great God) and in some cases the Shrine of his diety lies within the ancestral land. "Persa Pen", clan diety of Gonds plays a vital role in Gond life. Although the Gonds revere many gods and always prepared to include a new Diety in their Pantheon, no other cult plays as vital part in tribal life, as they worship of clan-dieties. Their cult is intimately linked with the myths of their culture here "PAHANDI KUPAR LINGOL" and the defied clan ancestors. The worshipping of a clan-diety, exists a close relationship of mutual enlivenment between myths and ritual as the myths lend sanction and power to ritual acts so does the symbolic enactment of mythical occurrences during the

clan-feasts endow the myths with reality.¹²

In the 'persapen' feasts the Gond feels himself one with untold generations of forefathers and with his divine ancestors. It is in the sacramental rites based on the clan-myth that the unity of Gonds clan attains its highest realization.¹³

Christoph von Furor-Haimondorf, who personally observed the worshipping of the clan-diety Persa pen by the Raj Gonds, says :

"No other cult act as performed with the same devotion and earnestness as the sacrificial rites at the 'pen-gaya'. No other diety is regarded with such awe as the persa pen. The cult of the persa pen, is deeply rooted in the tribal consciousness and it is in this cult the Gond's strongest religious impulses find expression and satisfaction."¹⁴

Pardhans

The pardhans in Adilabad are the hereditary bards of the Gonds. Pradhans plays a vital role in Gond culture.

-
12. "The Cult. of the Clan Gods among the Raj Gonds of Hyderabad" by Christoph Von Furor-Hamondorf, - Man in India -vol. no.25 no.3 September 1945-p.41.
 13. Ibid., p.41.
 14. Ibid. p.60.

As hereditary bards and chroniclers, pardhans play a vital role in the worship of clan deity and many other ritual activities. The pardhans, though not Gonds and of a social status lower than that of their Gond patrons, are nevertheless the Guardian of Gond tradition and religious lore.¹⁵ The language spoken by the pardhans in their homes is Marathi, but they are equally familiar with Gondi language. The important possession of a pardhan is his 'Kingri' (three-stringed fiddle). Although, a lower in the status of Rajgonds, Pardhans in their social observances, marriages customs and funeral rites they follow practically in every detail the Gond pattern.¹⁶

Totis

A similar to pardhans is being played by another and much less numerous group of bards minstrels, known as Toti. These too have hereditary ritual relations with individual Gond lineages and act as musicians and storey-tellers.¹⁷ The totis play on the Kingri and blow

15. Furor - Haimondorf, op.cit. p.15.

16. Andhra Pradesh District Gazetteers - Adilabad - 1976.

17. Furor - Haimondorf op.cit., p.15.

trumpets on ceremonial occasions. Totis too observe the social customs of the Gonds.

Kolam :

Kolam is another Aboriginal tribe living in the hills of Adilabad. Kolams like Gonds, organised in an exogamous clans which are grouped in Phratries, corresponding to the Gond system. Kolams dresses like a Gonds marriage ceremonies, a close imitation of Gond marriage rites.

Naikpods :

Resembling the Kolams in many respects are the Naikpods. The Naikpods also live in the same wooded hills and secluded valleys where Kolams pursue their life. Even they live closely to the Kolams but there is no feeling of the relationship between Naikpods and Gonds. In their social customs, the ceremonies at birth, marriage and death the Naikpods conform largely to the village and ritual of the Hindu castes.¹⁸

BANJARAS, LAMBADAS, MATHURAS AND WANJARAS

The Newest addition to the population pattern of

18. Andhra Pradesh District Gazetteers - Adilabad - 1976.

the district, is the semi-nomadic tribes of Banjaras,¹⁹ Lambadas, Mathuras and Wanjaras. These tribes homeland is Northern India and they came in the wake of Muslim invasion, settled down in many parts of the Deccan.

These tribes have their own languages and have their own set of customs which distinguish them from the local population. The other scheduled tribes in the district were the Andhs, Bhils and Chenchus.

THE ABORIGINAL TRIBAL PROBLEMS BEFORE INDEPENDENCE OR
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF ABORIGINALS BEFORE
INDEPENDENCE

In the beginning of the twentieth century Adilabad region was rich in forests, covered nearly 60 percent of the district, but poor in Communications, little economic and political importance. The larger part of the Adilabad district was inhabited by aboriginals, among whom the Gonds and Kolams were the oldest population.

The aboriginal tribes of Adilabad practised the

19. Banjaras were added to the Scheduled Tribe list in 1976 by the Government of Andhra Pradesh.

"Podu" or shifting cultivation.²⁰ The Gonds cultivated the highlands, the light, red soils of the plateaux and slightly inclined slopes. The Gonds were in the habit of shifting their fields every two or three years, abandoning each plot before the soil showed signs of exhaustion. During the monsoon that, they grew small millets and oilseeds in these light soils where ploughing was easy and there was little danger of water-logging, while in the autumn and winter they cultivated only small plots growing sorghum and pulses in the vicinity of the villages.²¹ The tribals had free access to as much land as they could cultivate. Forest plays a vital role in the Aborigines life, and have a natural access to the forest. Tribals are very free persons in the forest. Their entire life and their mode of living entirely depends on the forest. From times immemorial the tribals enjoyed freedom to use and hunt

20. Shifting Cultivation: Shifting cultivation is a method of agriculture on hills resorted to by the hill people or tribesmen. Under, this system a patch of land in the forest is selected, cleared and then burned. Seeds are scattered on the ashes that serve the purpose of fertilizer. The cultivators shift their cultivation from site to site every year or every second or third year, depending upon the nature and availability of forest land. Shifting cultivation is a preferred mode of living for over a million tribal people of India.

21. Furor - Haimondorf, Tribes of India; The Struggle for Survival. p. 53.

animals. This intimate relationship 'which remains even today deep in their hearts that the forest belonged to them.'

S.K.Ghosh says "how the tribals are Natural access to the Forest :

"To the tribals the forest is their home their livelihood, their very existence. It gives them and provides them with material to build their homes and to practise their arts. By exploiting forest produce they supplement their meagre income. It keeps them warm with its fuel and cool with its shade. Their religion leads them to believe that there are many spirits living in the trees. There are special sacrifices to the forest gods; in many places offerings are made to a tree before it is cut and ceremonies are performed before and after hunting. Tribal folk-tales often speak about the relations of human beings, and the sylvan spirits and it striking to see how in many of the myths and legends the deep sense of identity with the forest."²²

22. S.K.Ghosh "Law enforcement in Tribal areas" - Ashish Publishing House - New Delhi - 1987 - p. 3.

The forest is veritable source of employment for all the tribals and their dependence on forest is almost total. The forest is considered to be not only the shelter and food giver but also the protector of the tribal race itself generation after generation.

But, the beginning of the twentieth century mainly late thirties saw, tremendous changes in the Adilabad. The Peaceful, normal, isolated mode of living of the tribals was tremendously disturbed by the interference in the Forest through the Forest Conservation Act passed by the British and the immigration of Non-tribals, drastically changed the Aborigines' life.

The first aboriginal tribe who faced threat from the immigrants was the Gonds. The Gonds do not have a tradition of militant struggle waged in defence of their rights over land and forests. But 1940s onwards, they started resisting the encroachment on their rights in forests.²³

The main cause of the disturbance of Aborigines

23. K.S.Singh : "The Gond Movements" in K.S.Singh ed. The Tribal Movements in India - Vol. 2, Manohar Publications, New Delhi 1983, pp.177-178

was the British policy of Laissez-Faire with regard to the tribals and forest. This policy followed by the British, partly to control the remote areas partly to keep them away from any political infection. The forest conservancy Act of 1894, passed by the Britishers, curtails the natural access of tribals to the forest and opens the forest to the other people, for benefit of all. The British 'Laissez-Faire' policy allowed the non-tribals for occupying the forest lands. The policy adopted by the Government favoured Zaminders, landlords, money-lenders, contractors, petty forests, excise, revenue and police officials to exploit the Aborigines in various ways.²⁴

Adding to the Forest policy of Britishers, the communications to the Adilabad district was also improved. As a result, experienced cultivators from Maharashtra and neighbouring district of Karimnagar, belonged to the upper castes such as Kunbi and Kapus, Brahmins, Komitis (Vysyas) and Muslims started immigrating to the Adilabad started acquiring the Pattas.²⁵

24. S.K.Ghosh, op.cit. p.3.

25. Patta : Title deeds.

At first, the Gonds had the possibility of obtaining the individual Patta and some Gonds were actually given Patta documents, but the whole concept of having permanent rights to individual plots was foreign to the tribesmen. They never knew that, the piece of land belonged to the personnel property. They had always considered land as a communal property.²⁶

But later, when the pressure on land mounted they did realise the value of patta. The Aborigines were not sufficiently well versed in dealing with revenue officials to compete successfully with Newcomers from progress areas. Consequently, they frequently failed to obtain recognition to their claims to the land which they and their forefathers had cultivated.²⁷ Village after village fell into the hands of encroachers, who were able to get 'pattas' on land. As few Gonds had 'patta' rights in the villages. But absentee landlords could obtain whole villages by applying for the auctioning of government land and outbidding any tribal who tried

26. Haimondorf, 'Tribes of India - The Struggle for Survival', p.54.

27. Ibid., p.54.

to retain his land. In many cases, the tribal cultivators were not ever informed the auctioning of the land. They came to know the change of ownership only when the new landlord demanded to be paid rent.

Before 1930 hardly any non-tribal was in the Adilabad district. But by 1940 most of the villages were in the hands of non-tribals. The southern part of Adilabad was acquired by the landowners of 'velama' caste, who lived in the neighbourhood of Karimnagar district. This velama caste gradually eliminated the indigenous tribesmen.

The problem of the Gonds in 1940s was that only a few of them possessed the Pattas. (Title deeds). The majority of the tribals then cultivated according to a system of land tenure known as Siwa-I-Jamabandi. The land filled by the majority was government land, although they had permission to cultivate and annually paid the land revenue they were not registered as owners (paltadar) of land in village register. The allotment of land on Siwa-I-Jamabandi tenure was within the powers of the Tahasildar who normally have powers of Patwar and Revenue Inspector without investigating the rights and wrongs of individual cases. The transfer of government land from the cultivator to the other was the order of the

of the day, and every year many tribals were evicted from land which they had been cultivating on Siwa-I-Jamabandi tenure, only because an affluent non-tribal able to bribe the revenue subordinates.²⁸

THE REVOLT OF GONDS OF 1940

The Gond movements or revolts were centred around the Forest and Land. But, at the root lay the forest and question, the semi-feudal exactions, (begar) maladministration and exploitation.²⁹

Haimondorf, says about the results of Aboriginal revolts :-

The rebellion of the Aboriginal tribesman against the authority of Government are among the most tragic conflicts between rulers and ruled, whatever the clash may take, it is always the simple minded and unformed against the organised resources of powerful system. There may be loss of life on both sides, but it is always the aboriginals who court ruin and economic distress."³⁰

28. Ibid., p.55.

29. Opp.cit. K.S. Singh ed. p.178.

30. Christoph Non-Furor-Haimondorf, "Aboriginal Rebellions in the Deccan" Man in India, a Rebellion number (Quarterly), vol.25, no.4, December 1945, p.4.

The revolts by the Aborigines in the nature of resistance to the establishment of Government authority, was not a challenge to the existing administration. It was the last resort of tribesmen driven to despair by the influx of outsiders on their land or economic resources. The revolts were the expression of anguish of the extreme exploitation and oppression to which many aborigines were subjected at the hands of more advanced population and the aboriginal loss of their ancestral lands and to their economic enslavement.

Christoph Von Furor-Haimondorf, Anthropologist, says about the Aboriginal rebellions :

"If Nagas, Chins, Daflas or Abors not to speak of the tribes of the north-west Frontier were exposed to the injustices suffered by Gonds or Konda Reddis, murder and violence would be the order of the day, but the tribes of Middle India and the deccan are on the whole so gentle and inoffensive that extreme provocation is necessary before they take the law into their own hands."³¹

31. Ibid. p.5.

There are "two" main causes which led to the armed uprisings of aboriginals.

- (1) Exploitation by moneylenders, traders and contractors as well as by minor Government officials.
- (2) The expropriation of the aboriginal land by the advanced cultivators and landlords of more advanced communities or by Government in the course of the reservation Forest policy.

In the plains and valleys many Gonds were driven from their lands by economically powerful New-Comers, those in the hills were faced by equally drastic curtailment of their rights resulting from the introduction of forest-conservancy. Gonds, Kolams Naikpods who practice 'podu' or shifting cultivation were curtailed by Forest conservancy act in future whereas in fifty years ago, they had the land as much as they can, no restrictions were in the choice of land for cultivation, now reduced to landless labourers.

The Government enforcement of Forest conservancy act, the enclaves were established only where atleast part of the cultivated land was held on patta. Villages where the Gonds had no such occupancy rights were completely included in the reserved-forest and the

inhabitants given a time limit to evacuate the village lands.

In pursuance of Forest policy the authorities enforced the disbandment of many villages that had been inhabited for generations and the Gonds and Kolams expelled from their ancestral lands. They had no other choice but to seek a living by working for non-tribal landlords as agricultural labourers.

The differences created among the aboriginals by the 'alienation' of their land in the plains and their expulsion from many tracts in the hills was sharpened by many other tyrannies and exactions on the part of Forest and police subordinates and in 1940 their disaffection had reached a stage where only a spark was needed to set ablaze, the smouldering resentment and despair.³²

K.S.Singh says about the aboriginals problems

32. Ibid. p.13.

in 1940 :

"The main grievances of tribals were the influx of outsiders and land alienation. The implementation of the New Forest Conservancy laws by the forest officials had further aggravated the situation. The expansion of the forest boundaries, prohibition of shifting cultivation and the auction of minor forest produce to private traders shattered the economy of the tribes. Further, whenever plantation works were taken up, the Gonds were forced to do (VETTI) 'Forced labour.'³³

At this moment of despair, Gonds found their own tribal leader, KOMARAM BHIMU. Komaram Bhimu home-village was Sankepalli about five miles from Asifabad. Komaram Bhimu, who was of more than usual intelligence and could read and write. When Sankepalli, had fallen in the hands of encroachers, he was not able to exist as an agricultural labourer, and left to the plains settled at Babijheri a hill-village of dozen Gond houses and some fifty Kolams and Naikpod houses scattered in small hamlets round the settlement. But, the threat came to the village when the boundaries of the Dhanora forest

33. K.S.Singh ed. op.cit., pp.356-357.

were demarcated. Babjheri like many other villages, was not established as an ~~enclave~~, and none of the inhabitants had Patta rights (Title deeds). The villagers were given a warning that they must evacuate village by the fixed date. If they had not left on the stipulated date the houses were supposed to burn down. Many Kolams and Naikpods dispersed and moved into the neighbouring taluq. But the Gonds and nine households of Kolams applied for permission to settle at "JOREGHAT" a site which is very near to the Babijheri. Minor revenue officials raised no objection to this move. But, the forester and forest guards used the opportunity for extracting money amounting to several hundreds rupees from the Aborigines. Having satisfied the money thirst of officials, the tribals started clearing the land of Joreghat and using for land cultivation.

