### SOCIAL INVESTIGATION OF NORTH TELANGANA

### Case study of Warangal district

### Warangal district - Social, Economic, Political condition - Changes

There were severe changes in the district in the past two decades from 1980. The main reason is the intensification of anti feudal struggles. Another reason is the effect of globalisation (WB, IMF, WTO). Imperialist investment came into the country after 1990 and showed relative impact on the semi feudal relations. As a result, capitalist relations developed.

There were considerable changes in land relations. Market relations developed. Transport and communication facilities increased. There were serious changes in the conditions of the respective classes. There were changes also in the economic, political, cultural and social relations. Education and medical fields widened. Middle class and the village petty bourgeoisie increased to a high extent. There were certain changes in the life style of the people. Government intervention increased in the villages. Landlords fled to the towns. Handicraft was affected. More and more population is increasingly dependent on agricultural sector. The number of workers in the organised sector is increasing. Women are increasingly entering into the economic, political and social fields. We must make changes in our tactics accordingly.

Let us see the changes in the rural area. The exploitation and oppression of the landlords is not like before. There is no exploitation of tenancy. As a result of the anti feudal struggles, the landlords fled to towns. While they sold away their lands, a little of ten to twenty per cent has been left. In some places it was totally sold. The land came into the hands of the middle and the rich peasants. Some of it went into the hands of the poor peasants. Small tillings increased. Agriculture is being done through the paleru (labourer employed specially for agricultural work in the landlord's house) and agricultural labourers. The political parties (rich peasants) became dominant in the place of the landlords. The rapid entrance of capitalist relations destroyed the rural economic system. The landlord class no more dominates, oppresses or exploits through the various classes like in the past. They have transformed their money into other forms.

Madari narsimhareddy of motlapalli of mogullapalli mandal converted his money into sugar, jinning and various industries (i.e., industrial sector). Reddy, lothamreddy, narayanreddy, venkatramreddy are well known landlords once upon a time. Now they have become crorepathis in liquor, cinema, road, education and other such sectors. The landlords who fled due to our movement are continuing their capitalist exploitation. Previously the dalits of the villages did not even have ordinary huts. Now at least some of them have houses, SC colonies and quarters. Anyhow, the SC colonies still exist in one end of the village.

Condition of handicraft: Capitalist relations destroyed the handicrafts totally. With the increasing usage of aluminium, plastic and iron, potters have almost lost their profession. The weaving labourers (padmasalis) formed cooperative societies and existed for sometime. But due to the new wage policy, satyam committee recommendations, mechanised weaving machines, increased rates of colour, thread, decreased demand for cotton clothes, increase of expenditure and other such factors are leading them to suicides. Weaving sector and weaving machines are closed and the padmasalis are either migrating or transformed into agricultural labourers.

People from other castes also bought tailoring machines and took up the work and so the profession of the meras (tailors) was affected. Golla kurmas do not go much for grazing the sheep and are dependent on land. They have become part of agricultural population. Professions of vadla (carpenter), kammari (goldsmith) were also affected. Welding and winding mechanic shops came up in the villages. Only the old generation is taking up the chakali (cloth washing) work. The new generation is not washing clothes. Laundry and barbershops came up. Now the

barbers do not go from house to house. Some of the people of the mala (harijan) caste got lands. They came into education, employed and political fields. Gouda (those who extract kallu, i.e., liquor from the trees) profession has not changed. Most of them reached a higher status. There is ever lasting demand for kallu. They bought lands and transformed into middle and rich peasants. After the socalled higher castes of reddy, velama and kamma, come kapu, gouda. Perika, yadava and sudra castes. They are dominant in politics also.

Caste organisations and castes continue to exist. But the caste domination is not as like before. There are caste heads and caste customs do exist but are not prevalent like before. Now the fines are not imposed like in the earlier days. The caste organisations conduct chits, supply tent house and other such equipment and rent them for various occasions. They attend the meetings of the caste organisation (sectional movements) in the towns. Mekapullera (goat tax) is replaced by grazing policy. Fifty rupees are to be paid for one goat. Dol debba (a caste organisation) is opposing it. The caste organisations are playing a key role during elections, in some panchayats and in traditional affairs. The political parties are severely trying to keep casteism intact. The death and marriage systems are taken up in a lavish way and in the method of so called upper caste Hinduism. There is no change in the traditional affairs. The inter caste marriages relatively increased but there are severe problems in accepting them.

### Market dependent relations:

People's lives are related to the market. The agricultural labourers buy salt, dal and rice from the shop by evening with their wages. They are producing more than their necessity for market. Commercial crops increased. Food crops and other essential crops decreased.

Mirchi, cotton, groundnut, vegetables, crops for selling, plantations like mango, citrus fruits and flowers have developed. Around 2 lakhs acres of cotton is grown in Warangal district. Some amount of paddy is kept for food and the rest is sold. The usage of fertilisers, insects and pesticides increased. Warangal has the second place in using fertilisers in the state of Andhra pradesh. It is so high that some big villages have exclusive fertiliser shops and in small villages the local grocery shops sell them. The banks (cooperative and other such) and moneylenders give half of the loans with the condition of pesticides and fertilisers. The mandal agricultural department gave pesticides like powders, andrin tablets, avant and tracer during times of shortage.

Previously irrigation was through ponds and dug up wells. But now the main source is wells. The ponds dug at the time of the Kakathiyas flow water into the fields even before they are totally filled up. The TDP leaders hijack all the funds allotted for their repair. Ramappa, Pakala, Laknavaram, Morancha (Ganapa samudram) are heavy reservoirs. Later mullur (narsimhasagar) and chalivagu projects were built. Thousands of acres are irrigated through these. The wells are dug with the help of cranes. Compressors are used to blast a rock inside the well. In some villages there are three or four cranes. Some developed wells got Bandar bores. In janagama area agriculture is absolutely done with bores. The bore carts queue up during summer in front of the taluka centres. Underground water dried up and there is no water until very deep.

Canals were dug. The kakathiya canal goes from hasanparthy to chityal, nekkonda, karimnagar and khammam border and provides water to tens of kilometres. In some areas two crops are sown.

The World Bank gained monopoly over the canals and the ponds through the water organisations (neeti sangh). Government decreased the funds. The I&B department cut down the employees in the irrigation departments by 40 per cent. It gave powers to the irrigation water organisations. Water tax has been increased. Repairs are taken up with the tax. In the name of saving money metres were established. Recently congress and CPM took a program for destroying them. The officers of the WB conduct the meetings of the neeti sangh once in three months in the district level.

Earlier water from the wells was pumped with the traditional forms like motalu, gudu veyyadam and etham (in these methods a bag is made out of bamboo and tied with either a rope on both sides or to a large wood pole and the water is taken). Now they are not seen. Current motors replaced oil engines that are rarely seen. Problems like electricity cut, low voltage, hike in electricity charges are compelling the peasantry to fight with the government. Recently TRANSCO took up collecting the credit payments forcibly. Those villages that did not pay were in darkness for about 15 days. The peasants of Pulluru Ramayya palle, Komalla and Pembarthi detained the Transco officers for one whole day without fearing the police. They released them only after the RDO calmed them.

Transco removed the 40 KV transformers and brought in singlephase transformers. Two or three farmers together should have this transformer. If the number of connections is high the transformer shall trip with low voltage. It is difficult for the poor farmers who take the current directly from the wires without paying for the connection. This led to an increase in the conflicts between the farmers. The substations were leased. Transco gave the distribution and transmission to TATA for contract and the wires and the poles are in the supervision of the engineers of the department. Peasantry is directly affected by the privatisation of power.

Autostarters to the bore wells automatically off them when the current is not supplied. In Janagama area there are many number of such bores and paddy is sown. Starters do the work and so neither labourers nor paleru is needed. For the past decade the ponds in Cheryal and Janagama area is not filled with water. Weeds have grown wildly.

Earlier humans had to do this. But now plastic and rubber pipes are laid even to a long distance. There is no need to dig canals. Government is warning the peasantry to sow other crops since there is a current cut. Earlier the good seeds of one crop were selected and stored for the next crop. Now only hybrid seeds are used. Hundreds of varieties have come up in paddy. Cotton also has lots. Presently bolgaurd has become a danger for the farmers. Tomato, brinjal and others are being grown only for the sake of seeds. Peasantry are more and more attacking the seeds in the black market. The farmers are forcibly accustomed to use seeds made by the MNCs or MNC collaborators. Prices of seeds are too high.

### Rural masses loan system:

Earlier the rural masses were dependent on the mercy of the landlords and the moneylenders for loans with high interest. If it is for seeds, the interest was double. As a result of our struggle and due to the capitalist relations there is a change in the money lending business too.

Though the old shahukars continue to lend, the number is less. Now few rich and middle peasants among them are lending. Besides, finances, chit funds, girigiri and other such organisations are lending money and taking high interests. The finance companies are not yet spread in the villages deeply.

Banks are playing an important role. There are three types of banks. 1) Rural banks. 2) Commercial banks. 3) Primary agricultural cooperative societies, and FACS. They claim to be giving crop loans on low interest. The canara bank, Indian bank, land mortgaging bank, SBH, Baroda, Vysya bank and kakathiya grameena banks are adopting villages and are not only giving crop loans but also money for oil engines, cycles, pan shops, grocery and other such necessities. Apart from these the voluntary organisations are also giving loans in a big way. The interest rate is high. The peasantry are opposing the forcible collection of loans. Recently, a poor lambada farmer of mogilicherla sivaru thanda of kuravi mandal faced a loss in his cotton crop. Bank officers came to take back the loan he took for the crop. He was disturbed and committed suicide. MRPS, nagarabheri, congress, TRS and other such organisations agitated for ten days in protest to this.

Farmers are bringing the crop to the markets for sale. Earlier they used to take it to the shahukars or the district centre and the taluka centre. Now transport facilities have increased. So it is easy to bring them in tractors, lorries and matadors. With this transport offices came up in the rural areas. Some of the traders and the shahukars are buying for low rates in the villages. With the transport offices, hamalis came up. They do this work in addition to the agriculture work. The traders exploit the paddy market tremendously. There is no proper price for the peasants. Investment increased and yield decreased. They are forced to mortgage land to the owners of fertiliser shops and the traders. In some places they were seized by them and in places where there is no proper price, cold storage plants came up. Anyway, grain markets are the arena for the anger of peasants. This spontaneous agitation has to be moulded into one against the government. Recently the peasantry were angry for not giving proper price and destroyed the grain market in Jammikunta. Thirty thousand rupees worth property lost.

There are 15 grainmarkets in the district. The second grain market in Asia is from this district. KeSamudram is the second biggest market in the district. The poor lambadi peasants also take cotton, turmeric and groundnut to the ke samudram market. TDP consciously established grain market committees to strengthen the TDP mechanism. Oil, dal and rice mills came up in the place of grain market. This led to the rise of a working class. There are 45 cotton mills in Warangal in the Pragathi industrial area. This is called "Manchester of India". There are 20 jinning mills.

Increased education facilities in rural area:

After the privatisation of education, schools increased in the villages. Education is not inevitable but for the exploitation. Lord meckalay (British imperialists) started schools to generate clerks for the East India company. Now the governments are starting "Akshara deepika", "Malli badiki", "Chaduvula panduga", education for child labourers, thivesh audio visual educations, bridge schools to educate the peasantry and make them buy their goods. It is only to transform the people as "market being". Earlier, farmers never had anything to eat when they go to the market. They used to go without even brushing their teeth. Now they go to the hotels. They also have to watch the imperialist's TV. So they have to go by bus.

Hotel management, tourism and fashion technology courses have been brought in the name of self financed courses. History and science is removed. The computer technology courses are filled up. There are lot of computer science students. Now because of the crisis in America, it proved to be a mirage.

In 1980s, there were two or four high schools in one taluka. Now the number rose to 15. Each village has a primary school. Each mandal centre has a junior college. Taluka centres have degree colleges. In the past there was a degree college in Janagama and one in Warangal town. The ten junior colleges in Warangal in 1984 now rose to hundred. Large number of English and telugu medium private schools have come up in the villages. Though the fees is up to 40 rupees the poor farmers are sending their children. There are four to five SC and the ST hostels in each mandal and the number of dalit and adivasi students relatively increased. A petty bourgeois section developed from the section of dalits that used the reservations in the education and the employee sectors. They are the basis for MRPS (Madiga reservation porata samithi) and Mala mahanadu. Now the TDP government is lifting the SC and ST hostels. Due to privatisations there shall not be any reservations in the education field According to a survey, dalits are only in the posts of attenders and punes in the Kitts college. The Andhra Pradesh government is lifting the adivasi and the other residential schools and is decreasing the funds.

There are ten private residential schools in Mehaboobabad town. Since transport facilities increased people are travelling more from the village to the mandal and the town centres. Chandrababu naidu formed education committees and appointed TDP activists in them. Funds for education have been cut. Appointment of teachers was stopped and para teachers

(intermediate and graduate unemployed) were appointed. They are on the streets for salaries. Most of the people in the villages are joining teaching, driving and police jobs.

Literacy increased. Educated women increased in number. Thrift, missionary and voluntary organisations are taking up literacy for women labourers. Apart from these, adult and non formal education centres are taking up education in the villages.

Every village of a population of 4,000 has unemployed, both men and women with 10<sup>th</sup> or degree or inter education. They do not participate in production. They simply spend time in the hotels, bus stands, rachabanda (a meeting point in the villages), centres, have gutka and pan masala and are drifted towards cricket and love affairs with the TV culture. Five per cent of them are joining our organisations. They frequently go to the nearby towns.

Medical facilities have improved relatively. Each village has 3 or 4 RMP, PMP doctors. A medical shop is seen in a village of a population of 7000. There are two PHCs in each mandal. Maternity and general nursing homes came up like wild mushrooms in all the small towns. There are more than 16 nursing homes in parakala. In mulugu and bhupalapalli there are 5 or 6. The increased medical facilities are severely exploiting the poor. The poor people are destroying the private hospitals in protest to the negligence of the doctors who killed their kith and kin and also for the high rates.

### Unorganised workers in the rural area:

Brick, beedi and hamali workers have come up in the villages. In Warangal district there are 60 thousand beedi workers, most of them women. They are in our struggle area. AITUC is organising them. Neerati, anganwadi teachers, para teachers, sunkaris (gram sevak), village carobars, tractor, jeep and auto drivers, private teachers are organised in the trade unions, mostly CPI and the CPI (M). Recently they were organised for a severe agitation.

The construction labour grew considerably in the villages. There are twenty labourers in one village. In some suburban villages there are even two hundred labourers. The composition range from telugu to dalit, all castes and work as mesthri (supervisor) and for handing over the mal. Presently this sector provides employment to most of the people.

#### Communications:

Earlier there was the post and telegraph department in the rural area. Branch post offices were set up in the big villages. In addition to these tele communications also came up rapidly. The fifty mandal centres in the district have a telephone facility. In the big villages with a population of 5 to 7 thousand, there are 70 to 100 telephones. But the facility is not spread over all the villages in the mandal. Since phone can be obtained with 600 rupees there are 300 applications from one village, mostly applied by the middle class. There are one or two exchanges along with the mandal centre.

Cell phone facility spread to 60 kms up to janagama, 40 kms towards mulugu, and near bhupalapalli. This network exists in almost the whole area of our operation.

The cells are mainly established by the medical, fertiliser, big grocery shops and some rich peasants. Small contractors, political leaders and police informers also brought them.

On the other hand, wireless sets are put in PHCs, power sub stations, MRO offices, forest offices and bus depots. They are in additional two to three villages apart from the mandal centre. Telephones are also brought along with this. The middle class is opposing the blasting of the exchanges. The increased communication network facilitated the enemy to receive our information soon.

### Transport facilities:

The roads in remote rural areas of the district have become tar roads. Until 1994 they were partially done and now they are completed with the package funds of the WB. Internal and ring

roads were laid in between villages and from the mandal centre to the various villages in a big way. There is almost no village without RTC buses in the summer season. Tar roads are laid in the forest area. In Atmakur mandal, there are 8 roads (those taking to the main villages). Roads are laid intra mandal and inter mandal. The previous path ways of the carts that go to the wells are now turned into kacha roads. They are laid with the funds of the R&B, ZPP, MPP and panchayat department.

Two wheelers have become a common feature in majority of the villages in the district ranging from scooter to spider, herohonda, bajaj chetak, kavasaki. The big villages in the plain areas have 20 to 30. In addition to these each mandal has at least 40 tractors, each village has 4 to 5 jeeps. Six seater autos, matadors and tata sumos are in big number. There are 15 to 20 jeeps in the small towns and the suburban areas. Now tillers have also come. Due to the increased transport facilities, at least ten persons go to the nearby mandal or town centres from each village. In some big villages there are local trips and jeeps that take people in hundreds. Now if a squad member goes to the village for food and it is exposed, the police from the near by station can encircle us within one hour. We are unable to identify who leaked the information. Information can also be sent through phones.

#### Activities of the political parties:

The activities of the bourgeois and the revisionist parties intensified in the villages. There are a big number of activists in the village mandal committees. Mostly middle and the rich peasants are joining these parties. The people of the lower classes are also considerably increasing. The TDP established VSS, irrigation water organisations, DWAKRA groups, education committees, joined TDP activists in them. It gave small and big contractors and developed a kulak class in the name of WB loans for food for work, janmabhumi and other such programs. Reservations for women and BCs made them join the TDP in a big way. The rural kulaks are taking two wheelers and go around to the mandal, town and the district centres and get certain subsidies to the people. In the process they take whatever they want. All the political parties took up lobbying as a weapon. Schemes like CMEY, Dwakra, Adarana, Gas stoves, Antyodaya, work equipment, loans, old age pensions, widow pensions, various types of concessions, CI wells and sivanadhara wells under the SC, BC corporations and many other such things came up. Housing scheme for the weaker sections, housing quotas for MLA and the MPs, annapurna, PM rojgar yojana and many other central and state government programs are a boon to the ruling party kulak class. Twenty years back, apart from the district collectorate in Warangal district there were two RDO offices in mulugu and mehaboobabad (in the congress rule). Now there are revenue offices to each mandal and agriculture and education departments, now the janagama, narsampeta and warangal revenue divisions are established. There are 6 RDO offices in the district. Administration is decentralised and bureaucrats (employed section) and administrative department (political and ruling class) have developed in a big way. TDP could make the rural masses depend on the government for various things. People never had an idea of obtaining a ration card earlier but now with the subsidised rice, sugar, gas stoves and other such things being given with these ration cards, they are trying to obtain one even by corrupting in the mandal office. The farmers did not have ROR pattadar pass books earlier. Now they have made compulsory. So the poor farmer is forced to go to the MRO office either for the patta or the duplicate with a hope to get bank loans. The middlemen take up the paying of DD and applications for the current connections. They are minting lakhs of money out of the sanction for loans, houses, transformers and roads, both private and government.

They are now going to give information to the police also. The CPI, CPM, agricultural labourer organisation, rytu sangham and many such organisations are putting the masses in illusion. Some are working as whole timers with payment. They are given vehicles. Mainly the CPM and the BJP is maintaining whole timers and spreading the party. There is a social basis for the development of BJP since it is taking up activities in a planned way with Hindu religion and

atheism. It is difficult for the party to progress without affecting the domination of the political parties.

In addition to these, organisations like loksatta are established in the mandal level and in the village level in the recent past. They tell the people to participate in elections and go to the police stations whenever necessary.

Voluntary organisations like Modern architech of rural India, bharath grameena nava nirmana samsdha, lodi, aware, balavikas, spoor, sakthi are in good number. RSS established sevabharathi. VHP and BJP seem to be backing vikas tarangini. "World vision" is also working.

Besides these, there are penthecosth, Baptists, roman catholics and other such five or six Christian groups. They are working in the villages with dalits as the centre in the villages and the towns. They are building churches and have speeded up the process of changing religion. They are establishing hospitals, schools, colleges, hostels in a big way. They are providing loans for houses and agriculture. Karunapuram, 12 kms from Kazipet was made the centre of Christian activity. A church, hospital and a residential degree college, one stabiliser factor and such centres were established. Only Christians are qualified into these. The missionaries are paying for those who byhearted their slokas. All the dalits in our struggle areas are under this influence. They are joining the missionaries as whole timers, nuns and pastors.

Voluntary organisations also established tailoring centres, sickles, sarees and seeds distribution and thrift societies. They are taking up education, construction of water tanks, roads and schools. They are adopting villages and taking up such development. RSS is establishing voluntary organisations, sisu mandirs and "sakha" of RSS. They take up drill in these sakhas. They are conducting veterinary medical centres and medical camps. RSS, VHP and BJP are taking up raksha bandhan, vinayaka chavithi, ravanasura vadha and other such celebrations in a planned way in the villages gradually. Ayyappa deeksha, hanuman deekshas with beads in the neck and saffron or black clothing are seen at least in 20 to 30 youth in each village. Bhajan sanghas, baba sangs are started. The Jathara and kolupu (local festivals) are developed in a big way. Inavolu mallanna, komaravelli mallanna, sammakka sarakka and othe rsuch jathara places are made as tourist centres and bhakthi centres. The hindu fascists are benefited out of these. Fifty lakhs people attended the sammakka and sarakka jathara this year. Rama and hanuman temples are built in the villages in a big way.

