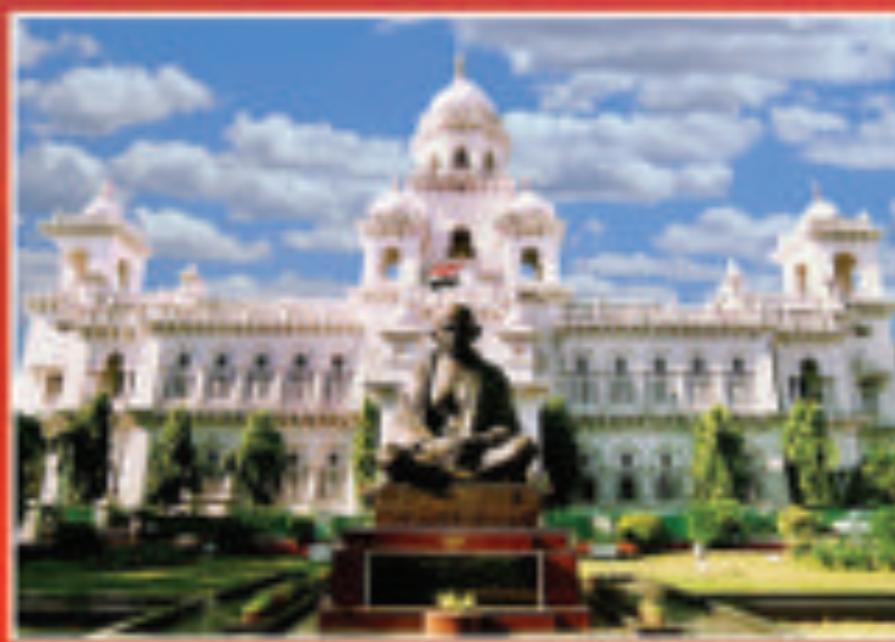


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A.P. Legislative Assembly

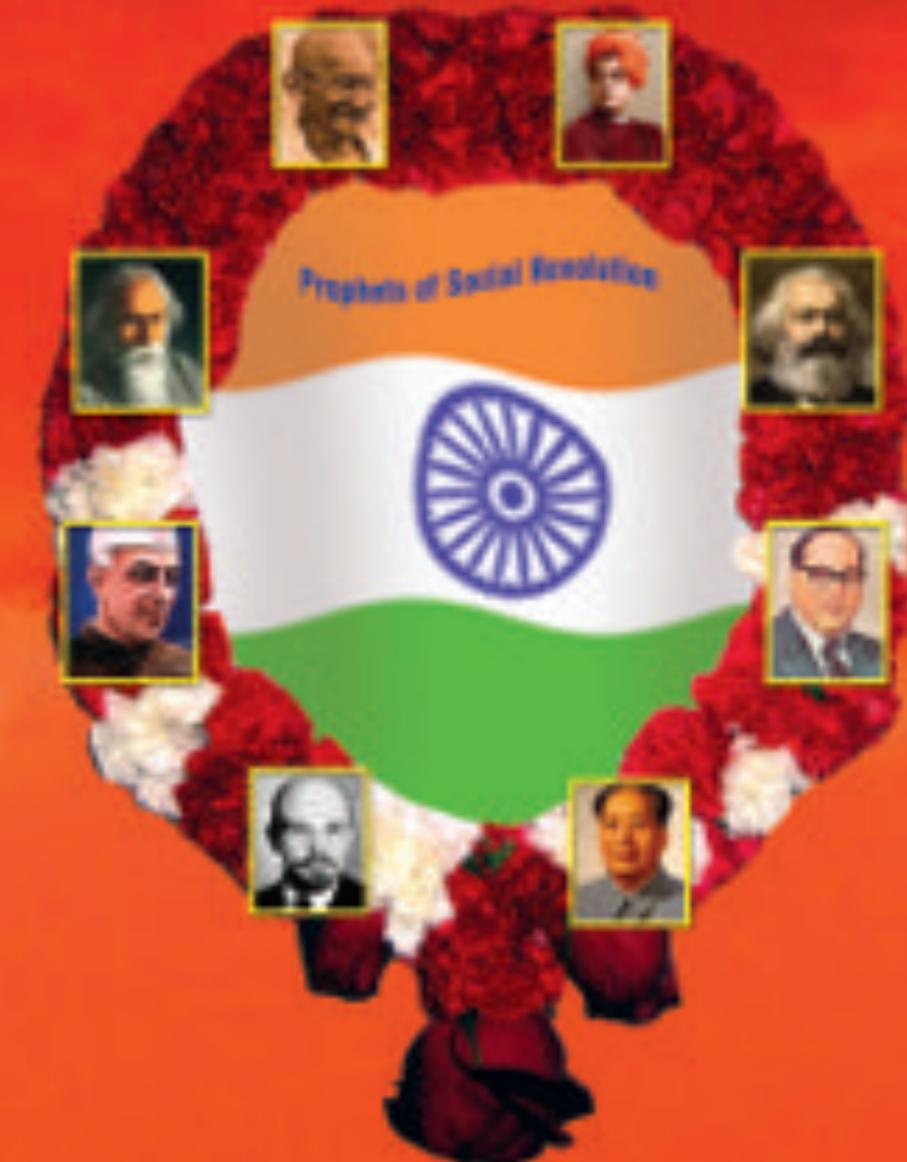


Release of the Autobiography of Chennamaneni  
in original Telugu "SATYAKSHODHANA"

## Quest for Truth

An Autobiography of  
Chennamaneni

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An Autobiography of  
Chennamaneni

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## **DEDICATION TO PARENTS**

**Late Sri Chennamaneni Srinivasa Rao - Chandramma**





*President of Indian Republic Smt. Pratibha Devi Singh Patil with the delegation of the Freedom Fighters from Andhra Pradesh, on the occasion of the celebration of the "Quit India" movement on 9<sup>th</sup> August, 2007, Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi*



*Senior Members of A.P. Legislative Assembly being honoured on the occasion of the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of our Independence, by His Excellency the Governor Ranga Rajan, Honourable Chief Justice of A.P. High Court and Honourable the then Chief Minister Sri Nara Chandrababu Naidu*



*Senior Members of A.P. Legislative Assembly being honoured by the Honourable Speaker of Lok Sabha Sri Somanath Chatterji and Honourable Speaker of A.P. Legislative Assembly Sri K.R. Suresh Reddy, Honourable the Chief Minister of A.P. Late Sri Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy, on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee Celebration of the formation of A.P. State*

## **1. CHILDHOOD AND SCHOOL EDUCATION (1923-1942)**

Hyderabad state, a native state ruled by the Nizam of Hyderabad consisted of 16 districts. Telangana with 8 districts was inhabited by Telugu Speaking people while Marathwada with 5 districts and Karnataka with 3 districts were inhabited by people speaking Marathi and Kannada languages respectively. I was born in Village Manuwada, my maternal grand father's village in the present Boinapalli Mandal while my own village Marupaka is in the adjacent Vemulawada Mandal of Karimnagar district, the northern area of Telangana. My maternal grand father late Sri Joginapally Hanumantha Rao Garu through a letter addressed to my late father Chennamaneni Srinivasa Rao Garu stated the following:

“Sreemati Chandramma gave birth to a male child on Friday at 1.18 hours, the day being Shravana Bahula Astami in the year Raktakshi(Kritika Padam 3, and Vrushaba Nakshatram). The Pundit has expressed his positive view on the time of birth.

Receiving the letter my late uncle Chennamaneni Laxman Rao signed and endorsed on it as “Friday the 16<sup>th</sup> Maher 1333 Fasli”. Normally the day happened to be ‘Gokulashtami’, the Krishnajayanthi day often falling on 31<sup>st</sup> August of every year. Hence my date of birth was registered as 31<sup>st</sup> August 1923. We are four brothers and eight sisters. I am the third one while being the first among brothers. My eight sisters respectively are 1) Late Smt.S.Buchamma 2) Late Smt.P.Satyamma 3) Late Smt.J.Lalitamma 4) Late Smt. K.Yashoda 5) Smt.K.Ratnamma 6) Smt.C.Pushpalatha 7) Late Smt B.Suguna and 8) Smt.P.Sreedevi. My three brothers are Sarvasree Ch.Hanumantha Rao, Ch.Venkateswara Rao and Ch.Vidyasagara Rao. We hail from a land lord – Deshmukh family of Marupaka Village in the then Sircilla Taluq. Our grand fathers had agricultural lands in 8 to 10 villages under paragana Nampalli. My father had inherited about 150 acres of land in three villages Marupaka, Nagaram and Anupuram. After the death of our father we four brothers got divided with about 35 acres each. Myself and Ch.Hanumantha Rao sold out lands entirely while the two younger brothers retained some property nominally. We all have an old tiled house in Nagaram village reminiscent of our good old childhood days. We visit the village and our house now and then to recollect the past and pay our homage to our parents by garlanding their photos. Normally the house is used by the villagers for their occasional celebrations and village functions.

I tried my level best to collect the information about our ancestral history but it was in vain, excepting a few unconfirmed stories. At the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the rulers known as the Nizams of Hyderabad belonging to the Asif Jahi dynasty had invited a good number of upper class families from Northern and Southern India, including their own kith and kin for an effective

and efficient administration. Apart from a good number of Kayast and Muslim families, a considerable number of families from Andhra Area responded to their invitation. Such families, depending upon their capabilities and stature in the society were entrusted with districts and their units known as Paraganas to administer, and collect revenues from the people who cultivated the lands. The entire lands were considered to be the property of the state and the cultivators were supposed to pay the rents to the state annually according to the rates fixed by the administration depending upon the quality of the lands cultivated. A good number of influential people from the Andhra Districts like Krishna and Guntur belonging to Velama, Reddy and Brahmin communities happened to settle down in the areas of the Nizam's State. They were allotted different paraganas containing groups of villages and entrusted with the job of collecting land revenue and other taxes. They were paid handsome commission as percentage of the collected sum in lieu of the jobs, along with the titles known as Deshmukhs, Sirdeshmukhs, Desai and Sardesai and Despandes. In a word they enjoyed over lordships in the villages under their control. As time went on; with in a period of a century and a half, this feudal system of Jagirdari, Makedari, Mansabdhari and also Deshmuk etc., were abolished with adequate compensation when Sir Salarjung 1 became the Prime Minister of the state and permanent settlement of land revenue system was introduced. Thereafter Patel Patwari system came into existence. Most of these rural officers known as Mali Patel, Police Patel, and Patwari, with the distribution of jobs, were given to the erstwhile Deshmukhs etc who had occupied lands and became big landlords of the villages along with hundreds of ryots with their pieces of lands regularized on the records of ownership title registers. Further thanks to the heroic struggles of the ryots and the landless people, land reform laws were introduced with the purpose to give land to the tiller and abolish the middlemen.