Sooner, again new threats were given to the tribes. Komaram Bhimu and tribal people tried to persuade the Government but all their efforts went in vain. With the fresh evacuations, the Forest Ranger sent a forest-guard reinforced by an Arab to effect the evacuation of the Joreghat. The police-party started burning some of the outlying settlements and the Gonds enraged by the burning of their houses, opposed them. The Arab shot at Bhimu and wounded him in the hand. The assembled

Gonds enraged with this incident they fell upon the police-party, beat the forest guards and forced them to make a hasty retreat.

The news of Joreghat incident, spread to the neighbouring hill areas. Komaram Bhimu wanted to protect the disbandment of Joreghat. Thousands of Kolams and Gonds who were already rendered homeless reduced to destitution rallied behind Bhimu's cause.

Haimondorf says,

"The Aboriginal tribals nothing to lose and burning with resentment against a policy which deprived Gonds and Kolams of their land while enabling wealthy Newcomers to establish themselves in all the fertile valleys and plains rallied in hundreds to Bhimu's cause."³⁴

The belief of Gonds and Kolams in Bhimu's leadership was also strengthened by his claim to supernatural powers. Bhimu was credited with the faculty hearing of the voices of deities under their guidance. But this alone was not the cause. The tribals temper was already near boiling point.³⁵

34. Furor Haimondorf, "Aboriginal rebellions in the Deccan" Man in India (Quarterly) "The rebellion Number", December 1945, p.14.

35. ibid. p.15.

In a bid to avoid conflict, Bhimu maintained correspondence with the government through his redressal letters. Bhimu demanded the just fair and agreeable demands. Bhimu's demands were :-

- (i) The permission to live and cultivate at Joreghat.
- (ii) Freedom from the exactions of forest-subordinates.
- (iii) Freedom from plough-tax and grazing fees, whose collection had been used as a pretext for all sorts of illegal extortions of cast and provisions.

Unfortunately, all the addressed letters went in vain. No official contacted Bhimu. All the Gonds gathered at Joreghat under the leadership of 'Komaram Bhimu.' At last, the Taluqdar, the head of the District approached Bhimu, but with a large police-force taluqdar demanded that, Bhimu and his followers be give themselves upto the police. But this demand was met by counter-demand by the Aborigines that the Gonds and Kolams should be left in undisturbed possession of Joreghat and the land they had been cultivating. But still clash might have been avoided if the suitable person, existed, who understood the problem of Aborigines.

Haimendorf says :

"There can be no doubt that even then any person enjoying the confidence of the aboriginals could have avoided a clash, but ~~as~~ such person did not exist for the District officers had very little contact with and even less knowledge of the Gonds and Kolams."³⁶

With no person available who enjoyed the tribal confidence, the clash was unavoidable. The police-party advanced to the hills. The tribals, worked themselves into "frenzy" and stood firm with (brandishing) all traditional weapons like bows, sticks and spears. A shot fell from the crowd of Gonds, but hit none. Thus the police opened fire. Komaram Bhimu the great leader fell to the bullets of police, along with him, many Gonds felled to the police-bullets. This left many wounded, some arrested and some more dispersed.³⁷

Thus, ended the famous revolt of Aborigines, led by their own Aboriginal leader. After the revolt was crushed by the police, Haimendorf visited the Aborigines and observed their despair and frustration :

36. Ibid., p.16.

37. Ibid. p.16.

"The Aborigines were in a state of unrelieved gloom and frustration. They realised that any opposition to Government must lead to disaster, but saw no hope of averting the collapse of tribal economy and freedom threatened alike by a vigorous Forest policy and encroachment of rapacious immigrants backed by the full force of the state."³⁸

Aboriginal rebellion was shortlived. But, Komaram Bhimu and his followers have not died in vain. The aboriginal rebellion raised their serious problems like upset of their traditional economy and loss of their ancestral land.

KARIMNAGAR

The district derives its name from its headquarters town, Karimnagar, named after Syed Karimuddin, a qiladar who founded it.³⁹ The district was originally known as 'Sarkar Elgandal'. As a result of reorganisation of districts in the erstwhile in Hyderabad in 1905, the district was named as Karimnagar.

Location :- Karimnagar district is a part of Telangana

38. Ibid. p.17.

39. District Census Handbook - Karimnagar - 1981.

area of Andhra Pradesh.⁴⁰ The district is bounded on the north by Adilabad district, on the north-west Nizamabad district, on the west by Medak district on the South by Warangal district and on the east by the Godavari.

The district at present consists of 14 taluks, namely, (1) Lehadeypur (2) Manthani (3) Peddapalli (4) Huzurabad (5) Bheemadevarapalle (6) Sultanabad (7) Mallil (8) Jagital (9) Metapalle (10) Vemulawada (11) Gangadhara (12) Karimnagar (13) Husunabad and (14) Sirsilla.

Although, Karimnagar didn't had the problem of tribals (tribals are only 0.62%) it had the problem of landlords. These landlords who mainly belonged to upper caste velamas and Reddys had in their possession, thousands of acres of land. The feudal economy in this area brought about peasant uprising in Telengana in 1947-1951 under the leadership of United Communist

40. Andhra Pradesh Geographically may be divided into 'three' parts. First part called coastal districts: consists of nine districts namely: (i) Srikakulam (ii) Visakhapatnam (iii) East Godavari (iv) West Godavari, (v) Krishna (vi) Guntur (vii) Ongole (viii) Prakasans (ix) Nellore. Second part is called 'Royalaseema' consists 'four' districts (i) Kurnool, (ii) Anantapur, (iii) Cuddapals (iv) Chittoor. Third part of Andhra is called 'Telangana' consists ten districts namely: (i) Ranga Reddy, (ii) Hyderabad (iii) Nizamabad (iv) Medak (v) Mahababnagar (vi) Nalgonda, (vii) Warangal (viii) Khammam (ix) Karimnagar (x) Adilabad.

Party of India.⁴¹ Although, the armed struggle was suppressed. The feudalists exploitation continued to exist in Telangana and particularly in Karimnagar district.

EAST GODAVARI

East Godavari is a residuary portion of the old Godavari district. It was formed in 1925 after west Godavari District was separated. East Godavari district is closely associated with the river Godavari, occupying a major portion of the delta area.⁴²

Location

East Godavari is a part of Coastal area of Andhra Pradesh. It lies on the north-east Coast of Andhra Pradesh and is bounded by on the north by Visakhapatnam district and state of Orissa, on the east and the South by the Bay of Bengal and on the west by Khammam and west Godavari districts.

The principal tribes of East Godavari is primitive tribes of Koyas and Konda Reddis, lives in the forest areas of Rampachodavaram and Yellavaram talukas. The

41. See in the First Chapter for Social and Economic exploitation by the landlords in Telangana area.

42. Census Handbook - East Godavari - 1981.

The primitive tribes Koyas and Konda Reddis faced the same problems faced by the Gonds in Adilabad.

Koyas and Konda Reddis revolted against their exploiters thrice. The first of the revolts led by Ram-bhoopathi took place in 1802-1803, now popularly known as the Rampa-Fithuri rebellion named after Rampa near Chodavaram. The second revolt broke out in 1879 led by Chandrayya, Sambayya, Thammondora and Ambul Reddi spread over 5,000 sq. miles in the Rampa Country. The third uprising took place in 1922-24 by the Koyas and Konda Reddis led by the saint, patriot hero Alluri Sreerama Raju, who was brutally murdered after his voluntary surrender on 7.5.1924 at Koyyar under the orders of a British major, Goodall against all Canons of justice national or international.⁴³

The third revolt by the Koyas and Reddis was a strong one. This revolt challenged the exploiters and eventually their supporters British Government in the Andhra Agency area. The immediate cause of the uprising was the extraction of free forced labour from the tribal people of the Andhra Agency areas for constructing highway penetrating thick jungles and across low hills from Narsipatnam to Chintapalli.⁴⁴

43. V.Raghavaiah "Tribal Revolts" -, Andhra Rashtra Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Nellore (A.P.) -1971, p.31

44. Ibid.

There are "Three" causes for the tribal revolts.

- (1) The restrictions placed by the forest officials on the wasteful cultivation of 'Podu' or shifting cultivation, the slash and burn method by the tribals which even now constitutes as a chief factor or tribal content.
- (2) Forest rules and restrictions which are still an eye sore for the tribal people as well as farmers inhabiting villages bordering on Reserved forests in the Agency area.
- (3) The imposing of Free "Forced labour"(Vetti) by the Government officials.⁴⁵

The revolts were suppressed by the brute force of the British Government. The tribal problems were remained. Even after the Independence the same problems continues.

45. Ibid., 39.

PART - II

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AFTER INDEPENDENCE:

ADILABAD

The post Independent India has witnessed a lot of change. But, tribals of Adilabad remained unchanged or little changed which is not significant. The tribes of Adilabad who still live, in the hill areas, are in "abysmal" poverty. Most of them are living below poverty line. Their problems continued even after 'Forty' years of Independence. Poverty and exploitation are still continuing. Minor Government officials moneylenders, landlords, continue to exploit and oppress them.

The main causes of exploitation are the tribals illiteracy, ignorance and their isolated life. Unable to read even the receipt given by the officials, putting their thumb impression on documents, they are easily cheated by the minor Government officials and educated non-tribals.

Haimondorf says :

"On the vulnerability of tribal populations to exploitation by minor government officials, as well as money lenders, landlords and other agents of vested interests, can largely be traced to their illiteracy and general ignorance of the world outside the narrow confines of their

traditional environment. Their inability to cope with the many novel forces impinging nowadays on tribal villages and on an economy which remained virtually unchanged for centuries by no means due to any innate lack of intelligence.

Unable to read even the receipt given by an official and obliged to put their thumb impressions on documents which they cannot understand, they are easy victims of any fraud or representation which more educated exploiters are likely to devise."⁴⁶

Adilabad district occupies the last rank in literacy in Andhra Pradesh state. The proportion of literates of this district constitutes 1.93% of the total Andhra Pradesh literates.⁴⁷ The literacy rate among the tribals of Adilabad is not at all worth mentioning. Five per cent (5%) among men, three percent (3%) among women.⁴⁸

THE LAND ALIENATION OF TRIBALS IN ADILABAD AFTER INDEPENDENCE

The alienation of the ancestral land of the tribals which started in pre-Independence era continued even

-
46. Haimondorf, "Tribes of India + The Struggle for Survival." p.126.
 47. District Census Handbook - Adilabad - 1981.
 48. P.V.Thomas: Adilabad on Volcano" Police-Naxal Confrontation-III Red-Star guiding the Tribal destiny - 15.11.88, News Time(Daily).

after Independence. More and more encroachers flooded into the district, exploited the innocence, ignorance and illiteracy of the tribals, reduced the tribals to the extreme poor driven to the destitution ultimately resulted the landless Agricultural labourers to the Non-tribals.

The cause of increase of the encroachers was due to further improvement in the communications. The communication improved between Mancherial and Rajuara on the eastern side. The linkage of a road between nirmal and Mancherial encouraged the encroachers from neighbouring state Maharashtra and neighbouring district of Karimnagar.

The immigrants kept on increasing in the tribal dominated 'utnur' taluk after the road-link utnur-Kerimeri-Asifabad, is completed. Most of the non-tribal immigration took place in the period between 1965-75.⁴⁹

The non-tribals who immigrated from the neighbouring district Karimnagar belonged to the uppercastes such as Vysayas (business caste), Telaga (Agricultural caste) velama (landowning rich upper caste).

The immigrants from Neighbouring Maharashtra state

49. Haimondorf, op.cit., p.57.

belonged to the 'Kunbi' caste. Marathas Hatkars, members of merchant caste (Vysyas) many muslims and Banjaras. They immigrated from the districts of Nander, Osmanabad and Parhani, Banjaras from Berar.

Since Independence onwards, the Government has been trying to protect the tribals from the encroachers and protect the tribal men from the alienation of their ancestral land. The Government passed the laws to protect the tribal land from the rapacious encroachers. The Land-transfer Regulation act 1959, enacted in 1970 and 1971, prohibits the transfer of land in scheduled areas to non-tribals. The laws also provide the enquiries into non-tribal occupation of lands in tribal areas and restoration of the land to the tribal owner if the non-tribal is an illegal occupant.⁵⁰

Unfortunately, the Government laws are not able to stop the encroachers. The non-tribals defy the laws of the Government and flood into the tribal areas. Despite, the laws passed by the Government and absolute ban on the immovable property in scheduled areas to the non-tribals, they occupied more tribal lands in the years of 1970 to 1979.⁵¹

50. Ibid., p.46.

51. Ibid., p.46.

The immigrants were called 'Sahukars'. This term 'Sahukars' implies money-lenders - cum* traders -cum-non-tribal landowners.⁵² The methods to occupy the tribal lands were similar to those of earlier methods used in pre-Independence period.