Women are increasing in the technical, economic and political sectors. The bourgeois class is bringing them come for their own interests. Earlier only women of agricultural labourer class used to go to work. Now middle, rich and poor peasant women are also joining the Dwakra and thrift societies. They are participating in the activities of the women organisations. They are working as anganwadi teachers, nurses and private teachers. The reservation for women made them come into the posts of MPTC, sarpanches and ward members in the party and the government. The women are gaining political consciousness by knowing the bourgeois political society mainly through the TV. Because of the schools, participation in the development activities taken up by the various organisations, they are increasingly coming out of the houses. Number of girl students increased. The number of those who go around the offices also increased to 5 or 10 in each village.

The number of palers and labourers is decreasing. Modern agricultural equipment and new economic policies are reducing the role of labour. Now the land is tilled not with rented ploughs but with tractors. Current motors, power sprays, tillers, sinker, drip irrigation, plantations, commercial crops gave no more necessity to the palers and labourer's work. The salaries of the palers was not beyond Rs.22,000 per annum. At some places it was only Rs.10,000 per annum. CPM is organising agricultural worker organisations and is mobilising them for rallies for increase in wages. The palers are going for labour work in the mills and other places.

Previously there were wells collectively used for drinking water and washing water. Presently wells and bores, mini tanks and big tanks are built in the name of protected drinking water scheme and water is released into pipes. Along with this, the middle and the rich peasants also are laying bores, though they are less in number. Mories and side canals have come up for the drainage in the villages. Majority of the villages have tube lights in the streets. Every village definitely has panchayat offices, society buildings, go down, community hall and other such government buildings.

There is a **relative change in the weights and measurement.** The traditional measurement has lessened. Kilo and litre came into existence instead of the kuncham (eight kgs), pavuseru and savanavu seru. Bigger equipment came into usage. The transaction of paddy is going on in terms of quintals. But the caste professionals are given in the form of money or paddy. But the majority is receiving in the form of money. Wages in the form of paddy is not seen much.

There were more brick houses earlier. Now two room houses are built for residence. The government weaker section house building scheme, additional Rs.15,000 to the MLA, MP quota are used for constructing a small house. Now house construction is not confined to the black marketers. Rich and middle peasants are taking up. Houses made out of grass and bricks are felt risky. Due to the degeneration of joint families domestic industry highly increased. Now huts are very less in number.

No grinding is seen in the villages. It is replaced by chekkis and girnis (mills). Rice mills are established in big villages. Milk traders take milk to the mandal centres and small towns on cycles and two wheelers. Farmers are taking vegetables to the market. Since transport and communication developed some employees prefer to stay in the villages.

Now it does not take years to lay tar or moram roads. It is completed in days or months. Taluka centres are provided with proclainers. The road works are done with the proclainers and bulldozers. So the agricultural labourers belonging to the vaddera and the other dalit castes were affected. On one hand the crops are affected and on the other there is famine because of the new economic and industrial policy. Because of famine the period of daily wage work reduced to three months from six months. It is forcing the people to migrate.

The dairy milk van takes milk from the village in the morning. In janagama area alone there are forty two milk cooperate production societies. Majority of them are women of middle and poor classes. Poultry farms are seen in every village. Chicken is available in the villages. Now it has developed into the chick industry. Vans come for exporting eggs and hens. Each village has some sort of a hotel, pan tela, ornament and grocery shops. Photo studio and recording centres are seen in some villages. The big villages have 50 to 250 TVs. Most of the channels are viewed. There are four to five dish antennae in the villages and movies are seen daily. The TVs show a tremendous impact on the youth and people. Youth are accustomed to hear cricket commentary and viewing games. Women watch TV after their work is over. There is negative effect more than the positive effect. Consumer culture, sex, crime are on the rise. The impact of cricketisation and gutka is high. Due to the imperialist culture 40 per cent of our youth are away from our activities. In 1980s there was no Television even radio was seen only in middle class families. Now cassette recorders and decks become a normal feature.

Gober gas stoves, gas stoves, kerosene stoves and heaters replaced the fuel wood stoves. Anyway relatively fuel wood stoves are relatively more. Along with these, utilisation of plastic, aluminium and clay utensils increased. Clay, brass and copper utensils are not much seen.

Imperialist and feudal cultures go together. The marriages are celebrated grandly. Hindu higher caste traditions are imposed on all. Birthdays and celebrations for newly born babies are done grandly. Festivals are celebrated in a big way. Dowry spread to the socalled lower castes. All the castes are being invited to the celebrations.

The present youth are wearing pants and shirts. There is no much change in the attire of women. Watches and fans became a normal feature. We observe a change in the food and the life style. Now people do not eat gatka (porridge). They eat rice and vegetables. Tomatos and potatos are sold in packs. Tea has become normal. Majority of the villages get newspapers, mostly "Eenadu" (that of Ramoji Rao) and "Vaartha" (that of the Sanghi group).

Cricket, volleyball, carom board, chess, ball badminton and kabaddi are played. Every village has cricket and volleyball.

Opium cultivation increased tremendously. The ruling classes and the police are encouraging and lakhs of acres are cultivated. Though they are arrested many a time, they continue to cultivate. Selling of gudumba (intoxicating liquor), false brandy, IMFL became domestic industry. Though there is no brandy shop in the village liquor is sold widely.

All the fencing of the village are turned agricultural land. Neem, baniyans, acacia are sold for domestic use. Villages are deprived of trees gradually.

Quarries have come up for exploring shabathbanda, granite, gravel and red soil that involve lots of labourers. The area echoes with the blastings. Blastings are done for digging wells also. Since mills are established chilli powder and turmeric is bought in the powder form.

Though scientific thought is increasing blind beliefs also continue. People are going for joint dinners, bonala festivals, jatharas, divali and sankranthi. Madelayya, katamayya, ellamma and posamma temples are also being built.

One or two decades back, there were two police stations in the sayampeta constituency, one each in sayampeta and atmakuru. Now there are two more police stations. Twenty years back there was one SI with an old cycle motor, ten constables and a dilapidated building. Now there are 60 to 80 CRPF or APSP police in one station. Concrete buildings are built. Computers are established. Each police station has two wheelers, VHF sets, phones and four wheelers. There are two SIs in the PS. The number of people going to the PS also increased. Police are conducting gram sabhas and are trying to establish wide relations with the people.

MRPS and Ambedkar organisations are seen in the developed villages. But the dalits are voting to the bourgeois political parties during elections and not to the petty bourgeois parties. After the TDP came to power the powers of gram panchayats were cut. At least thirty persons are in the PACS, as chairpersons, directors, village sarpanch, ward members, MPTC, ZPTC, MPP and other societies. So, according to the above changes we have to bring changes in the struggle and organisational forms. Since the semi feudal relations are affected, perhaps we have to make the anti imperialist, capitalist struggle primary and anti feudal struggle as secondary. So we have to select some villages and analyse basing on facts. It is a fact that there is a lot of change from what we have written in the book on agrarian revolution.

There are four cold storage plants in the district, 23 DCCB bank branches, 144 cooperative societies of 1,75,000 members. In the past five years there were 468 appointments in the district. There are 4,18,270 unemployed in Warangal, Khammam and Karimnagar districts. There are 100 private nursing homes in the district, 2 and ½ pumpsets, applications for another one lakh pumpsets. The agricultural land is spread over 4,38,000 hectares as per the official records. Cotton cultivation is in 1,23,202 hectares.

There is no water facility to 37 thandas in 12 mandals. 60 per cent of the families do not have ration cards. 23 thandas do not have electricity. 21 thandas do not have electric lights. 78 per cent do not have own houses. 68 per cent are left as agricultural labourers (according to the nagarabheri analysis in 1998).

## Details of unemployed in Warangal district until September

Year	Number of registered	Women	SCs	STs	BCs
1995	1,20,045	19,234	24,104	8,936	57,280
1996	1,33,410	26,164	23,102	9,954	67,321
1997	1,43,180	26,164	24,477	11,642	72,165
1998	1,53,787	30,106	25,469	12,900	77,983
1999	1,58,918	32,024	25,700	13,673	68,030

There are two lakes agricultural and 4 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  lakes domestic electric connections in the district. There are 13 thousand transformers and there is a demand for 4000 more.

### Opportunities for jobs and recruitment

Year	Identified jobs	Filled up posts
1995	792	1341
1996	1513	- 1336
1997	1272	762
1998	1148	377
1999	470	715

### Education in the district

Class	Women	Men
SSC	2926	3078
Intermediate (+2)	1279	1995
Graduation	295	1556
Stenos	14	211
Typists	105	1179
B.Ed	35	195
ITI	29	69
Diploma holders	10	375
Midwives and nurses	203	

#### Details of crime in the district

Arrested extremists

	1997	1998	1999	2000 May
Murders	4513	33	25	17
Burglaries	610	5	2	3
Thefts	100	5	5	-
Illegal collections	12	8	10	13
Bus burnings	26	22	11	6
Blasting of govt. vehicles	13	10	7	11
Kidnaps	2	1	3	11
Encounters	44	53	43	32
Police killed by naxalites	1	11	9	3
Citizens killed by naxalites	49	35	19	15
Naxalites killed in encounters	34	58	42	47
Surrendered extremists	33	143	110	113

821

700

973

1185

There are 15 thousand workers in various sectors. Another 10 thousand are working in the grain market and adithis (market where the peasants sell their produce). There are 500 workers in cloth shops and in anaaj (paddy), 100 in leather suitcase industry, 500 in hardware, 800 in silver and gold, 200 in cycle, 300 in fertiliser shop and one hundred in electricals. There are 2 lakhs workers in the unorganised sector, five thousand in RTC, 4 thousand in the two railway junctions. Warangal, kesamudram, dornakal, mehabobabad, thorrur, juanagama, cheryal, ghanapur, narsampeta, mulugu, parkala, kamalapur, bhupalapalli are the centres for workers. There are 3,000 workers in bhupalapalli.

There are 13 agricultural markets each having a profit from ten lakhs to 40 lakhs. The Warangal market has an income of 2 crores per annum. There are 16 girl's and 17 boy's hostels with a staff of 800, 34 wardens and 7,000 students.

Other details of the district- The district is spread over an area of 12,486 sq.kms with 32 lakh population, 10 lakh urban population (in WNG town). There is one university, 45 junior colleges, 10 degree colleges, 2 polytechnic, 7 it is, 2 engineering colleges, 1 medical college, 1 ayurvedic college, 1763 primary schools, 487 upper primary schools, 6813 teachers. The literacy is at 32.60 per cent. There are 200 district banks, 43 grameena banks, 21 cooperative central banks, 133 other banks, one TV relay station, one AIR station, 2 railway junctions, 8 RTC depots, 5315 industries. 25 are heavy and medium industries and the rest 3500 are small like rice, oil, dal, jinning, leather, plastic, engineering. One lakh workers are working in these industries. LIC, postal, telephones regional offices exist.

There are national high ways 1040 kms long and state highways of 154 kms. In ZPP there are 2615 sq.kms roads and 1991 sq.kms roads in MPP.

Political condition in the district:

Presently TDP is leading in Warangal district. Next come congress (I) and then TRS. CPI and CPM weakened. In the last assembly election, TDP secured 6 seats, BJP one and congress 6. TDP secured both the parliament seats. In the recent local body elections TRS and Congress secured the majority of the seats. TDP was in the third place and secured the ZP chairperson post.

Minister Srihari is playing an active role in the bourgeois politics. He is trying to strengthen the TDP. There is no mandal level leader in his Ghanpur constituency without gunmen. For the last one year, three leaders and followers of the minister were killed but the mandal level leaders continue to give anti party statements. Rainakula rajireddy, radhikareddy, sukhodarareddy, surendrarareddy, narendar reddy sampath reddy, bhadrayya and others of dharmasagar, ghanpur, japhargad, hanmakonda mandals are particularly opposed to our revolutionary movement. Apart from those of the reddy caste, one section of the BC and the SCs, munapaka ravi, balaram, venktram, narsamma and few others are also the leaders. When posters were put criticising mahanadu, four RYL activists were arrested, severely tortured and produced to court after one month. In this process the mother yadamma of one of the members of the sangh died out of police harassment. The village level leaders also are collecting information and informing the police and the higher leaders. Madhusudan reddy of thatikonda of ghanpur mandal, ravi of lingampalli, natal rajayya of chilpur, sadam rajayya of krishnajigudem, satyanarayana of chagallu are those working against us. They stay in the mandal centres and conduct their operations.

The MLA of parakala, rajayya chityala, parakala reddy is a strong supporter to the velama landlords and is severely trying to affect the influence of our party. They are conducting their party and the government programs with police protection. They mobilised a big section with ex radicals with the MPP surrender reddy as its leader. They not only give statements against the party but claim to be dalits and try to mobilise the BC, Sc and the STs. Narsampeta MLA revuri

prakasareddy is also active and works together with him. He formed TDP village branches even in remote villages. He is rallying kamma and reddy landlords and is making flying visits with police protection. The BJP MLA dharmarao is going around the suburban villages and is forming BJP village committees. He secured a post in the corporation and is gradually increasing his strength in all the streets.

RSS north telangana seminar was held in Warangal town recently. The all India general secretary of RSs attended this seminar. MLA sriram bhadhrayya of mehaboobabad was active in organising the ex naxalites and gave various posts in the party and the mass organisation. The government VIP dayakararao of vardhannapeta constituency conducts largescale public meetings. Chief minister chandrababu naidu visited the mehaboobabad, narsampeta, vardhannapeta constituencies many times.

In 2001, three mandal level leaders of TDP were killed in the months of September and October. This stopped any sort of meetings in the district centre and in the constituency level. Later the district police and administrative network was changed.

Encounters and repression were intensified. The strengthening TRS was targeted. TRS leaders were arrested, false cases foisted and sent to jails. The MPP of khanapuram medi ramulu, chityala MPP surrender reddy murder cases were foisted on TRS. The TRS sarpanches and leaders are warned to resign from TRS and told that there would not be any harassment if they join TDP. In another method, funds are stopped to welfare activities in villages, mandal where TRS, congress (I) represent the people and are pressurising that there shall be no development if TDP does not exist. TRS, Congress leaders and activists are joined into TDP. Warangal mahanadu was conducted to boost up the TDP cadre in the background of our killings, house blastings and beatings of the party leaders.

TRS took up certain problems in the initial stage among the people and the activists. They conducted rasta roko and dharnas on issues like attacks on ajamjahi, jaladrusyam, famine, high prices. But the state and the district leadership are careful that they do not reach the militant level. One section of the party is ready to mobilise on people's issues.

After gurram ramanareddy took over as the president of the congress district committee, there were agitations on increased prices of essential commodities and farmer's problems, though limited in number and form.

CPM is organising various trade unions, neerati (the person who carries water from the pond to the village and supplies to the houses), seth sindhi, village secretaries, anganwadi, palers and other sections of people. Recently it is even organising the farmers of the grain market. It is seriously trying to strengthen organisationally.

TDP is mobilising the DWAKRA women in a big way to its meetings and conferences. It is also activating the irrigation water organisations. Since our VMS activities weakened, the Dwakra groups became active. Some of the women in these groups became informers and TDP leaders. Bank loans and welfare activities are implemented in a big way.

Loksatta of jayaprakash narayan is gradually forming mandal, village level branches and is conducting conferences, meetings and seminars. The loksatta leaders kodanda ramarao, retired RDO ankayya is active in this party. They claim they are making the people aware of going to police station on corruption and elections and other such problems. Though they are not directly attacking the revolutionary movement, they are making indirect negative statements on armed struggle. In some places they are conducting programs together with the police.

Mari, aware, lodi, spoor, vikastarangini, sakthi, sevabharathi and other such voluntary organisations are active in the district.

Analysis of domination in some villages (political parties):

**Pulukurthy:** This village is in atmakuru mandal 16 kms from Warangal district. There is a population of 5,000 and about 4,000 voters.

There are madiga (200), mala (100), padmasali (100) and telaga (kapu)(200) mainly in this village. The rest of the castes are below ten families in number. The next highest in population is golla kurumalu.

Until 1970-'80, narothamareddy and soundaryamma of chowdari and reddy family were dominant. They have 150 acres of land. They are selling their land by 1979. Persons of madiga, reddy and padmasali families working for the landlords dominated the villages. There was feudal domination in the village until 1980. In the anti feudal struggle between 1980-'84, the landlord family left the village. That was in 1982. Another reddy family of janardhanareddy (small landlord) came to power. No one spoke against him. He was in the congress(i) party and continue to dominate though he shifted to town in 1984. In 1984 ramanayya mundrathi (padmasali) bought land from sundaryamma. He became the owner of 60 acres. Another mundrathi basavayya bought 20 acres from the landlord in addition to his 15 acres. Penchala babu having 15 acres bought another 15 acres and the bungalows also.

In 1990 we occupied all his lands in the land struggle. Except basavayya all the persons who bought the lands are only the local exploiting headmen. They do not participate in labour. Ramanayya works in the congress. He conducts panchayaths and is a supporter to janardhana reddy. Ramanayya gives information about the sangh and squad to the police. We killed him in 1996. Janardhanareddy met with a natural death. Later the village came under the domination of the padmasali, kapu dalits domination. Sadrak soumyul, bargamjayya and some others joined ramanayya and helped to attack the houses of activists. In 1984 penchala kattayya of this village died of police harassment and torture. This village is relatively strong for us since 1993. Majority of the members of the sangh are dalits, kapu and chakali. Ten from this village went UG and became AC members. After two to five years they left. Two women and 3 men comrades became martyrs and four are working in the party now.

We have a sangh in the village even now. Cell was affected recently. In 1984, BJP came to this village. The district leader manda ilayya of pasarugonda got the arrested persons released. Later all the ex naxalites joined BJP and mobilised one section into the party. Peasants do not like communal feelings and Hinduism.

But since the party solved some economic problems regarding the mandal and got them released when arrested they are with the party. Earlier when congress (I) was dominating, later it was the turn of the BJP. One section of dalits and some of padmasalis supported congress. After 1990 TDP came to power. Santhibhushan, Gabriel, palanandam and others are working in TDP. They became more active after 1995. For some time they were inactive and were active from 2001. They take at least 10 persons to the TDP meetings. Some go to the BJP meeting also. No one among them take up any programs against the PW stand. Lingabrahmam is a thief and a goonda who stays in Warangal. He joined MCPI in 1984. He encouraged opium cultivation despite which MCPI did not develop.

Three years from 1990 and 2 years from 1995, people tilled land collectively under the leadership of our sangh. Now they are tilling it separately. This big village in the plains got a tar road, TV, church. After we dissolved the parkala squad, we go for contacts to this village.

Ex-radical of this village poyi subbayya (madiga) brought MRPS in 1996. He could not secure 50 votes in his native village when he contested for the post of MLA on behalf of MRPS. He did not get back his deposit. Though the dalits mobilise in MRPS with various problems, during elections they voted to various ruling class parties. MRPS lost its domination.

The dalits and the padmasalis in the village are under lower and middle class section. TDP is strengthening. No one supported the sarpanch and the MPTC in the village. The police frightened the candidates and made them contest the election.

Some hundreds of people in this village got habituated to opium. Opium is cultivated instead of cotton. 200 were arrested on opium cases. Though they harbour our party their participation in our activities is gradually decreasing. The economic condition of some persons in the village changed with opium. Opium traders, smugglers, police agents frequently visit the village.

There are no mandal and district level leaders from this village. No one works for the bourgeois and revisionist parties actively. Two or three youth went to work full time in the Christian missionaries.

- 1. Political parties gradually came to power basing on the feudal domination.
- 2. A big section of the ex-naxalites is playing a key role in the bourgeois parties and is protecting their existence.
- 3. We are presently deficient in nullifying the activities of the political parties.
- 4. The kapu, dalit and padmasalis of various parties are continuing their domination.

#### Mogilicherla:

The village is in geejugonda mandal, 7 kms away from Warangal town. There is a population of 9,000 and 6,500 voters. Kapu, padmasali, madiga, mala, chakali, perika, gowda, kummari, vadla, golla, kurma and bestha castes together constitute one hundred families. Some families are double. There are around ten reddy families.

Until 1980 congress (I) was in domination in this village. Ramachandrarao is the karanam and the landlord. He had partial domination. More than him, the gram patel, patwari and police patel had a say. The role of the sarpanch was also serious. Caste headmen and other headmen together solved the village problems.