My primary education commenced at Manuwada village the place of my grand mother Smt. Laxmamma. I had three maternal uncles, the youngest uncle late Sri Ananda Rao was older to me by just two years and senior in education by one year. We used to live together very closely and became the best friends. This closeness flourished in all fields including student politics and freedom struggle. He was elected as the first legislator from Sircilla constituency in the year 1952 and the second time legislator from Metpalli constituency; while I was elected from the Choppadandi constituency for the first time. Our closeness emanating from childhood continued unabated till his end this year at the age of 88 years, causing a great personal loss to me.

I joined the Karimnagar High School at the age of nine, in the third class and continued there till I completed the tenth class. I used to live in the house of my brother-in-law late Sri Polkampalli Venkata Rama Rao, an advocate with law degree, under the then exceptional situation. Sri Polkampalli worked as a Telugu Pandit in Osmania university before he started practising as a lawyer in Karimnagar court. A learned young graduate originally hailing from Nalgonda

District, he settled down in Karimnagar after marrying my elder sister Smt Satyamma. He was a powerful speaker apart from being a bold champion of civil liberties and socio economic freedom. He was the President of the Karimnagar district Andhra Mahasabha while late Sri Baddam Yella Reddy was the General Secretary. State Andhra Mahasabha, the only legal organization to ventilate the public opinion was started in the year 1930 and grew in strength year by year. Polkampalli, along with a number of his colleagues became the star speaker of the organization voicing the progressive thoughts as against the views of conservatives. Though a nationalist to the core, he was close to the leftists and became their political spokesman. He used to regularly read the daily news papers, particularly 'The Hindu' without fail. As a lawyer he made a mark as one who meticulously followed the rules of the profession. His free legal service to the poor ryots made him more popular. I had the rare opportunity to live with him, observing him and his habits very closely. His intellect, devotion to the duty and his fearlessness in speaking out the truth attracted me immensely. Very often he used to ask me to read the news papers, editorials and articles for his benefit, which in turn promoted in me an aptitude for reading and learning.

The third decade of the twentieth century was an eventful period in Indian politics. The Indian National Congress, under the leadership of the Mahatma conducted a nation wide movement called civil disobedience. The Communist Party of India founded in the year 1925 spread the Marxist ideology from within the national congress giving a new and radical orientation to the people's movement. Sri Baddam Yella Reddy a Communist and Sri Polkampalli Venkata Rama Rao a nationalist, both as the leaders of Andrha Maha Sabha, used to enter into very interesting political discussions and myself as a boy to serve and help them, was deeply attracted towards the freedom movement and its left orientation. I was very fortunate to have imbibed the social and class content of the national movement, in early age. Freedom from the British imperialism and the Nizam's autocratic rule, were inseparably linked with the socio economic freedom for the downtrodden millions of poor people; this is how the founders of Andhra Mahasabha, Sri Baddam Yella Reddy and Polkampalli Venkata Rama Rao acted as path finders for me at a time when I was young and the national political situation was maturing. I was crafted and moulded as a useful social worker. I am really indebted to them who made me what I am today.

The Andhra Mahasabha's fourth annual conference, held in Sircilla in the year 1936, was a historic event in Karimnagar District when hundreds of youth of the district were mobilized and were attracted towards socio-political movements. Late Sri Avunoor Venu Gopala Rao and Sri Bhoomaiah Vakil were the President and Secretary respectively of the reception committee. The conference was presided over by Sri Madapati Hanumantha Rao garu and the Mahila Conference was Presided over by Smt. Madapati Manikayamma. The conference through a number of resolutions gave a clarion call for civil liberties

opposing the forced labour(Vetti). This contributed to a big awakening among all sections of the people in the whole district. I was only twelve years old and remember to have served the elders and delegates as a student volunteer. I was specially attracted and impressed by the nobility of the Madapati the hard work of Baddam yella Reddy, the simplicity and modesty of Chennamaneni Narsinga Rao of Rudrangi Village, and the affectionate attitude of Sri Bhoomaiah Vakil.

Let me narrate an interesting event, which was both surprising and amusing. I have written about the closest political unity along with ideological difference between Polkampalli and Baddam. As usual both of them were immersed in the discussion about current politics at the house of the former. I too, as usual was standing by their side closely following their arguments. A short man with fair colour, clad in Khadi dhoti and kurta with an angavastram around the neck, entered the house with a Khadi hand bag. Seeing an unexpected visitor both the leaders suddenly stood up and advanced to offer padabhivandanam. "I am known as Konda Venkatappaiah" the person introduced himself. Both the leaders welcomed him and enquired about his unexpected visit. He humbly replied that some litigant had named him as a witness and the Karimnagar District Civil Court had issued summons to him to appear before the court that day.

No sooner had the distinguished visitor explained the purpose of his visit, than the advocate Polkampalli dressed himself and proceeded to the Court along with the guest. Within an hour the job was over and they returned back. The Andhra Mahasabha leaders wanted to utilize the rare opportunity and hold a public meeting in the evening. Immediately they realized the need to obtain the police permission to hold a public meeting. They contacted the concerned police officer, who told that at least a week days will be required to get any permission. The CID Officer Bande Kareem suggested a way-out. According to him the meeting by a students union could be permitted within short time. Accordingly a students union by name 'scholars' debating society was created on paper and I was asked to sign the paper as the Secretary of the union. Every thing was managed perfectly and the public meeting was held in a compound at Sikhwadi where along with students a good number of Andhra Mahasabha, Arya Samaj and other activists attended. Sri Konda Venkatappayya Pantulu gave a long speech tracing from the movement for civil liberties to the freedom movement. This unexpected event introduced me to the student movement and also helped to strengthen the patriotic spirit in me. This event encouraged the socially and politically conscious individual students to join hands and promote the students union under the banner of the Scholars' debating society. I had the good opportunity to utilize my services and was elected its Secretary.

Arya Samaj started its activities in the name of Arya Prathinidhi Sabha and late Sri Rampal Lahoti was its Pradhan. Sri Rampal Lahoti's , mannerism and persuasive skill attracted me and I used to visit the Arya Samaj office almost every day. The Pracharaks often coming from other parts of the country,

presented the sanatana dharma in a convincing manner paying due attention to the yoga which promoted the physical health along with mental health. Rationalism, opposition to the blind faith, and blind worship of deities in the name of Gods specially attracted me and encouraged me to become more realistic and objective in understanding the socio political problems. “Satyarth Prakash” authored by Sri Dayanand Saraswati enlightened me as a teenager, about the tremendous force of truth. Late Pandit Narendraji from Hyderabad a powerful speaker in Hindi, was a special attraction for the youth, which was prepared to jump into action for the furtherance of Dharma. His emphasis on rationalism, freedom and democracy, generated the spirit of struggle and sacrifice for reforming the society which had lost idealism and action under the domination of foreign imperialism and native princedom.

An unforgettable incident of my school days is worth mentioning as it created a political commotion in the whole district. Late Sri Mahadev Singh my classmate in the Seventh class was a bold and militant student who was very much inspired by the thoughts of freedom and liberty. A section of Muslim students was not happy with him as he was a bit short tempered and intolerant. On a day in the class room a Muslim student picked up some quarrel with him and very soon it developed into a big row. Mahadev Singh took out a small knife from his pocket to terrorize the opponent. This, further developed into a larger quarrel. The Head Master of the high school late Sri R.Keshavulu came there to pacify the scuffle H.M asked Thakur to surrender the knife which he refused. The H.M wanted to snatch the knife with some force which resulted in a cut to the hand of H.M. The situation developed into a big show of strength causing the local police to interfere. Police arrested Thakur Mahadev Singh and filed against him a case of attempt to murder, and sent him to jail with handcuffs. The issue became a state wide one with political overtone. The issue could become a communal issue. There was all round tension in Karimnagar town. Thanks to the affective bandobust arrangements by the police, violence did not take place. The case went on for four months altogether. There was no sessions court in Karimnagar. Session Judge from Warangal used to hear the case at the Doc Bungalow compound. Every time the case was posted for hearing, entire Karimnagar town people were alerted. Many used to come to the Doc Bungalow to witness the court proceedings. Advocates of Karimnagar along with the well known Polkampalli Venkata Rama Rao and also the nationalist advocates from Hyderabad city like K.N.Rao and Nanda Purker appeared for the defence side. At last the day for arguments from both the sides was fixed. It was a special day to witness the proceedings. Entire compound of the court premises was filled with the visitors. A mood of anxiety dominated on all faces, Polkampalli Venkata Rama Rao was entrusted with the job of arguments, while other advocates were busy in collecting citations and other paper works. The judge appeared to be impatient and arrogant. Polkampalli started his oral argument. Within a few minutes, the Judge, raising his voice, asked the arguing Polkampalli “ to stop and use the gown lying on

hand, properly". People around got shocked and worried about the probable outcome of the case. Polkampalli Venkata Rama Rao, smart and sharp, lost no time in turning to the learned judge and shot back "your honour too is required to use the gown properly instead of keeping it hanging on the chair". Immediately the Judge stood up, removed the gown from the chair and wore it properly. The learned advocate too leisurely unfolded the gown and wore it. This incident, though a trivial one under normal circumstances, generated the feeling of self respect, a feeling of tit for tat, among hundreds of people anxiously waiting the fate of the case which was entirely in the hands of the Judge. Ultimately the case ended in the acquittal of the accused Sri Mahadev Singh for want of eye witness to prove attempt to murder.

**Baddam Yella Reddy:** Baddam Yellareddy, a legendary freedom fighter of Karimnagar District was not an individual but was an institution by himself, a force to reckon with. He was intolerant to any kind of injustice to the poor. Those were the days when the autocratic government of the Hyderabad gave full freedom to the landlord class which ruled the roost in the rural areas. Forced labour(Vetti), forceful collection of the land revenue and other taxes and penalties, physical torture as punishment were rampant. No civil liberty existed to raise any complaint against the government or the powerful officer or landlords. Under such conditions of slavery, it was very difficult for freedom loving individuals to raise their voice or organize the people for freedom and democracy. Baddam Yalla Reddy was a dare devil to stand alone against odds and face any eventuality. He used to compare the socio-economic conditions existing in British India and the state of Hyderabad, and demand the state government for the redressal of the people's grievances. A number of times he was arrested, handcuffed and paraded through the streets of Karimnagar town for the fault of issuing a pamphlet or leaflet on the peoples' problems criticizing the state government. He was a nightmare for the police which had to pass many sleepless nights. I, as a student, had witnessed such scenes a number of times and had developed in me an appreciation an attraction towards such a dedicated and tireless servant of the people and the society at large. Almost every time when Sri Baddam Yella Reddy was arrested, Sri Polkampalli Venkata Rama Rao lost no time in getting him released on bail. Baddam was not alone in his activities. Sarva Sree Annebheri Prabhakara Rao of Polampalli in Karimnagar taluq, Singireddy Bhoopathi Reddy and Amrtuth Lal Sukhala of Sricilla Taluq, Shankarayya Muttayya, Gattepalli Muralidhara Rao and Nambaya of Sultanabad Taluq apart from a good number of cadres from other talukas popularised the programme and policies of the Andhra Mahasabha, and organized the ryots and the handloom weavers on their burning demands.