Apart from the outright trickery giving tribe to the revenue officials, fraudulently to change the entries in the land register, the non-tribals deliberately led the Gonds into debt. Then induced them to lease their land for limited periods and finally refused to return the leased land to the tribal. "Debt" is the most crooked method used by the Non-tribals to take-away the tribal lands. A tribal falling in the debt trap passes on his debt to the other generation and this situation continues until the non-tribal appropriates the land. Within the limited period the tribals will lose lands animals, property, huts and driven to destitution.⁵³

K.S.Singh says how the Non-tribals will cheat the tribals :-

"In the context, of the tribal and non-tribal relationship, all these tribal groups became victims

52. K.S.Singh, op.cit., p. 358

53. The Flames of Peasant Struggle Ablazed in...The Furrows Furious : A Brief History of Adilabad-Karimnagar peasant Movement, Kranti Publications 1981. p.105.

of the unscrupulous practices of the *Water*. Every non-tribal has a business interest in the Agency and uses the tribal as pawns in their trade. The most effective way by which they trap the tribals is by lending money. It is this single activity which has brought untold miseries to the tribals and is the root cause of the tension in the tribal land."⁵⁴

The result of the "debt trap" of the tribals will cause not only land alienation but also the unending miseries. Here is the instance of how the tribal lost his ancestral land to the non-tribals. Komra Boju of Kerimeri says how he lost his land to the non-tribals:

"My father had fifteen acres of Patta land but for the last thirteen years Rama Gauru of Asifabad (a man of toddy-tapping caste) has been cultivating this land. When my father died, I was a small child and Rama Gauru occupied our land. Some time ago I applied to M. Narayan the Special Deputy Collector for restoration of my father's land. The deputy collector decided the case in my favour and restored the land to me. I was very happy and ploughed the land in preparation for sowing Jawari. But when I was ready to sow, Rama Gauru supported by some villagers of Keslagonda stopped

54. K.S.Singh ed. op.cit., p.538.

me cultivating. Thus, the Tahsildar the revenue inspector and the Patel came to the village, and told me that my father's land was mine by right. But at the same time they advised me not to cultivate that land, but to occupy instead the adjoining field which belonged to a Muslim. How could I do this? Then Rama Gauru brought some men and sowed on my land. Moreover, Rama Gauru had reported to the police that I had illegally ploughed his land. So the sub-Inspector of Police came to my house with some constables and wanted to arrest me. But in the end they did not take me to Asifabad. Rama Gauru has also occupied the Patta land of three other Gonds, who are my mother's brothers. They all died but they have sons who have a claim to their own land. Now none of us has any land of our own because Rama Gauru, all of its taken away."⁵⁵

Not only the muscle power of the non-tribals but also incidental loss of Patta of tribal land is enough to grab the tribal land. This particular case describes the loss of tribal land to non-tribals :

55. Quoted from Haimondorf's Book "Tribes of India" - The Struggle for Survival, Oxford University Press, New Delhi-1982, pp.59-60.

"In 1945 Soyam Sone Rao of Hasana~~pur~~ in Utnur taluk a village swamped by non-tribals, had been given fifteen acres of land under the scheme for land assignment to Gonds. In 1951 his house burned down and all his papers were destroyed. For many years he did not worry about this loss, but fifteen years after the fire, an Inkhar immigrant from Maharashtra, who had been living for some time in the village, induced the Patwari, a man of goldsmith caste to connive at his occupation of Sone Rao's land. When Sone Rao complained to the Tahsildar, the revenue inspector came to the village and told Sone Rao that he would be allotted five acres of land somewhere else, but Sone Rao didn't agree to accept five acres instead of the fifteen acres to which he was entitled. In the meantime he maintained himself by working as a daily labourer.⁵⁶

Now, the tribals live in miserable conditions. Even the daily wages of a whole family was not sufficient for one time meal of a household and rest of the two times the tribals live on the poisonous root.

Chunni Bai, fifty year old tribal women says how they will live without food :

56. ¹bid. p.61.

"This is a "Sagatta" a poisonous root. We gather this from the forest and eat. We rub the other layers of the root against the ground and make it less poisonous. Even if some poison is left in the root, it will not harm us. Because, we have become immune to poison. There is a one more similar wild root. It is "appagatta". Chunni Bai then showed an aluminium cup. It contained a liquid. "This what we drink." It was maize flour mixed with water when maize flour is scarce we mix the water with the bamboo flour and drink."⁵⁷

P.V.Thomas, who visited the "pemi" a small hamlet of Kolams in Adilabad district (considered to be the illegal hamlet because ITDA didn't cover this village) says about the tribal situation in the hamlet of Gonds:

"None of the tribals in the hamlet had land. They were agricultural labourers. They sunk neck-deep in abysmal poverty. The daily wages they earn was sufficient for one time meal of a house. Wearing a torn clothes and flashing an empty smile on their famished faces, the kolams of pembigudem looked like fading characters of a human "comedy". And these are hundreds of

57. Quoted by P.V.Thomas - "TRIBALS IN THE SHADOW OF FEAR" Police-Naxal Confrontation-II, Newstime (daily) 14.11.88.

of pembers in the unquiet agency tracts of Adilabad.⁵⁸

Because, of this encroachers forest in Adilabad is reduced from 60% (forty years ago) to 42.43%, in the present time. There are nearly 30,000 acres of government land under the occupation of non-tribals in the notified scheduled areas of Adilabad. These are all illegally occupied lands.⁵⁹

The Government has been trying to stop the encroachers. To control this menace, more than 65,000 acres of land was regularised making 1964 as cut off year. This regularisation was done in the hope that there will not be any further encroachment on the forest lands, as the authorities could invoke the relevant sections of law against the encroachers. However this regulation was failed, land was passed into the Non-tribals. Again about 32,500 acres of land was further encroached between 1964 and 1980. The latest cut-off-date fixed for realisation is on October 25, 1980. when the Forest conservation came into force.⁶⁰

58. Ibid.

59. P.V.Thomas - Red Star guiding The Tribal destiny
Police - Naxal Confrontation-III Newstime daily
15.11.1988.

60. P.V.Thomas - "Vying with each other for Defores-
tation" - Police - Naxal confrontation-IV, NewsTime
(daily) 16.11.88.

It is the miserable socio-economic conditions of the tribals that caused the spread and growth of the Maoists (Naxalites) in the Adilabad district. Anjan Mukherjee explains, how these tribals were driven into the fold of Naxalites :-

"Tribal land alienation is at the root of all, social unrest in major parts of Telangana. In districts like Adilabad there were hardly any non-tribals before 1930. In recent years non-tribal settlers exploiting the loopholes in land laws and the ignorance, and innocence of tribals have driven them into the forest. In the Jungles forest officials harassed them and the police would not come to their help. So the tribals found Annalu (as Naxalites called by the tribals) a god send who could settle disputes, dispense justice and most important of all protect them from exploitation."⁶¹

Thus, it is the socio-economic condition of the tribals which paved the way for spread and persistence of Naxalite Movement in the Adilabad district.

61. Anjan Mukherjee : "Revolution, Revision, Negotiation" Surya (monthly) April 1990 - p.59.

EAST GODAVARI

The East Godavari District also experienced the influx of Non-tribals into the tribal areas and caused the land alienation of the principal tribes koyas and Konda Reddis in Rampachodavaram and Yellavaram talukas where the tribals live.

Below the table shows the land Alienation in the tribal areas of East Godavari District.

Table I

Land Alienation in the Tribal Areas of East Godavari District

Revenue Circle	Number of villages	Number of Non-Tribals occupying tribals lands	Extent of land under the occupation of non-tribals (in acres)
Rampachodavaram Taluk			
Rampachodavaram	130	1,357	6,651.07
Devipatnam	72	735	4,689.60
Yellavaram Taluk			
Addategala	198	1,138	10,169.32
Rajarammangi	62	1,103	8,665.49
Pidathamamidi	174	1,094	3,667.53
Total	630	5,421	38,805.01

Source : From Jayaprakash Rao's 'Konda Reddi's transition : Three Case Studies: in Furur Haimondorf with the contribution of Michael Yorke and Jayaprakash Rao, 'Tribes of India The Struggle for Survival' Oxford University Press", Delhi, 1982, p.283.

KARIMNAGAR

In the Telangana region, exploitation was both economic and social. The feudalistic exploitation by the rich landlords in the countryside continued to exist even after the Independence.⁶²

In Telangana particularly in Karimnagar, most of the fertile land (thousands of acres) was concentrated in the hands of landlords. The majority of the people live without land. In Karimnagar (all over Telangana) landlords are addressed as "Dora" meaning Master or Lord." These landlords or Doras belonged to the uppercastes mainly Reddis and Velamas. There is no challenge to their political authority and social status. Their tyranny was unmatched.⁶³

The First thing is Forced Labour called Vetti. The poor people had to do free-service to the landlord. These people had to do any service demanded by the landlord without any return for their work. From barber,

62. C.Lokeswara Rao, 'Politics - Why Naxalism Flourishes in Telangana' - Times of India (Daily) January 5, 1990.

63. The Flames of Peasant struggle Ablazed in... The Furrows Furious : A Brief History of Adilabad - Karimnagar Peasant Movement - Kranti Publication, January 1981, p.96.

to shoe-maker - all had to do labour without any return for their work.

On festive occasions and marriage occasions the people had to pay bribes to the landlords. Besides this, every year certain amount of money was paid to these landlords.

On festive occasions, the landlord will get free supply of goats and chickens. If any Revenue officer and police officials visitor. The village against more goats and chickens should be supplied. Almost all people were affected by the free supplies of goats, chickens, wheat etc.

Bonded Labour :

This is another type of exploitation by the landlords in Karimnagar almost the whole of Telangana part of Andhra Pradesh. In Karimnagar, the Agricultural labourers did not have the freedom to go and work under any landlord. The Agricultural labourers work under one landlord for meagre wages because of the forefathers debt which still continues. This debt will continue for generations. Not a single Agricultural Labourer will dare to ask landlord how much debt they have to pay.

Once these agricultural labourers have fallen in

debt they will never recover from it. "The debt continues, the bonded labour continues." If any Agricultural Labour has the land, that will be occupied by the landlord because of the debt.

If any quarrel occur between 'two' parties, the landlord will give judgement. Both parties should give large amounts of money. This money will be swallowed by the landlord himself.

The worst kind of landlords oppression is atrocities on women. This is very cruel form of exploitation by the landlords. In some villages of Varimnagar if the girl attains puberty, she should spend her first night with the landlord. The landlord would rape the women and in case of protests from their kith and kin, he would have them murdered. In some villages there is a tradition that, if the landlord's wife becomes pregnant, villagers should arrange one woman for satisfying the lust of landlord.⁶⁴

Not only the atrocities on women but also the social restrictions on lower caste people shows the landlords exploitation.

- 1) Peasants shouldn't wear white clothes.

64. Ibid. p.103.

- 2) Peasants shouldn't give education to their children.
- 3) Doras even frown if a peasant wears his dhoti extends below the knee.
- 4) Peasants are generally expected to bow and scrape if they happen to pass by a landlord in the village.⁶⁵.

This extreme feudalistic exploitation by the landlords or Doras caused the spread and growth of Naxalism in the Karimnagar District.

In next chapter, the spread and continuance of Naxalite Movement in Adilabad, Karimnagar and East Godavari. During the Congress party rule and Telugu Desam Party rule will be dealt with.

65. C.Lokeswara Rao: Politics - Why Naxalism flourishes in Telangana - Times of India (Daily) January 5, 1990.

CHAPTER - III

NAXALITE MOVEMENT IN KARIMNAGAR, ADILABAD
AND EAST GODAVARI DISTRICTS

PART - I

NAXALITE MOVEMENT DURING CONGRESS RULE
(1978-1982)

PART - II

NAXALITE MOVEMENT DURING TELUGU DESAM RULE
(1983-85)

" VURU MANADI VADA MANADI
(Village is ours Street is ours)

REVU MANADI
(Lake is ours)

DORA ENDIRA - DORA PETHANAMENDIRA¹...
(Who is Dora? - What is Dora's Authority?....)

This song is sung in almost all public meetings of the Naxalites. The Nature of exploitation of the poor is well captured in this song. The 'twin' purposes of the song are to describe the nature of exploitation on the one hand and to give an ideological solution to end the exploitation that is taking up arms against the landlords.

Although, several factors contributed to the spread and growth of the Naxalite Movement in Andhra Pradesh. Only dedicated work of the Naxalites among the poor section of society Contributed much to the spread and growth of Naxalite movement.

To Quote the words of Praful Bidwai".

-
1. Quoted from the 'The Flames of peasant struggle Ablazed in...The Furrows Furious... A Brief history of Adilabad Karimnagar Peasant Movement-Kranti Publication, - January 1981. p.122.

"...Several factors explain the Naxalites dramatic growth. The most important of these is their focus on and dedicated work amongst the most exploited and suppressed section of Indian Society. Nothing illustrates the proposition as well as the Naxalites appeal for tribals. The appeal is rooted in the reality of the disruption of tribal life and culture in most part of the country."²

The spread of the movement in the districts of Telangana area was due to the sustained work of Radical Student Union (RSU) a student wing of CPI (M-L), people's war Group, which was split away in 1975 from the progressive Democratic Student Union (PDSU).

The R.S.U. organised the students and youth, every year in summer vacation through 'Go To The Villages Campaign' to carry the message of Agrarian Revolution

-
2. Praful Bidwai - "Naxalites on the upswing".
Times of India (Daily) - 13th January 1988.

NOTE : Before imposing of the Emergency, with the failure of Srikakulam Movement in 1972, serious differences arised between the leaders and resulted, faction of Naxalite groups. But post-emergency period saw the emergence of stable Naxalite groups namely : Chandrapulla Reddy Group. and Pyla Vasudeva Rao Group, the Split away Group from Chandra Pulla Reddy in 1984, and People's War Group (named in 1980) led by Kondapalli Seetharamaiah.

to the peasant masses and raise the consciousness of the poor people.

Another organisation which contributed to the spread of Naxalite Movement was 'Jana Natya Mandali' (J.N.M.) a troupe of performing artists espousing the Naxalites view. The J.N.M. artists will sing the songs and perform the Burra Katha, Oggu Katha (song and play) Bommalata (Toys play) which is popular among the rural people. The songs and plays explain the exploitation of the poor people by the landlords. Apart from this, to the growing up poor girls they explain, how in future rape awaits her by the Landlord.³ Moreover, the Radical tradition set by the Telangana Armed struggle easily absorbed the youth and rural people into the movement.

In April, 1978 Radical student Union organised a 'go to the villages campaign' in Manthani taluk of Karimnagar. The classes were held, for the members who attended the campaign. In the classes they were

3. C.Lokeswara Rao 'Why Naxalism flourishes in Telangana' Times of India - 5th January 1990.

taught Marxism and Maoism, Indian politics, Indian Freedom struggle and the Agenda about New Democratic Revolution in India. After the classes the members were divided into dalams and sent to the villages. In the villages, they organised the peasants and landless labourers and formed the 'Rythu - Coolie Sanghams' (peasant - labourer Association), the rural youth were organised to form the 'Radical Youth League', to carry the spirit of the revolution.⁴

In such an organised manner, the Naxalite movement spread in Karimnagar and Adilabad. The demands of the Naxalite were :-

- i) Increase the daily wages of Agricultural Labourers (Men and Women).
- ii) Increase the yearly payment of palers.⁵

-
4. Santha Sinha 'Maoists in Andhra Pradesh' CHANKYA Publications, Delhi-1980, p.273.
 5. Paleru : Paleru is a 'bonded labour' who works for landlord for one year. His payment will be fixed for one year before joining in the landlords house as a bonded labour. Once they were accepted the payment, the labourer was at the mercy of landlord. He doesn't have freedom. He has to do all the works in the landlord house. In Royalaseema part of Andhra Pradesh he was called as 'Jeethagadu.'