In 1980 we formed paler sangham. Gradually RYL was formed. By 1984, land struggle was taken up. In fact it was taken up in 1990 also. We occupied the land of ramachandra rao, the land in the name of god and other waste lands. Now due to repression it is not tilled and is lying wasted. By 1980 the landlord sold lot of land and few lands were left. Until 1984 patel, patwari dominated the village. By 1980 CPM was active. In the neighbouring villages beedu chinthalapalli, CPM district leader pogula agayya encouraged chintham bhadrayya, ganika sathyanarayana (poor) and 20 others to join the party.

In 1984 a section of youth joined BJP. Mukkena vardhanjulu, manohararao thanam of the middle class joined some more youth and worked actively in the party. The ex naxalites mostly joined BJP. Until then congress(i) was dominant and secured the sarpanch post. But now the youth of all the political parties and some other joined together and proposed gopalareddy of CPM as the sarpanch unanimously but failed. Another candidate contested from congress (i) and gopalareddy won with absolute majority.

Gopalareddy strengthened MCPI. He mainly mobilised the middle class peasants. He conducted panchayats, got VRCS members arrested, released and made them join his party, lobbyed. Thus 60 per cent of the people came under the control of MCPI. Except some old headmen, stubborn congressmen, BJP youth and some ex radicals everyone were dragged into MCPI. Gopalareddy's family did agriculture in the village. His father was the headman of the village earlier and enjoyed domination. Gopalareddy's family shifted to Warangal. His family members became the owners of fertiliser, bardan and vegetable shops. He became a state leader and we killed him in 1987 (he turned to be a police informer).

After 1987, MCPI gradually weakened. Mukkera varadarajulu, thanam manohar used this opportunity. They mobilised ex naxalites and came to power. They took up reforms, got the people arrested, released and conducted panchayats. They brought the village under their control. After 1990, MCPI's influence decreased. Peasants organised in our sangh. These two leaders got many of them arrested. In this process congress secured the MLA post in sayampeta constituency and some youth joined. Since no one contested the gram panchayat and MPTC elections, the police made the ex naxalites nominate and made the election unanimous. New men and women joined TRS and the party strengthened in the village.

Most of the youth are in TRS and congress. The BJP and the MCPI is losing domination. The old elements of MCPI are joining CPM and are trying to pick up.

- 1. All the ruling class parties are luring the people with reforms, various programs, subsidies and loans and are mobilising them.
- There are two generations after the patel, patwari system. Old youth that entered bourgeois politics in the decade of 1980 became inactive. Only two or three are active due to the influence of our movement. After 1990 the next generation ex naxalites and youth are in the politics.
- 3. After 1985, BCs came to power in the village.

#### Annasagaram:

The village is in hasanparthy mandal, 15 kms away from the city (Warangal). The landlord of this village jaganmohanreddy established his domination for two decades. He had a police camp for four years. He was in congress and did not allow any other political party to enter the village until 1984.

There was a competition between the domination of our sangh and the domination of the landlords. After we killed him in 1987, his son rajireddy continued to dominate. Later, a section of the kapu and reddy became the second rank leaders of TDP in the village. Ex naxalites and dalits thangella chandrayya, gopal and others joined the bourgeois parties and started the people's domination and anti sangh activities. Devender reddy, the landlord and the district congress leader and a person against us brought narayanareddy, chandrayya and jampayya and others actively into congress. Later all of them joined TRS. Jampayya turned as an informer and we killed him. The families of some poor peasants and agricultural labourers of dalits in the village joined the bourgeois politics and are supporting the ruling class parties. Most of the people of the kapus are middle and rich peasants. They are also in support of the bourgeois politics.

Madipalli: This village is beside annasagaram. Sudhirreddy's family is in the feudal domination for two decades and even punished people. They supported congress strongly. In the process of their domination CPI came into the village. CPI opposed the domination of the landlords to some extent and in this process our sangh came. The gowds and other caste people opposed the reddys and came into our organisation. Before this they joined CPI. In 1994 all the parties became weak. After 1994 TDP entered SCs and gouds. Ex naxalites, reddy, gouds and rich peasants again became active in the bourgeois politics. The middle classes of the dalits and minorities joined the TDP.

Madhavareddy a rich peasant and a member of congress, gangadhar of TDP of middle class, ex MPTC Ramesh who is an ex naxalite and others entered politics by joining congress. Mahammad bhikshapathi (SC) and other gouds became active in TDP. They gave housing colonies and loans and had a large section in the village under their control.

#### Ghanapur mandal:

After we assassinated kondalreddy a landlord of peesara village of the mandal, landlord tirupathi reddy took the support of the TDP and continued to dominate. After we killed them, the rich section of the socalled higher castes. Komati, reddy, ramanayakula rajireddy, kishanreddy (TDP, we killed him recently), mandala kanukayya (congress), ramana (congress), tenugu, aare and a poor section of dalits entered bourgeois politics.

In ghanapur and dharmasagar mandals,

- 1. Feudal landlords were in support of congress until 1984 and continued bourgeois domination.
- 2. After 1984, rich section in the reddys, a section in BCs and dalits entered politics, mainly after 1990. They are supporting TDP. All of them belong to the middle class. Earlier some of them were in the poor class.

### Details of some villages:

#### Laddunur

S.	Castes	Houses
No.		
1	Dalit	110
2	Vaddera	6
3	Erakali	6
4	Baalasanthollu	3
5	Rajakulu	20
6	Mangali	4
7	Boya	20
8	Goudu	40
9	Yadav	10
10	Kurumagolla	100
11	Muslim	40
12	Padmasali	30
13	Kammari	4
14	Kummari	10
15	Vadla	10
16	Avusula	6
17	Mutharasi	30
18	Kapus and reddys	150
19	Brahmins	9
20	Doralu	4
21	Komati	3

In laddunur there are 20 palers, with a salary of 7,000 per annum, 15 holidays, 2,000 rupees loan and no other facility. Men are paid 50 rupees and women 20 per day. They have to work from 9 in the morning to 5 in the evening. Gouda, chakali, mangali and vadla professions are seen. Paddy, maize corn, gingelly, castor, dal, groundnut, cotton are the main crops. There is ellamma cheruvu (pond) in an area of 300 acres (only one crop) that is turned as an oozing pond now. Vallemma cheruvu is spread over 150 acres that waters 50 acres. Thurkoni kunta is spread over 20 acres and kappera kunta of 20 acres but the water does not stay in the latter pond. Afsar kunta is in 20, jammakunta in 20 where bricks are made, metlonikunta in 8, yusufkunta in 4 and kammaroni kunta of the landlords where there is no agriculuture. There is one posamma temple of mala caste, one posamma temple for madiga, one posamma for all castes, 2 hanuman temples. one chennakesava temple, one siva temple, beerappa temple, church for dalit Christians and one mosque. Bathukamma festival is celebrated by the SC and the BCs. They have dinner together. Dalits play the dappu (instrument made out of cattle skin) during death ceremonies. There is one government hospital, one high school, one college and one sisumandir. The dalits, tenuga and kurumas do not have land. Some of them migrated. In this village, braham mallareddy, venayya panthulu, irri krishnareddy, khurshid, bhikshapathi sarpanch, balaraju (ex sarpanch) are in congress. Rapelli damodar, aaga reddy, bala narsayya (ex naxalite), mallaram bhaskar, pulibabu are in TDP. Venkat narayanareddy, premalatha, buchireddy, mahendar reddy (ex naxalite) are in BJP. Mangali ilayya is in CPI. People's war party is familiar to the people of the village since 1985. Struggles have been taken up for wage rates and six budlu (one buddu is equal to 8 kgs) was achieved in the place of 4. There is no land distribution and tilling. The mango plantation of landlord karimulla was looted. Twelve persons were arrested and 21 bet. Anti liquor struggle took place. Chits are played by kurama golla for 30 thousand, gowda, chakali for 15 thousand and kammari. There is a market every Saturday where clothes, grocery, vegetables and others are sold. There is a milk centre and veterinary hospital. Brahma mallareddy, rekula krishnareddy, mangali ilayya, baagiri chandrayya, dharmareddy, jeedikanti ilayya are the village headmen. Prakash and two SC women are the sweepers. Bandu mallesam is the reporter of Vaartha in the village. There are 15 ex naxalites. Gujjula narsayya is the head of the mala sangham, vanda komarayya of kurumala, kurella mallayya of gowda, markandayya (teacher) of padmasali, kaasarla china balayya of rajaka, masid saab of muslim, pula siddulu of mudiraj, jagathayya (teacher) of avusula, siddhayya of kummari. There are three tractors, 3 tailors, 5 grocery shops, 1 cutting machine, 2 rice mills, 2 welding shops. Cattle, hens, goats are cut for meat. Beedi companies are run by munni and desai one each together in which 100 people work.

#### Landlords of Laddunur village

Name	Family	Land	Property	Wells	Motors	Palers	Cattle	Those who bought land
Boddu Narsimhareddy	Two sons, one in the city and one looks after agriculture	50 acres, dry land- 26, other land-10	Have a company in Hyderabad	3	3	Two	Four ox, six buffalos	5 acres ofTrekula kanche bought by Siddanki Ellayya
Panthul rajireddy	Two wives, two sons, has business in Hyderabad	70 acres of black soil, 5 acres plantations, 10 acres of irrigated land		one				Nimmakayala sarayya took ten acres
Rondla Venkat narayana reddy	One son and three daughters	80 acres. Now he has 30 acres	A building in janagama	One				Marati oil mill pula siddhu lingam, karri balayya, karre lakshmayya, manda swamy, buchireddy
Patwari sanjeevareddy	Two sons, one employed in Hyderabad	30 acres						Balanarsu
siddheswararao	Two sons, one daughter	150 acres						BC corporation sold to SC corporation
Dasari Jangareddy	One son and one daughter	14 acres of mango plantation		One well and		One paler		

								K.
				two				
				bores				
Patwari srinivasarao	One son and two daughters	150 acres						Mallareddy, ayilayya, kummari ellayya, gandipelli lakshmayya
Dasari srinivasreddy, raghavareddy	One son, one daughter Two daughters	28 acres						He sold land
Boddu rangareddy	Two sons and one daughter	50 acres of mango plantation	A building in Hyderabad	One well				Kummari balayya
Thodagam bojireddy	Two daughters	20 acres						i.
Barre saranreddy	Two sons	30 acres of mango plantation		On well	One bore			Bhupal
Ramreddy, lakshmareddy and others	Four. employees	50 acres of plantation						Madhusudhan reddy
Bodagam siddhareddy and others	Three employees	100 acres of mango plantations		Two wells	Two bores	Two palers		Mahender reddy, hanmareddy, madhusudhana reddy
Saranreddy, sathireddy		15 acres of plantation		One well	Two bores	One paler	15 cattle, 4 buffalos	
Buchireddy, sivareddy	Two employees	41 acres of mango plantation						Regula ravi
Yalagani dharmareddy	Two daughters	30 acres. He bought land from brahmins		One well	On bore	One paler	cattle and 3 buffalos	

#### Kondapur village:

The wages are 6,000 to 6,500 rupees per annum, daily wages are at Rs.50 for men and Rs.20 for women. 3 welding shops, 3 tractors, 3 tailors, 6 TVS mopeds, 2 LML, 6 chethak scooters. There are 2 SC and ST ambedkar organisations. There is a pragathi yuvajana sangham of BC and SC and one hamali sangh. There is a urakunta that waters 10 acres that has weeds, marrikunta (sibbi thanda) waters 12 acres, nakka thokala kunta 7 acres. The total check dams are 8- tarnayak check dam, kisam check dam, sangya nayak –1.

There are 6 Dwakra groups-Jhansi lakshmi bai yuvajana sangham has 15 persons for which kollepaka sarojani (dalit), secretary suvarna (dalit), another secretary manda sathemma (dalit). Another group has 15 members for which bejagam vijayalakshmi (komati) is the president and bheemagoni rajayva (gouda) is the secretary. Third group has 15 members with therala

bhulakshmi (komati) as the president and bheemagani swarupa (gouda) as the secretary. Sibbi thanda is run with bhukya bujji (ST) as the president. There is one more group in chinthal thanda.

### Kondapur

S.No.	Castes	Houses
1	Dalit	65
2	Vaddera	1
3	Erakali	1
4	Golla	30
5	Rajakulu	5
6	Mangali	4
7	Jngalu	
8	Komati	10
9 Reddy		7
10 Goud		5
11 Kammari		6
12	Padmasali	11

### Thandas in the limits of Kondapur village

S.No	Thandas	Houses	Population
1	Sibbithanda	30	75
2	Ramojinayak thanda	15	30
3	Iryanayak thanda	12	40
4	Panthul nayak thanda	35	70
5	Hanmath thanda	40	100
6	Dubbathanda	45	100
7	Chinthala thanda	10	40
8	Emanlu nayak thanda	7	30
9	Maharajuthanda	40	95
10	Juvirala thanda	10	30
11	Mallannaguttathanda	30	80
12	Paathiya thanda	15	50
13 Baabeemanayak thanda		6	20
14 Sarpanch thanda		30	90
15	Pottidevula thanda	15	40
16	Chelima thanda	40	70

### Landlords in Kondapur

Name	Family	Land	Property	Wells	Motors
Didigam Balayya	3 sons, one engineer, one studying in Rajasthan, one contractor, one daughter in jalgama	30 acres	20 lakhs of plots, 2 buildings in Hyderabad, 2 buildings in janagam, 2 houses in cheryal, 1	Two wells, three bores	5

			tractor, shares in JCB, 1 bus, rice mill in cheryal, 1 car, 1 suzuki, 1 chetak		
Cheppala Pratap Reddy	3 sons, two are teachers and one in military	10 acres		-	-

Koyyida mallayya is the president of the TDP village committee, bheemagoni mallesam the ex president, banothu lakmu vice-president, chiluka chandrayya ex secretary, koyyida bheemayya president, islaval mothiram vice-president, galiraju (munnuru kapu), malavath seetharam, joint secretary. Dharavath dipla nayak is the president, enagandla buchayya vice president, gadipi narsayya, baadi mogili, akkinepalli raghu secretaries, vadluri kanakachari, karnepalli sadanandam, joint secretaries in the congress party. Chiluka chandramma and mangru nayak of TDP are the chairpersons of education committee. Banovath devaallanayak of sibbithanda is the DPT, chairperson of panthulu thanda janna is the DPP, chairperson manda yadayya the NFC and Anil. There are 3 RMP doctors, balaboyina srisailam (golla), swamy (SC), tirupathi, vangapalli balayya (chakali). There are 7 grocery shops, 3 pan shops, 1 barbershop, a school up to 5<sup>th</sup> class, two teachers and 300 students. There is no water and ground in the school. There are 2 maskuris. 400 lambadas and 100 of various castes, 40 from the dalits migrated. Temples-gattu mallanna devasdhanam has an income of Rs.4,000, pochamma and yellamma temples.

### Khilasapur:

Chakali (washerperson) profession is continuing. Barbers are also there. Both work in the landlord's houses. Gowda profession is seen. The number of palers in the village is 250. their salaries range from 3,500 to small ones to 9,000 to bigger ones. Some are working for an amount of Rs.1200 and one pair of footwear. The daily wage is Rs.50 for men and Rs.20 for women and they have to work from 10 in the morning to 5 in the evening. The daily wage for crop cutting is 24 sollu. There are 2 tailors. There are 3 chicken centres, 2 mutton centres, one piggery, one kangan hall (cosmetic shop), 2 cycle shops (rent cycle at Rs.1.50 per hour), 2 metal welding shops, 4 rice and flour mills, one chilli mill, 2 medical shops, 2 cloth shops, 2 rice dealers, 3 RMP doctors, one eye specialist who comes every Sunday, 9 hotels, 10 grocery shops, 2 small wine shops, 500 wells, 200 bores. Dalits do not have land. There is a mesthri (supervisor) organisation with 120 members. There is an electric substation, hostel, high school, society go down, BJP sisumandir, 3 ponds, 4 kuntas - only one crop. The main crops are paddy, cotton and chilli. There are 25 ex militants, 2 sunkars, one saphayi, one ambedkar youth organisation, 2 poultry forms, 3 cutting machines.

### Khilaspur

S.No.	Castes	Houses	
1	Dalit	103	
2			
3	Erakali	5	
4	Golla	125	
5	Rajakulu	30	
6	Mangali	30	

7	Dommari	3
8	Komati	50
9	Reddy	20
10	Gouda	115
11	Kammari	50
12	Padmasali	5
13	Dekkali	1
14	Kummari	10
15	Kapu	15
16	Aare	20
17	Avusula	8
18	Mans	10
19	Muslim	10
20	Mutharasi	30

### Landlords of Khilaspur

Name	Family	Land	Property	Wells	Motors	Palers	Cattle	Those who bought land
Gopal Narsimha, Ravi, Mahender	2 sons, one daughter, one is employed	100 acres	1 tractor and 1 chetak	5	1	3		Leasing land
Vemavaram Ramulu, DIG	4 brothers, employees	40 acres	Properties in Hyderabad, crorepathis	1 well, 2 bores		1		Took 12 acres of Polu Venkatareddy's land
Ponnala Lakshmayya, MLA of Janagama, congress		45	Hospital in hanamkonda, cold forms, many proterties in the Hyderabad route	1 well				Sold all the land
Anjireddy, president of Cooperative Bank, congress	3 sons	30	Bore vehicle, scooter, a building in Janagama, metal and electrical shops	1 well and 3 bores		3	6pairs	Tilling the labour through labour
Kadati Rosayya	1 son, 3 daughters	30	90 sheep	2 wells, 2 bores				Did not put up flags in the land
Chinna Rosayya	2 sons	20	30 sheep					
Veesala Srihari Goud, ex MPP, Congress	3 sons	25		1 well and 2 motors			2pairs	

Basireddy Madhavareddy	1 son, 2 daughters	23		1 bore and 1 well	1 paler	
Basireddy Madhavareddy	2 sons	23		1 bore and 1 well	1 paler	
Nagisetti Bhadrayya, komati	3 sons	5 acres	Building in Hyderabad, fertiliser shop, paddy business			
Nagiseti Varadayya, komati	2 sons one in business in Hyderabad	10	Paddy mill, grocery shop, building in Hyderabad, fertiliser shop, money lending business	1 well and lends money to 50 farmers	servants in the house	
Ashok, komati	2 daughters		Building in Hyderabad, building in hanamkonda, grocery shop, fertiliser shop, paddy and jaggery business		,	

#### Adavi Kesapur:

There is a population of 1200 and 986 voters. There are 30 palers from dalits and BCs with a salary of Rs.8,500 and Rs.2000 loan. No holidays and other facilities. The wage rate for women is Rs.25 and Rs.50 for men. Paddy cutting wage is one kuncham (4 to 6 kgs) for women and one and a half for men. Dalits play the dappu at the time of death of persons of any caste. Gouds climb the trees and barbers cut hair. The main crops are paddy, gingelly, green gram, dal and jowar. Twenty from SC and BC go for supervisor work. Another 40 men and women go for road work they are in the village for four months. There are 150 agricultural bores, 2 temples, a sub station. No collection of land tax and house tax. Water facility is given to all. There is a pump driver, 3 tanks and each house has to give Rs.10 per month to the driver. The government employees are from tenugu caste. Maskuris (a person who brings information from the revenue department to the patwari of the village. They are employed casually, but it is hereditary. They are also called as sunkari, thalari in various regions of the state) are matu yadagiri and dandu kondayya. There is transport facility and the bus goes on six trips (via erragollapadu). There are 3 grocery shops, a milk centre. During season, Rs.9.50 is given per litre at an amount of three boxes and in unseason one box is given. There is a primary school, 2 teachers, one SC teacher, 270 students. Thirty students go to janagama, 15 kms away from here, 25 go to venkiryala. 3 kms away. Fifteen families of ratnala village thanda migrate. They bargain. They have lands. Fifteen families of the village thanda, four families are away for four months in an year. Fifty

poor farmer families of a thanda go to vijayawada for six months for sugarcane work and paddy cutting.

There are bakarnagar thanda and veedhibayi thanda. There are 4 Dwakra groups. Five ex naxalites, 5 railway employees, gagulothu narsimha (hyderabad) is the intelligence constable, banothu harischand of CPM village sarpanch, bathini ravi of CPM vice sarpanch, anjayya of vadla is the carobar (gram sevak who works for the government but not a regular employee), sivanayak of congress MPTC, pedda siddhareddy of congress yelchuri yanam, narendar of congress (ex) education committee chairperson. Thotte narender, bansinayak, suryanayak, balanarsayya are in the congress, lakshmaya goud, abbasayilu, bathini ravi in CPM, passa yadagiri (society chairperson, chit organiser), viswanadhulu, bhikshapathi (kummari) in TDP.