This was also the time when the "Vandemataram Movement" of 1938 had inspired the student and youth rousing in them the spirit of patriotism, sense of selfless sacrifice for the cause of freedom and democracy. This was a great national struggle which the people of Bengal won against the wicked strategy

of the British imperialism to divide and rule. “Vandemataram” a song by Baukim Chandra Chatterji became synonymous to patriotism and freedom. In Hyderabad, the Osmania University authorities had decided that all the university students should come to colleges with a uniform dress of black shervani. This was opposed by the Hindu section of students who protested against the decision of the university authorities by resorting to singing the song of “Vandemataram” in the class rooms. The university authorities took it as a challenge and rusticated hundreds of students and their leaders from different colleges functioning under university. Hundreds of such students helped themselves and continued their education carrier from Nagpur, Pune and other colleges. Most of them later joined politics and became the political leaders of Congress, Communist and Socialist parties. “Vandemataram” movement of 1938, its after effects, gave a fillup to the state student movement causing the social consciousness among all sections of the society. The “Osmania Andhra Basha Nilayam” a library at Karimnagar was started, by socially and educationally conscious people where apart from “the Golkonda Daily”, “Andhra Patrikadaily” weeklies like “Swatantra” were made available. It is significant to note the word ‘Osmania’ for the library. It was very difficult to obtain permission from the authorities to start any public institution, much less a library, without convincing them about the non political character of the institution. Hence the word ‘Osmania’ was enough for such satisfaction. The word ‘Andhra’ in the above name of library is equally significant. People of Telangana, socially and politically conscious people in particular developed a sense of pride and privilege in using the word “Andhra” as it gave the sense of nationalism as against the twisted word ‘Telangana’ which got evolved from the original term “Trilinga”. I used to visit this library almost every day to have the benefit of knowing very much about the freedom movement outside the state. Late Sri Kishan Rao Vakil one of the founders of this library and late Sri Madhurakavi the person incharge of the library should be remembered for their yeoman services to posterity. Unfortunately, today, there is no trace of that library, due to the negligence and selfishness of a few persons.

Time and tide wait for none. The movement for freedom spread far and wide attracting youth into its fold. Mahatma Gandhi through his call of Satyagraha provided the mass character and militant nature to it. The second half of the third decade witnessed very significant political events both nationally and internationally. The second world war was launched by Hitler of the Nazi Germany, fascist Mussolini of Italy and the militarist Tojo of Japan. They planned to roll back British and American colonialism only to establish their rule of fascism all over the world. Britain, America and France, with their allies decided to take the challenge and threw their full weight to win the war. Indian National Congress demanded Britain to transfer power which would strengthen the allies in their war efforts. But Churchill, the Prime Minister of England refused to concede this demand and declared that he was not made the Prime Minister of England to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. The

Indian National Congress, on the other hand did not take it lying down and decided to launch a final battle for freedom. The AICC in its meeting on 08.08.1942 in Bombay passed a unanimous resolution demanding the British to quit India forth with.

On 8<sup>th</sup> August 1942, as usual we attended our tenth class. Our class teacher and also the science teacher Sree Yaseen Alvi an exceptionally nationalist minded teacher, gave a rousing speech on the clarion call of Quit India to be given on the next day by the Mahatma. He exhorted the students to participate in the ‘Quit India’ movement from the following day. This inspiring lecture of our own class teacher, and also the general political atmosphere prevailing outside made us to take a firm decision to participate in the next day’s struggle and continue our struggle for national independence. Next morning i.e. 9<sup>th</sup> August 1942, the news of the arrest of the Mahatma and all national leaders was broadcast. This news of a preemptive action by the Government of India electrified the political atmosphere and roused one and all to unequivocally condemn the central government for its savage action. We the students of Karimnagar high school gathered at a place, decided to go on a hunger strike in sympathy of national leaders who went on fast inside jails according to the news. We chose Gidde Perumandlu Temple premises at Daddiramma Kunta nearby the Karimnagar town and commenced our community hunger strike. Over a hundred students of high school participated in it. Myself, Narayana Rao, Radhakishan and Satyanarayana organized and led the action. We continued it till evening when a large number of Arya Samaj, Andhra Maha Sabha leaders along with the elders of the city visited our camp and expressed their solidarity and appreciation for our Satyagraha. On the request of the visiting gentry, we decided to end the fast and collectively took a pledge to continue our activity in support of the movement for national freedom.

I reached my house and to my surprise I found a cover, lying on my table, which contained the stamp of Nagpur post office. I opened the cover and saw a short letter written by Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali written in her own hand writing. The content was that this was a real testing time for the students and youth. “Quit India” is the final battle for freedom against British imperialism. ‘Do or Die’ is our motto. This letter from a revolutionary congress leader roused in me the feelings of pride and determination to continue my patriotic activity with more determination and zeal. Immediately I showed the letter to Sri Baddam Yella Reddy who congratulated me for having got recognition from no less a personality than Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali and advised me to carry forward student union activities with a redoubled vigour. My brother-in-law Sri Polkampalli, though happy at the event said to B.Y. “You are dragging our boy into politics so soon”. As a student of 10<sup>th</sup> class and president of the Students Union I expanded my contact with the students, opened an office for the union and regulated our activities. Every Friday, being a public holiday. Students were

expected to gather at the office and I was supposed to give a report on the national and international political developments. This regular activity and the preparation therefor had widened my socio political understanding, enriched my general knowledge and promoted in me a sense of responsible political leadership to lead and face the challenges of the time. With the active support of my colleagues I succeeded in the due discharge of my responsibilities. Very soon our students union got recognition and appreciation from all well known people.

My contacts with Baddam Yella Reddy and his colleagues got further strengthened during this period. These were the days of second world war. Students faced many a problem due to all round inflation and price rise. B.Y. used to discuss with me at length on all such problems which increased my knowledge about the problems and their solutions. I had already admired him as a sincere communist with a sense of dedicated service to the people. It further encouraged me to study Marxism, a social science to illuminate the path way for humanity to get rid of the exploitation of man by man. Freedom means not merely political freedom from British imperialism and native kingdom but it also means freedom from all kinds of social inequality and economic exploitation. I used to receive a number of letters and circulars from late Sri Jawad Razvi the General Secretary of All Hyderabad Students Union, containing in detail, instructions and guide lines for organizing the students union. These guide lines helped me to discharge my duties with much more care and caution, under the conditions of growing restriction on civil liberties. I had enrolled myself as a candidate member of the CPI in the presence of B.Y. while A.Prabhakara Rao and S.Bhoopathi Reddy signed the papers as witnesses. I had made up my mind to dedicate my life to fight for socialism facing all odds. Knowing this development, Polkampalli expressed his mixed feelings. "Marxism is a very good social science, but it must be applied to particular Indian conditions" he repeated. Jocularly he told B.Y. "you could not convince me but you have succeeded in enroling a young boy".

I had completed my 10<sup>th</sup> class studies in the year 1943 and joined intermediate first year in the Osmania University. My relation with the AHSU and party leaders got further strengthened.

My father's advice on the eve of my journey to Hyderabad for higher studies deserves a special mention. Despite his back ground of a Deshmukh and feudal family, he was a very known liberal landlord having cordial and friendly relations with one and all. His advice to me was to spend my time in learning and learning alone. His warning was that I should cultivate the habit of helping others and never to talk ill of others. His special mention was to qualify myself for a very good job and thus bear the burden of our big family. He however repeated his usual sermon not to be afraid of any problems and face them with courage of conviction, never to bow my head before any body however mighty he may appear and be prepared to face all odds in the due

discharge of my social and political duties. This was his position. Even when he met me and my colleagues in our underground days he repeated the same advice. Com.Maqdoom was surprised to see an elderly man so bold and firm in his conviction. His liberalism courage of conviction, sincerity of purpose and dedication to service always helped me to discharge my duties successfully and to emerge as an acceptable and dependable leader.

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## **2. A COLLEGE STUDENT (1943 – 1947)**

This five years period from 1943 to 1947 will remain as an important milestone and memorable one in my whole life of over 88 years by now. I had occupied room No.22 in “C” hostel of Osmania University. ‘C’hostel an old building then was known as a political centre. Sri J.Goutama Rao garu, late Sri Mukundlal Misra, Late Sri Aligi Reddy Kishan Reddy, Late Sri J.R.Gopal Rao and others were my hostel mates. Late Sri K.V.Narsinga Rao one year senior to me was my room mate. He was an active congressman while I was a known Communist. We remained very close friends for almost five long years, which continued for decades till he breathed his last. An industrious student with political aptitude, he was very active in public life. Our deep ideological discussions helped us in enriching our knowledge of the events of the time. Personally we moved very closely which, very often, gave surprise to our hostel mates. Osmania University had its own peculiarity. Vandemataram movement in the state took its birth in this university with special reference to ‘C’ hostel. With this back ground, Hindu students by and large were attracted towards national freedom struggle while Muslim students with exceptions were in favour of the Nizam’s government. Yet there was no open communal divide. There were considerable number of nationalist and communist Muslim students who, through their exceptional intellectual behaviour helped maintain secular atmosphere and communal peace. Many a time the communal elements outside the university campus sought to raise their ugly head inside the university hostels, but the collective effort on the part of the secular minded students of both the communities succeeded in putting it down. There existed a university students union consisting of the elected representative of all classes, but it was banned by the government to prevent communal troubles inside the university. We made an effort to revive such union and strengthen student unity. University authorities got reconciled with this idea and lifted the ban on the university students union. Elections were held. Along with others I was elected from the science College. The electoral college consisting of all representatives of different faculties was supposed to elect the executive including the office bearers. Here arose the real difference of opinion. We wanted to follow the democratic practice of electing those who are supported by the majority of the electoral college. Muslim students representative’s did not agree with the democratic practice and instead wanted the communal parity of fifty percent representation for each community. This undemocratic proposal was backed by the university authorities. Sri Aliyawerjung Bahadur, the then Vice Chancellor tried his level best to convince the Hindu student leaders comparing it with the national political situation. As one of the negotiating team I remember to have argued with the Vice Chancellor about the most undemocratic nature of the communal representation at all levels. The authorities left no stone unturned to divide the

Hindu student leaders. Ultimately the subject was left at that stage and the statusquo continued. Students unions from outside, the All Hyderabad Students Union backed by the CPI and the National Students Union backed by the National Congress played their role in organizing the students, of course, on the basis of their respective political ideologies. Students unions were led by the talented students elected by the primary members of the mass organization. Most of such leaders occupied the best positions in the later part of their lives. The period we were active was full of politics. The nation and the state were experiencing crucial movements for the final bid for power. Student leaders like Jawad Razwi, Omkar Prasad were rusticated from the Osmania University for their political activities. Late Dr. Paranjape, who had completed his medical studies from the Osmania medical college together with the above rusticated leaders relentlessly worked for the expansion of the All Hyderabad Students Union. Late Sri P.Venkat Rama Rao, Rafi Ahmed, Basit Ulla Baig, Vithal Rao Kulkarni, Gopal Rao Kurthdikier, Gangadhar Chitnis along with myself happened to be the second rank student leaders of that crucial period. 1944 onwards, after us, Sri Ch.Hanumantha Rao, Boorgula Narsinga Rao along with others took charge of the movement and carried forward the militant traditions of the AHSU, attracting to its fold the best student cadres. This leadership, facing all kinds of atrocities at the hands of the Nizam's Government and later at the hands of the Congress government, served the organizations to the best of their ability till the formation of the state of Andhra Pradesh, in the year 1956.