- iii) Stop Forced Labour.
- iv) Stop the collection of all types of mamools (bribes) by the landlords.
- v) The landlords who have taken lakhs of rupees as mamools (bribes) should pay back to the peasants.⁶
- vi) The barren and waste land occupied by the landlords should be occupied by the Rythu-Coolie Sanghams (Peasant - labourer Association).
- vii) The occupied wood in the Forest areas by the landlords should be occupied by the Rythu-Coolie Sanghams.
- viii) Place to the poor people for the construction of Houses.
- ix) The important demand was

'LAND TO THE TILLER.'

The struggle started with the slogan
LAND, SUBSISTENCE AND LIBERATION' (Bhumi, Bhukti and
~~vimochana~~. (Vimukti)

The Naxalites started their struggle in Maddunur village, Jagityal taluk of Karimnagar against one landlord Rajeswara Rao.⁷ The weapon the Naxalites used against

6. Kranti Publication, op.cit., p.25.

7. Ibid. p.25.

landlords was 'Social Boycott' of landlords. During the period of social boycott all services were stopped from barber to washermen, refusing to work. Sometimes landlords conceded the demands and paid back the mamools (bribes) to the Sanghams and sometimes he would seek the protection of the police. In Adilabad district Luxettipet taluk, the Naxalites started struggle for increase in daily wages and increase in the rate of tendu leaves (used in the beedi-making) collected by the tribals.⁸ Slowly the Rythu-coolie Sanghams and Radical youth leagues were established in many villages. With the formation of Sanghams slowly the traditional way of exploitation started changing. The wages were increased from Rs. 1 to Rs. 2⁵ for women, from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 for men. The palers payment was increased from Rs. 600/- to Rs. 1,200/- Per year.

The Naxalite Movement is a direct challenge to the landlordism in Telangana areas. In villages, conflicts like land disputes, Quarrel between brothers, husband and wife and ~~warders~~ were solved by the landlords or Dora. This type of solving the problems in villages was called 'Panchayati'. In this panchyathi both parties should give some amount of money to the Dora. After, the judgement the guilty will be fined, this money also

8. Ibid. p.29.

is taken by the landlord. With the establishment of Rythu-coolie Sanghams the traditional system of panchyati changed. The Sanghams started solving all the disputes, openly in front of all the people. The Sanghams called this type of judgement, a people's judgement in 'People's, court' (Prajā Court). This is a direct setback to the landlord's authority. Even landlords should appear in front of people's court and confess their mistakes. In front of all people the judgement will be given. This judgement given by the people's court should be accepted and implemented.⁹ The people's court started functioning wherever the Sanghams was established.

On September 7th 1978 in Jagityal town of Karimnagar district a large procession and public meeting was organised by the Naxalites. Most of the peasants and Agricultural Landless Labourers attended the meeting. The slogans raised in the meeting were :

- i) ✓ End to the landlord's authority.
- ii) ✓ End to the landlordism.
- iii) ✓ Land to the tiller
- iv) ✓ Agrarians revolution Zindabad.

9. Ibid, pp.30, 31.

- v) New Democratic Revolution. Zindabad.
- vi) Power flows from the barrel of the gun.¹⁰

In Karimnagar, district Sircilla and Jagityal talukas, in Adilabad district Luxettipeta, Asifabad Khanapur, Bellampally became centre of Naxalite activities. The intensification of Naxalite activities worried the landlords and they requested the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, Chenna Reddy for protection. This resulted in Chief Minister Chenna Reddy declaring Jagityal and Sircilla talukas as 'Disturbed areas' on 20th October 1978 under the AP suppression of Disturbances Act of 1948 and said it would be coming into effect from November 4th 1978.¹¹

The causes for the declaration of Disturbed areas as Government said :

- (i) The increasing extremists activities in Jagityal and Sircilla.
- (ii) Increasing activities of thefts, burglary and burning of the houses.

10. Kranti - (Telugu Fortnightly) Edited, Printed and Published by L.S.N. Murthy for CPI (M.L.) People's War Group Publication Guntur 1-15-8-78 pp. 3,4. Henceforth, Kranti.

11. Kranti Publication, op.cit, p.42.

- (iii) The Naxalites are delivering provocative speeches and encouraging the people for violence.
- (iv) The performing of banned plays.
- (v) The peasant, agricultural landless labourers are aimed against the middle class peasants.
- (vi) The forcible occupation of lands by the Naxalites (Bythu Coolie - Sangham).
- (vii) Some extremist elements disturbing the peace in the Jagityal and Sircilla taluk.
- (viii) To protect law and order.

Declaration of disturbed areas didn't prevent the Naxalite activities. It spread to the Neighbouring peddapalli taluk. They continued to organise the peasants and landless labourers for higher wages. Naxalites gave a call to the girijans, to occupy the lands of landlords, who occupied the tribal lands. They gave a slogan,

'It is better to die in the struggle than dying of hunger'¹²

The forced labour (Vetti) ~~mamols~~ (bribes) and feudal exploitation slowly, started disappearing wherever the 'Sanghams' were active.¹³ Moreover the

12. Kranti - 15-7-1979, p.15.

13. Kranti publication, op.cit. p.56.

occupation of the land was intensified in Karimnagar and Adilabad Districts. In Adilabad more than 2,000 acres of land was occupied. In Karimnagar more than 3,000 acres of land was occupied.

Table I

The Waste and Barren lands occupied by the Rythu-Coolie Sanghams By 1980 in Karimnagar and Adilabad Districts.

Adilabad District

S. no.	Taluk	number of villages	land occupied total land (in acres)
1.	Asifabad	20 above	400 acres
2.	Sirpur	20	600 acres
3.	Luxettipet	4	60 acres
4.	<u>Utnoor</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>1500 acres.</u>
	Total	74 (villages)	2,560 acres

Source : Kranti Publications: op.cit. p.109.

Table II
Karimnagar District

S. no.	Taluk	Number of villages	Land occupied total land (in acres)
1.	Jagityal	40	1,947 acres
2.	Peddapally	22	840 "
3.	Huzurabad	14	508 "
4.	Manthani	10	344 "
5.	Sircilla	2	90 "
6.	Metpalli	5	25 "
Total		93	3,684 acres

Source - Kranti Publications : op.cit. p.109.

By 1980, the Naxalite activities spread to the Utnoor, Indravelli of Adilabad. To control the Naxalite activities, 25 police camps were set up in Asifabad, Utnoor and Bodh talukas of Adilabad each consisting of 25 to 100 policemen.¹⁴

14. Correspondents 'Andhra Pradesh - Another Massacre of Tribals' Economic and Political Weekly' May 2, 1981, p.796.

In this situation Adilabad District Girijan Rythu-Coolie Sangham gave a call for its first conference at Indervelli on 20th April 1981. The Sangham obtained permission to hold a rally to be followed by public meeting at Indervelli.

The police expected the trouble in the Indravelli as Non-tribals also wanted to hold the meeting on the same day and the same place. So the police issued prohibitory orders.

Khanapur Congress M.L.A., Ambai Jadhav' visited many villages in the area trying to persuade the tribals not to go to Indravalli as prohibitory orders were in force.¹⁵ The senior police officers of the district and one battalion of the AP police force have moved to Indravelli.

Inspite of the warning and prohibitory orders the tribals started pouring into Indravelli on April 20th, 1981, for the rally to be followed by a public meeting. The police tried to prevent the tribals coming into

15. R.Sreekumar "Police war on tribals in Andhra Pradesh" - Mainstream - vol. xix no.36
May 9, 1981, p.8.

the village. The tribals resisted, when the situation became tense, the police opened fire. According to the police officials 13 were killed. The Andhra Pradesh civil liberties committee (APCLC) put the figure at 60.

Immediately after the Indravelli killings, Chief Minister Anjaiah announced Welfare programmes on May 22nd 1981 for the welfare of the tribals and said :

"...The extremists (Naxalites) do not want anything positive done to help of tribals. They are organising the Gonds."¹⁶

The problems identified by the Government were:

- i) Drinking water problem in tribal areas
- ii) The problem of Electricity
- iii) The problem of Education
- iv) Water for irrigation.¹⁷

The important demand 'Land to the Tiller' was left out by the Government, for which the tribals and Naxalites were fighting unitedly. The fact - finding Committee of P.U.D.R. (People's Union

16. Ibid. p.8.

17. Kranti - 1-6-1981 - p.1.

for Democratic Rights) Civil Rights Organisation pleaded with the Government for immediate submission of title-deeds to the lands, which the Girijans were cultivating.

In Karimnagar Naxalite activities continued. As a result, the wages were increased from Rs. 2 to Rs.3 for collecting tendu leaves price was increased from 7 paise to 9 paise, palers yearly payment was increased from Rs. 1,200 to Rs.1,600.¹⁸

The increasing activities of Naxalites brought about tension between landlords and Naxalites. As a result, an ex-MLC, Keshava Reddy was murdered on December 1981 by the Naxalites.¹⁹ In retaliation in Kammanapeta village of Jagityal taluk, Naxalite peddanna was killed on 7th February 1982.²⁰ With this tension some landlords left the villages and settled in towns.

With the Congress(I) party losing elections in 1983 the first phase of Congress (I) government (1978-82) can be said to had come to an end.

18. Kranti - 1-9-1981, p.8.

19. Kranti - 1-12-1982, p.7.

20. Kranti - 15-12,1982, p.

The Congress Government used the police to control the Naxalite activities. Although welfare programmes were announced the main Naxalite demand 'Land to the tiller' was not met with and other welfare programmes never reached to the people. As a result Naxalite activities continued.

PART II

The debacle of Congress(I) in 1983(5th March) Legislative elections, resulted in the triumph of nine month old Telugu Desam party established by ~~Cine-actor-turned-politician~~ N.T.Rama Rao.

During the campaign to Legislative Assembly Elections N.T.Rama Rao referred to the Naxalites as 'brothers - (Tammulu), who had taken a wrong path to achieve right end.²¹ He praised the Naxalites as "Friends of the Poor and Great Patriots" (Deshabakthulu).²²

-
21. Ash Narain Roy - "Roots of Violence - Naxalites in Andhra and Bihar - February 1988. The Rising Sun.
 22. A.Prabhakara Rao - "Naxal Kidnappings : Legacy of NTR" Patriot Jan.3, 1990.

N.T.Rama Rao also said :

"Red Salute To My Brothers."²³

After coming to the power, Chief Minister N.T.Rama Rao was criticised by the Naxalites as 'Class enemy or arch rival' and Telugu Desam Party was characterised as an exploitive class party. Apparently, chief minister N.T.Rama Rao followed the same policy, which was followed by the Congress Government i.e. using the police to control the Naxalite activities.²⁴

The Naxalites struggle^{was continued} for higher wages, fair price for tendu leaves, more payment for palers and occupation of land by Naxalites. The Naxalite way of justice in the people's court also continued. For example :- When a bribe of Rs.1,200 was taken from the peasant by the landlord Narasing Rao in tummerala village, people's court ordered the landlord to pay back that money to the peasant, which he obliged.²⁵ This type of justice in People's court became highly accessible and approachable to the poor people. As a result, the support of people to the Naxalites increased.

23. Saeed Naqvi - "Chenna Reddy and Naxalites" - Patriot Jan.2, 1990.

24. Shantha Sinha - "Maoists in Andhra Pradesh" - CHAKRAKYA Publications - Delhi-1989, p.313.

25. Kranti - 1-5-1983. p. 7.

In Adilabad, Chennur Taluk, Sirisa village the First Rythu-Coolie Sangham was held on April 5th 1983 - after Rama Rao came to power. The slogans raised in the meeting were :-

- (i) Land to the tiller
- (ii) Agrarian Revolution - Zindabad
- (iii) Red Salute to the Martyrs.²⁶

On May 23, 1983 the Second state conference of Ryth- Coolie Sangham was held in Karimnagar town. According to the estimates of Naxalites, 30,000 peasants, landless Birijans attended this Meeting and this conference was named as 'Srikakulam Commune.'²⁷ ✓

The Government also announced the welfare programmes to the tribals to wean them from Naxalite fold. The welfare programmes were :-

- (i) ✓ Giving, bullocks to the tribals.
- (ii) Lending money to put the shops.
- (iii) Improving the communication in Tribals areas i.e. establishing roads etc.²⁸

26. Kranti 1-6-1983, pp.1,2.

27. Kranti 1-9-1983, p.3.

28. Kranti - 1-6-1983, pp.1,2.

The important demand of the Naxalites i.e. 'Land to the tiller and title deeds to the occupied land' was ignored by the Government. To cope with the Naxalites, the Government created a Anti-Naxalite police squads were set up in the villages of Karimnagar and Adilabad. Adding to this, Chief Minister deployed the C.R.P.F. (Central Reserve Police) and said : 'The employment of C.R.P.F. was to curb the Naxalite activities totally.'²⁹

On 18th December 1983, the second Girijan Rythu-Coolie Sangham was held in Adilabad District. As Naxalites claimed in the meeting that, 4000 acres of land were occupied by them in 'four' talukas. The Sangham demanded :

- (i) Pattas (title deeds) to the occupied lands and
- (ii) Removing of the police camps in Adilabad.³⁰

Because of this increasing menace of Naxalite activities, landlords started leaving the villages.

29. Ibid.

30. Kranti - 1-1-1984, p.7.

Meanwhile, Bharat Kisan Sangh Secretary Gopala Reddy and A.B.V.P. President were murdered. With this incident all parties B.J.P. Congress(I), Sanjay Vichar Manch, Republican Party, CPI and CPI(M) requested the Chief Minister to sanction licences of the guns to the people for self-defence.³¹ This resulted in the police warning to the people who tried to establish the Rythu-coolie Sanghams in the villages. The sangham activities were caught, and were put into jails.

The Naxalite movement was also did good to the poor people. The price of liquor was brought down from Rs. 32 to Rs. 6 per litre.³² Palers yearly payment was increased from Rs. 2,000 to ^{Rs.} 2,600. The daily wages were increased from Rs. 5 to Rs. 7 for women, Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 for men.³³ According to Naxalites estimates 2000 acres of land was occupied in Adilabad district.