### Adavi Kesavapur

S.No	Castes	Houses
1	Dalit	72
2	Vaddera	3
3	Erakali	5
4	Golla	2
5	Rajakulu	3
6	Mangali	3
7	Tenuga	16
8	Komati	4
9	Reddy	
10	Goud	20
11	Kammari	4
12	Padmasali	1
13	Kurama	17
14	Kummari	4
15	Kapu	18
16	Vadla	2

### Landlords in Adavi Kesavapur

Name	Family	Land	Property	Wells	Motors	Palers	Cattle	Those who bought land
Yanala Siddareddy, patwari		15 acres, distributed 5 acres to dalits		well, 1 bore		2	5 pairs and 3 sheep	
Vakita Srinivasareddy	2 wives, 2 sons, 1 daughter	80 acres	A big car, a small car, a metal shop, proerties in Hyderabad, a scooter	3 bores		2 cattle rearing labourers	50	Leasing land with part of the crop as share

Vakita Siddhareddy	2 wives, 2 sons	80 acres	1 tractor			2 cattle rearing labourers	23	Leasing land with part of the crop as share
Vakita Krishnareddy	2 Andhra people	80 acres	Plastic pipe and motors shop, a building in Janagama			1 cattle rearing labour	20	Giving land to lease in the above manner
Bhumreddy Sathireddy	1 son, 3 daughters	40 acres of mango plantation	Buildings in Hyderabad, plots in warangal, scooter, properties in scooter	3 bores	1	2 cattle rearing labourers	25	Leasing land

#### Various political parties

#### Situation of TDP from 1980 to 1990:

When TDP was formed in Warangal, some new forces and some old congress forces joined the party. The coastal kammas (sudra agricultural caste of south coastal Andhra. The present Chief minister chandrababu naidu, eenadu owner ramojirao belong to this caste) played the primary role. Sivaji, a landlord from Andhra who settled down in govindaraopeta, donepudi ramesh babu, ex MLA of warangal, sangireddy satyanarayana yadava, ex socialist (congress), bojjavalli rajayya, dalit, ex congress, errabelli dayakararao, nemiligommula yathirajarao, landlord and ex congress leader, nagabhushanam, kalpanadevi, nimma rajireddy, landlord, ex congress leader and others joined the party.

Sivaji was the president of the district committee and mobilised nontribal kamma peasants against 1/70 regulation. They encircled the collector near govindaraopet and this incident became well known. Sivaji became corrupt and left to Andhra in 1989.

Kadiyam srihari working as a lecturer in govenrnment junior college, employed Doctor, Venkateswararao, chandulal, graduate Madhusudanachari, ex MLA, sayampeta, beeram sanjeevareddy, landlord, narsampeta, graduate pranayabhaskar and others joined TDP with the encouragement of the top leaders. Besides these, youth joined TDP in large numbers by 1985.

Yathirajarao, ex congress leader played an active role in strengthening TDP. He is a velama (a feudal agricultural caste) landlord of vadde kothapalli in thorruru mandal. Next comes nimma rajireddy, landlord of cheryala. Along with both of them pranayabhaskar, dayakararao, kadiyam srihari, dr. venkateswararao, chandulal, madhusudanachari, ojjapalli rajayya, ravuri veerayya, landlord played a key role.

In the beginning, there was a conflict between the reddy and rao in TDP. Yathirajarao and nimma rajireddy were dead against each other. LVSRK Prasad, an academician, kamma, syndicate member in the University tried to control these groups.

Dhanyam Pranayabhaskar also tried to maintain a group. He served as minister many times. He is a young postgraduate and had some progressive ideas. He belongs to the upper middle class.

He organised the ex radicals, lumpens and youth in the city and made them into a force. He set up many trade unions (INTUC) and entered the sections of the city. He transformed into a great force and faced PV Rangarao. Besides them, gade papirreddy, gade Thomas reddy (a reddy from Andhra. Reddy is yet another feudal agricultural caste) were the presidents of Telugu rytu and TNTUC. Both of them are small landlords.

Venkateswararao roamed around the town with rowdies. He joined the rowdies and ex naxalites in TDP. Earlier to pranayabhaskar he was dominating but faded out after 1999. Veda pratap, an ex naxalite worked under venkateswararao and mobilised corporators and youth as the leader of telugu yuvatha. Rao group was strong in the district. Srihari, dayakararao, rajayya worked for yathirajarao. Our organisation does not exist in the constituency of yathirajarao. He had no opposition and even became minister. It is the same with Nimma rajireddi. Donepudi rameshbabu became crorepathi through liquor contracting and other businesses. Nimma rajireddy played an active role in cheryala constituency and won as MLA. He secured the support of Vanga sudarsana reddy (ZP chairperson), neerajadevi, venktram reddy (madduru landlords), vacharla machendra reddy (landlord).

Srihari left government job and contested for the post of Municipal chairperson in vain. However he did not leave active politics. Erraballi family is centred in parvathagiri mandal centre and enjoyed unopposed domination. They enjoyed all the posts including the sarpanch.

By that time, mandal system was established. The dissolution of the patel, patwari system came as a blow to congress. The reddy, velama, kamma landlords have been enjoying these posts that facilitated their domination over the village. The wave of anti feudal struggles and the establishment of mandal system made the congress landlords shed domination and fled to towns. By bringing mandals in the place of blocks and samithis, TDP could bring bureaucrats (administrative system) and state government. So with the decentralisation they could develop and create mandal level TDP leadership. Single window system, kg rice for 2 rupees, free saree dhothi scheme, current slab system helped to increase the domination of TDP.

Since the TDP came to power a large section joined the party in 1985 and acquired the second place. Now they have come to the first place.

- 1. Sriram Bhadrayya was a rowdie and liquor contractor roaming around in the warangal town.
- 2. Dr. Pola Nataraj joined TDP even while continuing his profession.
- 3. Surender reddy was a landlord in ghanapur.
- 4. Nalla sujeeva reddy was a rich peasant and ex MPP of ghanapur, uppugallu.
- 5. Venkatramareddy is a rich peasant, ex MPP of hasanaparthi and is presently inactive.
- 6. Neerajadevi is a landlord of lingapuram and MPP.
- Venktramareddy of lingapuram is the director of DCCB, and chairperson of PACS. He is a landlord.
- 8. Kompelli Dharmaraju isa rich peasant of peddapuram and the president of the mandal committee.
- Bathini Bhumayya of mogullapalli is rich peasant and MPP.
- 10. Dayakara rao of parvathagiri is the chairperson of DCCB. He too is a landlord.
- 11. Gandla surrender reddy, landlord of geesugonda is the vice-president of the district TDP.
- 12. Kolli pratapreddy of vanchagiri is a middle peasant and a mandal leader.
- 13. Balaram of ghanapur is a middle peasant and MPP.

- 14. Parameswar, a middle peasant of Bachannapeta is a MPP.
- 15. Borakuntla Venkateswarlu is a middle peasant of Bachannapeta and a mandal leader.

### State and district TDP leadership in the district who oppose us:

The only minister in the district kadiyam srihari is revengeful towards the revolutionary movement. He mobilised the ex radicals until 1995. He appeared to oppose police repression and intensified police offensive in a period of one year after he became the MLA of ghanapur station. Srihari is a good orator. Policy maker. He is like a bed bug. We killed four of his followers recently. Earlier we killed two of his men and beat more than five. We blasted the houses of the mandal leaders. But srihari did not change his attitude. He was responsible for the killing of 22 dalit men and women in fake encounters. Srihari visited the villages in his constituency in 1999. Until then he never came beyond the Hanumakonda, Hyderabad road. He deployed SSF troops and started on a tour with the CRPF along with him. He turned the leaders in the village and the mandal level and collected the information of the squads directly. He enquired about the whereabouts of the squad and the information regarding TDP leaders through phones every morning. He used to ask the TDP leaders who their leader was, whether Asanna (asanna was the commander of station ghanapur at that time. He belongs to the velama caste. RK was the secretary of WNG district committee of our party, now transferred to Nizamabad. He belongs to the reddy caste) or him. He used to claim himself a dalit and say that velama and and reddy doras (landlords) came in the place of dalit organisers and are calling him a dora. He thus took up an open propaganda in the name of caste. When we took up the burning of his effigies and stated we would kill him, he forced the CLC, DTF, AKUT and Working Journalist Union to condemn it. On one hand he said he consulted the leaders of the mass organisations and said he would come and meet them any time. In ghanapur area not even one organisation sustained for a minimum period of three months since 1998. The AS area would shiver with arrests and special batch marches. He stopped the development programs we started. He stopped the school and bus stand in peda pendya. He destroyed the bus stand under construction in malkapuram in this place he started development activity in the same villages. With the help of the police he took up welfare and repressive activities simultaneously. When questioned about the repression on the mass organisations in 200, he said "they did not listen to me when I said earlier. So I cannot do anything now" and threatened them. He made all the mandal leaders under him give statements against us. When we put posters in lingumpalli calling for the boycott of mahanadu on April 27th, he got the youth of the village arrested. A mother of the youth died unable to see their tortures. They were put in the lock up for one month. He brought the dalit IPS officer pravin and suppressed the mass and cover organisations. When TDP leaders were killed continuously in a period of two months, he condemned the police saying it was shameful to conduct review meetings in the respective constituencies. Similarly nalini prabhat damodar gowtam savang were brought in which srihari had the key role.

- 2. Dayakararao: Dayakararao does not seem to oppose party apparently. Our party has limited influence in his constituency. The direct repression on our party is less. One Dayanna a TDP organiser with good support of the cadre could influence any IPS officer and get anyone released. Youth and goonda gangs backed him. Now he takes the leader of green tigers narsimhareddy with him. Dayakar and srihari were responsible for employing cruel police officers (CI) and unleash repression.
- 3. Bojjapalli Rajayya: Landlord. He bought more than 15 acres. He is a dalit from carmillapalli of chityala mandal in chityala area. He was the MLA on behalf of TDP in station ghanapur in the past. He was a poor peasant and now a lakhier. Even before elections rajayya conducted rallies with hundreds of ex radicals with police support. His follower MPP Surender reddy, an ex naxalite collected information about the squads and thus help rajayya in his movements. Rajayya did not criticise the party in the press but spoke venomously with those who approached him. He rallied two reddy landlords in

two mandals and organised BCs and SCs. He severely got the persons who did not pay attention to him and sympathisers of People's War. Recently we killed surrender reddy. Subsequently he stamped the village leaders of TRS. He threatened them in the MPP election and got his candidate and TDP representative Lakshman nayak in the place of surrender reddy. In chityala the landlords are weak and surrender. So our activities are severe in this place. The political parties are weak here. Our influence is more. Srihari overwhelms the police in repression, implements reforms and strengthens TDP mechanism. The TRS and MPT candidates are lured with money and joined in TDP. He is in support of the reddys.

4. Prakashreddy: Until 1990 he was a railway constractor. His whole family stays in USA. He was a crorepathi by the time he entered politics. He is the financial magnate of TDP. He defeated Omkar and won the election in narsampeta. Earlier he was not in politics. Now he became more powerful than dayakararao and became the member of politburo and the state secretary. He won the MLA post for the second time.

All these political leaders organised the ex activists and this is followed by everyone. Tirupathi, another squad member was made the member of state ST cell. Erra yakub reddy is the chairperson of the narsampeta market committee. Many were organised in this manner. They expanded the Dwakra, thrift organisations in the forest and the plain villages. They gave two wheelers to the TDP activists. They took an anti new democracy stand and rallied a section of the ex naxalites in kothagudem and gudur mandals saying he would protect them. They broke the revisionists strong hold by taking up reforms like roads and other such things. They appointed favourable police officers and unleashed continuous attacks on the villages. They pressurised for the protection of TDP leaders. They got the arrested persons released and joined them in TDP. They frequently go around in the area. Police batches do patrolling in this area. While there are encounters in the forest area, there is severe repression in the plains. Police are made to boycott our families. People are threatened if they organise mass movements. After the murder of MPP kuri ramulu, even before the by election, 300 police were sent to dharmaraopeta in khanapuram mandal and TRS members were foisted with false murder cases. His wife Mary Rama was made the MPP.

5. Basureddy: He was initially from the middle class. He became a liquor contractor and gradually became a crorepathi. In 1990 he joined TDP with the encouragement of srihari. Immediately he became the district leader. He owns lodges, hotels, brandy shops, restaurants and other businesses. Recently he pumped money and could buy the post of ZP chairperson though TRS and Cong (I) had majority of the seats. We attempted to murder him but he succumbed to injuries. On one hand he has an active role in activities against us. Apparently he claims not to have been against our party but helps for unleashing repression in the town. He gives as much money as he likes to the police officers and the police.

Mandala sriramulu: by 1988 he entered active politics and became the district leader of the Telugunadu Students Union. He gradually joined the district body and became the chairperson of the state APCO and became the in charge of the cheryala constituency. His age is 40 years. He is a padmasali. He was originally a middle class representative. Now he goes around in a car with ex activists of our party and lumpens. He has direct relations with the police and gets arrested people released. He encourages the TDP leaders and provides them protection with gunmen.

Sriram bhadrayya: He became an MLA from the post of vice-chairperson of ZP. He belongs to vangara village near thorruru. Initially when he migrated into Warangal town he was like a small dada. He became a big man with the business in brandy shops and other such activities. He is close to the congress MLA Mukhesh of Hyderabad and goondas. He spent lot of money for winning. He rallies the ex activists against us. He makes flying visits to the villages and conducts meetings in villages of our strong hold. He acts to be favourable to us

but plans to affect our organisation. By the time TDP government fell in 1990, the second rank leaders took up liquor and road contracts.

Report of the TDP leaders: We have given some details of which class the TDP leadership came from in some villages in atmakuru mandal, 16 kms away from Warangal.

Sudarshan pujari (35) is the incharge of sayampeta at present. He became the district level leader from the level of mandal leader. He is a goud by caste. Previously he owned three acres. He was the sarpanch for five years until 1994. His father wove ropes. He is staying in warangal town since 1998. He is active in TDP in the village and turned anti people in the process. Now he bought a flat in Warangal. In the place of a twowheeler he is now maintaining a car. He has two gunmen. He is able to afford the maintenance of his family in warangal town. Officers and congress opposed when he gave speeches in government programs like neeru meeru and janmabhumi. He frequently comes to atmakur mandal centre from warangal and continues his activities. Now he entered the neo rich class. He takes up civil road contracts and is corrupt.

Jannu Mallayya (38) is the MPP. He is a dalit and hails from urugonda. He was a poor peasant and now neo rich. He was the MPP until 1994 and now was re-elected. He faced lot of difficulties from the domination of the reddy landlords in his village. He studied intermediate. Now he is in the city with two gunmen for the past five years. He bought plots, land and maintains hero Honda. Though he is not antagonistic towards us, he is an activist and organiser of TDP. Mallayya's family members were agricultural labourers and are still in the village.

Kalavala rajeswararao (35) belongs to the aare caste. He is a middle class person and now neo rich. He belongs to lyadella village. He was the leader of the village RYL until 1994 and was arrested until then he was dependent on agriculture. After he set back he became the secretary of the mandal unit of TDP. He is opposing our organisation since 1990. He is a womaniser, drunkard and is accustomed to lobbying and contracts and luxurious life. He built a house in warangal and visits the village. There are no gun men and he does not stay in the village. He is the chairperson of the water organisations. Except for the additional income over agriculture his main earning is from the TDP government funds.

Janagam sambayya is goud by caste. He is from middle class and now neo rich. He was in the profession of weaving ropes in the past but stopped it now. He stays in the village and goes around the mandal and the district centre. He is active in the TDP. He is the in charge of the constituency. He has a car. He collects information of all the villages since the police station and mandal offices are at one place and thus continues his activities.

Elakatara Ravinder (40) was a rich peasant and now neo rich. He is a kapu and the president of the mandal unit of TDP. He was the vice-sarpanch of the village earlier. Since beginning he was in TDP and is against us. He has two gunmen and stays in the town for the past two years. He takes up civil and road contracts. He took partnership in finance. He rallied a big section and makes physical attacks on us.

Raghunadharao is a velama rich peasant. He contested as a rebel TDP MLA and lost. He is the member of the TDP district unit. He has 7 or 8 acres of land in the village. His family did not have any domination earlier. Now he is active in the village and the mandal politics. He has a house in warangal town. He has a brandy shop beside the police station in the atmakur mandal centre. He has other properties also in the town. He is anti party. He applied for gunmen and is very active.

Mamidisetti Sambayya (45) is the mandal leader of TDP. He hails from Malakpet and is the gram sarpanch at present he belongs to upper middle class and now neo rich and even above it. He is a contractor. Earlier he worked in our organisation. He is against the people and our

party. He stays in the town and visits the village. There are no gunmen. He is corrupt. He maintains motorcycles.

Santhi kumar (SC) is the village TDP leader. Presently he belongs to the middle class. He is a poor peasant from pulukurthy village. He is active in TDP. He conducts panchayats and lobbies in civil cases and opium cases. He is a womaniser. Earlier 2 or 3 persons of the village went to the TDP meetings but now he rallies 50.

Gottam Janardhan is a kapu from musthyalapalli village. Earlier he belonged to the middle class. He is the leader of village TDP and ex sarpanch. He takes up various contracts and is corrupt. He acts he is favourable to us but actually strengthened TDP.

Venkateswarlu is a kapu of kamaram. Earlier he was middle class and now neo rich. He is a leader in TDP. He is a murderer, goonda and a police informer.

Puram Narender reddy is from takkellapadu. He is a middle class kapu and village leader.

Karnelu is the ex MPTC of atmakur. He was a poor peasant and neo rich now. He is a dalit and ex radical. He lives on lobbying.

Kompelli dharmaraju is a padmasali of peddapuram. He was lower middle class representative and now neo rich and above that. He had a small grocery shop before he joined TDP and now is a big contractor.

These leaders go to the mandal regularly and lobby. There are at least 30 such people. They joined TDP after 1990. Their daily routine is to go around the police, MRO, MDO, mandal agriculture department, mandal education department, banks (grameena and business) and provide loans and other facilities. There are at least 200 activists and people who come with them. They get the people old age pension, aadarana and other such government schemes. They move around on two wheelers. Half of them are in the villages. After the formation of saaguneeti sangh (irrigation societies), education committees and vana samrakshana samithis (joint forestry management, a scheme in which the people are made take up plantation, mostly teak, coffee and other such necessary for the government. The VSS as they are popularly called gave rise to contradictions among the people since it involves funds), a large section came under TDP. Besides them, MPTC, sarpanches, village TDP president and secretaries, leaders of Dwakra groups all actively go around. There are at least ten persons acting as leaders in every village. There are another 30 more who are active. BCs are active in the village and the mandal level. SCs are also considerably high. In the recent time, the number of women increased. In terms of caste, gouda, kapu and golla caste people are in the leadership.

Due to the increase of market relations, people are compelled to depend on the government and the business classes for many necessities. For example, apart from the agriculture related loans, they are depending on the parasite class in TDP for seeds, fertilisers, pesticides and agricultural tools. They are depending on the TDP leaders for obtaining houses in the MLA and MP quota. The TDP leaders are minting lakhs of money on digging ponds, dredging them, laying borders, laying roads (internal, tar and metal) with WB funds, ration shops, school buildings, water tanks, drainage and many contract works. Apart from these they are attracting the women in the name of various women welfare schemes. These mandal level leaders belong to the poor, lower middle class and all have become rich and even above this. All the money they earned is from the unlimited funds from the government.

Factions in TDP: There were two lobbies in the party in the district. One is reddy and the other is velama. Dayakararao and yathirajarao led the velama group. Nimma rajireddy, sudarsana reddy were the leaders of the reddy group. Presently the reddy group fell. Presently dayakararao maintains one section and srihari another. Prakashreddy is the up coming leader of a third group. Srihari is dominating and is aggressively against us. Mostly

reddys and SCs back him. Both of them have factions until local level. Apart from them they have local factions. There are serious clashes at the time of elections to the various corporations and chairpersons of boards for the posts.

In cheryala constituency, nimma rajireddy and mandala sriramulu have two classes. Sriramulu's faction is active. In janagama constituency kathula rajireddy and premalatha reddy group have serious clashes. There are baswareddy, mooga rammohanarao, donepudi ramesh babu and others totally four or five groups in the town. In parakala constituency MLA rajayya maintains one group, velika kishan prasad (chairperson of APSIDC) another. While sudarshan maintains one group in sayampeta constituency, balreddy maintains another.

Until recently dayakararao who did not get the post of minister and srihari did not have speaking terms even when on a common stage. Suresh reddy (MP) became a road, rail and liquor contractor by throwing much money in the group clashes. He, prakash reddy (MLA), baswareddy (ZP chairperson) got posts even without having minimum relations with the people. In the recent time, after the expansion of the cabinet in the TDP the factional clashes intensified.