#### **A) Myself as Student Leader:**

A few of my outstanding experiences as student leader are worth mentioning. I devoted my self to the student and party organization. I used to study the text books a few days before every exam and get through, spending much of my time in reading the political literature, Marxist literature in particular, apart from field work. There were some professors and lecturers who had impacted my life style through their exemplary personalities. Dr. B.K. Das, the head of the zoology department impressed me most. He used to assert and reiterate this assertion every time, that work, consisting of four letters is the golden word which carries exceptional meaning. Every living being is endowed with action, motion which is its source of life, and cause for evolution to higher and higher stages. There is no life without motion. It is death. Hence regular and continuous study, learning is essential for a student to scale higher and higher reaches. This scientific exposition of growth stirred the hearts and souls of serious students.

Two other professors and heads of departments one Sri Ravada Satyanarayana of physics department who later became the Vice Chancellor, and Sri Illendula Seeta Rama Rao, head of the Chemistry department; were well-known for their capacities as academics as also committed patriots. Both of them were good friends, nationalists and the followers of Mahatma Gandhi. They extended their moral support to every political activity for civil liberties

and national freedom. University authorities were very well aware of the activities of these Professors, but could not raise their finger against their behaviour thanks to their outstanding disciplines, and duty mindedness.

These stalwarts, one day, explained to me how difficult it was for them to carry on their patriotic activities under the adverse conditions and circumstances. Once they together had decided to go to Wardha and have a darshan of Gandhiji. Accordingly they left for Wardha through a night train and reached there in the morning,. Had Gandhiji's darshan and returned back to Wardha station to catch the evening train. To their utter surprise, they found out that Sri Azam, the V.C. of Osmania University, was also waiting there to catch the same train. They decided to see him and offer their greetings to the waiting V.C. After couple of minutes, the learned V.C. asked the Professors as to what made them to come to Wardha. The Professors, laughingly enquired the V.C as to what also made the V.C to take the trouble of travelling to Wardha. Three of them laughed to their hearts content and exchanged their experiences with the Mahatma.

The year 1943 was a black year for the entire country since over 35 lakhs of men and women, children in particular of Bengal lost their precious lives because of an unprecedented havoc of famine. Bengal, a land with fertile lands and plenty of river waters could not provide food to its inhabitants because of the inhuman practices of black marketing and hoarding resorted to by the greedy dealers and merchants. It was entirely a man made famine aided and abetted by the anti people policies of the British imperialism and the corrupt bureaucracy.

People of the country had to witness the ghastly scenes when hundreds and thousand of people perished for want of a square meal. Lakhs of people suffered and ultimately died due to want of medical aid. Thousands of children were auctioned and sold in the open market by their beloved parents in return of a few coins. The news paper reports of this holocaust, the cartoons depicting the heart rendering scenes of crying humanity moved the nation. It roused the national pride and roused the young generations' anger against the cruelties caused by imperialism and its agents.

Patriotic sections of the people moved into action and rendered their services voluntarily through collections of food grains, funds and providing shelters to the lakhs of needy people who thronged the Calcutta city in search of employment and work. The volunteers of the CPI along with other political party workers rendered yeoman services in coming to the rescue of the suffering millions. Late Sri B.Narayana, belonging to Mallaram village in Sircilla taluq, along with other young Beedi workers of Bombay led a volunteer squad to Calcutta and performed their duties to the best satisfaction of the Bombay party leadership.

The year 1944 is memorable in my life for two reasons. Firstly I got married in the month of May and secondly I was fortunate enough to receive

a prize at the hands of great national leader and the Nightingale of India Smt.Sarojini Naidu.

An essay writing competition used to be held as part of the celebration of Krishna Jayanti in Osmania University. For the year 1944 essay writing competition was held and the subject was “Bhagavatgeeta”. Along with a number of others myself and my roommate K.V.Narsinga Rao participated in this competition. I wrote the essay in Urdu language and my roommate K.V. did it in English language. I did a lot of exercise. I remember to have read books of Gandhiji and Bala Gangadhar Tilak on the subject. In my article I praised the Bhagavatgeeta as a monumental piece of Sanskrit literature which highlighted the cultural values for an ideal human society and the significance of their execution with fearlessness, for the rejuvenation of a sagging society. As such it is an exposition of an ideal material world, a materialist philosophy. My friend K.V. in his English article praised the geeta as a gospel of truth directly exhorted by no less a person than the God., incarnation Lord Krishna for human kind. Hence it is an idealist philosophy. Smt. Sarojini Naidu was the judge to select the articles for awarding that year’s prizes Sri Maqdoom Moinuddin a famous Urdu poet as also the leader of the working class was invited as the Chief guest and observer. The celebration took place in the premises of science college. After the speeches, prize distribution item was taken up. My friend K.V. was awarded the first prize for his English article; and the English version of Bhagavatgeeta was presented to him. My article in Urdu was also selected for the first prize. I was presented with a book on the soviet union, “the socialist sixth of the world” written by a Russian author. Handing over the prize book Smt. Sarojini Naidu patting me on my back said that even though she does not agree with me on my conclusion that Bhagavatgeeta was a piece of valuable literature on materialist philosophy, she very much appreciated my hard labour to prove my contention. She also remarked that one day I would become a good communist. Sri Maqdoom Mohiuddin, the Chief Guest sitting by her side laughed and told the gathering that I was already a communist party member working among the university students. Audience and the guests enjoyed the dialogue. At the age of 88 years I still relish this incident and strongly feel about the lesson flowing from such an experience, an effort at creative thinking. I still believe very strongly in what I wrote then.

Let me divert to the incident of my marriage. I was 21 years old and had completed the first year of intermediate course. Lalita my bride was 16 years old undergoing her school education in Vemulawada. She is the eldest daughter of my maternal uncle Sri Gourneni Ram Gopal Rao, a landlord and a leading light of the village. My sister late Smt.Yashoda;s marriage was celebrated on the same day. According to the family custom then existing I went to Vemulawada from my own village Nagaram in a palanquin with fanfare. The elders and their party from the side of the bride arranged for a big reception

at Moolavagu site wherefrom we went to Raja Rajeshwara Temple at Vemulawada. The marriage ritual went off very well meticulously following the customs and traditions.

It was a time surcharged with political uncertainty. The state wide movement against the growing atrocities of the Nizam's government was growing from strength to strength. Personally, though a young student of intermediate course, I was very much immersed in politics with full responsibilities. I took the event of marriage as a natural and customary one without thinking about the consequences. I took the first opportunity to talk at length to my wife Lalita explaining her about my political commitments, the uncertain political conditions and the probable difficulties to encounter. She patiently heard what all I had to say and firmly expressed her determination to support me and follow me even under the worst conditions. I was very happy with her response. My changed views about the equal status for women in the society got further strengthened after my partnership with Lalita. We, succeeded in swimming together in an ocean of problems faced during a long period spread over about seven decades. My decision to lead a married life with children, closest possible association with the large family, along with an uncertain political life full of problems like underground life, jail life, repeated electoral defeats and victories proved to be correct, and paid me good dividends in my personal, social and political carrier. I am happy about it; nothing to repent about.

Let me draw the attention of the readers towards the personality of a great scientist, nobel laureate Sir C.V.Raman. His visit to Hyderabad and Osmania University was fully utilized by the citizens of Hyderabad well known for their academic and cultural insight. His lecture was arranged in the economics hall of the arts college. Students, desirous of having a darshan of the great scientist, the discoverer of the Raman ray in the sun light, thronged the lecture hall. Dr.C.V.Raman delivered his long lecture throwing light on the science of physics, light in particular. It was an illuminating discourse revolutionizing the bent of mind of the students attending. The learned scientist, while talking about the purity of science, its importance to human society, expressed his unhappiness about politics stating "he hated politics and politicians". After the conclusion of his speech, the Chairman of the meeting invited the questions from the audience for necessary answers and clarifications by the honoured guest. A few students took the advantage and got their confusion or doubts clarified by the illustrious speaker. I, for one disturbed by the inadvertent comment on politics and politicians made by the veteran scientist, sought for the elucidation and clarification. Dr.C.V.Raman, magnanimously, said "My boy I am not a politician by profession. I am unhappy with the statements of our political leaders. Gandhiji says some thing today, Panditji gives his own version on the same subject tomorrow; while our Rajaji interprets differently the day after at a time when the country should unitedly talk with one voice. Such statements by national leaders create problems. Whom to believe? And who will tell them

about such contradictions? After all politics is also a social science:. The audience applauded him. I was quite satisfied with his painstaking analysis. Impersonal and objective thinking alone can give coherence to political thought, to make it scientific and purposeful.