31. Kranti - 15.2.1984, p.5.

32. Kranti - 1-9-84, p.25.

33. Kranti - 1-10-84, p.5.

Table III

Land occupation in Adilabad

<u>Village</u>	<u>Land in (acres)</u>
Annanagonda	200
Laggam	130
Nayakuniota	120
Inam	120
Degama	100
Rallametpalli	100
Kannepalli	120
Chinna Rasupalli	40
Saligav	35
Kamchepalli	25
Voddegudem	40
Brahmana Bichhala	25
Bopparam	25
Golla Gatta	30
Chandram Palli	20
Atthini	15
Jajjapalli	15
Rebbana	10
Haltini	15
Gerri	10
Total	<u>1,135 acres</u>

Source : From the Kranti. Telugu Fortnightly
published by CPI(M-L) People's War Group
Guntur - 1-10-1984, p.7.

Although, Chief Minister Rama Rao resorted to repression on Naxalites, when he was dismissed (on Legislative Assembly) by the Governor Ramlal on August 16, 1984, Naxalites openly supported Rama Rao's cause. Naxalites criticised the Central Government and said :

"It is a Fascist Act and Democracy was murdered."³⁴

Telugu Desam came to power in 1985 (5th January) Legislative Assembly elections. Again N.T.Rama Rao became a chief Minister. The open support of Naxalites for the N.T.Rama Rao during his downfall didn't bring any change in the Chief Minister's policy towards the Naxalites. Chief Minister used as usual police to Control the Naxalite activities. In fact more police camps were set up in the villages of Naxalite affected areas.

34. Kranti - 1-9-1984. p.1.

Table - IV

Naxalite Affected Talukas in Karimnagar and
Adilabad During Chief Ministership of N.T. Rama Rao

Karimnagar District	Adilabad District
Jagityal - Malyala	Adilabad
Peddapalli - Sultanabad	Bodh
Metpalli	Khanapur
Hyzurabad	Uttoor
Beehemadevarapalli	Nirmal
Manthani	Sirpur
Mahadevpur	Asifabad
Husnabad	Luxettipet
Sircilla	
Vemulawada	

Source : Kranti - Telugu Fortnightly,
CPI(M-L) People's War Group Publication,
1-3-1985, p.4.

More suppression on Naxalites brought by the Government. The youth, who were suspected as Naxalites were arrested by the police. Whenever the Naxalite activities intensified the police camps were increased. Raids were conducted on party publications.³⁵ Encounter killings by the police rised. As a result, Naxalites started killing policemen as retaliation for these Encounters. On September 2, 1985, a Sub-Inspector was killed by the Naxalites in Kazipet of Warangal district. On 7th September 1985 the District Superintendent of police in Peddapalli taluka of Karimnagar by the Naxalites. With this the tension between Naxalites and police was intensified.

Apparatenly, Naxalites gave up, their open mass based activities. As a result Naxalites went underground. This did not, in any way diminish the mass base for Naxalites.

35. Kranti - 1-12-1985, p.7.

EAST GODAVARI

In 1970s the Naxalite Movement was in the initial phase in the East Godavari district. In 1980s the Naxalite Movement gathered a momentum in tribal areas of Rampachodavaram, yellavaram talukas of East Godavari.

The Naxalites started organising the tribals for higher-wages and better remuneration for tendu leaves collected by the tribals. They have also organised the tribals against the paper Mill Management and petty Government officials like Forest Guards and police officials who harassed the tribals and collected the illegal extracts (bribes) from the tribals. The land occupation was a major factor in Naxalite struggle.

The Naxalites organised the tribals and formed a 'Girijan Rythu-Coolie Sanghams'. Their struggle started against the paper Mill Management, who paid less wages for more work. The struggle started against the paper Mill Management. The struggle was successful. As a result, the paper Mill Management increased the wages, from Rs. 6 to Rs. 7 for cutting wood,

Rs. 4 to Rs. 5 for women and Rs 5 to Rs. 6 for men, doing for Road work.³⁶

In yellavaram taluk, Achhampeta village the tribals occupied 30 acres of land under the Girijan Rythu-Coolie Sanghams. In palem village 68 acres of land was occupied. In Kirapatthi village (Yellavaram taluk) 20 acres of land was occupied.³⁷ Apart from this they saw to it that the wages also increased from Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 for women and Rs. 6.50 to Rs.12 for men.³⁸

The land occupation and struggle for higher wages by the tribals, sometimes become successful and sometimes met with counter violence by the landlords. In Kothakottam village the tribals tried to occupy 200 acres of land belonging to Chinnapalem landlords but in vain due to the counter activity of the landlords.³⁹

In February, 1983 Redical students Union and

36. Kranti - 1-4-1982, p.3.

37. Kranti - 1-8-1983, p.15.

38. Kranti - 15/9/1982, p.15.

39. Kranti - 22/12/1982, p.13.

Girijan Rythu-Coolie Sanghams organised the procession to the District Collector's office in Eluru with the tribals. The demand was Pattas (title deeds) to the cultivating land of 3,200 acres. According to them, collector promised the tribals, title deeds for 1,000 acres.⁴⁰

Often the tribals were victims of landlords suppression. For Instance : Anaparthi Reddis who controlled the arrack trade in pratthipadu, Ealeshwaram, Rajaramangi, Jaddangi villages beat 'three' tribals suspecting them to be selling local made liquor (Natu Sora) and reported have been collecting money ranging from Rs.100 to Rs.600 from the tribals.⁴¹

In Rampachadavaram taluk, the Forest guards used reported to have collected the illegal money and threaten to demolish their hamlets and try to implicate tribals in false cases. The Naxalites organised the tribals against the harassment of the Forest Guards. The tribals under the Girijan-Rythu coolie Sangham have beaten up the Forest Guards. According to Naxalites the practice of Collecting mamools (bribes) was stopped.⁴²

40. Kranti - 1-4-1983 p.7.

41. Kranti - 1-10-1984, p.9.

42. Kranti - 15-11-1984, p.23.

The land occupation was continued. According to the Naxalite accounts, in Coddurur village 50 acres of land, in Fankabeedu, Kaljodu villages 300 acres of land was occupied.⁴³ In Yaddangi village 300 acres of land was occupied. Along with this, the tribals faced the wrath of police.⁴⁴

Wherever the Naxalites were active, the Forest Guards were beaten for collecting illegal money from the tribals. Moneylanders were given a warning by the Naxalites for charging exorbitant rate of Interest. The Naxalite gave a warning to the Money-lenders that they should not increase rate of Interest more than Rs. 2.50 paise per hundred rupees.

The people's court were held wherever the Girijan Rythu-Coolie Sanghams were established. For example: Aramalla Venkataram was brought to the people's court, his land was taken back and fine of Rs. 2,500 was imposed. Also they burnt the debt papers.⁴⁵ This type of people's courts were held in many villages, the landlords land was taken back by the Girijan- Rythu Coolie Sanghams. Apart from this they also saw to it

43. Kranti - 1-12-1984, p.19.

44. Kranti - 1-1-1985, p.15.

45. Kranti - 1-5-1985, p.18.

that the wages were increased from Rs. 11 to Rs. 12.⁴⁶

Although, the Naxalite activities were less in **East** Godavari district, the Naxalites continued to organise the tribals for higher wages. They exhorted them to fight against the Moneylenders and against the harassment of Forest Guards.

By the end of 1985, the Naxalites faced severe police suppression. Their openly mass based activities were curtailed. As a result they went underground. But, they continued to expand their tribal mass base.

Thus, the more the government suppressed the Naxalites, the more the movement expanded in these 'three' districts. Both Congress and Telugu Desam Government used the police to control the Naxalite activities. Although the Welfare measures were announced, as the main demand 'Land to the tiller' was ignored by the Government. The welfare measures never reached the tribals. As a result, the Naxalite Movement continued to exist in Andhra Pradesh.

In Next chapter, the Government response to the Naxalite Movement. Police-Naxal Confrontation (Encounter Killings - retaliation by the Naxalites) and changing strategies of Naxalite Groups will be discussed.

...

CHAPTER - IV

"GOVERNMENT RESPONSE TO THE NAXALITE MOVEMENT"

PART - I

- (i) Repression by the police.
- (ii) Different Acts passed by the Government to Control Naxalites.
- (iii) Announcement of Welfare Programmes to wean the people (mainly tribals) from the Naxalite fold.

PART - II

- (i) Police - Naxal Confrontation
- (ii) Retaliation by the Naxalites (killings of policemen)

PART - III

Changing Strategy of Naxalite Groups in Andhra Pradesh (Post-Emergency Period).

"The extremists (Naxalites) do not want anything positive done to help the tribals... They are organising the Gonds."¹

- The Chief Minister of A.P. Anjaiah after the tribals killing in Indravelli, on 20th April 1981.

The Andhra Pradesh Government perceived the Naxalite problem in 'two' ways. First, the Government assumed

Naxalites as 'Extremists' and considered the Naxalite problem as 'Law and Order' problems. Secondly, the Government was also recognised, ^{SOCIO-ECONOMIC MALAISE} behind the Naxalite violence and hence announced the welfare measures to wean the people (mainly tribals) from the Naxalite fold.

After the emergency the Naxalite Movement in Andhra Pradesh spread to the plain area of Karimnagar and forest areas of Adilabad and East Godavari (Yellavaram and Rampachodavaram talukas). The Naxalites took up the mass activities like, such as, (i) the struggle for higher wages (for women and men) (ii) to increase patterns yearly

1. Quoted from the Article R.Sreekumar "Police War on Tribals in Andhra Pradesh" - Mainstream, May 0, 1981 Vol. xix no.36, p.7.

payment (iii) to occupy the land of landlords and also waste and barren lands. Apart from the above issues they solved all kinds of disputes of the local people and dispersed justice, in the people's court. These mass based activities on the one hand enhanced the Naxalites fold in Telangana area. On the other hand the Naxalite activities brought conflict with the landlords, who were the previously unchallenged Dora's in the village. All these resulted in violence. The increasing violence by the Naxalites made the landlords to worry and to approach the police and Government. With the help of police the landlords wished to control the Naxalite activities. For instance :- In Lothunur village of Jagityal taluk Karimnagar, The people's court ordered the landlord Sagar Rao to pay back the money, which he extracted from the peasants. The landlord on the one hand agreed to pay back the money on September 26th 1978. On the other hand he had also informed the police. Unknowing this the peasants (Ryth-Coolie Sangham members) gathered at landlord's house to collect the promised amount, when the police arrived tension increased between the police and peasants, than police resorted to open fire. One person was killed, eight persons were injured 50 persons were arrested. After this incident most of the male members of the peasant families absconded from the villages.²

² Kranti -(Telugu Fortnightly) Edited, Printed and published by L.S.N. Murthy for CPI(M-L) People's War Group publications, Guntur - 1-15-10-78 P.7.Henceforth, Kranti.

On September 26th, 1978 Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, Chenna Reddy pleaded with the Naxalites to stop the violence. He said 'I do not have any contradiction with the kind of society as wanted by the the Naxalites'. The Naxalites in contrast criticised the Chief Minister saying that the Chief Minister wanted to cover the terror by the police.³

The Naxalites mass base increased in the villages, with the increasing Naxalite activities, some of the landlord fled the villages and gettled in towns. In contrast 70 of the landlords belonging to the following villages, Chinnametpalli, Borrapalli, Lottunur met Chief Minister^{and} requested to control the Naxalite activities. The result was that the Chief Minister declared Jagityal and Sircilla talukas of Karimnagar as a "disturbed areas" on 20th October 1978. Moreover he said that it will come into effect from November 4th 1978 onwards.⁴ The promulgation of disturbances Act 1948, gave wide ranging powers to Head Constable or any higher officials

3. Kranti - 1-15-10-78 p.15.

4. The Flames of peasant struggle ablazed in ...the Furrows and Furious" - A Brief history of Adihabad - Karimnagar peasant Movement - Kranti Publication- Jan.1981,p.42.

of police to arrest people without trial and shoot without warning.⁵

The Naxalite activities spread to the neighbouring talukas of Karimnagar district, indicating that the declaration of disturbed areas Act 1948 didn't prevent the Naxalite activities. The spreading of Naxalite Movement brought the counter violence by the landlord Goondas. The Goondas of landlords attacked the members of the Rythu - Coolie Sanghams. The houses of the members of Sangham were demolished. As a result of the terror by the goondas of landlords, the peasants, Landless labourers absconded from the villages.⁶ In addition,ⁱⁿ the name of law and order, police resorted to the regressive methods on the Sangham members. For example :- The police arrested the youth who were participated in "Go to the villages campaign" in Adilabad district implicated than in false charges.⁷

The Government organised the special police squads to contain the Naxalite activities. These special squads went to the villages in disguise, as bangle sellers, beggars, peasants to get information about Naxalites. This didn't

-
5. Ashok Das - 'Naxalite Movement - I PWG Strategy to win over masses - Hindusthan Times (daily) 19.1.1990.
 6. Kranti - 1-15-3-79 p.7.
 7. Kranti - 1-6-79, p.7.

yield much results. By June 1980 the number of police camps were intensified in Karimnagar and Adilabad, policemen were also concentrated in the forest areas.⁸

Below are given the lists of the police stations which were set up in the naxalite affected areas.⁹
(with Additional Force).

KARIMNAGAR

1) Jagityala, 2) Dharmapuri, 3) Roykal, 4) Chilwa Koduz, 5) Metpalli, 6) Korutla, 7) Peddapalli, 8) Dharmapuram, 9) Ramagundam, 10) Pothkapalli, 11) Sulfanabad, 12) Huzurabad, 13) Jammikunta, 14) Mulkanur, 15) Keshavanatnam 16) Husnabad, 17) Manthini, 18) Kamanpur 19) Godavari, khani (two police stations), 20) Kodimyala, 21) Karimnagar, and rural police station, 22) Sircilla, 23) Venulawada, 24) Konerapeta, 25) Mahadenpur.

ADILABAD¹⁰

1) Asifabad, 2) Chennur, 3) Utnoor, 4) Bellampally, 5) Luxettipeta, 6) Adilabad, 7) Khanapur, 8) Sirpur, 9) Mancheriyal 10) Shihba, 11) Kagajnagar, 12) Mandamarri.

Additional to this, in the villages also police camps were established. The villages are :

1) Wankhidi, 2) Kawana, 3) Venkatapur, 4) Kondapalli, 5) Thapalpur, 6) Lingapur, 7) Raapelli, 8) Dhaba, 9) Indravelli, 10) Thimmaur, 11) Nagapuram, 12) Pippaldhari.