#### Details of TDP leaders in the district

S.No	Name	Position in	Class	Caste	Gunmen
myra maji, k	A MARKET SERVICE	the party			
1	Errabelli dayakararao	TDP President,	Landlord	Velama	Yes
		MLA of Vardhannapeta			
2	Challa Chenna Kesavareddy	TDP Vice- President	Rich peasant	Reddy	Yes
3	Koyyuru Lakshmayya	Vice-President	Rich peasant	Gouda	No
4	Venkatnarsamma	Vice-president	Neorich	Kapu	No
5	Jathoth Nehru	Propaganda secretary	Middle class	Lambada	No
6	Gandra satyanarayana	Propaganda secretary	Landlord	Kapu	Yes
7	Lakshmi Narsimhareddy	Propaganda secretary	Landlord	Reddy	Yes
8	Aakula Arundhathi	Propaganda secretary			
9	Bathini bhumayya goud	Treasurer	Neo rich	Goud	Yes
10	Pari Kalpana	DC member	Neo rich	Reddy	No
11	Voli Chandrakala		Neo rich	Bestha	No
12	Jannu mallaya	56	Neo rich	SC	Yes
13	Ch.Aruna		Middle class	BC	No
14	Damera Bhikshapathi	"	Neo rich	Kummari	No
15	Ratnakar reddy	66	Landlord	Reddy	Yes
16	Y.Narsimhareddy	Telugu rytu	Rich peasant	Reddy	No

17	Bethi sammireddy	DC member	Neo rich	Reddy	Yes
18	Nagulothu Devika		Middle class	Lambada	No

# Persons in TDP affiliated organisations

S.No	Name	Position in the party	Class	Caste
1	Gade Papireddy	Teluguryutu president	Neo rich	Andhra reddy
2	Aakuthota mallayya	Teluguyuvatha secretary	Rich	BC
3	Ashok Yadav	TNTUC President	Neo rich	Golla
4	PR Dasu	TNTUC secretary		
5	Kathula Anjireddy	President of telugu yuvatha	Neo rich	Reddy
6	Srinivasa reddy	Secretary of telugu yuvatha	Rich	Reddy

# Incharges of TDP constituency

1	Baswareddy	ZP Chairperson,	Liquor	Reddy
		in charge of	contractor,	
		hanamkonda	landlord,	
		constituency	capitalist	
2	Mooga	Chairperson of		Kapu
	Rammohanarao	district library	had nothing in	
		board, urban		
		district president	class, lumpen	
3	Donepudi	In charge of	Contraction of the Contract of	La,,a
	Rameshbabu	Warangal	settler	
		constituency		
4	N.Naresh reddy	In charge of	Landlord	reddy
		mehaboobabad		
		constituency	Software	~ 1 1
5	Ajmeera Chandulal	State ST cell	Neo rich	Lambada
		chairperson		
6	G.Premalatha	In charge of	Neo rich	Reddy
	reddy	janagam		
	1002	constituency,		
		executive member	=	
		of TDP state unit		
7	Mandala sriramulu	Chairperson,	Neo rich	Padmasali
		APCO, in charge		
		of cheryala		
		constituency		
8	Pujari sudarsan gud	In charge of	Neo rich	Gouda
		sayampeta		<u> </u>
9	Donekela	Convenor of state	Neo rich	Gouda
	bhadrayya	BC cell		

10	Thakkellapalli	Vice-chairperson,	Landlord	
. 10	narayanarao	market committee	> C 1 11 1	QTD.
11	Lakshman nayak	MPP	Middle class	ST
12	Mary Rama	MPP	Neo rich	D 11
13	Chara praveen reddy	Chairperson, parakala	Neo rich	Reddy
14	Gangula sampathreddy	Mandal secretary, ghanpur	Landlord	Reddy
15	Naredner reddy, chinthakuntla	Mandal president	Landlord	Reddy
16	Surrender reddy, chinthakuntla	RTC region chairperson	Landlord	Reddy
17	Gorantla Balaram	Propaganda secretary of constituency	Neo rich	Padmasali
18	Barsu vanedev	Mandal leader	Neo rich	SC
19	Murapaka ravi	Mandal leader	Neo rich	SC
20	Sukhodar reddy	Chairperson, market committee, ghanpur	Neo rich	Reddy
21	Natal rajayya	Chairperson, devasdhanam, chelpur	Neo rich	Gouda
22	Pari kalpana	MPP, parakala	Neo rich	Reddy
23	Kalika kishan prasad	District propaganda secretary, APSIDC secretary	Neo rich	BC
24	Guniganti srinivasa goud	Mandal TDP president, regonda	Neo rich	Gouda
25	Yakubreddy	Chairperson, market committee, narsampet	Neo rich	Reddy
26	Madhusudhanreddy	ZPTC parsaguda	Neo rich	Reddy
27	Chetlapalli murali	Mandal president, nallabelli	Rich	Aare
28	Errabelli rameswararao	MPP ghanpur	Neo rich	Velama
29	Ramesh	Mandal president	Neo rich	Gouda
30	Padma (wife of Ramesh)	ZPTC	Neo rich	Gouda
31	Sambireddy	Mandal president, parakala	Neo rich	reddy
32	Beti sammireddy	Mandal president	Neo rich	Reddy
33	Parameswar	Ex MPP bachannapeta	Neo rich	SC

### Condition of the BJP:

When BJP was formed in 1980 chandupatla jangareddy (parakala), madadi sathyanarayanareddy (ippagudem of ghanapur), manda ilayya (kapu of pasarugonda, atmakur), de.rajeswarara (ex MLA of vardhannapeta, landlord), pannala sriramulu of

vardhannapeta, kola janardhan of mulugu, jaipal of parakala, SC and others joined. Apart from these, the old janasangh members, RSS forces and one or two from the janatha party joined BJP in a very small number. The reddy and velama landlords of chityala and parakala area developed a section of the BC to back the party. In 1985 jaipal in parakala constituency, sriramulu and rajeswararao in various times, jangareddy of hanamakonda the MP won the election with the alliance of TDP and BJP. Thus BJP expanded its domination. But BJP was not consolidated as much as the ABVP. ABVP was active in physically attacking us in janagama, warangal, narsampet, parakala areas. We killed sama jaganmohanreddy (KVC), bajji, chencharapu ravinder reddy of janagama, Krishna of hanamakonda and many other ABVP leaders. Some escaped after we attacked them. The FTs of this organisation in that period. Premender reddy, kathi venkataswamy, dharmarao and others are now in the state politics. The landlords in parakala, chityala areas who are in the BJP physically attacked us to affect our organisations with goondagiri. Majority of them are landlords. They are dominant in parakala town. We killed the BJP leaders daggu venkanna, gujula bheem rao, aravindagoud and other leaders. We attacked some. So the BJP landlords are confined to the town. The constituencies of parakala and sayampeta were their strongholds. Mainly the ex activists of our party in the sayampeta constituency rallied behind manda ilayya and so the village and the mandal committees were strong. Since our class struggle strengthened mandal ilayya became inactive. He was a middle peasant until 1984 and now a lakhier and a prominent contractor. He was defeated two times for the MLA post. Jangareddy continued in the party but he does nothing for the party. He is corrupt and a crorepathi. In the name of separate Telangana he strengthened his place in BJP. Another MLC and MLA rajeswararao was a doctor until 2000. He was active earlier, inactive for ten years and again active now. He is the Mayor of warangal town and an activist of RSS.

After 1998, BJP expanded. It formed mandal and village branches in janagama and cheryala areas. It tried to pick up in parakala and sayampeta. A new generation came into BJP. Similarly BJP got a good support in the heart of the district to win the hanmakonda seat with TDP alliance. Recently the all India secretary of RSS Sudarshan came to the RSS north telangana seminar and stayed for five days.

Narahari venugopalareddy of rangapuram of narsampeta, premender reddy of BJYM and state leader, jayapal reddy, state treasurer, mehaboobabad, dubasi vasudev, Sc, NT BJYM in charge, ramalingam, mankena srinivasareddy of janagama, a rich peasant are active. Al most ten persons are working as whole timers. People tried to kill mankena srinivasareddy but he escaped the fire. Another senior BJP leader sundarayya was assassinated in parakala town after which BJP activities came down. But dattatreya, vidyasagararao frequently come to warangal and parakala and are trying to activate BJP by putting forward dharmarao. He is a velama and aggressive since he was a student. He was in ABVP and against our party. He does not bother to get the arrested persons released. He is playing an active role in the district. Next come venugopalareddy and dubasi vasudev.

With the formation of TRS in the recent time, mandadi satyanarayana reddy, kola janardhan, sahodara reddy and others, a big section left BJP and joined TRS. So BJP weakened. Pannala sriramulu left the party three years back. He is now with janatha dal.

Our target in chityal, surrender reddy operates a mobile medical centre from hyderabad.

There are more possibilities for the strengthening of BJP. It is gradually expanding into the slum areas of warangal town since there is repression on us. RSS and ABVP are strengthening. VHP activities relatively increased. But now BCs and youth are organised more. There is struggle in the political parties in the district. BJP maintains goondas in parakala even now. They are none else but BJYM leaders. TDP's domination in vardhannapeta increased but now is weak. On the whole BJP is the possible growing force.

But there are no leaders with charisma. Though there are FTs in the field they do not have organisational talents.

Conditions of Congress (I) after 1990:

Until 1990, the followers of PV, PV Rangarao, hayagrivachari, basavaraju sarayya, cherukupalli srinivasareddy and others were in the party. Until his death in 1992 the single eyed hayagrivachari played a key role in the party in the district. He won the hanmakonda constituency many times. He encouraged the NSUI goondas. He attacked physically. The editor of janadharma that later changed to warangal vani, MS, was the lackey of aacharya hayagrivachari. This paper wrote negative news about people's war and radicals. Devender reddy, gangadhar, (ganga), gopalreddy, vinod jha (bihar student of REC) and such others were lifted by hayagrivachari. He is a policy maker. He played an active role in the district politics. He minted lakhs of money when he served as the technical education minister. Our organisation is strong in hanamkonda constituency. So he unleashed lot of repression. He destroyed the struggle villages. A member of RWA (virasam) and PDSU activist Gnaneswar Keerthi was killed with petrol because he exposed the sarath school principal kondayya, a follower of hayagrivachari for abusing women teachers, within one month after it happened. He is infamously known as "hatyachari" (hatya means murder). He maintained goondas and rowdies. He had a strong followers section in those days.

History of congress leaders from 1980 to 1999: MLA and MP kamaluddin ahmad was a veteran congress leader in warangal district. He comes from salakpuram near cheryala in buchannapeta mandal. He was from the middle class and was active in congress. He won the MLA and MP posts of hanamkonda two times. At that time kamaluddin ahmad was nominal without solving the problems in the district. He does not have followers. He acquired a ticket only because he was the lackey of PV. He is not seen in the constituency except on the day he won. He is also in the PCC.

It is purushothamarao that strengthened congress in warangal district. He belongs to konkapaka village. He is a velama landlord. He is a postgraduate, a philosopher and a good orator. He has organisational talent. He also served as the secretary of PCC. Presently he is in old age. He won two times as MLA from warangal city. He was the honorary president of the azamzahi mills trade union for a long time. He conducted party cells and classes in the congress party. He developed a group of his own. He strengthened the party in the city. He formed many affiliated unions. He is tactical. They took up anti propaganda against our party and mobilised the people in a big way.

Madadi narsimha reddy played a main role in the district. He is a landlord of metpalli village of mogullapalli mandal. He won as MLA from sayampeta constituency two times. His family is our target. He served as the secretary of DCC. He has followers from reddys and SCs. He stood firmly against the revolutionary movement for twenty years and was responsible for more than 30 encounters. In the end he took Z category protection. We killed his followers kodandaramireddy (chairperson of Warangal grain market), surayya, sriramreddy, krupakar reddy and other such 6 or 7 leaders despite which he would take a negative position towards us. After 1995, he stepped aside from active politics.

Bochu sammayya was the MLA from parakala constituency and a member of PCC. He achieved the place of leader of weaker sections in the district and strengthened congress (I). He was in support of the reddy landlords and did business in petrol pumps, other kerosene dealer ships and other such things and became a lakhier. Presently he does not have much charisma. He is with the congress nominally.

Surrender reddy and janardhana reddy are well known landlords of mehaboobabad area. It is said that the golkonda express travels ten minutes in Surrender reddy's field to express the extent of his land. The road from mehaboobabad to nalgonda is from the mango plantation

of janardhana reddy. Both of them won as MLA and MP four to five times. Their leadership is unopposed. Congress won the mehaboobabad and dornakal constituency for decades. This time because of a rebel candidate, TDP won. Both of their properties were put in other sectors like industrial and banking. Since our organisation is lacking in this area they continue to own hundreds of acres on binami names. They are among those who strengthened congress. Pendem kattayya contested the narsampeta area for the post of MLA and was defeated by Omkar many times. He is a rich kapu. He maintained goondas in a big way and faced MCPI. Until 1984 narsampeta was the place of murder politics. At least 40 persons were killed on both sides. Bandi mallayya, kanteti sivakolu, chinthakindi ashok, rotte kommalu and other such goondas killed by us were the followers of kattayya. Landlords of guduru mandal epuru janardhana reddy, srinivasa reddy and others stood in support of kattayya. The cunning fox pendem kattayya died recently.

Ponnam lakshmayya studied engineering in America. He belongs to the village khisasapuram from which the DGP ramulu also hails. He belongs to aare caste and is a landlord. He is presently the MLA of janagama and a member of AICC. He was in active congress politics for two decades. He is backed by the BC and reddy sections. He has influence mainly in the janagama area. He was MLA many terms.

Rajalingam is the present MLA of cheryala. Reddy doras had domination in congress in cheryala. Puram aagamreddy, narsimhareddy, didigam balayya (komati by caste) are the local landlords. Rajalingam goud opposed the reddy landlord's domination and consolidated the gowda BC section. He was previously middle class. He is said to be a supporter of people's war but in fact he is much experienced in slow poisoning to make the party inactive. All the ex activists of our party say he is a good person. He won only this time though he contested for the MLA post many times. He is one among those who strengthened congress. The second person is balayya. Earlier reddy landlords dominated the congress.

Cherukupalli srinivasareddy belongs to buchireddypalle of khadarao peta of nallabelli mandal of narsampeta area. He is a landlord with hundreds of acres. He has petrol pumps, bharath gas dealer ship and other such businesses. He served as the municipal chairperson of Warangal. He was in active politics since 1984. He served as the DCC secretary for two years.

Umareddy was the MLA and MLC between 1975-1985. He is a landlord settled in the town. He played a key role in strengthening congress. Presently he is in Hyderabad but he has a section in the district.

Pingali dharmareddy is a landlord of dharmaram village of parakala mandal. He won the MLA post once. He was active before. Until 1982 he had an active role but now he does not.

Macharla jagannadham won the MLA and the MP posts belongs to vardhannapeta area and stays in the town now. He is well educated. He became the leader of gowda organisations. He represented one section in the reddys and BCs. He was a PCC member before but now he became old. He had prominent role in activising congress. He is a lakhier.

Errabelli varada rajeswararao came into politics in 1980-1990. He belongs to a landlord family. He brought his wife swarna also into politics recently. He was defeated as MLA many times. He served as the DCC secretary for some time. He is still in active politics. He has many properties in the city.

Basavaraju sarayya is the present MLA of Warangal. He is a chakali. He was poor earlier and now neo rich. He has petrol pumps and other businesses. He has the place as the leader of BCs and rajaka organisations. He encouraged ex radicals and goondas. He was popularly known as saranna and wanted to become like ranga of vijayawada. He also served as the vice-chairperson of municipality. He represents the reddy group. Redyanayak is a rich lambadi. He won the MLA post more than three times from dornakal area. He faced the TDP

wave many times. He is a member of PCC. He is known to do work among the people. Since we did not have any influence in this area he is continuing. He is active in congress politics for the past two decades.

Gandra ramanareddy is a landlord of parakala. He owns petrol pumps, oil tankers and many businesses. He owns houses in Warangal and Hyderabad. He was in active politics since 1990. He is presently the DCC secretary.

Bhuvanagiri aarogyam is the ex MLA of ghanapur. He is a dalit. He has many businesses and is a neo rich. He gradually gained properties and is known for exploitation. He is a follower of hayagrivachari. He is fading out from active politics. He continued politics with the support of reddy landlords in his constituency. He is known for his deceptions.

Varadachari is the son-in-law of hayagrivachari. He is a member of DCC. He is a lawyer and had an active role in station ghanapur area. He was a landlord before. He does not have considerable followers.

Kunduru madhusudhanareddy won the MLA post defeating yathirajarao two times. He is a landlord of kodakandla area. He won the block president post many times. He was a strong opponent to yathirajarao but lost many times recently. He is slowly losing his influence.

PV Rangarao is the son of PV Narasimharao. He has a small follower's section. He does not believe in people He won as the MLA of hanamkonda once. From 1980-1990, the main role in congress was of the rich reddy landlords. SCs had the second place and BCs the third place.

Kodandaramireddy is the chairperson of Warangal grain market. He is a landlord of damera. He is a follower of narsimhareddy and we killed him.

Asoda rajayya is the congress block president. He belongs to SC and had active role. Now he is old.

After 1990 when congress (I) came to power ponnala lakshmayya, madaki narsimhareddy, jagannayak, KV rangarao got minister ship. Besides them, kamaluddin got the cultural minister post. With this congress (I) tried to increase its domination. In this process a secondary leadership developed but they could not develop to the necessary extent due to factional clashes. After the formation of TRS, congress (I) did not fare well in the local elections. TDP also tried to weaken congress severely. It is luring the congressmen with money to join TDP. They have strength in sayampeta, Warangal and janagama. Due to the factional clashes in mehaboobabad it lost the MLA election. It went down to the third place in the local elections.

Gandi ramanareddy, basavaraju sarayya, prabhakarareddy, ponnala lakshmayya, thatikaya rajayya (ghanapur), pulla bhaskar, rajavardhanareddy, bharath chandrareddy, redyanayak, konda surekha, konda muralidhara rao and others are active in congress. Anyhow the party is weak at present.

#### Congress leaders presently active

S.No	Name	Position in the party	Class	Caste
1.	Boddireddy prabhakarareddy	Yuvajana leader	Rich	Reddy
2	Manda Vinodkumar	Sevadal leader	Rich	SC
3	Batagaru sarayya	Sevadal leader	Rich	BC
4	Sadanandam	Warangal town president		BC

5	T.Ramesh babu	City committee member	Rich	BC
6	Pulla bhaskar	Goonda, contested for MLA post but lost		SC ,
7	Devender reddy	District leader, goonda, we killed him	Landlord	Reddy
8	Srinivasa reddy	Ex DCMS Chairperson, leader of janagama area		Reddy
9	Bharathchandrareddy	Mehaboobabad, lost in the election of MLA	Landlord	Reddy
10	Danthi maravareddy	DCC member, narsampeta	Landlord	Reddy
11	Kalpanadevi	Joined TDP in 1984, won as MP. After 1995 joined congress	Rich, crorepathi	Reddy
12	Muralidhararao	Goonda, DCC member, husband of surekha	Rich	
13	Kalara surekha	Entered politics after 1995	Rich	
14	Katla chandrareddy	Ex TDP leader, presently congress leader	Rich	Reddy

# MLAs

S.No	Constituency	MLA	Party
1	Chennur (it includes thorruru,	Sudhakararao (son of	TDP
	kodakandla, palakurthy,	Yathirajarao)	
	devaruppala, narsimhulapeta	7	
	mandals)		
2	Mehaboobabad	Sriram bhadraya	TDP
3	Dornakal	Redya nayak	Congress
4	Warangal	Basavaraju sarayya	Congress
5	Hanamkonda	Dharmarao	BJP
6	Janagam	Ponna lakshmayya	Congress
7	Cheryal	Nagapuri rajalingam	Congress
8	Parakala	Bochipalli veerayya	TDP
9	Sayampeta	Konda surekha	Congress
10	Mulugu	Poreddy veeerayya	TDP
11	Narsampeta	Revuri prakash reddy	TDP
12	Station ghanpur	Kadiyam srihari	TDP
13	Vardhannapeta	Errabelli dayakararao	TDP
	are six congress MLAs, sureshreddy	and venkateswarlu are MPs	

#### Political leaders developed into capitalists:

Right from the beginning the number of landlords and businessmen continuing in the various bourgeois parties is low. Due to the changes in economic, political, social sector and our struggle, a big section of BCs (gowda, yadava, padmasali mainly) and reddy, velama, kapu of the sudra castes and mala and madiga sections of the dalits also came into politics.

Basavareddy was in middle class from somidi village near Kazipet. He gained lakhs of money in the liquor business and invested in lodges, hotels, real estate, cinema halls and other business. He took up liquor business in other states. He owns properties in Hyderabad, warangal and bangalore. He entered TDP after 1994. He is the present ZP chairperson. He became the people's representative purely with money. He is against us.

Revuri prakashreddy is a landlord of kesavapur village of duggondi mandal. His father is a landlord. After education prakash reddy became a railway contractor. After 1990 he joined TDP and contested for MLA post in narsampeta two times. He became a member of the PB and the secretary of the state.

Suresh reddy is a road contractor and owns lakhs of property. He joined TDP after 1990. He lost once as MP but won again. He does not have any political base.