Another memorable event is our effort to form “the Telugu Vidyarthi Sangham” in the Osmania University. My close friend and a committed congressman late Sri Seelam Sidda Reddy’s role in this connection is worth mentioning. Room mates in the ‘C’ hostel for some time, we had perfect understanding and appreciation of each other’s political commitment despite ideological differences. The common idea of the formation of a Telugu students Union strengthened our friendship and we worked together in this direction. Very soon we succeeded in convincing a good number of students. I am now pained to learn about the demise of my dear friend only two days back. Sri Rayaprolu Subba Rao and Sri Khandavalli Laxmi Ranjanam garu the head and the deputy head of the Telugu department, though happy about the idea were sceptic about its outcome under the circumstance. However they encouraged us to move cautiously without resorting to any political intention. We did succeed and held a few meetings. The aim was to promote Telugu language through organizing the circulation of Telugu literature, promotion of essay writing in Telugu language. Those were the days when the students were supposed to study in Urdu medium right from the primary class up to the university level. Speaking in Telugu language itself was deemed to be below dignity. Growing sense of patriotism forced us to think about the revival of our own rich culture and tradition. Love of our mother tongue was the beginning towards this end. With in a few weeks we received a direction from the V.C. to close down our shop of Telugu activity. The head of the department was forced to execute the VC’s directions. We decided to agitate against the direction of the V.C and expand our activity. We were already busy in our respective political activities. It was the period 1945-46 when the political struggle for freedom was mounting up. Our special effort for the revival of Telugu language got merged with the general political movement. My friend Seelam Sidda Reddy an honest congress politician from Khammam remained my esteemed friend. He was the minister for major irrigation in Sri K. Brahmananda Reddy’s cabinet when I was the floor leader of the CPI. I relish his companionship. My long experience as a social and political worker convinces me beyond all doubt that there exists a real need and possibility of people with different ideological and political differences, coming together to put up a united struggle for the achievement of the minimum demands from the common enemy provided we have the commitment for the cause with sincerity of purpose.

I must share my extreme delight with my knowledgeable readership about the real significance of twenty sixth January every year, apart from it being the day when India was declared as a free democratic, and sovereign socialist Republic. Indian National Congress played the leading role in the historic

struggle for freedom. The congress session held at Karachi in the year 1930 passed a unanimous resolution, under the leadership of the Mahatma, demanding full freedom. It resolved to pledge for ‘poorna swaraj’ every year on 26<sup>th</sup> January. Accordingly the freedom fighters in every part of the country took a formal pledge on the day to fight for total freedom without compromising on any other status. Hyderabad state government prohibited every gathering on the day. As student leaders we had no alternative but to take the pledge for freedom in a secret way, often by going to distant places covered by jungles or bushes.

The secret behind the selection of the day of 26<sup>th</sup> January was made known to the country by late Hari Kishan Singh Surjeet, the General Secretary of the CPI(M) through his article in ‘peoples democracy’ the organ of CPI(M) on the occasion of the birth centenary celebrations of Shaheed Bhagat Singh. Bhagat Singh, condemned to face the death sentence, and waiting for the day of his execution, had written a letter addressed to the National Congress leadership questioning its resolution in Karachi congress demanding “poorna swaraj” as to whether such a freedom will enable the rich to continue to exploit the poor or help the working people to enjoy the fruits of their labour. This historic letter came to light from out of his cell after his execution. And this letter was dated 26<sup>th</sup> January which Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru solemnized as the date for taking the pledge for poorna swaraj. Ultimately, after the achievement of freedom on 15<sup>th</sup> August 47 the republican constitution of India was promulgated on 26<sup>th</sup> January, thus remembering the Martyr and his gospel.

1946 was an year very sad for me when I lost my brother-in-law Sri Polkampali Venkata Rama Rao whom I consider my mentor along with Baddam Yella Reddy. His incessant interest, in politics of the day, his endless thirst for acquiring general knowledge and his selfless service to the poor as an advocate attracted me most and generated in me the spirit to fight for the freedom of our motherland and dedicated service to the poor. He suffered from a serious ailment of lung and stomach ulcer and ultimately breathed his last in his own village Penchikalpetta in Kamanpur Mandal of Karimnagar district. It is worth recalling, he was born and brought up in Nalgonda district. Before his marriage with my sister Smt.Satyamma, my father had made a strong request to him to come down to Karimnagar and start his practice and public life. His death before independence, created a big vacuum in politics in the district and the state. His colleagues Ravi Narayana Reddy and Baddam Yella Reddy along with a number of leaders and cadres of Andhra Maha Sabha paid their last tributes and condoled his demise.

### **Martyrdom of the Heroes:**

Karimnagar district suffered another far more bigger and irreparable loss in the year 1947 in the death of a squad of over 8 heroes led by the top ranking communist leaders like A.Prabhakara Rao and S.Bhoopathi Reddy, in an

encounter with the nizam's police and razakars at Mandhapur Village in Karimnagar Taluq. A.Prabhakara Rao, the secretary of the Karimnagar district CPI and S.Bhoopathi Reddy hailing from Sircilla were the gems of the struggle for freedom. I was very much influenced by their exemplary personal character, courage of conviction and hard work. It was a shock and a personal loss to me. A.Prabhakara Rao, himself hailing from a landlord family of Polampalli village, being a terror to the police was a pillar of support to the cadres. Soft in conversation, but strong in action S.Bhoopathi Reddy hailing from an ordinary peasant family in Tallallapalli near by Sircilla working as a clerk in Taluq Revenue Office, gave up his service and became a whole timer of the party. His soft attitude good mannerism and tireless work acted as a magnet attracting one and all particularly well meaning people. Karimnagar district unit of the CPI got constructed a memorial at the sight of their martyrdom. That was the time when the state party had just decided to take to arms in defence of the people as against the mounting atrocities being perpetrated by the police and Razakars. The armed squad led by the district Secretary A.Prabhakara Rao himself consisted of over 70 to 80 persons. It was very difficult to manage with such a big squad facing the armed enemy. When the outnumbered enemy personnel encircled the squad, some of them faced the enemy with counter attack while some others were taking their bath in a nearby tank and yet others were engaged in some other avoidable work. Leaders like A.Prabhakara Rao and S.Bhoopathi Reddy along with a few other members of the squad, found themselves encircled by the enemy. The sentrees, expected to alarm the squad too were unaware of the enemy's movement. More over some village officer had acted as a spy helping the enemy to take a preemptive action. Despite an unexpected attack from the enemy side the leaders armed with Brengun and other modern weapons tried their best to escape by climbing the Mandhapuram hills. To their surprise the enemy had preplanned its action even from the top of the hill, which caused serious injuries to the left hand of Prabhakar. He used his weapon with the right hand but could not succeed. The hero fell down, saluted the motherland, and breathed his last. This story of his bold resistance and ultimate sacrifice spread like wild fire igniting the spirit of patriotism and sacrifice at the altar of motherland. We, as student leaders hailing from Karimnagar came from Hyderabad only to pay our respects to the departed leaders. From the military point of view this was not a good and disciplined manner to face a well planned attack from the enemy side. The state party in its review of the incident came to the conclusion and directed the area committees to immediately disband the bigger squads and resort to small guerilla squads which are more suitable both in offensive and defensive battles. It is a rich and unique experience of Chinese liberation movement. Party lost no time in reorganizing the armed squads to resort to the new tactics which paid rich dividends.

This was a time when the successive events and actions in different areas of Telangana electrified the political situation, rousing the people both in rural and urban areas to be prepared for the worst in the final bid for freedom from the hated British and the cruel Nizam. Completing my graduation from the science college, I joined the law college in the month of June 1947. I became the father of a baby girl the previous month. We named our baby as Aruna to honour the heroin of the Quit India movement of 1942. My wife Lalita with our baby Aruna remained with her parents at Vemulawada closely observing my activities as a student of the law college in Osmania University. Hardly any day passed by without any major political incident anywhere in Telangana. I had to attend to each and every problem connected with the student community and AHSU. Law college, as all other colleges became the scene of struggle with demonstrations, boycotts, and Satyagrahas. I was very much on the scene addressing the students. Once, Sri Moswi, the principal of Law college called me and asked me to choose either of the occupations, to become a pleader or to become a leader. I politely refused to give a definite reply stating that the political situation was very fluid and time alone will decide my future course of action but at the moment we are fighting for freedom and the integration of the state of Hyderabad into Indian union. The learned Principal had no answer. I had had a strong desire to complete my law course and become a lawyer. But time was different. National freedom was on the agenda. I had no alternative but to abide by the call of the time. I recollect the inspiring poem of poet Maqdoom wherein he had exhorted to sail with the time, to be with the people and carry the world behind, without fear of any enemy. My experience in life convinced me what a visionary Maqdoom was. I did complete my law course, and did my law practice for a short time but I had to be with the people, build the carrier as an active political worker with long standing service as student leader, Kisan leader, legislator with long experience. Wherever and whatever I was, I am satisfied that I did my best in the service of the people whom I love and adorn.

### **(B) The second world war I knew:**

The second world war which started in the year 1939-40 and continued for five long years causing an incalculable loss in human life and property, ultimately resulted in the total defeat of the Nazi and fascist war mongers and helped change the face of the world by promoting the movements for freedom and democracy. According to the well meaning historians and unbiased political analysts the war was started by the forces of imperialism for the protection and redistribution of the colonies among themselves. The freedom loving public opinion of the world and the USSR, the citadel of Socialism, successfully managed to defeat the evil designs of war mongers. The war which appeared as a border racial and ethnical conflict very soon grew into a world war. The economic crisis of 1930 shook the foundations of the capitalist countries.

Germany and Japan which were badly defeated in the first world war of 1914-16, regrouped their ranks and took offensive against Britain and France with a plan to resurrect their political power, redistribute the colonies and thus achieve the hegemony over the whole world. America later joined the allies to unitedly face the Nazi and Fascist forces. Hitler, Mussolini and General Tojo acquired power respectively in Germany, France and Japan, and led their armies with vengeance to defeat the allies. Very soon Hitler and Mussolini succeeded in conquering the east European countries. Japan too succeeded in spreading its tentacles in the east. These leaders wanted to proceed from the west and east and shake their hands in Delhi defeating all countries enroute. USSR, diplomatically entered into a no war pact with Germany, but Hitler, overestimating his successes, broke his no war pact with USSR, attacked it to roll back communism from the face of the earth. The adventurist and militarist strategies of the war mongers had to very soon face the stronger strategies of the allies. Soviet Russia, with its strong military might and popular support halted the onward march of Germany. The legendary resistance of the Russian people at Stalingrad made history and the Nazi forces had to face retreat, after retreat. Finally they had to face defeat and surrender to the allies. This defeat of Germany demoralized Japan which also faced tough and dogged resistance at the hands of nationalist and popular forces in Burma, Malaysia and China and other east Asian countries. The defeat of Nazism and fascism both in the west and the east emboldened the nationalist and communist movements and helped their reorganization and resurrection for marching ahead to achieve freedom and democracy in the earliest possible time. In the west, the red army, while liberating the defeated east European countries helped them to establish socialist governments and put down fascism and Nazism. The patriotic and nationalist movements in India, got boosted up by the defeat of fascism and Nazism on one hand and the weakening of British imperialism on the other. The defeat of fascism and Nazism heralded a new chapter of post war upsurge of all the erstwhile colonial peoples movements for freedom and democracy. People all over the world witnessed the death and destruction caused by the most selfish and imperialist countries and redoubled their fight for peace, democracy and freedom. Second world war ended not only in strengthening the forces of freedom and democracy but it also seriously weakened the imperialist system in whatever form it existed.