8. Kranti Publication op.cit. p. 76
9. Ibid - p.111.
10. Ibid - p.112.
11. Ibid - p.112.

With increase in the number of police stations in Adilabad and Karimnagar tension were reported to be increased between the police and the Naxalites. In this situation, the Adilabad Girijan Sangam ^{caused} its members to hold its first district conference at Indravelli on 20th April 1981. Non-tribals also wanted to hold the meeting on the same day and same place. The police issued a prohibitory order, expecting violence. In spite of banning orders the tribals gathered in large numbers in the village. The police tried to stop the ~~flooded~~ of the tribals. As the tribes resisted, the tension increased between the police and tribes. This resulted in police firing. According to police accounts 13 persons were killed. In contrast APCLC reported that, 60 persons were killed in the shoot out. But, the actual tribals killed in the police firing were unknown. After that incident, the Chief Minister Anjaiah announced 1 crore rupees for tribal welfare programmes, though he left out the most important ^{demand} of the tribals and Naxalites i.e. land to the tiller..

As the Naxalite activities increased in the villages of Karimnagar, New police camps were set up in Beerpur, Dhonthapur, (Jagityal taluk) Kandi Bhamana palli Ibrahimpatnam (peddapatti taluka). The police were raided

the villages terror was also created among the villagers to extract information about the Naxalites.¹² Mass arrests and harrassment of arrested persons were reported to be common, also seem to have extracted the money from the arrested persons and left them out.¹³

The police adopted New strategy in Karimnagar. That is, police kept the informers in the villages to gather information about the Naxalites and their activities. In addition the policemen in disguise infiltrated into villages, to get information about Naxalite activities and put the Questions to the villagers. The Questions like : In which way the Rythu - Doolie Sangham Members came to the village? In which way they are going out from the village? At what time they will arrive? At what time they will leave? In case if the police failed to get the information, the suppression methods were adopted. Mostly - Youth were the victims of police suppression.¹⁴

The Government organised the Anti-Naxalite police

12. Kranti - 1-9-1981 - p.15.

13. Kranti - 1-12-1981 - p.13.

14. Kranti - 1-9-1981 - p.15.

squads to contain Naxalite activities. When the Naxalite activities spread in (1980s) to the East Godavari district (Yellavaram, Ramapachadavaram talukas) the suppression started on Girijans.

For Instance : On 26th November 1982 in East Godavari district of Kondamadalu village police opened fire on Girijans who gathered to harvest the crops from their occupied land of the landlord but sowed by the Girijans. In this incident 'two' Girijans, namely, Kunium Ramulu, Medakam, Laxmiah were killed. 12 persons were arrested.¹⁵

From 1978 to 1982 the Congress Government of Andhra Pradesh used the both police and welfare measures to contain Naxalite activities. Because ^{of the} failure of the welfare programmes to reach up to the poor people, it failed to contain the movement.

In 1983 Legislative Assembly elections Congress(I) was defeated and Telugu Desam Party, founded and led by Actor-turned-politician N.T.Rama Rao came to power. During the elections in election speeches N.T. Rama Rao praised the Naxalites as "True patriots" (Deshabakthulu) and Friends of the poor, who have taken a wrong path to achieve the Right end. After N.T.Rama Rao becoming of

the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, the Naxalites criticised him as a class enemy and the Telugu Desam party as a landlord's party. Hence Chief Minister apparently resorted to the more suppressive methods than Congress(I) Chief Ministers.

Chief Minister N.P.Rama Rao followed 'two' policy initiatives to contain the Naxalites. The first one was declaring economic war against Naxalites. The second one was increasing the police camps and giving additional powers to them.

Chief Minister, Rama Rao Nationalised the Tendu leaves (used in beedi making). That is the Government took over the Tendu leaves trade from the private merchants who were exploiting the tribals giving less money for their work in the collection of tendu leaves. The tribals began to get higher wages.¹⁶ To squeeze the economic source of Naxalites, the Government dispersed the liquor trade among large number of people covering small territories. Thus the Naxalites somehow lost their main source of money as a big donations from the contractors

16. C.Lokeswara Rao "Politics - The People's War Group (PWG) a formidable force."

- Times of India, Jan. 5th 1990.

who controlled big territories and who were the mainstay of Naxalites.¹⁷

Chief Minister Rama Rao also increased the police camps in Naxalite intensified areas.

Table I

Tables I and II shows the police camps which were set up during the Chief Ministership of N.T.Rama Rao.

Police-Camps in Karimnagar District

(by the August 1983)

Name of the taluka	Police camps in the villages
Jagityal	1) Jaivapeta 2) Gopalpur 3) Tummenala 4) Jaina 5) Bheerour 6) Rechepelli 7) Dontapur 8) Upmedige 9) Katlekunta
Metpalli	1) Joginapalli 2) Medapuram 3) Chittapur 4) Valgonda.
Manthini	1) Mallepalli 2) Tadicherla 3) Peddthundla 4) Chinna Godela 5) Machupeta.
Peddapalli	1) Kalwa Srirampuram 2) Kunaram
Sultanabad	1) Sultanpur 2) Vadlapur 3) Wanaparthi 4) Konrapeta
Huzurabad	1) Guduru 2) Keshwapur 3) Kanukala Gidda 4) Manikyapur 5) Kotthagattu
Husrabad	1) Janagaon
Vemulawada	1) Dummala 2) Marriwadda.

Source: From Kranti - Telugu Fortnightly - CPI(M-L)
People's War Group Publications 1-9-1983 - p.3.

Table - II

Police Camps in Adilabad District

(by the August 1983)

Name of the taluka	Police camps in the villages
Chennur	1) Babbarichelaka 2) Rajram
Nirmal	1) Daxamana Chanda
Khanapur	1) Pembli 2) Birsaipeta 3) Khanajipeta
Wankhidi	1) Khannana 2) Indhani
Adilabad	1) Ratnapur 2) Kothagudem 3) Kosami.
Perur	1) Jilleda.

Source : Kranti -Telugu Fortnightly,
CPI (M-L) People's War Group
Publications - 1-9-1983 - p.3.

During the Chief Ministership of Rama Rao also worked by Police suppression. The raids on villages, mass arrests, torture in the jails to extract the information about Naxalites continued. In Jagityal taluk, Allipur, Kistambeta, Uppumadige, Ayodhya, Dharma-jipeta, Pambatla, Chinnamettapalli villages Anti-Naxalites went in disguise as Naxalites to get information about Naxalites and said to the villagers, "We are brothers (Memu Annalam) we are Naxalites (Memu Naxalites) come we will arrange the meeting. Although, the police went in disguise, ^{as} Naxalites to the villages, this didn't yield any results. This

followed mass arrests torture in jails and they were released after being forced to pay bribes.¹⁸

Chief Minister N.T.Rama Rao requested the Central Government for 4,000 Central Reserve police force (2 battalions of CRPF). The Centre send 1 battalion of CRPF to the Andhra Pradesh. It was stationed at forest areas to combat Naxalite activities.¹⁹ Chief Minister, was also requested Central Government to sanction of 22 crores ^{of} rupees financial assistance to modernise the police machinery.²⁰



In Adilabad (taluka) Government started a Satnala dam project 'six' years ago for irrigation. The dam would have submerged the villages Toyaguda, Mediguda, Jamini, Mangurla. Without paying compensation to the villagers, the dam work was started. When this work started, the tribals of the village went to the dam site with the procession demanded the compensation. They obstructed the work, until the payment of compensation.

18. Kranti - 15-7-1983, pp.17,18.

19. Kranti - 12-2-1984, p.23.

20. Kranti - 1-3-1984, p.1.

The Government send a 500 police force on March 10th 1983 to stop the tribal agitation for compensation. The police were dispersed into batches raided the Tbyaguda, Jamini, Mediguda, Mamidiguda, Chelluru, Lakshipuram, Pippaldhari, Satnala villages. Men, women children were beaten. Women were dragged from the houses and beaten. The Gond tribals property was looted. The tribals who escaped the beatings were chased upto the Satnala Canal and caught them in the canal (at work place) and beaten them upto the felling of unconsciousness.²¹

When the Questions were asked the Chief Minister about the excessive police raids and the torture of the tribals, Chief Minister Rama Rao evaded the answers, further asking the questions that 'Why the poor people doesn't have good facilities like upper classes? What happend to our Independence? Is it a social Justice? asking these questions he evaded the answers.'²²

Even with this severe repression by the police, the Naxalites gave a open support to the N.T.Rama Rao, when he was removed on 16th August 1984 by the Governor Ramlal.

This open support didn't change the N.T.Rama Rao's

20. Kranti - 1-4-1984, pp.2,3.

22. Kranti - 1-8-1985 - p.5.

policy towards Naxalites after becoming Chief Minister second time in 1985. In fact, it started more suppression than ever. The 'Special Task Force' an armed policemen was created. To tackle the underground Naxalite activities in forest areas a specially trained para military Force called 'GREYHOUNDS' created. 'The Terrorist and Disruptive (Prevention) Act (TADA) was promulgated in the Naxalite areas.

In East Godavari police - camps were increased in Naxalite - affected talukas of yellavaram and Ramachodavaram. The raids were increased on the Girijan hamlets, property was looted, houses were demolished and girijans were kept in the jails, tortured for Naxalite information. Another cruel act was mass rape of tribal women.²³

23. Kranti - 1-8-1985, p.5.

Table - III

Table III gives the account of the police in Yellavaram and Rampachodavaram talukas of East Godavari district.

(by the July 1985)

Name of the taluka	Police brings in the villages
Yellavaram	1) Jaddangi 2) Konalora 3) S.Vaidipalem 4) Duscharthi
Rampa-Chodavaram	1) Y.Ramavaram 2) Jangala Thota 3) Vathangi 4) Pidatha 5) Mamidi 6) Loddupalem 7) Kakavada 8) Maredumillu 9) Geddada 10) Doralankapalem 11) Devipatnam 12) Dharagadda 13) Pathakota. (The villages with additional force). 1) Rajaramanangi 2) Addatnegala 3) Rampachodavaram.

Source : From Kranti, Telugu Fortnightly
CPI(M-L) People's War Group
Publication - 1-8-1985, p.5.

The suppression and torture became more and more in Naxalited affected Telangana areas, printing press belonging to the Naxalites (CPI M-L people's war group) and its sympathisers were raided. The party publications Kranti (Telugu) proletariat line (English) were not able to publish because of police restrictions.²⁴ The Government also banned the meetings and conventions of all Naxalite front organisations like Jana Natya Mandali and Radical student organisation. Even they tried to hold the meetings with the court permission, the police prevented them by stopping all buses and trains or getting prohibitory orders issued.²⁵

With this, Naxalites curtailed their open mass-based activities, went underground. Their mass base remained. The police also launched the cultural offensive against the Naxalites to wean the people from the Naxalites fold. From the 'Surabhi' theatre group and Department of culture, the Government created a drama troupe. The troupe 'two' years toured the villages and highlighted the Naxalite double standards through burra kathas, oggu kathas (song and plays and talking dolls (Bommalata)).²⁶ This also failed to control the mass base of the Naxalites.

24. Ashok Das-"A.P.Naxalite Movement-I PWG:Strategy to win over masses." - Hindusthan Times 19.1.1990.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

PART - II

POLICE - NAXAL CONFRONTATION

Post-emergency period saw the increasing violence by the Police and Naxalites. Mainly, it increased from 1985. The main cause of tension and violence between the police and Naxalites was an 'Encounter killings.' The Encounter killings have been raising since 1985. According to APCLC (Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee) these were 'Fake Encounters' 'who killed in the encounters, only few were Naxalites, others were tribals, peasants and Agricultural Labourers picked up from the villages and shot dead or asking them run and shot dead.'

From 1984 onwards Naxalite also started killing the policemen for retaliation of encounter deaths. The police officials killed by the Naxalites were from the rank of constables to District Superintendent of police. Other swift in the police-Naxal confrontation was whenever the police officials killed, in retaliation the APCLC Committee members or its sympathisers were killed.²⁷ For instance : On September 2, 1985 a sub-inspector

27. K.Balagopal "Chenna Reddy's spring", Economic and Political weekly, vol. xxv No.12, March 24, 1990. p.

of Kazipet police station (Warangal district) was murdered right on the platform of Kazipet railway junction by the Naxalites. The next day September, 3, 1985 Dr. A.Ramanadham, Vice-President of Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee (APCLC) was murdered. On September 7th 1985 in Peddapalli taluka of Karimnagar, by the Naxalites in the office. Within a few hours, Japa Lakshama Reddy, the office bearer of APCLC was murdered.

From 1985 onwards undeclared war started between the Naxalites and police, Karimnagar and Adilabad districts became 'War Zones'. The tension between the Naxalites and the police created terror among the people. The worst sufferers of this terror was innocent people suspected by both police and Naxalites. To quote Ashok Das:

"The state policy followed by CRPF declared a war and what followed was police Khaki terror vis-a-vis Naxal's red terror, in which several hundred Naxalites and policemen were killed. However, the worst sufferers were innocent people suspected by the warring parties."²⁸

Naxalites chopped off the limbs of people of being police informers. Whereas police resorted to encounter killings. The police also used a new concept 'Missing'.

28. Ashok Das - 'A.P. - Naxalite Movement - I PWG: Strategy to win over masses'. Hindusthan Times-19-1-1990.

police pick up people from suspected of Naxalite leanings and after that, they simply disappear.²⁹ The suspected of being given shelter to the Naxalites, faced the wrath of police. Apparently, 2,000 tribal houses were burnt down during 1984-88, 500 houses of peasant activities were demolished in Karimnagar, 2,140 persons most of them were tribals, were put into jails, under the terrorist and disruptive activities (prevention) Act (Tada). 30 Naxalite activists 'three' of them young girls were 'missing' from police custody.³⁰

29. Ibid.

30. K.Balagopal, op.cit. p.

Table IV give account of the Encounter killings.

Table IV

Statistics of Encounter Killings in A.P.

Period	year	Encounter killings
Pre-Emergency period		450
Post-Emergency period	1980	7
	1981	5
	1982	4
	1983	3
	1984	-
	1985	34
	1986	20
	1987	29
	1988	52
	1989	50

Source : Andhra Pradesh Civil liberties Committee report (APCLC).
"Right to life in NTR's Andhra - Encounters as State police - December 10, 1988 (1989, Number acquired from K. Balagopal's "Chenna Reddy's Spring" Economic and Political Weekly vol. xxv No. 12 March 24, 1990.

Table V give account of the policemen killed by the Naxalites.