Bodakuntla venkateswarlu is a perike by caste. He belongs to middle class. He was MPTC and the chirperson of ZP for some time and gained lot of money. He is now a neo rich and MP.

Details of landlord, business, industrial, contractors and mafia who support the parties without being in active politics in the village, mandal and the district level:

Kethiri sudarsanareddy comes from a village in huzurabad. He is A1 road contractor. He is a supporter of TDP. He is in the forefront whenever any ministers, MLAs or VIPs visit the place. He puts up advertisements, greetings on such occasions in the name of district builder's association. He gives funds and vehicles.

Satyamurthy is an A1 contractor from karimbad (road canal) in warangal town. He also gives support to TDP in this manner. Narasimha reddy is the owner of the five star ratna hotel in warangal. He is a landlord of mulugu ghanapur mandal. Presently he is A1 contractor. He is an active supporter of TDP. Syamsundar pone is the secretary of chamber of commerce. He is luxurious and a gujarathi set. He is settled in warangal and anti workers. He directly moves with the TDP. Narayanareddy is the member of exhibition society. He obtained colleges and owns beedi, sugar factories. He is a crorepathi and supports congress openly.

Garimeti mohanarao is a kamma. He takes up many contracts in the rayons. He is a supporter of TDP and recently became the state secretary of lakshmiparvathi TDP. Gajjela ramanadham is the secretary of cotton industries and an active supporter of TDP.

#### Condition of TRS:

TRS has the second place. Though it does not have MLAs it is strengthening organisationally. It gained the second place in the local elections. It lost the ZP chairperson post in alliance with the congress since the candidate could be lured with money. When TRS was formed ex activists, political unemployed, our sympathisers, intellectuals and a section of BJP joined it. They recently took some militant struggles. They took up dharnas and rasta rooks in a big way in protest to the police attack on the state office of jaladrusyam. They conducted district wide dharnas in protest to the selling of the azamzahi mills and for the protection of its properties. They conducted rallies on famine problem. They took up program on some other ssues also. TDP brings pressure politically, from the side of the police, foists false cases on the TRS activists and tries to lure them with money. So a certain

number are joining from the mandal, village bodies. This pressure is more in janagama, parakala, station ghanapur, narsampeta area. Thus many from the other parties and some from the rytu seva samithi and janasabha came to the district committee level. Since the party leaders indulged in corruption they attracted opposition from the people. TRS is absolutely in election politics.

Names of district TRS leaders				
S.No	Name	Caste	Class	From which party they came
1	Kala janardhan	BC	Neo rich	From BJP
2	Mandadi sathyanarayareddy	FC	Landlord	From BJP
3	Sahodarreddy	FC	Landlord	From BJP
4	Rajeswarareddy	FC	Landlord	
5	Madhusudanachari	BC	Neo rich	From TDP (lakshmiparvathy)
6	Papireddy	FC	UMC	Lecturer in KUC
7	Bhikshapathi	BC	Neo rich	From TDP
8	Adiram narsayya	BC	Neo rich	From CPI
9	Jakarya	SC	Middle	From CPI
10	Kankati rajaveeru	BC	Neo rich	From TDP
11	Gopalareddy	FC	Landlord	From Congress
12	Nallela kumarswamy	BC	Neo rich	From congress

#### Condition of MRPS:

Though MRPS was strong in the district it relatively weakened. Manda Krishna is concentrating in warangal. Some of the district and mandal bodies are active. After the categorisation of SC they are taking up joint programs with mahajan sangharsh samithi on democratic telangana, attacks on dalits, caste discrimination and other such problems. They activated the madiga udyoga samakhya. Chatla bhikshapathi, mandakumar, apparapu lakshman, velpula veeraswamy, palu subbayya and others are active in the district body. They are left as those conducting panchayats. They are unable to mobilise people in a big way to hyderabad on the telangana issue. They could not success in the rallies on behalf of MSS. They took up struggles on behalf of dalits on some problems. They take the support of dalit and petty bourgeois and try to maintain their base.

MRPS tries to provoke caste sentiments and joins informers. They take up anti propaganda against our party to some or the other extent.

#### CPI:

CPI is in the sixth place. AITUC is seen in beedi, leather, brick industry, saw mills and other such unorganised sectors. The ryutu sangham is weak. It is weak now in the rural area. Recently district level eladers jamna jakharalya of warangal city, a poor SC, aadiram narsayya, a rich kapu of chityal, bandi pullayya, ex MLA of mehaboobabad, sobhan kumar of parakala and others joined TRS. The present leaders are old and middle aged. Kalidas, a rich man of the town, venkatramulu, bhagavan das, both from the rich class, satyapal reddy of janagama and others are in the party. It is in life and death condition. Presently is has little strength in warangal town and kesamudram. It does not have any following in the peasantry.

## CPI (M):

This is in the fourth place. There are whole timers mainly in the TU. They have the first place in the unorganised workers. After we became weak they took chace of it.. They gave salaries and vehicles to the whole timers. They are organising anganwadi, seth sindhi, para teachers, carobars and many such sectors. After our attacks on the Omkar MCPI and omkar's defeat the party was isolated and all of them joined CPM. Thus MCPI became dead.

CPM also takes up the problems of the peasants. After the ryutu seva samithi became weak, it is taking up issues like corporate agriculture, problems of peasants, famine problem in a big way. They are holding dharnas and rallies, kalajaths, economic surveys, pamphlets with data and conditions. But they are not taking it to a militant form. Anyway it could not secure more seats in the local elections.

The district leadership is anti towards People's War. Most of the members of CPM are from MCPI. There is a severe struggle in the city, cheryala and ghanapur area with them.

Their policy is to take up subsidies, reforms and lobbying. The CPM bookstalls (democratic house) are selling literature in a big way. It is gradually increasing its influence in the unorganised workers, employees and slums. It has organisational strength. They are taking up issues like attacks on dalits, committee against caste discrimination, caste organisations including occupation of wastelands together with other parties.

Names of CPM leaders in the district				
S.No	Name	Position in the party	Class	Area
1	Sarampalli mallareddy	Leader and president of rytu coolie sangham	Landlord	Thimmapet
2	Nudi krishnareddy	Division leader	Rich peasant	Mulugu
3	Chukkayya	District committee member	Middle class	Mehaboobabad
4	Kallepu venkatayya	District secretary	Middle class	Asoknagar
5	Kusam rajamouli	District member	Rich peasant	Geesukonda
6	Ambati satyanarayana	66	"	Cheryal
7	Nakka madhavareddy		66	Janagm
8	Vesireddy rajireddy	cc	66	Warangal
9	Oruganti sarangapani		Middle	
10	Naliganti ratnamala			66
11	Anjanrao (lecturer)		66	
12	Samirla babu	cc	66	66
13	Raju	66	66	Ghanapur

#### **PART II**

#### **OTHER ML PARTIES (2002)**

#### **New Democracy Party:**

New Democracy Party is dominant in Illendu division of Khammam, narsampeta, kothaguda and guduru mandals in warangal. Mainly it is strong in illendu division and is bureaucratic and undemocratic towards the other parties not allowing any of them to enter. In addition to this, it is also taking up informer job about us.

It is mainly following two types of methods to control our party or other parties. It threatens and controls the villages telling them not to give us food, that they have to stop our meetings and those who help us. If it cannot control the village totally, it controls those who help us. It also gives information to the police and gets people arrested.

Controlling those who help us: At least 700 people of seven villages know that ramana of chettupalli village of gundala mandal gave us food. Madhu, the squad leader and district committee member threatened him not to stay in the village if he helps People's War and that he would write to the DSP about him. A youth of chembunigudem worked in RSU when he was a student. Madhu who is quite anarchic called him and said, "If you want to join the party go and join. Other wise stay with the village. If you go and join PW I shall inform the DSP and get you arrested". They try to know concretely who is helping us when we go to the villages. They are threatened and also bet.

# Disrupting meetings:

When our squad held meetings in chembunigudem and chettupalli villages the village committees disrupted many times. We took up propaganda and explained their undemocratic methods. We explained the people about their revisionist politics and our party politics patiently. The people said they would help whichever party comes to their village. After we leave the village, they would come. In the recent time, they are informing the names of the villages through out the mandal that they are supporting us. They tell the people that they would not get them released when arrested. They also tell them that they should not go when PW sings songs and that they would push off if so. Thus they are disrupting the people coming to our meetings.

Informing: They are collecting the information about persons who support us and are getting them arrested. They deny giving information. They say their activists go to the police for permission for meetings or for coordination of the legal and secret activities or for the grievances of the people. Though exposed openly they deny that they are informer. We have been warning one mallayya for informing for quite some time. ND (New Democracy) also put him aside owing to internal problems. He did not change his attitude and so we punished him with beatings in front of the people. The party then owned him and shamelessly propagated that People's War is physically attacking their party. Mallayya told the names of five youth and openly told the police which cases can be foisted against them. Sayam lakshmayya, a mandal leader in ND sent a tailor to police station on the pretext he is close to our party because he paid a deaf ear to him. He got the people and youth arrested many times. Recently the ND activists went to the extent of checking the road in front of the police to catch hold of the persons distributing posters and pamphlets.

Our squad went to kachanapalli village at ten in the night. The squad was talking to the village committee leaders of ND. When our members expressed anxiety that time was up, people said no one would come after ten and so we could continue. It reveals that they and the police have agreed so. Since we took up a political campaign recently it understood it

could not have control on the people any more and so is depending on the informer work. Since it is difficult to encounter us militarily they think it is better to depend on the police.

Controlling other parties: It is also controlling other bourgeois and revolutionary parties. In the last elections, TDP and congress gave a tough competition to ND. But after elections it bet the TDP and congress party leaders severely and controlled them. It acted like a rowdie sheeter during elections. In the recent time, Prathighatana party entered illendu division. New democracy appointed a 40 member special squad to control this. Anyhow prathighatana party attacked them two times. We must see how this is going to take turn. New democracy can send away the prathighatana group.

Domination on people: In the villages it represses the ordinary people like the state. Payam lakshmayya is the mandal leader of gundala. He acts like a landlord. No one can buy or sell lands without his knowledge. He acts like dora even in the panchayats. If the dalit wife and husband pour their grievance in front of him, he severely beats the husband and makes him his follower. He rallied their activists and bet the markod villagers on the pretext that they were cooking liquor, since they were not in support to him. He has four wives. He brought three of them after the varapuja (a ritual in which the bride's family goes to the bridegroom's family and gives some clothes, rice, money and other such things before marriage in cofirmation). He actually bet the bridegrooms in these occasions. He occupied seven acres of land of the farmers. His anarchic deeds are many. Ravinder reddy is the leader in chettupalli village. He took thousands of money in the name of societies as the president of the society. He kept 2 lakhs of money from the village development fund with him and is lending it to farmers on an interest of 5 per cent. He hijacked the village panchayat funds together with the sarpanch. When the PYL president of the village demanded the account of the money he bet him severely pressuring him to admit that he has an extra marital relation with the wife of the brother of the sarpanch. It was recorded and panchayat was held in front of the people. The people rejected this.

Seinu of komararam village is the member of the village committee. He is a trader of paddy and cotton. He did not pay the money to the farmers for the past two years. Burraa venkateswarlu of kachanapalli of gundala mandal sits before the village memorial. Anyone coming into the village must inform him. Our squad went to the village at 9 in the night and stopped in the last house for food. When the members of the family went to the shop for the necessary things, he questioned him variously and knew our information. He threatened her not to give food to us. So the family demanded us to push off. He sent four youth with her. In a way those villages are ND concentration camps. There is no limit to his goondagiri.

Al most all of the money lenders of tekulapalli mandal belong to ND party. They lend money for an interest of five rupees. They buy gingelly for 50 rupees lesser than the market rate. One rajayya breaks into the house of those who do not pay the loan and takes away some things. He even beats. The traders, corrupt people, village heads and deceivers are mainly of the ND party. There was a crisis in the Khammam district committee during which they wrote about each other's bad deeds. It clearly reveals their state.

Political campaign against the corrupt revisionist politics and practice of New Democracy: We took up a political campaign for five months against the ND party that is strong in the illendu sub division of Khammam district for taking up false propaganda more than the goebbels to see that our party does not strengthen in the area and adopting undemocratic policies competing with the chandrababu naidu government against us.

When our squad tried to conduct a meeting in chembunigudem in gundala mandal last year the village committee leaders laalayya, kotayya disrupted the meeting and provoked people. We took up postering campaign to expose their undemocratic attitude in the mandal. We conducted another meeting in the village to solve this problem. We brought the persons who disrupted our meetings and made them agree their mistake. The people said they would give

food to any party that approaches them. When we went to the village this year the ND squad said we would talk over the issue. So both the squads spoke before the people. People clarified they spoke about laalayya and kotayya earlier and they have nothing to speak again. They agreed they told the people not to give food. We killed goggila lakshmayya and bet macherla satyam their leaders. So they agreed their mistake. It was ND party that made physical attacks on us and killed srisailam and rajam kotanna. We spoke how ND squad is stopping our party, threatening not to give us food, how it is disrupting the meetings undemocratically and threatening those who support us. The ND squad could not utter a word. People understood the corrupt attitude of ND and suggested to solve the problems with the respective higher committees. Later people revealed to us separately their opposition and the dominating attitude of ND. Some youth came forward and formed mass organisation also.

When we tried to conduct martyr's memorial meeting in chettupalli village of gundala LGS, the village committee leaders ravinderreddy, janagam sarayya, Krishna of ND provoked the people. The people came to us saying not to conduct the meetings and if so police would come. The bourgeois government provided a right to conduct meetings and right to propagate in the constitution, though it did not implement in practice. We took up propaganda through posters, voices mandal wide exposing the dictator trend of ND. We also conducted meetings inchembunigudem and vennela bayalu villages near chettupalli and exposed the same.

In counter to our propaganda, they published a pamphlet saying we threatened to murder their village committee leaders. They said that we were terrorists and that if we come repression would be more. It is threatening the people it would murder them. We took up propaganda through voices widely in the mandal explaining the dominant attitude of ND, that it is stopping the people from preparing to struggle by threatening about repression and that it is helping the exploiting classes. We also said that ND is practicing terrorism and ours is a revolutionary organisation.

We exposed the actual histories and the dominant trends of the headmen in ND, ravinder reddy, burra venkateswarlu, payam lakshmayya, macherla satyam, baatanna. We also exposed their business and exploitative methods and their drift towards revisionism in the name of coordinating legalism and secret functioning in the form of a pamphlet on behalf of our district committee. We also held meetings in gundala, tekulagudem, illendu, palvancha mandals. There is no limit to the atrocities of payam lakshmayya a mandal leader and markodu sarpanch. In a way he is a red landlord who unleashes rowdism. We conducted propaganda exposing his atrocities in the villages around markodu. Around three thousand people in these ten villages spoke about his atrocities, how he seized their lands, how he insisted on his permission in land transaction, beating dalits with slippers and other such things. Earlier when we went to expose his anarchic deeds, ND activists saleem and khaja ramulu provoked their activists and sympathisers on us and tried to attack. They deliberately got lakshmayya released from us. We brought saleem and ramulu in front of thousand people and made them agree their mistake. We explained the election tactics of ND revisionist politics.

We propagated the liquidationist policies, election tactics, the direction of their movement, threatening the candidates, forcible withdrawals and craving for alliance with TDP, attacking on candidates who did not listen to them through voices in the mandal and two meetings. We said that their tactics is more than the rayalaseema factionalists and exposed their rowdie sheeter role.

Fearing they would lose their influence among the people, they published another pamphlet and printed posters. They said we are calling them informers, we are threatening them with murder, that the movement in khammam did not become strong because of our terrorist

policies. In counter to this, we against put posters explaining how ND was coming in the way of our party's activities, how it is informing our activities. We questioned their movement in a voice. We questioned thus- "after how many more years are you going to start armed struggle? After how long will you change your election tactics? Through this, are you propagating armed politics or getting mired into election politics? In the name of coordinating legal and secret activities are you becoming legal or secret? If you are going for secret activities, how many district and state leaders are involved thus and how many are working legally? You say there is repression because of us. But can you please tell us whether there is any class war without repression? Will you please tell us how to continue armed struggle without repression? If you could answer these questions daringly people will understand you and your struggle". We put up posters mandal wide.

People of chembunigudem, chettupalli, gurkala madugu villages realised the wrong politics of ND and the right politics of our party. They started approaching us. ND took up propaganda saying that these villages have become well known in helping People's War and stopped them from coming to meet us. We exposed this issue also and said they were liars. ND could not answer us politically and said we have to come forward for an open enquiry of our allegations on them. We also declared we are ready for it and said it is ND that is indulging in murders, threats and is depriving the right to speak. We wrote a letter to the ND squad saying we would conduct an open enquiry in chembunigudem and other villages on the problems arising between the two parties. It did not reply. ND is not ready for a solution through an open enquiry. We gave a paper statement saying that despite the clashes between the two parties, we made efforts. But the ND party is not ready for it. Finally ND party wrote a letter to the district committee and the state committee saying we would solve the problems and that we were threatening them, calling them informers and indulging in clashes. Keeping this in view, the district committee secretary gave an interview. We exposed the tactics CP reddy group adopted to affect our party in the district, how we nullified these tactics politically, how the ND threatened and gave information in the illendu division against our party, how it implemented the program of not giving us food. We said we are ready to counter them politically but if they indulge to clashes and give information about us, we would give a fitting reply. Mallayya of gundala mandal is giving information about us for the past two years. Earlier when we went to the village we told them he must stop giving information. Since he did not listen we bet him in front of the people (for the past six months ND party put him aside). After we bet him, the party shamelessly owned it and said we bet his village committee member and are indulging in physical attacks. Even after we bet him, he got five of the villagers arrested and told the SI in front of the people what cases to be foisted against them. In this mandal, we also exposed the village committee leader of kachanapalli and bet him in front of the people. We questioned his dominant attitude.

We solved a wife and husband divorce problem in lingala village. ND joined the husband in their party and forty people including three DCs, four commanders came to revive the panchayat. The husband was a sadist who bet, scolded and harassed the wife to bring dowry. Since the problem was not solved with the village heads, they approached us. The wife is not at all willing to live with him. So our AVRCS comrades made the husband return the cost of marriage and dowry money. When ND said this was done unilaterally, people reacted to this and told them that what was done earlier is right. They also said that it is wrong to join a sadist as a squad member and it is more awkward to speak on behalf of such a person. They thus fought back the patriarchal and feudal attitude of ND. Our achievements through this campaign-

1. Through this campaign people realised the corrupt and revisionist politics of ND and their practice. We had a favourable political situation.

- 2. People also are saying they would give food and attend meetings whoever it is. And they are implementing it too.
- 3. Youth are inspired with the campaign and are ready to join the organisation.
- 4. The village committees and sanghs of ND that did not give food and disrupted our meetings earlier are now questioning their party.

## Janasakthi party:

Because of the bureaucratic, undemocratic methods of the janasakthi party leadership the cadre lost confidence in the party. All the squads except the mulugu squad in khammam left the party during crisis and joined the CPUSI. Now it is short of weapons and cadre and is striving to exist. An area committee works in the forest area of warangal and khammam. There are no zonal committees under it but only five squads. There are five to seven persons in each squad. There is a cell with three members in the squad but it is nominal. We see an individual way of functioning of the commander. Regarding weapons, each squad has a 30.06, two or three 8 mm and the rest 12 bores. All the members do not have weapons. They have a serious shortage of bullets. Whenever we meet them they ask us. Their activities are al most nil. Occasionally AC issues paper statements. They lack the force even to collect funds. Contractors are also not giving them funds because they are not strong. It is literally pleading for funds. The party is joining anyone. They took a person who killed his wife for dowry into their squad. When we asked them why they did so, they said they would take any person irrespective of his morals and transform them. They do not have organisations in the village. Some or the other person gives them money, gets them the necessary things, cooks for them and bring people. Ryutu coolie sangham is working secretly in gundala mandal but it is limited to paper statements. The future of the party is dark. It is engrossed with the questions of how to run the squads, how to recruit, how to acquire weapons and other such things. They do not have nominal influence among the people.

#### CPI (ML) (Prathighatana):

There is an AC in Warangal that covers gundala area in karimnagar-warangal-a part of khammam districts. There are four ZCs under it in parkala, narsampeta, mulugu, mandhani. The ZCS is also the ACM. Each ZC covers three or four mandals. It has 3-5 members. One is ACM and one or two commanders, one or two rytu coolie sangham leaders working legally. There are two squads under each zone. Out of the squad commanders one is the ACM and the other ZCM. Normally the squad area covered a mandal earlier and they increased it now. There is a party cell in each squad. There are 5-7 members in each squad. There are even 9 in some squads. Apart from the RCS leaders working legally in Warangal (kaka lingayya, sallani sqamyrao, gopagani narsayya shek...), the ACS prasad of central squad, four squad commanders working secretly include their organisation. Govardhan, bakkanna and ravi are the commanders. There are arouun sixty in the eight squads. They expanded in narsampeta zone in two to three years. There are some villages in the ZC area in pakala, kothagudem, gundala mandals and thadwai, illendu mandals. They also expanded in the chityal and parkala area to some villages through the local RCS organisers. They appointed a squad in this area. Bakkanna squad covers chennur and sironcha area in Adilabad. They appointed legal RCS organisers in addition to the activities of the squad in this area. They expanded in sironcha area since 1996. They have RCS organisation and are taking up some people's problems like panchayats.