Political parties in India had no common understanding about the war. Indian National Congress, more or less had a confused thinking. People like Punditji and Azad who had world out look were the strong opponents of Nazism and fascism while those who had only nationalist understanding wavered. Socialist party, unfortunately had an out look to take advantage of the difficulties faced by Britain and demanded for immediate transfer of power. CPI, a party having an international out look did have a correct assessment of the war in general and took a positive stand to support the allies. However this correct

ideological position was mechanically implemented in real life of the people and their class and political struggles. Party took the stand that the Nazi attack on USSR amounted to an attack on the citadel of socialism and hence the nature of war got transformed into the peoples' war from being an imperialist war till then. This approach appeared totally mechanical party went to the extent of halting the class struggles which might divert Britain from an exclusive concentration on its war efforts. An interesting dialogue, in my presence, between a leader of the Textile worker and Com. Maqdoom is worth mentioning. "The textile workers of Ram Gopal mills are firmly of the opinion to issue a strike notice for the redressal of their grievances". The Textile union leader said "No, No, our party's decision is not to resort to struggles like strikes, which might cause obstruction to the government's efforts to defeat Nazism and fascism which are the worst enemies of the working class all over the world". Com Maqdoom tried to educate the working class leader. "How come Nazism and fascism, there was no fascism or Nazism when the workers of Nanded textile mills went on strike and succeeded in achieving their demands". The workers leader exclaimed. This is how a common man in India reacted to our supportive attitude towards war. Party went to the extent of changing the name of its weekly in to "Peoples' War". My own experience would be relevant. According to party guideline, even leaders, student leaders in particular should personally sell a few copies of our weekly organ. Accordingly I did my job in Sultan Bazar cross road. Some socialist friends spotted me and entered into arguments against 'peoples war' slogan. I defended my position, vehemently. It resulted in physical scuffle and I had to retreat to my C hostel in Osmania University alone by walk. We realized the truth too late and missed the bus. CP:I should have extended moral support to the allies with particular emphasis on the heroic resistance put up by the Red Army and the people of soviet Union. There was no meaning in supporting Britain and stopping the class struggles. This political mistake on the part of CPI had costed it dearly resulting in a big isolation from the anti imperialist mainstream of the national movement for freedom.

Many a congress leader and the socialist sectarians knowing fully well that German and Japanese Militarism was more dangerous to the whole world, wanted to fish in the troubled water by concentrating their political fire on Britain. It does not behove of their statesmanship. It was their sheer opportunism. CPI's political strategy at this crucial hour of history was quite correct while its application to day to day movement was tactically wrong. The policy of the socialist party along with a good chunk of congress leadership was both strategically and tactically very wrong. The glorious victory in the second world war and the crushing defeat of Nazism and fascism opened the flood gates for the forces fighting for freedom and democracy. The new unfolding situation emboldened the communist movement to intensify its struggles and extend its base. Happily such a favourable situation was best utilized. It was the golden period in the entire history of CPI when the mass organizations like

AITUC, AIKS, AISF, IPTA, Progressive Writers' movement got strengthened, enriched in terms of leaders and cadres. Com.P.C.Joshi, the then General Secretary of the CPI will ever be remembered for his contribution in this regard.

### **C) Post war situation and Party:**

The ban imposed on CPI in the year 1934 was lifted in 1942 after 8 years. The party did its best to expand itself during the years of war and post war period attracting to its fold the cream of the society.

The first party congress of the CPI was held in Mumbai in the year 1943. Veteran freedom Fighter Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna and the heroes of the Chittagong armoury raid Smt.Kalpana Dutt attended the Congress as delegates, including Baba Sohan Singh Bakna who suffered 25 years of jail life. He was the founder of the Great Gadar Party which led the great movement for national freedom. These great leaders along with a very good numbers of patriots also men of letters attended it. The renowned artists and writers, poets found the CPI as a platform which can galvanize the real, dedicated and bold partisans to lead the country to freedom, democracy and socialism. To be a member of the CPI was an honour and a thing to be proud of. Talented and excellent people in different fields of life, men and women though not regular members of the party, associated themselves with the party and its activities in their respective walks of life. Myself a humble student leader, despite having been born in a semi feudal family, considered joining the party as a rare opportunity to be a member of the family of the best sons of the soil. I did my best to give up the alien ideas and thoughts, if any, and declass myself to be able to share the sacred duties along with the noble gentry that was the CPI. It will not be out of place to recall the services and sacrifices made by the best men and women who manned the leadership of the party its different mass organisations. It was a pleasure to have their darshan and to hear their thought provoking speeches. At this age of 88 plus, I can only lament up on the fast deterioration of political and social values in the society at large. Political Parties and their leaders, part and parcel of the Society, are getting awfully corrupted. Political power, entrusted to them by the well meaning people, is being misused for concealing and covering their anti social and criminal purposes. This is most unfortunate. My self and my generation is most unfortunate to witness this downfall of the lofty values created and nourished by the veteran freedom fighters. However we believe in the peoples creative genius and bright future. I earnestly hope and appeal to the leaders of all political parties with particular reference to the left, to ponder over and leave no stone unturned in restoring the image of their parties through selfless social and political service. Democracy, political, social and economic, is the only way of life for the people and it is up to the leaders of various parties to set examples through their personal character and dedicated service. People learn only through experiences, and the life styles of their leaders. Matured and knowledgeable people alone can

select and elect their best representatives capable of delivering goods, in a democracy.

A birds eye view of the growth of the political parties and the mass organizations led by them during the period between 1925 to 1947 will provide a very useful lesson for the rejuvenation of the party. CPI was inside the national congress right from its inception in 1925 up to 1942 when it was removed from the congress thanks to the political difference on the slogan of 'Quit India' and the movement that followed it. Otherwise, Communist leaders and cadres were considered to be the best of the lot. Most of the leaders of the CPI were the members of the AICC and CWC wielding much of political influence. But for the ideological differences on Quit India slogan and the basic difference on the role of the national bourgeoisie in a democratic revolution, arising out of the lead given by the Comintern, the CPI would have continued in the Indian National Congress winning the masses to its fold on par with the rich experiences from China and Vietnam, South Africa. Indian Political history would have been qualitatively different. CPI and the honest politicians would have been in the positions occupying the largest political space in the national politics without any isolation from the political mainstream. In China Mao emerged as a national leader, despite the betrayal of Chiang Kai Shek and his outfit Komintong. He was capable of reorganizing the party as a national force and a liberation army to face the imperialist intervention. Ho Chimin the leader of the Communist Party of Indo-China emerged as the tallest leader and built a national front to face the French imperialism, ultimately winning the war and uniting the north and South Vietnams. South African Communists had been and still are playing the cardinal role by continuing as a partner in the African National Congress. The recent inaugural speech delivered by the South African Communist Party General Secretary Bladejimande in the 12<sup>th</sup> Conference of World Communist and Workers party held in South Africa on 3, 4 December, 2010 is an eye opener for all Communists. It signifies the importance of being in the mainstream of national democratic movement and the dangers of isolationism, at a time when the world capitalist system led by the USA is facing the worst form of capitalist crisis. CPI accepting and implementing the liquidationist political line given by Comintern had lost the mass base which it could not regain. This is my humble personal view. However, past is past. Criticism and self criticism can be useful for future strategy to build a broad national democratic front.

The name and fame of the communist leaders when they were the first rank congress leaders in their respective states helped them to build up broad based mass organizations. The All India progressive writers organization and the Indian Peoples Theatre Association(IPTA) were the best cultural organizations comprising of the top class artists and writers of different regions and languages. I recollect the good old days when such artists made indelible marks on the hearts and minds of the then youth. AITUC and AIKS and AISF founded in

the mid thirties became very big platforms led by the stalwarts of the respective fields. AISF, the student wing, comprising of the talented students and powerful agitators was the source of attraction for youth. I relish my memories of such unity and united action. The period of about 5 years, 1942 to 1947 was a golden period when the Indian people of all classes were drawn into a final battle for freedom. Student actions all over the country for civil liberties and freedom, facing the worst repression, shook the foundations of British Government. The naval ratings started with a small event of impure food, spread to all over the country when the naval ratings hoisted the flags of congress, muslim league and the CPI, tied to gather, signaling the final bid for power. It had an electric effect all over the country. The struggle of the police in Delhi in support of the people's movement had a very good effect. Above all the struggle of the people of the country headed by the students and youth, demanding the withdrawal of cases and the un-conditional release of the officers and members of the Azad Hind Fouj, who were being tried for sedition in Lal Qilla achieved great success. All sections of people including those who did not agree with the Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose who tried to bank upon the Hitler's support in winning freedom for our country, came out in support of this struggle for an honourable release of freedom fighters. Government of India had to stage a retreat and close the fake trial. The victory of the youth and students emboldened the whole country to be ready for the final assault for power, for freedom.

The victory in the second world war while rousing the colonial people for final bid for power, also made Great Britain weak politically and financially. Britain had to provide an answer to its war time promises made together with America to grant freedom to all colonies under Atlantic charter. Winston Churchill the then premier of England, through his historic speech in British Parliament refused to grant freedom to India stating that India with its diversity of religions, castes, languages and cultures cannot sustain independence and that at best dominion status could be granted. Britain did its best to pursue the policy of divide and rule by driving a wedge between Hindus and Muslims. Ultimately it arrived at a plan to divide the country by creating Pakistan consisting of the Muslim majority areas in North West and East. The labour government headed by the Prime Minister Clement Attlee also adopted the same policy of divide and rule. A cabinet mission was sent to India to assess the public opinion through lengthy discussions with different sections. However, faced with the growing 'peoples' surge for freedom and self determination all over the world, the labour government came forward with an award known as Mount Batten award. It was a third proposal within a period of twelve months. 1946 June proposal of cabinet mission was the first while the Atlee proposal of February 1947 was the second, the third one being of June 1947. This award did not grant any sovereignty or dominion status. It was an award to divide the country into two by creating a new state of Pakistan at the same time

empowering the respective constituent Assemblies to draft their own constitutions. All the political parties in India, though wavered in the beginning, in practice came round and accepted the creation of Pakistan as a separate country based on religion. Let us, in brief, remember the views expressed by different political parties on the question of creation of Pakistan.