Table V
A Tally of Policemen killed by the Naxalites

Year	district	no.of police- men killed	total	Rank
1984	Hyderabad	1		
	Visakhapatnam	1	2	2-Constables
1985	Karimnagar	3		
	Adilabad	1		3-Sub-Inspectors
	Warangal	2	6	3-Constables
1986	Nizamabad	1		2-Constables
	Warangal	2		1-Circle-Inspector
	Karimnagar	1	4	1-Deputy Superintendent of police
1987	(Rural) Visakhapatnam	11		1-Circle-Inspector
	Adilabad	10		2-Sub-Inspectors
	Warangal	2		5-Head-Constable
	Nizamabad	1		17-Constables
	Karimnagar	1	25	

Source : From the Illustrated Weekly of India
(Weekly magazine)
January 24, 1988, p.13.

In an encounter killing very few Naxalites were killed. Most of them were peasants, Tribals and unknown persons. For instance : According to APCLC, in 1988 out of the 52 persons killed in encounters, only 13 were identified as a Naxalites activists, 17 were tribals, 8 were peasants, 7 belonged to assorted category and the Nature of 7 is not known.³¹

Chief Minister N.T.Rama Rao, also perceived the serious socio-economic reasons, behind the malaise. After Allampally outrage in Adilabad, on 18 August 1987, 10 policemen were killed in an ambush by the Naxalites; (People's war Group) Chief Minister announced a multi-crore package aimed at removing the inequalities and bringing in rapid development in Adilabad district, which considered a fortress of Naxalites.³² He promised to declare Adilabad as a welfare district. He also promised restoration of tribal lands from the Non-tribals who had taken away. The IAS officer C.V.S.K. Sharma, who earned the goodwill of the tribals, who earlier worked as a project officer for Integrated Tribal Development Agency (TADA) was posted as a Collector,

31. APCLC Report - "Right to life in N.T.R.'s Andhra Encounters as a state policy" Dec.10,1988.

32. Ashok Das, op.cit.

to proper implementation of the welfare programmes.³³ Chief Minister also announced employment for tribal youth to wean the tribals from the Naxalites fold. Two thousand posts of policemen and teachers were created, exclusively for tribal youth. There was a good response for the teachers jobs and the response for police jobs was poor.³⁴

Naxalites also launched a vigorous campaign to convince the tribals that, the announcement of the employment programme was to create discord among the tribals and threatened youngmen against appearing in the tests for police jobs.³⁵ Seven tribal boys were kidnapped by the Naxalites, when they applied for jobs in the police force.³⁶

Chief Minister N.T.Rama Rao faced the political pressure of the powerful landlords lobby. This forced the Chief Minister, to transfer the district collector C.V.S.K.Sharma, out of the district within a year and

33. Ibid.

34. Ashok Das - "A.P. : Naxalite Movement-II.Demands exceeds Government concessions". Hindusthan Times - 20.1.1990.

35. Ibid.

36. C.Lokeswara Rao: Politics : The People's War Group (PWG) - a formidable force" Times of India 1.5.1990.

the whole plan favourable to the tribals was abandoned.³⁷

Even while the Naxalites went underground they continued to extend their tribal base. In 1988, the Adilabad district was hit by a severe drought due to a peculiar combination of torrential rains in the South-West monsoon and practically no rains in the north-east monsoon.

This drought created more miserable situation to already existing abysmal poverty. The daily wages of whole family is not sufficient for one time meal. The tribals used to eat tubers a poisonous root collected from the forest. In this situation. Moneylenders refused to lend the money for tribals. Because of this Naxalites organised raids with the starved tribals, upon the houses and shops of traders and Moneylenders living in towns and big villages.³⁸

The first raid took place at the village of Pembri in Khanapur taluk on 31st October 1988. After that there have been raids at Panchikalpeta, Thosam, Jainath, Talmaddi,

37. Ashok Das, op.cit., 19.1.1990.

38. K.Balagopal "Drought and TADA in Adilabad"
Economic and Political Weekly, November 25, 1989.

Rajura and Dandapall villages as well as few other places across the border in Maharashtra.³⁹

In each raid about 200 to 300 tribals accompanied by armed Naxalites raided the houses of moneylenders and took away the money as well as some of the pawned articles. They raided the shops of grain dealers and took away rice and jowar. They raided the houses and shops of traders of all varieties. They took away items like money, clothes, jewellery anything they could lay their hands on.⁴⁰

With these raids the poverty-stricken Adilabad district was again set with an explosive situation. Five additional battalions of Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) arrived to crackdown the Naxalites.⁴¹

The situation changed rapidly, with the debacle of Telugu Desam Party in 1989 November Legislative Assembly elections as the Congress(I) came to power, Chenna Reddy became the Chief Minister with this situation was improved with the understanding between Naxalites and the Government. (But at any time the situation may become reverse to the past).

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. P.V.Thomas, Adilabad on Volcano" - Police-Naxalite Confrontation-I, Newstime - 13.11.1988.

PART - III

CHANGING STRATEGY OF NAXALITE GROUPS IN ANDHRA PRADESH

Immediately after the emergency, the main Naxalite factions led by Kondapalli Seetha ramaiah later named in 1980 as a 'people's War Group' and another factions led by Chandra Pulla Reddy changed their strategies of Annihilation policy. Both these groups recognised, the Annihilation policy alienated the masses from the struggle and they tried to expand the mass base. The differences arised between these 'two' groups on the question of participation of electoral politics.

Chandra pulla Reddy Group participated in Electoral politics to establish its base in the masses. In 1978 Legislative elections, the Chandra Pulla Reddy Group contested and also won one seat of 'Yellandu' in Khammam district. Still Yellandu is a safe seat of CPI(M-L) pyla Vasudeva Rao Group the Split away from Chandra Pulla Reddy Group. The won the Yellandu Constituency, fourth time in 1989 November Legislative elections.

In 1984 the Chandra Pulla Reddy Group split. A New faction led by Pyla Vasudeva Rao, also participated

in electoral politics. The reaction for split in the Chandra Pulla Reddy group, according to them, was a disagreement over the functioning of the India - China friendship society.⁴² The Chandra Pulla Reddy, group left the Yellandu seat to the Pyla Vasudeva Rao Group. Chandra Pulla Reddy Group participated in 1989 Legislative Assembly elections, won a New 'Sircilla' seat in Karimnagar.

These 'two' groups abandoned the violence except in unavoidable situation with other groups mainly people's war Group and sometimes with the police in forest areas. They participated in electoral politics without abandoning the armed squads. Because ultimate aim of Naxalite Groups is to overthrow the present political system through the armed struggle. According to these Groups, participating in elections is to propagate the agrarian Revolution and remove of the illusions about the elections.

To quote the Naxalite leader Pyla Vasudeva Rao words :

'Our party participated in the elections to propagate the agrarian revolutionary programme and remove the illusions

42. Shantha Sinha - "Maoists in Andhra Pradesh" -
Publications, - Delhi - 1989, p.281.

people have about the elections."⁴³

Participating in electoral politics is a significant change in the strategy of CP Group and Pyla Vasudeva Rao Group, which can be easily absorbed into the Democratic Society.

Another Naxalite Group led by Kondapalli Seetharamaiah, named as 'people's war group' in 1980, continued the violence even after the emergency although they say that, they abandoned of the pre-Emergency Strategy of annihilation policy.⁴⁴ They are against the participation in electoral politics. They gave a call of "boycott elections." They didn't believe in electoral politics. According to PWG : 'The Elections were fraud, and do not represent a true will of people.'

Gaddar, Jana Natya Mandali member says why the people's war Group is not participating in elections :

43. Quoted from "The Illustrated Weekly of India" Interview given by the Pyla Vasudeva Rao to the Venu Menon.
"The Illustrated Weekly of India" - Jan. 24, 1988.

44. Letter written by the M.Koteswara Rao, Forest Committee Member CPI (M-L) People's War Group denied the Continuation of the Annihilation policy. Illustrated Weekly of India March 13, 1988.

"Elections were fought on money and not on people's faith and extraneous factors like goondaism decide electoral politics."⁴⁵

The violence continued by the 'People's War Group' caused the police suppression on Naxalites. Upto 1984 police used the force to suppress the Naxalites. From 1984 onwards started violence against the police started killing policemen for retaliation of rising Encounter deaths. The Naxalites (PWG) started a New strategy of 'Kidnappings' to counter the suppression of police. The kidnappings include pretty Government officials, police constables, Mandal parishad Chairmen and even top I.A.S. (Indian Administrative Service) officials.

The First 'Kidnapping' took place in November 1984 when revenue divisional officer of East Godavari was held hostage by People's War Group members who released him only after the release of the Naxalite under the police custody.

45. Quoted from the Interview given by the Gaddar to the K.P.Sunil.

The second kidnapping took place on 27th December 1987 at Gurithedu village in East Godavari district. Naxalites Kidnapped 17 Subordinated staff members and top I.A.S. officials includes a M.V.P.C. Sastry, the District Collector of East Godavari District and S.R. Sharankan a principal secretary to the state Government.

The Naxalites released the officials and subordinate staff only after their demands were met by the Government i.e. release of seven Naxalites. This incidence gave publicity to the Naxalites and gave them an upper-hand against the Government. Then series of kidnappings took place. Police constables, and presidents of Mandal praja parishad were kidnapped. In May 1989, six Mandal Praja Parishad Presidents were kidnapped by the Naxalites. One of them Malhar Rao of Karimnagar district was killed by the Naxalites.⁴⁶ To save another Mandal Praja Parishad President K.V.N. Gupta, Chief Minister N.T.Rama Rao accepted the Naxalite demand to rebuild the Naxalite memorials in Mahabubnagar district which was demolished by the police.⁴⁷

46. A Prabhakara Rao "Naxal Kidnappings : Legacy of N.T.R." Patriot, Jan.2, 1990.

47. Ibid.

The Chief Ministers of Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Karnataka Governor urged the Chief Minister Rama Rao not to re-build the memorials and 'succumb to the blackmail tactics of the Naxalites'. Chief Minister Rama Rao replied to them :

"We are adopting a policy to suit our own conditions under particular circumstances; we want win over the Naxalites with love."⁴⁸

But later, when 'two' police constables were kidnapped in Warangal district Chief Minister refused to accept the Naxalite demands. The 60,000 strong police officers Association leaders urged Chief Minister to save the lives of 'two' police constables, who even didn't belong to the Anti-Naxalite squads. Chief Minister didn't respond. Then policeman, themselves in disguise of 'Projabandhus' (friends of people) kidnapped Balagopal the General-Secretary of Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee (a known friend of the Naxalites) and threatened to kill him if the 'two' constables were not released within stipulated time, then Naxalites released the police constables.⁴⁹

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

Along with the kidnappings, Naxalites started destroying the Government property (public property). Railway Stations, Mandal Revenue offices, Telephone exchanges, R.T.C. (Road Transport Corporation) Buses (13 buses), Microwave Stations and timber depots were went in flames.⁵⁰

The destruction of public property worth lakhs of Rupees, caused inconvenience to the public, It costed the public sympathy of Naxalites.

The situation changed rapidly. The debacle of Telugu Desam Party in 1989 November Legislative elections, the Congress(I) came to power. Once again Chenna Reddy became a Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. He invited them for talks and conceded most of their demands.

Naxalites came to the surface from underground, as their ^{main} demands were accepted. Now, they are trying to build mass base of people have started using previous methods like dispensing justice in people's court,⁵¹

50. A.P.R.S. Publication: 'A.P.R.S.U.: A Glorious saga of students struggle : Radical Student Movement Forges ahead undeterred.
- Andhra Pradesh Radical Students Union Publication.
November 1989, p.137.

51. Special Correspondent - "Naxalite Way of Justice".
Indian Express, April 3, 1990.

and land occupation from the landlords and distributing among the landless poor people to get mass base and public sympathy.⁵² But at any time the situation may reverse to the past of violence and killings.

52. C. Lokeswara Rao : Naxalites are popular because they distribute land: Times of India : July 2, 1990.

CONCLUSION

The Telangana Armed struggle at the time of Independence (1947-51) gave a impetus to the Srikakulam Girijan Movement in Andhra Pradesh. Apparently, the Girijan Movement (1967) in Srikakulam by the CPI(M-L) gave a impetus to Spread of the Naxalite Movement to Telangana area of Andhra Pradesh.

In 1970s Naxalite Movement was in the initial stages in Adilabad, Karimnagar and East Godavari, while later in 1980s it engulfed the entire Adilabad, Karimnagar and Forest areas of Yellavaram and Rampachadavaram Talukas of East Godavari. The Naxalite Movement became a mass movement and hence Government was unable to suppress even with the sophisticated police machinery. (Special Task Force, Anti-Naxalite Squads and Grey hounds). Both Congress(I) and Telugu Desam governments used the police force to suppress the Naxalite movement, the more suppression of the Naxalites by the Government forces, the more intensification of Naxalite activities and spread of the Naxalite Movement.

The increasing activities of Naxalites caused much trouble to the Government of Andhra Pradesh. Even Chief Minister N.T.Rama Rao (1982-89) threatened the

Naxalites by saying that he will be ordering bombing of the Naxalite affected areas. However he was advised that aerial bombing in the state is a central prerogative.¹ Consequently, the horrendous police suppression on the Naxalites and the people who supported them i.e. peasants, Agricultural Landless Labourers and the poorest, the most powerless tribals.

Though, Naxalites went to underground they continued to get mass support of people. Hence the Government is failed to contain the movement. The reasons for the mass support of the Naxalite Movement are :

- i) The serious socio-economic conditions of tribals.
- ii) The ruthless exploitation of the tribals by the Non-tribals, who trapped the tribals land by employing all fraud and illegal methods.
- iii) The brutal police force used by the Government.
- iv) Exploitation of the tribals by the petty officials. Mainly, the Forest officials from Chaukidars (watchmen) and dafedars to rangers regarded the tribals as 'milch cow' to be robbed at will.² Even the censuswallah collected the money illegally i.e. 50 paise

1. Saeed Naqvi "Chenna Reddy and Naxalites"
Patriot(Daily) Jan 2, 1990,

2. By Correspondents - 'Another Massacre of tribals'
Economic and Political Weekly, May 2, 1981. p.796.

from each tribal household for the privilege of recording their names as citizens of India.³

- v) The Feudalistic exploitation of landlords (Forced Labour) and their authority, concentration of the land in the hands of landlords, the atrocities committed by the landlords on women of lower sections.

In Adilabad, even after the 40 years of Independence of India, the tribals live in Abysmal poverty. The tribals still eat the poisonous root collected from the forest to fullfill their stomach. Starvation and illiteracy became a part of their lives - (literacy 5% among men 3% among women). It is the tribals, who were most influenced by the Naxalites, who promised to protect them from the exploitation. Congress I or Telugu Desam Governments failed to stop the exploitation of the tribals. The Governments announced several tribal welfare programmes but it was never implemented properly. The benefits of welfare programmes never reached the tribals. On the other hand, the welfare programmes fattened the politicians and petty officials at the cost of tribals. Chief Minister N.T.Rama Rao (1982-89) announced the

3. Ibid.

multi-crore rupees welfare programmes in 1987 to wean away the tribals from the Naxalites fold. He also promised to change the Adilabad district as a model district of Andhra Pradesh. But within a year the entire plan was abandoned due to pressure from the landlords lobby.