They form RCS units legally. The RCS activists take the membership. The squads also take membership through the local activists but it is less. There are around 10-20 members in the RCS unit in the squad areas. Most of them are rich peasants and shahukars who only oblige. The activists coming to meet the squads do all the works. Rarely general body meetings are held. Executive committee does not seem to exist. There are no other organisations in the rural area. Lathakka squad calls the women of the villages and talks with them. They do not take up

women's problems either. There are some PDSU activists in mulugu town. The party is helping some students to study and manages to put posters here and there. There is no recruitment as such from PDSU. When prathighatana split from this party in 1993 some of the leaders of PDSU joined it. When we asked their commanders about their party units in the villages they said they have none, but only some PMs randomly. As far as our knowledge goes, most of the leadership of the party and RCS in the villages are anti people. They are none else but those we removed from our organisations after their degeneration and old village heads. There are some poor people who obtain regular economic benefit from them. They are normally part of the ordinary people.

There are 3-5 activists who work actively in 5-6 villages in each squad area. In the other villages there are one or two activists. Some of them are sarpanches. There are four sarpanches in the eturu-nagaram area among the ten in warangal AC. There is one mandal president in thadwai mandal. Some are village panchayat ward members. Most of them are tendu leaf kalledars, small contractors. Party gives money to some of the village activists. Almost none of the village activists participate in labour. Some are lumpens and are atrocious towards people, threaten, drink and collect small amounts from the businessmen. When they get the necessary things for the squad, they give more money and do not ask the account. They give small amounts to them. The RCS activists work for such necessities.

The squads camp for months together making one or two villages of people's support their centre. These are the villages where they have relatively more support from the people. There is a camp in the centrer of each village where the squad stays. There are two such centres in each squad area. The centre squad (ACS) stays for one or two months in the four to five centres. Almost all these centres are like semi legal offices. The mass organisations, activists, squads, legal leaders shall know these centres. Their main duty is to call the people of various villages, wife and husbands for panchayats and for any small problem. There are some appointed families that are involved in getting them paper, milk, food and the necessary commodities in the surrounding villages. Party looks after the family. They are dependent on these families. They do not eat the food in the villages. During rainy season squads cook their food. When there is a shortage of water, they give money to such families and get their food cooked. At times, those who had panchayats done, businessmen, leaders of legal organisation, contractors get fruits, meat, vegetables, cool drinks, sweets and refreshments. This is seen frequently. They maintain a frizz in the houses they appointed in the centre villages and drink the cool drinks. The family maintaining the frizz sells the cool drinks. These families also lend small amounts, help financially and give money for drinking and beedies, mostly for the membes of old organisation and the families who are in relations with them right from the beginning. They are helpful for such families. Almost every activist gets such financial help. The political basis of the party is a very weak. Their consciousness depends on the economic benefit.

Their intelligence system is good right from the beginning. They have a network in 8-10 villages in each centre. They give cycles for the local activists and look after their economic needs. They are legal. They collect the information about the police forces and inform the squads in one or two hours. If necessary, the squad shifts. This network is a good instrument for them. This situation is seen in areas where we are active. In areas where we are not active and not available, the people believe them to be good and are working as activists. They are even getting recruited in the squads.

In each squad area there are two or three contractors who work in the party or the organisation. The party/squads threaten the contractors and see that these persons obtain the contract work. They form a syndicate with the other contractors and take up the tender works (persons of various parties form as a panel and quote tenders). If they cannot obtain the contract works despite any amount of work, the squads threaten the contractors and give some of the amount to the contractors. Everyone knows that the contractors belong to the party. The party does not give

fund for their work. Contractors who do not give PF have to collect it from the other contractors and give it to the party. They will also have to get the necessary things to the squads. Party even helped such contractors financially or invested. In eturu nagaram area there are four big kamma contractors and many other small contractors. Old members continue to be the ACMs and ZCMs. The squad commanders and the leaders of legal organisation are mainly old timers and seniors. Most of the squad members are working for the past four to five years. Since they do not face much repression they can return home and live without facing any problems.

Party looks after repaying loans, marriages, festivals, medical help, education, food, clothing and other things of the families of almost all the members of the squads. Such helps are the chief financial source of these families. The leaders of legal organisation obtain more such help. In addition to this, they keep the fund they collect for themselves and grow financially. For example, the RCS president of Warangal district, ACM kaka lingayya (ST) was a poor peasant in the past. Now he is an adivasi kamma dora. He has a tractor, a jeeb, a motorbyke, a frizz, a sopha set, twenty acres of land two brick houses. None of the family members do labour.

There are no parameters to join their squads or the legal organisations. Preparedness is the only criterion. Lumpens, traitors whom we boycotted, police agents, anti people elements are also joined. Ten to twelve year old children are also joined. Anyone can join anytime. Until now it was like this. Prasad, ACS told us that recently they are recruiting into the squads only after they work in the RCS teams for three months. There are no standards to take women. They constitute around 30 per cent. The situation of the man woman relations is nothing better than that in the villages. It is quite anarchic. Mostly after marriage they have children and settle down. People do not have respect towards the women working in these squads. Some men like pratap go to the villages and spend with lumpen women for money. The leadership is least bothered. It only needs some persons.

The party poses to mobilise people in struggles in tendu leaf struggle every year. Some of the peasants are mobilised to the mandal centres and take up dharna for proper prices. People are mobilised for the death anniversaries of chandra pullareddy. During elections they take up tactics more than any other bourgeois parties, grand propaganda and the rest of the time they spend conducting panchayats.

**Tendu leaf struggle:** As soon as the auction for tendu is over, the contractors are summoned. They enter into an agreement with them. They issue a pamphlet nominally demanding a rate and a dharna with the people in one or two mandal centres. Later they issue a paper statement saying they have achieved a hike for 5 to ten paise with the strike. Until 2000 even after they went on strike for a hike in the rate, we led the struggle and achieved the actually necessary rate. Since 1995, we are collecting 5 to ten paise on one bundle of tendu from the contractors as tax and are using for the development of the village. They propagate that ours is economism and reformism.

**Peasant struggles:** Until 1997, they conducted meeting during chilli harvest season and demanded a certain rate. Later they never bothered whether it was implemented or not. Or else, they stated that there is a hike of one or two rupees (this increased every year). After 1997 this formality was also not taken up and they are confined to collect funds from the chilli farmers. At times they rally three or four hundred people under the ryutu coolie sangh to the mandal and district centres in rented vehicles and submit memorandums to the MROs.

**Death anniversary meetings of chandra pullareddy:** A meeting in Hyderabad, mulugu govindaraopeta mandal centres is held every year on this occasion. People attending this meeting are given money for food, journey and other expenditure. This appears to be an economic struggle.

Election is a revolutionary tactic: They field candidates starting from assembly elections to village ward member. District committee level leaders participate in the assembly elections. During elections, they distribute money to the election offices, vehicles and activists. Their

propaganda is more than the bourgeois parties. In the local elections, they select some villages and try for unanimous election of their candidate. The armed squads try for this and if the people pay a deaf ear, they threaten the candidates and make them withdraw the nominations or lure them with money. This year they had an alliance with the TDP, congress and CPM and won some seats. In thadwai mandal TDP won two MPTC seats, congress two and their candidate one. The candidate ellakka was elected with the support of TDP. Her election is quite surprising. She is the only MPTC member in the mandal. While congress offered the post of vice-president to her, TDP offered the president post and they took the vice-president post for their party. In pasra they entered into alliance with CPM and won the sarpanch seat. In narlapuram village they entered into alliance with the congress and won the sarpanch seat. In some villages they supported the congress and the CPM. They count all this as the growth of their revolutionary movement. This is their actual election tactic.

**People's support:** We see that they are losing the support of various sections and people in the last three to four years. They do not have any organisation in the students as such. There is no recruitment from this field. They do not have the support of the intellectuals (teachers and other employee sections in the villages) in the least. Those who worked in the common pullareddy party and sympathisers are also totally away from them now. Some old village heads are helping them as individuals for their vested interests. The main support for them is that from the ex activists (mostly those removed from the sangh), lumpen youth who are away from labour, those who approach them for their support in personal clashes, affected old village heads and anti people elements in areas of our organisation. In areas where we do not have any organisation, some youth are under the illusion that they are revolutionaries.

The leaders who win the election do lobbying in the government offices, get the arrested persons released (presently no one of them are arrested), go to the stations, take the people to the squad, represent unsolved panchayats to the squad and make them admit forcibly and do couriering. Bakkanna (bakkarao) is the lackey of the village landlord. He worked in our organisation and later degenerated. He is the squad leader and the district committee member. Until 1999 he worked as the commander of palakurthy (warangal) and degenerated (with a prior understanding with the enemy). He turned antagonistic to the party and became the leader of nalladandu faction. He collects lakhs of rupees. He threatens the members of our organisation. We gave a public statement that we decided to kill him. Such bakkanna (kathula ravi) was taken into the squad. Since we declared we would kill him he left the party. People expelled from our party are appointed as mandal and zonal committee leaders. In buttayagudem in eturu nagaram chinavenkati, Krishna chinthagudem rangarao (police agent also) were appointed as the mandal and zonal leaders. In chityala area also many were appointed in this manner.

Their relations with the police agents and actual police agents in their organisation: palimela satyam is the in chargeof the area RCS. China venkati and china Krishna (previously ex activists in our organisation) of buttayagudem are mandal level leaders. They are involved in the business of tiger skin and false currency. They have regular relations with govardhan, an intelligence constable of Bhadrachalam. In 2001 august, they followed our squad member lakshman and another sympathiser of our party who were going for medical treatment and informed govardhan. They were arrested in kothagudem. When questioned in front of people of three villages, Rangarao admitted the deed. We later bet him. Three squads attacked our sympathiser rammurthy who gave evidence in this incident the next morning. His house was destroyed. The women were bet and they threatened rammurthy that they would kill him. They abused him and held a rally.

TDP leader and rich peasant katukuri venkatareddy of narlapuram is the village head. Janasakthi party identified him as informer and bet him. But he was aggressive in maintaining relations with the police openly and was responsible for the attack on our sangh leader. He got the cotton crop destroyed. He was warned that they would kill him. So he approached the party and saw

that their candidate won the election. He is now their leader. We bet him in front of the people. He agreed he was a police agent. He is presently in connections with the party.

The head of lingala village and police agent salluri narsayya was warned many times in the past three to four years. We bet him recently and he approached their squad. Their squads held a rally in support of him in the village and raised slogans againt our party.

Jaipal reddy of dwarakapeta of chityala area is the district leader of kranthisena. He is very much against us. They maintain relations with him. He goes around the villages threatening our sangh leaders to join prathighatana group.

These are a few examples. We have many evidences to prove that they have contacts with the police.

On the whole their operation in the district is from two areas. One is the border of khammam and Warangal, lingala-mamidigudem villages. The other is gorrevula-chityala-bhupathipur in the border of eturu nagaram-mahadevpur. The district secretary and the state committee member, prasad, camps in these two areas for a long time. The squads, outside persons, villagers, contractors come on motor vehicles and meet him. Everyone knows the camp. Enemy combings take place here. Our squads cannot move in this area for more than one or two days. It is clear that the enemy does not bother them. We must understand the meaning of it. During the tupakulagudem encounter hundreds of police troops were deployed in this area. But their camp two and a half hours away from the place of encounter is undisturbed. It continued in the same place even after the encounter. Enemy does combing regularly towards the direction of our presence. The local villagers give us enough proof to say so.

ND achieved 5 paise per bundle of tendu leaf as fund in competition with them in khammam area. They took it as a challenge and said "contractors must give more rate than that given to ND or implement what they decided". Contractors did not agree to this and so they kidnapped some of them. On receiving this information, police called the activists of all the ML groups except ours to the eturu nagaram circle centre and confirmed who kidnapped him. CI tirupathi ordered the secretary of the party district committee kaka lingayya (legal) to get the contractors released from the party secretary. He replied saying "they are in underground. I cannot catch hold of them". The CI told him that prasad was camping in a certain place near chinthagudem and told him that he should get the contractors released by evening. There was a camp exactly in the place the CI said. CI tirupathi and the secretary prasad are the only persons who can tell why there is no attack on the camp.

There were two attacks on their squads in the last two years. One was when the squad accidentally came across the police in which a woman died. In another incident the special party police combing in mulugu-venkatapuram fired on seeing their camp. A police died in the encounter that followed. It is understood that the party reviewed that such incidents should not take place again.

#### **CPUSI Party:**

In 1999, the issue of caste came up and the party split under the leadership of Veeranna. They took chance of the discontent on the leadership and provoked more of it and turned the forest squads to their group. In the plenum held at the time of separation, there was a state committee member of janasakthi, an AC member and four other members. They took the weapons from them and abused them indecently. They asked the state committee member to put forth their argument. But when he was explaining, they said, "This man need not speak, get down from the stage" and insulted him. Yadayya responsible for this is an anarchic. He is the present area committee secretary and the member of the state committee. Another Ramesh is their district committee member (he died in an encounter). The over all leader Ramu who happens to be the leader of the forest squads is also an anarchic person. He succeeded Veeranna as the secretary.

Veeranna died in a fake encounter. An advocate prakash and one more person gave the information about him. Ramu maintained contacts with them at that time. So the CPUSI party says ramu has a role in this. There was an attack on the plenum in east godavari district in which four died. This happened on the second day after the advocate prakash came and met ramu in a nearby village. So the party says prakash has a role. It also says that they asked ramu to cut his relations with prakash who has relations with the police Ramu paid a deaf ear to it. So the party decided ramu is involved in the encounter death of veeranna and the attack on plenum and expelled him from the party. After ramu, charvakudu is the present secretary. He is a morally degenerated person who was made secretary directly.

Party organisation: There is a state committee and an area committee combining khammam, warangal and karimnagar forest area. The number of members is five. It is said they have squads in east and west godavari districts also. There are zonal committees under the warangal area committee. There are around 7 squads with around 9 members each. Commander, deputy, cell members, the cell constitutes one or two. However this is nominal and the squad runs with the individual functioning of the commander. Criticism and self-criticism is taken up as a formality and undemocratically once in six months or one year. The leaders abuse the members when they are angry. A squad moves in the area of two mandals. There are two or three 30.06 weapons and the rest 8 mm manufactured weapons. They make the 8 mms. The area committee members have AK and SLR.

Any person is recruited into the squad. Lumpen sections, drunkards, village heads, those approaching with problems are taken into the squads. They act like the village heads with the people. They do not tolerate if the village leadership is criticised. They do not take the responsibility of the people.

Elements in the village sangh: The members are mainly the village heads and the sangh leaders. There are some ordinary youth and some peasants. Mamidigudem village is their strong hold in the gundala LGS area. The persons on whom they based in this village are sammayya, veeraswamy and chennuri narsayya who belong to the rich class. Earlier they worked in MCPI party to continue their domination. When this party lost popularity, they joined janasakthi. They lend money to the people, buy paddy for less rates, take up contract works and thus exploit the people. They do not give wages to the labourers. When people occupied the podu land together their organisation and people opposed it. They hushed it up saying they are indulging in anti party activities. They bet the members who opposed the squad and thus controlled them. They told them they would not give them loans if they do not back them. They also used the caste factor and made them surrender. This took various turns and all the members except the above three joined our VRCS. Thus the method adopted by the CP Reddy parties is joiing those who can control people and dominate them. This is nothing but a class compromise method. Right from the beginning they have not taken up any programs against the adivasi tribal heads and the village heads. The above three persons joined TRS recently. We took up program against their exploitative methods and so the three persons joined CPUSI They also approached phanibagchi party. This reveals that they need the party to control people's revolts and opposition. They keep the persons who can control people under their control and thus see that they do not go into the fold of another party. All the CP Reddy parties adopt similar class comprising methods.

Now the people are organising under our party leadership going forward with bloody sacrifices in the class struggle. So they are left with the village heads, lumpens and drunkards.

CPUSI party is presently not taking the caste program as mentioned in their document. In lingala belt we took up a program to expose the village heads for which they worked on behalf of them. Ramaswamy is a goonda in mamidigudem. He abuses women and dalits and also beats them. We exposed his anarchy in front of the people and made him admit his mistake. They challenged us saying how we could make an activist of their party do so and that he is an adivasi. They said we conducted panchayats basing on wrong reports. But the people told them the facts. In another

incident we exposed salluri narsayya as informer with specific evidences. They denied their activist is an informer. Their main activity is collecting funds. They also have relations with the outside sectional movements. Mainly thudumdebba, nagarabheri, MRPS leaders are called and made to conduct dharnas and rasta rooks. They claim this as their strength. Sectional leaders need money and this the nexus between them. They also have a student organisation BDSF. It takes up some dharnas. The party gives them money. There is ultra democracy in the CPUSI party. They do not bother moral values. There are bureaucracy and feministic trends. The commanders are dogmatic. Initially they had relations with anti people elements. The village heads and political leaders are working with this party. TDP leader of pinapaka mandal of khammam, district secretary bhavani sankar, mandal level leader athi nageswararao, rammurthy, village level leaders are with them. In mangampeta mandal they have relations with the mandal level eladers. They collect money through them. They deceive people saying they have relations with annas. They can even threaten the political leaders of other parties. In 2000 a squad in khammam and one in karimnagar were affected totally. They revived these squads but did not establish new squads. Party is confined to kadamthal. It is weakened day by day. It does not have organisational strength. It does not have strength in the villages.

#### **PART III**

# Repression in Warangal district for the past one year-various forms (report of the DC meeting June 2002):

State is unleashing fascist repression in Warangal district from January 2002. Eleven comrades were martyred since then. There are party leaders, ordinary people and government employees among them. Large number of forces ar deployed, patrollings and combings taken up. Informer network is used for largescale massacre. They are creating white terror. One bingi kalyani, a woman of tharigoppula attempted suicide unable to bear the atrocities and harassment of the police. Yadamma of lingampalli died on seeing the police torture her son. Two more of our comrades attempted suicide unable to bear the harassment of police (bhikshapathi of atmakuru mandal and ippakayala ravi). In another incident Kodi Krishna sustained suicide attempt.

- 1. The SP is openly stating they would take revenge for any action of our party.
- People mobilising in struggles are being arrested in large numbers. Around 500 were arrested recently. Two hundred of them belong to the secret mass organisations and our cells.
- 3. The ex activists since 1984 is collected, called to the police station and are threatened or arrested.
- 4. The district SP is openly telling them to mix poison in food and offer. Recently ex activists and lumpens attacked the MCPI leader chandar rao in rujarupalli village in sangam mandal. The MCPI goondas and a section of people counter attacked. A person who became inactive died in this incident. This incident was propagated much and they said they would not indulge in another incident again. The ruling classes announced large amount of funds in that village.
- 5. When we killed the district and mandal level leaders, the central and the state ministers and the leaders attended the death ceremony and are conducting memorial meetings. They are encouraging the leaders who oppose us and are encouraging them.
- 6. Police are openly telling the informers to join as members of other revolutionary groups for protection.

- 7. The VAOs and the sunkaris give the information of the village daily to the police as per the direction of the police.
- 8. In Gudipulla of Regonda mandal we attacked on the higher caste landlords and rich peasants who were committing atrocities on us. We bet five activists who came in the way. They were given lakhs of rupees in this incident. The state, central district TDP and BJP leaders tried to make the local velama caste landlords and the BJP goondas against us and warned them to resist us.
- 9. The police videoshoot the martyr's funeral processions. They later arrest the youth who participated in the funeral, torture them and send them to jail. Recently they arrested and tortured an employee of kadipikonda who participated in the funeral procession of kranthi Ranadev. They are threatening some more persons.
- 10. The police informers are given weapons, twowheelers and cell phones. They are hiring them for murders. Ravi of ballonipalle gave information leading to two encounters. Recently he killed ravi, a medical shop owner of malampalli along with some others who wanted to kill him. Manigani sambamurthy of neerukulla gave information about dharmanna and led to his encounter death in 1999. He is a petty thief and murdered a middle class farmer. It is clear he had police support and so he fears none.
- 11. Whenever we blast exchanges or destroy government properties they take up rallies and demonstrations. Recently they took a rally when we blasted the mallampalli telephone exchange.
- 12. They are forcing the people's representatives to attend the grama sabhas conducted by the police and are making them talk against us.
- 13. The number of persons going to the mandal and town centres has increased. They take milk, vegetables, they work in mills, drive autos and jeeps. Some of them are lured by the police and turned informers.