“I am not receiving this proposal happily” (Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru)

“We are satisfied with this proposal. Yet we cannot say that we agree with some controversial issues” – Jinna ( Muslim League)

“It will not be correct if any body says that we are in favour of this proposal. It does not satisfy all. We, Sikhs are also not satisfied with it.” Baldev Singh (Representative of Sikhs)

“We are totally against the plan which divides our country. It is against the spirit of “Quit India” movement. It enables Britain to continue its domination over the Indian economic and military centres. However it is a plan introduced by the British government which is getting weakened day by day”. P.C.Joshi (General Secretary of the CPI)

“We are totally against any proposal which divides the country. It is against the spirit of the “Quit India Movement”. – Jaya Prakash Narayana(Socialist Party Leader)

I vividly remember an article written by Com.G.D.Adhikari in the party organ justifying the division of India based on stalin’s theory of nationalities. I can never forget the day when I heard Com. Maqdoom singing a song “Hindustan Hamara; Pakistan Hamara” CPI did extend its support to the two nation theory of Jinna.

There was no definite common policy for keeping India united. Given the above opinion of different political parties which in essence did not reject the British plan for the division of the country and did not offer their resistance to the execution of such a plan; The Mount Batton award was implemented positively. Mount Batton himself, as Governor General, implemented it successfully but at a heavy cost for the country which lost lakhs of Hindus and Muslims in communal riots.

#### **D) Indian Independence – critical position of the CPI:**

The central committee meeting of the CPI, held after 15<sup>th</sup> august 1947 had adopted a lengthy resolution wherein it had categorically stated that the freedom granted by the Mount Batton award was a fake freedom. The country was still under the grips of British imperialism both from economic and military points of view. It keeps intact the native states, feudalism, and the foreign capital, hence it is anti people it analyzed. Soviet communist leaders as also the communist leaders of other countries criticised in the same manner. According to the above criticism, freedom must be achieved through a political revolution

like in Russia which alone can put and end to poverty and injustice. However, India and Pakistan unfurled their respective national flags and pulled down the union jack of British imperialism. The whole country celebrated the day as the day of deliverance from the shackles of slavery. CPI, afterwards realized its mistaken analysis of independence day but did not make an in depth self-criticism thereon.

Let me, at this stage, share with the readers an interesting information as to the selection of the midnight between 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> August' 47 for transfer of power. Britain after colonizing India has hoisted its flag on 15<sup>th</sup> August, hence it wants to grant freedom to India on the same day of 15<sup>th</sup> August. According to the fortune tellers of our country, 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947 was not at all an auspicious day for transfer of power and for hoisting the Indian National flag. According to western culture new day begins from the midnight while according to Indian tradition the day commenced with the time of sun rise. Therefore the midnight of 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> August amounts to 15<sup>th</sup> August for Britain while it means, the continuation of 14<sup>th</sup> August for India which is an auspicious day. The constituent Assembly meeting was continued till 12 PM on 14<sup>th</sup> August and immediately after 12 PM, ie., the beginning of 15<sup>th</sup> August for Britain, our national tri colour flag was unfurled and the union jack of Britain was pulled down. It was a very good compromise of sentiments on both sides. Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru the first Prime Minister of our country delivered his historic speech on midnight freedom stating that our country wakes "to freedom when the whole world is asleep" Sentiments apart, the fact of India achieving political freedom is an established fact of history. The resolution of the CPI on this transfer of power was totally based on subjective understanding. Political freedom need not be mixed with socio economic freedom which will be achieved by the long drawn, sustained class struggles by the classes concerned. Marxism teaches the same thing. Freedom achieved under the leadership of the national capitalist class cannot be expected to be socio-economic revolution. Neither it can be interpreted as an unholy compromise between national bourgeoisie and British imperialism. Nor it is a mortgage of our freedom to foreign imperialism. It is pure and simple political independence and freedom from the foreign rule.

The analysis made by the CC of CPI was based on the analysis of the Communist international, what ever the new name it had. The second party congress held in 1948 reiterated and further emphasized that the so called freedom of 1947 August was a sham and fake independence and was virtually the surrender to Anglo American imperialism. This analysis flows from the ideological perception of the third and sixth conferences of the Comintern which unequivocally declared that the national liberation movements must and should be led by the proletariat or the Communist parties which represent the proletariat of the respective countries. Only then freedom will mean freedom from exploitation, political, social and economic. It underscored that the national bourgeoisie will never be patriotic to have any interest in freedom and democracy.

On the other hand it will collaborate with foreign imperialism in its own class interest. Hence there should be no truck with national bourgeoisie any time. Experiences spread over half a century and more, all over the world have disproved the above theory propounded in the name of Marxism. In India a good numbers of tested freedom fighters who did not agree with the above theory left the CPI while many were thrown out of the party for such political differences making the party poorer and weaker, sapping its relations with the people. It is the same ideological difference of opinion reflecting repeatedly which caused the division of the party into a number of left parties and which continues to prevent their unity of action on very crucial occasions. CPI next only to Indian National Congress remains today weak and divided into a number of parties and groups.

It is necessary to recall the most important political strategy adopted by the seventh conference of the Comintern under the leadership of the immortal Com. Dimitrov of Bulgaria. This political strategy had directed the world communist movement to be very flexible in applying the Marxist thought to the differing and specific socio-economic, political cultural and traditional conditions of the countries of the globe. The essence of this creative line of action was to unite all the patriotic forces including the national bourgeoisie as against the main enemies which are fascism, Nazism and militarism. Lenin went to the extent of making unity even with the vacillating sections of the class enemy at least for a temporary period to isolate and defeat the main enemy. This is common sense in scientific form applicable to any country. It is up to the social scientists of the respective countries to analyse and identify the friends and foes and build the broadest movement of the people to advance the course of history successfully. It is most unfortunate that this creative and most attractive line was not implemented in most of the colonial countries, and as a result the age old liquidationist thinking continued yielding suicidal policies. CPI formally participated in the celebrations of freedom but the resolutions it adopted in 1947 and in 1948 criticising the transfer of power had negated the effect of its performances and isolated it from the mainstream politics causing irreparable losses to the mass organizations led by it and the party itself. Politics is a science which deals with and depends upon the level of socio-political consciousness of the people concerned. Political policy of any party, which does not make a proper study of such level and subjectively comes to some conclusion is bound to do either under estimation or over estimation of the truthful objective situation. Subjectivism, over enthusiasm, radicalism, spirit of sacrifice, intolerance of evil, are all very good tenets of an honest politician. They will yield wonderful results when they are purposefully applied to galvanise the masses for concrete action. Otherwise leaders with the same tenets will end in failure, counter productive situations, and ultimately in liquidation. Individual leaders however charismatic they might be cannot lead the masses even to achieve socio economic progress let alone the political and social

revolution. It is the zeal of the collective leadership and the committed will of the united people that delivers goods.

### **E) Politics in Hyderabad state – My experiences:**

The political situation in the native states was complex and it was much more complicated in Hyderabad state. The British imperialists had encouraged the heads of the native states to enjoy full freedom, including the freedom to secede from India. This is why the Nizam of Hyderabad was bold enough to declare his state as an independent country.

Thanks to the pressures from the central government, the then Home Minister Sardar Patel's efforts in particular, about 500 native states joined Indian Union immediately after India got independence. Maharaja Hari Singh the head of the state of Kashmir, took some time and joined the union. The head of the smallest state Junagadh, ran away from the country but the people declared their union with India. The head of the state of Hyderabad, the biggest state in India population wise, declared his independence. The political movement in Hyderabad led by the Andhra Maha Sabha and the state congress apart from Arya Samaj and other smaller political outfit, right from 1930, strongly expressed their solidarity with the freedom movement of the whole country and from forties directly demanded that Hyderabad state be liquidated to facilitate its three linguistic areas to join their respective linguistic territories which are very much parts of the Indian union. The motive force behind the demand for the liquidation of Hyderabad state was the burning spirit of becoming the part and parcel of the great mother land, Bharat, and to achieve liberation from the slavery from the monarchy, its naked communalism and feudalism. All the political parties gave a clarion call to rise in revolt against the Nizam's slogan of Azad Hyderabad and launch an uncompromising struggle to force the state government to join the Indian Union. On 15<sup>th</sup> August itself, tri colour flags were hoisted at different cross roads in the city. We the leaders of the AHSU planned our own programme to hoist the tri colour on the AHSU office at Sultan Bazar. Our leaders slept in the office itself on 14<sup>th</sup> August night, late Rafi Ahmed the then General Secretary of AHSU hoisted the national flag in the early hours of 15<sup>th</sup> August and escaped from the office in a preplanned manner. Over 100 police personnel waiting downstairs to prevent the student leaders reaching the office premises were surprised to see the action of flag hoisting. All other students' organizations as also the trade unions and many a private organization hoisted the national flags all over the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad. It was a ding dong and hit and hide battle with the police which was determined to suppress the flag hoisting programme.

After 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947, when the Nizam of Hyderabad declared his independence, politics in the state got hot up. All political parties except the Majlis demanded Hyderabad state to join Indian Union without any delay. Though there was no common platform for struggle, parties managed to

coordinate their programme of struggle. Second September was declared as flag day. All observed it successfully. Thousands of tri colour flags were hoisted all over the state defying the prohibitory orders and repression. I was instructed to unfurl the national flag in the hot bed of struggle Narayananaguda in the city. Keshav Memorial school was the venue. Police cordoned off the school. The students as usual attended. I entered the school on bike with shervani and pajama dress, hoisted the flag as planned, over a make shift platform, removed the Shervani and pajama and left the place with half shirt and nicker and reached the shelter without any problem. Students and the school staff cooperated with the AHSU cadres and made the programme a grand success. Police searched for me in vain. On third September this news was flashed in all dailies. ‘Raiyat’, the daily edited by the veteran congress leader, who later became a minister, editorially commented upon the incident as an extra-ordinary action when a young student leader, hoisted the national flag at the political centre of Hyderabad city and dramatically escaped from the scene. I must now remember the then Principal of Keshav Memorial School late Sri Khande Rao Kulkarni, but for whose cooperation our programme of militant action would not have succeeded.

Another adventure is worth mentioning. The students held a public meeting at victory play ground near Chaderghat bridge to express their solidarity with the freedom struggle of Vietnam on Vietnam day. I was asked to address the gathering as Chief Guest. Police wanted to take advantage of this opportunity to arrest me. Again the student masses showed their skill. After my speech was over, I was asked to leave individually while the students as a group went on giving slogans at a different corner. The police mistook that, I was surrounded by the students. To their surprise I was already out of the scene with my cycle.