In contrast, the Naxalites who were under the influence of elusive borrowed revolutionary ideology criticised the Government as a 'bourgeoisie and exploitative', whenever the Government announced the welfare programmes and tried to implement.

The important positive results of Naxalite Movement are :-

- (i) The increase of wages from Rs. 1 to Rs. 7 for women.
- (ii) Increase of wages from Rs. 2 to Rs. 12 for men.
- (iii) The increase of yearly payment of palers from Rs. 600/- to Rs. 2,900.
- (iv) The attitude in nature of the oppressed people was changed from submissive to the questioning of landlords authority in the villages, where the Naxalites were active. As a result some of the landlords fled from the villages and they settled in Towns.

The Negative impact of the Naxalite Movement
were :-

- (i) The severe suppression on the people who supported the Naxalites.
- (ii) The tribal women were mass raped.
- (iii) The tribals houses were burnt and demolished.
- (iv) The tribals were beaten and tortured in the jails and implicated in the 'false' charges.
- (v) The tribals were under the grip of fear from the Khaki terror (police terror) vis-a-vis red terror (Naxalite terror) .

This fear, anguish, disappointment and pain are clearly expressed in the words of Gond Tribal leader Siddam Maru Master (Secretary of the Raj Gond Seva Samithi):

"The tribals had been hunted out from hamlets to hamlets by landlords and forest personnel who exploits them upto the hilt. There was nobody to protect the tribal rights. Whenever they United, they were crushed under the boots of the police. Bayonets and bullets were the reply to the tribal protests. Then came the Naxalites. It created New problems after the initial stages. The police and the Naxalites made the tribal hamlets their battlefields. Innocent

tribals are scared of both the police and the Naxalites."⁴

In recent days mainly from 1987 when the suppression increased, an encounter deaths mounted, Naxalites also started killing of the poor policemen for the retaliation of encounter deaths. They resorted to 'kidnappings' and other activities like burning of the R.T.C. buses (13 buses), Railway Stations and Telephone exchanges which caused inconvenience to the public. This costed public support and sympathy of Naxalites.

On the other hand, the Naxalites under the influence of their illusionary revolutionary Ideology justified their activities as a part of their revolutionary programme besides some of the benefits to the oppressed people. The ultimate aim of the Naxalites is to armed overthrow of the present political system and establish a communist state. The aim of the Naxalites is very difficult to be achieved for the following reasons.

- (i) Indian Army is powerful.
- (ii) The Naxalite Movement is not all India based. It confined to the remote and forest areas,

4. P.V.Thomas "TRIBALS IN THE SHADOW OF FEAR- Police - Naxal Confrontation - II" Nesstime (Daily) 14.11.1988.

which is suitable for Guerilla activities and there is also no link with the urban centres.

- (iii) The Guerilla activities by the Naxalites caused the alienation from the masses.
- (iv) The split in the Naxalite Group is a main Achilles heel (weakness) of the Naxalite Movement. Not only splits among the Naxalite Groups but also clashes, killings and blaming each other among the Naxalite Groups.
- (v) Since the Naxalite movement are based on Chinese successful revolutionary leader Mao-Tse-Tung's thought. Here in India the conditions and system are totally different from the Chinese situation. China is a feudalistic society with the dynamic leadership of peasantry social exploitation and war conditions against Japan forced them to participate in the Chinese Revolution. In contrast, India is Independent, Secular, Multi-linguistic and Multi-Cultural, Multi-religious Society. In addition the caste system which prevailed in India divides the people hierarchically. All these factors were unfavourable for mass based Naxalite Movement in this country.

(vi) To obtain the mass support some of the Naxalite groups have changed their strategies. That is they denounced the violent methods but adopted the parliamentary path, i.e. participating in elections.

Thus, Naxalites failed to convince Indian people that "power flows from the barrel of the gun". On the other hand, people are used to electoral politics than the revolutionary violence.

Moreover, the Naxalite Movement is a result of the failure of Indian Democracy to reach upto the most exploited and powerless people. The problem of unemployment diversified the youth to Radical politics and because of unending exploitation the poor people found the Naxalites. Land problems is the prime factor in Naxalite Movement. So Land Reforms Act should be properly implemented. It is the responsibility of the Government to remove these socio-economic malaise and end to the exploitation of man by the man. Unless, the Indian Democracy reaches to the poor people i.e. justice to ^[economic and Social] the every citizen of India, the Naxalites always try to fulfill the vaccum of Democratic failure.

...

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

1.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

1. District Gazetteers - Adilabad 1976.
2. District Census Handbook - Adilabad - 1981.
3. District Census Handbook - Karimnagar - 1981.
4. District Census Handbook - East Godavari - 1981.

NAXALITE PUBLICATIONS

1. Kranti - Telugu Fortnightly (CPI(M-L) People's War Group Publications, Guntur (A.P.).
(from 1978-1986).
2. Kranti Publications - The Flames of Peasant Struggle Ablazed in... The Furrows Furious
A brief History of Adilabad - Karimnagar peasant Movement, Kranti Publications,
January 1981.
3. APRSU Publications - APRSU : A Glorious saga of Students struggle : Radical Student Movement Forges ahead undetterred. APRSU Publications - Secunderabad November - 1989.

BOOKS

1. A.R.Desai ed. - Peasant Struggles in India, Oxford University Press, New Delhi - 1979.
2. P.Sundarayya - Telangana People's Armed Struggle (1946-51), National Book Centre, New Delhi 1985.
3. K.Raghavaiah - "Tribal Revolts", published by Andhra Rashtra Adimajathi Sevak Sangh: Nellore (A.P.) - 1971.
4. Arutla Ramachandra Reddy - 'Telangana Struggle Memories' translated from Telugu by B.Narsingha Rao, People's Publishing House, New Delhi-1984.
5. K.N.Panikkar ed. National and Left Movement in India, Vikas Publishing House Pvt.Ltd. New Delhi - 1980.
6. Manoranjan Mohanthy - 'Revolutionary Violence' - A Study of Maoist Movement in India, Sterling Publishers (Pvt.) Limited, New Delhi - 1977.
7. Sohail Jawaid - "The Naxalite Movement in India" Associated Publishing house : New Delhi - 1979.
8. Sumantha Banerjee - "India's Simmering Revolution - The Naxalite Uprising; Zed Books Ltd; London - 1984.

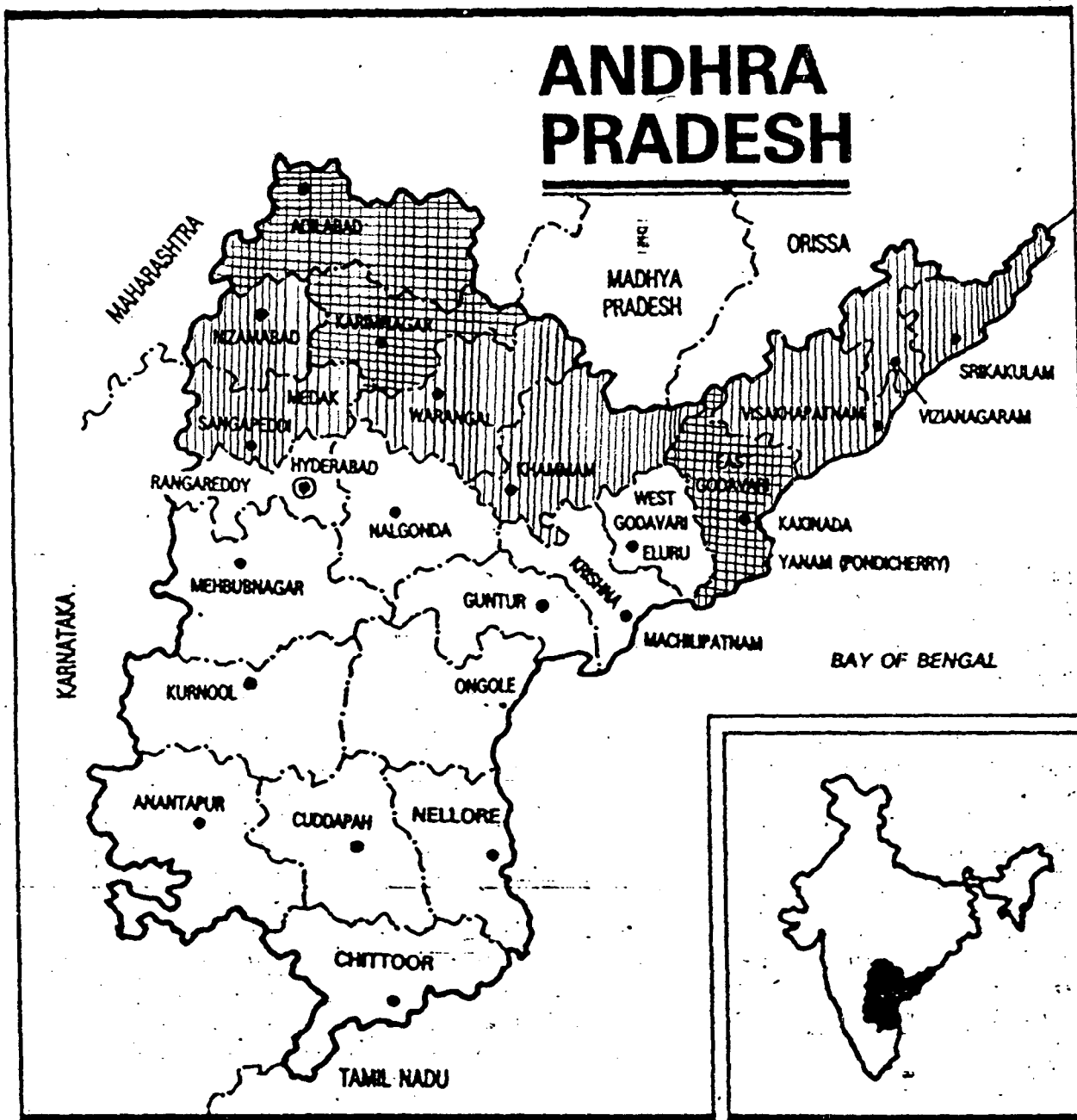
9. J.C.Johari - 'Naxalite Politics in India',
Research Publications, Delhi - 1972.
10. Kondaveeti Chinnaya Suri - 'Girijan Movement in Sri-
kakulam - A Study of Political -
Violence' 1964-75. Dissertation to J.N.U.
New Delhi - 1980.
11. Shantha Sinha - Maoists in Andhra Pradesh, Thesis
to J.N.U., New Delhi-1977.
12. Christoph Von Furor - Haimondorf - ' Tribes of India -
With contribu- The Struggle for Survival', Oxford
tion of Michael University Press, Delhi - 1982.
Yorke and Jaya-
Prakash Rao.
13. M.Chakraborti and D.Mukherji, -'Indian Tribes',
Saraswati Press, Calcutta, 1971.
14. S.K.Ghosh - Law Enforcement in Tribal Areas,
Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi-1987.
15. K.S.Singh ed. - "The Tribal Movements in India"-
Vol. 2, Manohar Publications, New Delhi 1983.
16. Shantha Sinha - 'Maoists in Andhra Pradesh' CHANAKYA
Publications, New Delhi-1989.

ARTICLES

1. Shankar (M.S.) "Terror", "Sundary Deccan Chronicle"
(Daily) October 1,8, 15, 1989
(three Series).
2. S.Rajappa 'Naxalite Problem now in Congress(I)'s
lap'. The Sunday Statesman (Daily)
February, 4, 1990. .
3. Christoph Von Furor Haimondorf - "Aboriginal Rebellion
in Deccan". Man in India (Quarterly)
(Rebellion number) December 1945.
4. Christoph Von Furor Haimondorf - The Cult of the Clan
Gonds among the Raj Gonds of Hyderabad.
Man in India (Quarterly) ember 1945.
5. P.V.Thomas - Adilabad on Volcano Police - Naxal Con-
frontation - I, Newstime - 13th Nov.1988.
6. P.V.Thomas - TRIBALS IN THE SHADOW OF FEAR -Police- Naxal Confron-
tation - II, Newstime (Daily) 14th Nov.
1988.
7. P.V.Thomas - 'Red Star Guiding the Tribal Destiny'.
Police-Naxal Confrontation-III Newstime
(Daily) 15th November 1988.
8. P.V.Thomas - Vying with each other for Deforestation.
Police-Naxal Confrontation-IV. Newstime
(Daily) 16th November 1988.

9. By Correspondent - 'Another Massacre of Tribals', Economic and Political Weekly, May 2, 1981.
10. R. Sreekumar - 'Police War on tribals in Andhra Pradesh' Mainstream, May 9, 1981.
11. Anjan Mukherjee - 'Revolution, Revision, Negotiation' Surya (Monthly) April 1990.
12. Praful Bidwai - 'Naxalites on the upswing' Times of India - 13th January 1988.
13. A. Prabhakara Rao - 'Naxal Kidnappings - Legacy of N.T.R.' Patriot Jan. 3, 1990.
14. C.Lokeshwara Rao - 'Politics - Why Naxalism flourishes in Telangana', - Times of India (Daily) Jan.5,1990.
15. C.Lokeswara Rao - Politics : People's War Group a formidable force; Times of India - Jan. 5,1990.
16. Saeed Naqvi - 'Chenna Reddy and Naxalites' Patriot, January 2, 1990.
17. K.Balagopal - 'Drought and TADA in Adilabad', Economic and Political Weekly, November 25, 1989.
18. K.Balagopal - 'Chenna Reddy's Spring', Economic and Political Weekly, March 24, 1990.
19. Special Correspondent - Naxalites way of Justice, Indian Express, April 3, 1990.
20. APCLC Report - 'Right to Life in NTR's Andhra - Encounters as a state policy.

21. Ashok Das - A.P. : Naxalite Movement - I PWG Strategy to win over Masses, Hindusthan Times : 9-1-1990.
22. Ashok Das - A.P. Naxalite Movement - II Demands exceeds Government Concessions. Hindusthan Times : 10-1-1990.
23. The Illustrated Weekly of India - Tables and Interviews by the Naxalite Leaders.
24. C.Lokeswara Rao : "Naxalites are Popular because they distribute land : Times of India
... July 2, 1990.



Area affected by Naxalite activities



Areas under study