Transport and communication facilities have increased. The PHCs, MRO offices, electricity offices were given wireless sets. All the mandal centres are provided telephone facilities. All the village panchayats having large population in the mandal centres are provided with telephone. So the police are easily securing our information. In narsampeta area the police are threatening those getting bourgeois newspapers. They imposed a condition on the owners of the utility shops and medical shops in the mandal centres and the villages and the taluka centres to inform them whenever anyone from the forest villages buy in large amounts. Recently the medical shop owners in mallampali of mulugu gave information about the person getting medicine for us. He escaped. They are establishing private schools in the villages. In mogilicharla village they established rainbow school through an informer bhiksham. In some places they are utilising the private teachers. They are declaring that they should hand over the comrades of various levels participating in actions. They are providing the photos. In parakala constituency, MLA rajayya claims to be a dalit and protects the domination of the reddy and velama landlords and the TDP domination. Surender reddy (MPP) of pangedipalli of chityala mandal is a landlord. He mobilises the ex activists and is gradually increasing the influence of TDP. Besides them landlord amarender reddy, the brother-in-law of muddasani devender reddy is also continuing as the TDP leader and is maintaining the domination of TDP. Chaada narsimhareddy, a landlord of moranchapalli of bhupalapalli mandal, rich peasant bellamkonda manohararao of kamalapuram are working actively in TDP and are continuing the party domination. MLA Rajavya rallies people around him and vists the villages. He takes up TDP reform programs with police protection. He is thus strengthening TDP that is until now weak in the mandal. He provides them various kinds of loans and ... under our programs. He frequently comes to parakala and chityala and gets the village activists arrested, released on condition bails. All the mandal level leaders of mogullapalli, chityala and bhupalapalli and the ZPTC members are provided with gunmen.

Money is spent in big amounts and the sarpanches and the MPTC members of TRS are surrendered by threating them they cannot avoid police harassment. They are joined in TDP. Largescale police bandobust is arranged during the elections of mandal president. Police directly threaten the people that voting to TRS is equal to voting to naxalites. After the assassination of MPP surenderreddy, they went around with his photo during the by-election and asked the people to vote for them. They threatened them and said they would be proving themselves according to whom they vote and thus whether they are protecting or opposing the naxalites. They are arresting the mandal and the village level leaders of congress and TRS who are against TDP and are foisting cases that they have relations with People's War. Sayilu of jaralpet, a member of TRS was forcibly foisted with the murder of surrender reddy. Seven TRS activists of dharmaraopeta of khanapur mandal were foisted with MPP mediramulu's murder.

Konda Murali, the district secretary of congress killed the president of telugu yuvatha kolli pratapreddy in the factional feuds in April 2002. Taking this as an opportunity, thirty village level leaders of congress in parakal mandal and atmakur mandal were arrested, severely bet and released after three days. The leaders of other parties in the villages are arrested in the pretext they are demanding the political opponents on small people's problems and that people's war is behind these actions.

In MLA Revudi parkas reddy's constituency, he joined ex activists of our party in TDP. Since he cannot establish his domination without affecting people's war, he is unleashing fascist repression with the help of the police. Sarpanch mahalakshmi of budharaopeta of khanapuram mandal was in congress in the past. He was forced and joined in TDP. He was turned informer and he gave the information of our AC secretary Anand and was responsible of his encounter death. He gives the information of our organisation and squads regularly. Sankar, of enagal thanda of narsampeta is an ex activist. He joined TDP recently. He reoccupied the land of the landlord that we occupied earlier. Narsimha chairperson of VSS is also an informer. Medi ramulu of dharmarao peta village of khanapuram mandal is an ex activist. He approached many ML groups and finally TDP. He was made the MPP member. We killed him and the case was foisted against the TRS activists. His wife was made to contest the MPT post and polling was held under the protection of 300 police. His wife Rama was made the MPTC member and given security. Recently all the parties including the ruling TDP opposed giving water from the pakala pond to ...kalabad. Prakashreddy appeased the TDP members and turned them towards him. He threatened the other parties saying people's war is behind them. All the mandal level leaders and ZPTC members in this mandal are provided with gunmen. Prakash reddy appointed whole timers in six villages to organised Dwakra groups in a big way. He developed them and turned the women as informers. Around ten activists are given twowheelers. While our squad was questioning the akkampeta sarpanch kandula sambayya in parakala area of atmakuru mandal and the TDP president kattala ravinder and his gang regarding elections, they tried to seize the revolver of a squad member and beat him. The in charge of sayampeta constituency sudarsan goud is still anti people and encourages informers. Raghunadharao, the district level leader of TDP in neerukulla established a brandy shop near police station and gives information about our sangh activists. The mandal secretary of atmakuru mandal rajeswararao is also an ex radical. He is the chairperson of neeti sangham. He is dominant and gives our information to the police. Sarayya of mailaram village of sayampeta mandal is a tailor. He is a member of MPTC and TDP leader. He is again a police informer. Depu sammayya of koppula village in the same mandal gives information to the police through his agents. In nizampalle, a neighbouring village, rajesam is the BJP leader. He is opposed to the dalits and gives information to the police. The heavy and medium irrigation minister from ghanapur constituency took our party's activities as a challenge and is encouraging police attacks. The TDP leaders of the villages give information to the mandal leaders and then to srihari in hyderabad. They are specially appointed for this work and inform him through phone. All the family members of kishan reddy whom we killed belong to TDP. He is also the president of the neeti sangham. His brother rajireddy is the mandal TDP leader. The ZPTC member and the mandal level leaders together around 15 members are in the protection of gunmen. The TDP activists directly go to the police station and are encouraging to tell information.

As a part of LIC and the methods adopted in North Telangana, there is economic, political and cultural attack in Warangal. On one hand they say the naxalite problem is not that of law and order and it is economic, political and social problem. On the other hand they are trying to drift the people from the revolutionary movement. They are spending money on roads, drinking water, irrigation, medicine, education and other such things. They are coordinating the forest, revenue, police and the various government departments.

- 1. Tar roads, internal and link roads are al most complete with the WB funds.
- 2. At least 60 medical camps were conducted in the district.
- 3. Lift irrigation scheme was taken up in vencharami of chityala mandal together with the collector. The police are taking part in jalayagnam, neeru meeru and dredging of ponds along with the people's representatives.
- 4. Police are encouraging the people to take rallies demanding roads in various areas of the district. Recently they sent people from 15 villages to rampur from bhuvanagiri palle in bhupalapalli mandal. People from ankannagudem, jaggannagudem villages of mulugu mandal were also sent to the mandal centre.
- 5. They are sanctioning funds for school buildings and also prabodh centres, tutorial centres for free education. They were run in bhupalapalli and mulugu mandals for some days. They also held meetings in three schools in narmetta, madduru mandals and told the students, "You must become IPS officers. But you are mentally immature and are joining hands with people's war and are becoming anti-social elements. Do not join them".
- 6. Government officers along with the OSD come to the villages and extend support to the middle and rich peasants who bought the lands the peasants occupied from the landlord. They put white flags in the field. They are distributing 15 to 20 ploughs and are making them till the land. This is seen in santhinagar in chityala mandal.
- 7. The ex radical youth are mobilised for picnic for 15 days and are turned police informers.
- 8. SP nalini prabhath and DSP Salmon Dervesle formed free eye club for the students and youth in narsampeta. They told them they have to become physically strong and counter the naxalites.
- 9. They conducted 450 meetings in the villages in the district in a period of two months. They formed one hundred mythry sanghs in May and June.
- 10. They are asking the people's problems and are solving them. They tell the pepole they would solve the problems they are facing and not to approach the naxalites.
- 11. The surrenderd naxalites are given five thousand rupees initially under the rehabilitation scheme and later lakhs of rupees of loans. Recently they six seater autos to the ex activists. The collector, SP and minister srihari held the meeting and distributed them to 12 persons.
- 12. They took up counselling in a big way. But they did not achieve the expected results. In the beginning they made some surrendered persons state they did so because of the counselling. They are meeting the families of the naxalites, help them financially, frequently visit them and make them give paper statements.
- 13. They are secretly forming mythry sangs. They are joining the Dwakra women in this and knowing information through various methods.

14. Police are forming youth clubs and are providing them with sports equipment. They are holding mandal and village level tournaments. Recently they conducted pindi ellayya memorial sports competitions in peesara village and distributed prizes. Pindi ellayya was a deputy commander of SGS and died in a police encounter.

## Attacking with ill propaganda:

- 1. Police are propagating that the naxalites are against development through the media, pamphlets, radio, papers and meetings. Police officers starting from the SI rank to the DIG come out with statements in the main editions and magazines like suprabhatham every day.
- 2. This is what they propagate
  - a. The party is dominated by higher castes.
  - b. There is no internal democracy.
  - c. They are morally degenerated.
  - d. Collecting funds is their aim.
  - e. The leaders are involved in dinners and luxury.
  - f. The people are not giving food to the squads.
  - g. Educated persons are not joining the squads.
  - h. Presently the squads constitute anarchics, lumpens and mafia gangs.
  - i. The leadership is not bothered even if the members are dying out of illhealth.
- 3. They are publishing pamphlets and posters in the name of "prajavani", "people", "squad members", "kranthisena", "green tigers" and so on. They have brought out four kinds of pamphlets in the district. 1. One is asking the Azad (SZCM) brothers to come home. 2. That we are killing tribals 3. That we are killing collectors. 4. They held cartoon exhibition in the sammakka jathara in medaram portraying the persons helping us. They distributed thousands of pamphlets. They put up banners all through the road that said, "Is it fair to kill innocents?" "Is it your theory to oppose development?" and other such things. After we killed coverts, they distributed pamphlets in all the bus stands and printed posters in ghanapur, saying we are killing innocents.
- 4. Two jagruthi kala teams are working in the district and are performing in the remote villages. They are releasing the audio and videocassettes. More than 300 people were mobilised from cheryala and parakala area and transformation seminars were conducted. Most of them were ex activists. In these seminars they declared they are lifting the cases on them. They are arranged in areas where we had organisation earlier and do not operate now. Six months back, they announced lifting of cases in the regonda and narsampeta police stations. But they only lifted the condition on the activists who worked in 1984 and 1990. They are forcing the business organisations to give statements praising the deceased police with their photos on the occasion of police martyrs day and other occasions. They are bringing out souvenirs on police martyrs. They are conducting food donation programs in front of the district police stations on such days. In summer they are arranging chalivendrams (water supplying points) in the name of the deceased police in the district, town and mandal centres. Police are also doing sweeping, blood donation and other such programs.

They are propagating that the police are retreating, that they are friends of people. They are asking the people to come to the police stations and make complaints about their problems. Some programs were conducted to this regard. They conducted seminars jointly with lok satta in rayaparthi and parakala mandal centres. In these meetings they asked the people to shed the

misunderstanding about "open ballet" and police. They are forcibly giving judgements regarding people's land, property and other civil disputes. They are arranging "family counselling centres" in towns. They are continuing the adoption of villages and are strengthening informer network in the villages of our stronghold.

For example in pasarugonda in atmakuru mandal, we had two cells earlier. The police arrested a large number of people before adopting the village. They foisted a case of land tilling on 24 persons. They foisted public security act on twenty persons. Many were arrested and bet. Later they conducted a medical camp in the village. They got the school building repaired with the money we collected for the purpose. They laid a road. They formed mythry sangham. Now the police know information about the slightest movement of our activists in the village. They forced two to three hundred people (ex activists take part) in a rally with the slogan "we will not allow annalu to come to our village". Such rallies were conducted in khanapuram and regonda mandals. They are forcing the people to owe that they would not allow annalu. Around 30 to 40 people are gathered in the centre of the village and promises made. People of venkateswarlapalle, sultanapuram, jaggayyapalle, nizampalle, parlapalle and other villages of regonda mandal were forced to make such promises. Similar thing happened in tharalapalle, rampeta and tekulagudem villages of hanamkonda mandal. They are conducting the rallies in the villagers where the families of whole timers and the leaders live. The slogans would be to call the underground activits to come back home, to be without any difficulties and so on. Such rally was conducted in velisala in chityala mandal and many other villages. SP nalini prabhat arranges counselling goondas in the name of curbing gondaism. Police officers are transferring the police once in six months since we are targeting those suppressing us. They are also seizing vehicles. They seized a jeep in pulukurthy and a jeep in chityal. Previously they seized a house, a jeep and a tractor and handed them to the court. Police checked the roads and the town centres only in specific occasions. Now they are checking the mandal centres also at random. Bus, cycle, pedestrians nothing and none are exempted from the checking. At times the traffic is jammed due to the checkings. When encounters take place in the state or the district they keep the ex activists on guard to the government offices, private properties and the police stations. On this occasion the police are conducting counter ambushes in the houses of people's representatives, government offices and telephone exchanges. Patrolling increased in the mandal centres. The number of persons coming to plains on twowheelers increased. The police are combing in parallel formation from a distance of one kilometre in the areas where our squads camp, through the cotton fiels. If it is in the forest, they are coming in parallel from five minutes away from the camp. If they understand the movements of the squad, they are combing. Whenever they come they staty for four to five days. Once they stayed for nine days. After the eturu nagaram police station they stopped traffic in front of all the police stations in the nighttime. They diverted the route in front of some police stations like the DSP office in narsampeta, mogullapalli, nekkonda and sayampeta. Recently the police are threatening that the people to inform about strangers in the mandal and town centres and that they should not rent houses to strangers without letting them know. At the time of bandhs they call the shop owners and threaten them. In mulugu, SI nagaraju bet and foisted cases against those who closed their shops on the day of a bandh. They are even going to the extent of threatening the journalists that they have contacts with the party for writing news about us. They are warning them not to attend our interviews. Recently the reporter of mulugu nagender was arrested and sent to jail. The nalladandu faction also warns the reporters on phone not to attend the interviews. They meet them directly also. This happens so in janagama and warangal town. They are conditioning the ex activists in each village in the mandal to give information regularly and are thus collecting information about us. In hanamkonda, they are harassing 70 lecturers and employees with condition bail. They are not allowing constitutional and democratic organisations like APCLC, Human Rights Forum and DTF working on various problems to conduct any legal programs. Recently four lawyers including rahman and rajeswarao were arrested with the reason they have contacts with the CLC. They are threatening burra ramulu and puli satyam (civil rights activists) not to go for

factfindings. They arrested ramulu and warned them to stick to his profession. They attacked the house of puli satyam. Killing of employees and teachers started with the padmakshamma gutta encounter. Recently the SP openly warned that retaliatory murders would take place for any small incident. So the retaliation for CI Sandhani's incident. In the recent time they have intensified harassing people. As a result two women and two ex sangh leaders who are presently in touch with us committed suicide. Only one sustained the attempt. Immediately after knowing about our movements the police are conducting ambushes in the morning and the night times. Four near narsannapalli and one near udamadugu were martyred in such ambushes. Gunmen were provided to the president and secretaries of TDP mandal unit, ZPTCs, all MPP presidents, city executive, district committee members. MLAs are going around in the constituency only with the escort and police jeep.

# Report of the activities of kranthisena (June 2002 DC meeting):

Kranthisena is active in the district for the past three years mainly in janagam, narmetta, maddur, janagama, lingala ghanapuram mandals. Though the centre of activity of this faction is hyderabad city, until six months back they conducted some important activities with janagam as the centre. This faction is leading the counter revolutionary activities. Suluveru uppalayya alias ramana of tharigoppula in narmetta mandal was a LGS secretary in our party. Another leader is jonnaboyina kishtayya alias JL. He was the secretary of akkarajupalle of narmetta mandal earlier. Along with them traitor pullareddy who gave the information of warangal district secretary Com.gundeboyina anjanna alias balanna and led to his encounter death of lingala ghanapur of kallem mandal also maintained a gang. They were murdered in the group clashes recently. Now their activities spread from janagam to warangal city and bhupalapalli. Jaipal reddy, madhavareddy working for kranthisena in chityala area, Edakula ravi in narsampeta area, sunil of bhupalapalli, sudhakar of parakala area came into contact. Those operating from janagama are calling themselves as kranthisena and greentigers. They have contacts with narsimhareddy, narsayya and bayyapu sammireddy of karimnagar.

They are mainly operating to eliminate the movement under our party leadership with contacts with the police directly and secretly. They do real estate business, panchayats, selling and buying priston lands in janagama town (those we occupied in the past) and earned lakhs. They pay for murdering.

# Names of important activists and leaders working in kranthisena

S.No	Name	Village	Mandal	Earlier postion (in our party)
1	Oddula tirupathi lakshman	Akkajupalli	Narmetta	Squad member
2	Ellayya	Upparonigadda		Village cell secretary
3	Madhu	Potharam	44	Squad member
4	Kalyanam ramaswamy	Bommakuru	66	Sympathiser
5	Thota srinu	Shamirpeta	Janagam	Sangh member
6	Bhaskar reddy	Patheshapuram	Raghunadhapalli	-
7	Chari	Bangla	**	FT
8	Parasuram suresh	Khelajapur		Squad member
9	Neelam srinu	Lingala ghanapuram	Lingala ghanapur	Sangh member
10	Srisailam	Vallampatla	Madduru	Sympathiser
11	Kancha ramulu	Janagam	Janagam	Sangham
12	Sudhakar/ravi	Peddapuram	Atmakuru	Squad member

13	Ramgopal/punnampadal	Janagam	Janagam	Commander
14	Sunil	Bhupalapalli	Bhupalapelli	Squad member
15	Aakula ravi	Gollapalli	Narsampeta	FT
16	Durala sambaya	Gurijala	chennaraopeta	Sangh leader

They killed a goonda ibrahim because of clashes among them. They are organising ex activists and rowdies against us in the janagama area and are encouraging lumpenisation. They are distributing money and are strengthening the anti party camp.

# The methods they adopt to affect our party:

- 1. Issuing statements and pamphlets with ill propaganda in the name of bharath and other names on behalf of kranthisena of warangal.
- 2. Trying to infiltrate their elements in our sangh leadership, sympathisers and our mechanism on the whole.
- 3. Trying to form kranthisena units in the villages.
- 4. Threatening our family members, warning them and attacking the sangh leadership.
- 5. Collecting funds in the name of the party.
- 6. Organising police informers.
- 7. Surendering the people's representatives and our sympathisers. Threatening reporters and doctors.

In September 2001 they kidnapped the party cell secretary of adavi kesavapur village of janagam mandal and bet him severely. They threatened he should give in the squad's whereabouts. They are surrendering our sympathisers. They are sending the photos of the kranthisena leader's photos, make us believe that they are informing their whereabouts and thus trying to eliminate our squad. Through the covert cheemala yadagiri alias nagesh, they seized sten carbon from the action team that went to cheryala town. JK helped the squad through his relatives and tried to poison later. They arranged some persons to conduct panachayats in the villages. In machupahad village, peesara komarayya, a party member of 60 years old was surrendered and made to conduct panchayats. They are publicly declaring the names of those of various sections who are helping us. They are issuing statements saying they would murder our mass organisation leaders. Jaipal reddy of ramakrishnapur of chityala meets the arrested sangh members, interrogates them in the stations and squeeze the information and secrets of the party. They are suggesting them to join the CPI (ML)(Prathighatana) and give information about our party. Recently we arrested our sympathiser aakula ravi of dwaraka peta who surrendered and bet him. He revealed his nexus with jaipalreddy and the prathighatana thief posalu. Similarly edakula ravi of gollapalli of narsampeta works whole time and organises informers. Dudala sambayya of gurajala stays in the town and organises one section of the dalits against us. They work in MRPS actively as a shield. Recently they are involved in solving the land disputes and panchayats in warangal town and are seriously trying to mobilise the ex activists. Persons like sunil of bhupalapalli join the newspapers like "poddu" and "dark news" and comfortably continue their activities as lumpens and informers. We warned madhu of potharam village to become inactive in kranthisena and excused him. We killed the sympathiser of kranthisena of laddunur, bhaskar, raju of raghavapuram. We fired on mankena srinivasareddy, a member of BJP of janagam town. So they shifted their stay from janagama town. Ramana and JK split in the issue of priston lands. In the past one year, we killed informers and political leaders in janagam area and so the kranthisena leaders are shaken.

Thus the enemy is taking up multi pronged offensive. But the people in the district are organising into the revolutionary leadership for the redressal of their daily and professional

problems. They are taking the bodies of the leaders who died in the massacre of the police with red flags, revolutionary slogans and revolutionary songs in thousands. On one hand blood is flowing in the brutal massacre.

On the other the people owe they would work until their last drop of blood and are recruiting into PGA in tens of numbers. In a new development, the parents come and join their children in the squads. People are progressing in the stream of the movement, revealing that any amount of repression, bans, arrests, tortures, false cases, murderous attacks, massacres and ill propaganda shall not stop the waves of revolt.

{Note: The few blanks in the report are in the original}