Yet another incident connected with me in the rural area, in my own Sircilla Taluq is interesting. Police and the Razakars had attacked Galipalli Village, burnt the house of Sri Baddam Yella Reddy, and did all that they were doing to harass the people. The village Jawaripeta, which is near Galipalli was bold to retaliate the atrocities committed by the Police and Razakars. They made necessary preparations for that. It is worth noting that even landlords and the village officers extended their full cooperation, took the leadership, under the circumstances of all round condemnation of the Nizam and his atrocities against innocent people. Along with Sri Ashi Reddy of Jawaripeta village, Sri S. Soorya Rao of Musakanipeta village and Sri Baddam Narasimha Reddy the elder brother of B.Yella Reddy planned a counter attack on the police and Razakars. They did their best to give a fitting blow to the enemy by organizing a big public meeting in Jawaripeta Village. They invited me to partake the meeting and speak for a pretty long time. Accordingly I came from Hyderabad and joined the meeting. About 500 people, men and women from the village gathered at Jowaripeta village centre. I delivered an hour long speech and concluded The organizers of the meeting, the above village leaders, requested

me to again start my speech and continue it for some more time. When I enquired about the cause, they said that they very much expected the Police and Razakars whom they wanted to teach a fitting lesson. However, an hour or so passed off and the enemy did not appear and the meeting was concluded. I later came to know that these elders were ready with country made bombs and local weapons to take an offensive on the enemy when they attacked the meeting.

A typical commitment of an old woman is worth mentioning. "I am told that the police had attacked Galipalli village very recently killing people, molesting women and burning the house of Baddam Yalla Reddy Patel, where is he now?" I asked the old woman. Replying to my question the old woman said innocently. "The police and Razakars wanted to arrest and kill him but the mother earth took him into herself and he was not to be found. He will come back with people's army and put an end to these enemies". When I narrated this incident to Com.Baddam Yella Reddy and others at Vijayawada, they laughed to their hearts content and appreciated the consciousness of even an old woman and the way she understood the meaning of being 'underground'.

This is how the movement went on. It was the beginning of the armed struggle in Telangana. It was the calm before the storm which ensued. Hundreds of young men were mentally getting ready to face the enemy with whatever arms available and save their kith and kin, their freedom and self respect. Nizam had practically surrendered to the Razakars and their leader Kasim Razvi who had no qualms. It was a civil war brewing. People at large were visualizing the days when 'do or die' will be the only alternative. Under such circumstances the executive of the All Hyderabad Students Union met and elected me as the new general secretary. I had to accept the new responsibility. I was dictated by the extra ordinary circumstances. I was reminded of my father's advice to be bold, not to shirk the responsibility and discharge the duties to the best of ability befitting the honour and dignity in life. When I sought his reaction to my extra ordinary decision, he reiterated the above views categorically. My wife Lalita too reiterated her positive view and emphasised that she would be by my side under all circumstance. This was enough for me to plunge into the battle field. I went to Vijayawada took one month's armed training meant for the young leadership and started full fledged underground life. My first job was to contact and unify the scattered student leaders of Warangal, Nalgonda, Adilabad, Karimnagar, Gulbarga, Nanded, and Aurangabad. Apart from Hyderabad city. This was a success. We selected Chanda town as our head quarters to operate from. Incidentally, Congress leaders also chose Chanda as their head quarters. Chanda, being on the railway line, Delhi to Hyderabad, was eminently suitable for our work. My good friend and hostel mate for four years Sri K.V. Narsinga Rao was in charge of Congress camp in Chanda. All the congress and socialist leaders often visited the Chanda camp. Sri P.V.Narasimha Rao and P.Narsinga Rao were my good friends. We had a very good rapport, despite ideological and political differences and were forced

to coordinate our activities, which we did successfully. Late Sri J.Ananda Rao, my uncle was the camp organizer while his wife Smt.Radha and my wife Lalita were the keepers of the den. Apart from student activists, party leaders of Adilabad and Karimnagar District used to visit the camp and conduct political and military camps for the cadres. There was also a very well organized camp at Sirvancha on the northern bank of Godavari river facing Kaleswaram Temple of the Karimnagar District. I did my best to take care of the organization and coordination. Sri Ravi Narayana Reddy, while submitting the list of the incharges of various camps in Telangana to the Central Government mentioned my name as incharge of Sirvancha camp along with a number of incharges of the border camps around Telangana. I recall a number of moments filled with tension, excitement and risks the trainees and their leaders had to face and discharge their responsibilities with dedication and sense of sacrifice. The martyrs of Karimnagar Sri A.Prabhakara Rao, S.Bhoopathi Reddy, Amrut Lal Sukhla along with a good number of freedom fighters got their political and military training, refresher training in Sirvancha Camp. They left this camp and carried on their operations starting from Manthani taluq in Karimnagar and laid down their lives in a battle against the Nizam's Police and Razakars at Mandhapuram in Karimnagar taluq. The veterans from Adilabad like Rama Krishna Sastry, Daji Shankara Rao, Basetti Ganga Ram and Kumara Swamy and others organized their armed struggle from Chanda camp as their headquarters. Tears roll out from myself and Lalita when we remember these affectionate leaders whose company gave us the necessary homeliness, the fraternity under the most difficult conditions of underground life. My eldest daughter J.Aruna who was only two years old then enjoyed their love and care. She hardly recollects these moments now when she is above sixty three. These border camps, apart from being centres for political and military training for the members of the squads, acted as centres for the collection and distribution of literature and ammunition. Lady members were very effective in this work of transport.

An interesting incident is worth mentioning: Congress camp, though supposed to be a centre for arms training, was very short of teachers in armed struggle. My friend K.V.Narsinga Rao, the in-charge of congress camp in Chanda, asked me to request Sri Bombay Prasad an expert in arms training to spare some time and render his services in their camp. This issue gave rise to a bitter political discussion both in congress and communist camps, as to whether congressmen can take to arms and whether communists should help congress party which opposes the armed struggle by the communists. However the trainers and the trainees resolved this controversy by agreeing with each other to start the training without academic discussion. Bombay Prasad was very happy to render his valuable services and our friends K.V. and P.V. along with others thanked me and the party for coming to their rescue at a critical time for a crucial job.

Congress, as a party was not prepared for armed struggle. It gave the call for cutting down the toddy trees to drastically reduce the revenue income of the state government. Within a couple of months, say September to November 47 this programme came to a close under the repression of the state government. There was no alternative, but to initiate armed struggle in defence of the party cadre and people in the face of inhuman atrocities and excesses committed by the razakars and the police. Congress workers and leaders led by Swami Ramananda Teertha, realized this ground reality and gave a signal for militant armed defence. Thanks to this bold decision over 100 borders camps were set up which were manned by the communist and congress followers. A good number of sub camps were also set up within the state border. These border camps were successfully organized and run with the excellent cooperation of the people and their leaders on the other side of the borders irrespective of political commitments. It is also worth noting that the patriots belonging to Andhra, Maharastra and Karnataka districts, far and near, came all the way and participated in this historic movement for liberation from monarchy and autocracy. We salute all those known and unknown patriots who laid down their precious lives at the altar of motherland for freedom and democracy.

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### **3. UNDERGROUND AND JAIL LIFE (1948-1952)**

#### **A) Underground Life**

After August 15<sup>th</sup> of 1947, peoples movement in the state, Telangana in particular, demanding the state's integration with Indian union grew leaps and bounds. People following all the political parties, excepting the Majlis, rose in revolt. Government of India through its resident Sri K.M.Munshi repeatedly tried its best to convince the Nizam's government to follow the example of other states but in vain. British government backed the Nizam by helping it with finances and armaments. A British agent by name Mongton supplied arms to the Nizam's government.

Majlis and its leaders, its President Kasim Razvi succeeded in convincing the Nizam about the significance of keeping the state as a muslim state, where every muslim can lead a ruler's life. Muslims in general fell a victim to this vicious campaign conducted by the majlis that Islam was in danger and that they can protect their religion and spread it through conversions. Kasim Razvi, a demagogue, through his provocative speeches perverted the muslim mind with religious dogmatism and communal madness. Despite the worst provocation, Andhra Maha Sabha, CPI and congress succeeded in maintaining communal peace and propagated the spirit of national integration and communal amity. They exhorted the people against having a princely state in the heart of our country and roused the mass consciousness against the autocratic rule and for democracy. There were a good number of secular minded and nationalist Muslim intellectuals who were for the integration of the state with Indian Union. However they did not come out openly in the back ground of a state sponsored communal atmosphere. Com.Maqdoom Moiuddin, Jawad Razvi, Rafi Ahmed, Basitulla Beg and other CPI leaders were well known leaders of the working class and the CPI. The renowned editor of the daily Payam Sri Qazi Abdul Gaffar Khan was a stalwart known for his commitment to nationalism and secularism. The name of Shoebullakhan, the editor of the daily IMROZ deserves special mention. He conducted a relentless and fearless campaign against monarchy and communalism through his daily. He was ideologically a committed leftist. Kasim Razvi did not like him and his ceaseless campaign against communalism, and gave a public call to cut down his right hand and to put an end to his nationalist writings. A few days after, when he was returning from his office late in the night by a rickshaw, the Razakars stopped him and brutally attacked him with deadly weapons, cutting his right hand first which resulted in his instantaneous death. This incident took place on the Barkathpura road, near his house. My shelter was nearby and I managed to reach the spot and have a look at the scene of offence. The hero of the freedom struggle Shoeb was lying in a pool of blood. The news of a gruesome murder of a freedom

fighter spread through out the country like wild fire. All the democrats, writers and journalists and freedom loving people of the country strongly condemned it. The martyr Mr. Shoebulla Khan and also a number of nationalist Muslims like the editors of Payam Khazi Abdul Gaffar Khan, Akhtar Hasan were my good elder friends. I had the privilege to contribute my statements and articles to such esteemed dailies. CPI, committed to Marxist thought and ideology, organizationally well knit, did infuse class content into this surging mass movement. Nizam's state with its jagirs and Maktas, Nawabs and Deshmukhs having the worst kind of administrative machinery was an oppressive state without any trace of civil liberty much less any kind of democracy. The feudal landlords were the owners of not hundreds but thousands of acres of agricultural land. Overwhelming majority of the rural masses were either tenants or agricultural labourers and artisans who were subjected to forced labour called vetti. There was no civil liberty to ventilate their grievances. These feudal lords with their henchmen were the props of the princely state. Liberation from the monarchy should lead to socio economic freedom for the common people. Therefore initially a call was given to occupy the lands of these landlords who supported the Nizam's government and its Rajakar gangs, leaving two hundred acres for their personnel and family cultivation. Most of such anti people landlords fled away to cities and border areas to protect themselves from the wrath of the people. People refused to render free service. Old order or oppression and terror gave way to new sense of freedom thanks to the presence of the CPI cadres and its squads. It was estimated that over ten lakh acres of agricultural lands were occupied by the people, the tenants in particular. A rough estimate indicated that about 2000 villages spread over Nalgonda, the then Warangal and Karimnagar districts were liberated and the committees elected by the people administered the villages. It was also estimated that about 15-20 thousand people were put behind bars in various jails while over 40-50 thousand people participated in this historic struggle. Above all it was also estimated on all hands that over 4000 people laid down their precious lives in the Telangana armed struggle fighting against the fascist rule of the Nizam and the anti communist repressive rule of the state and central congress governments. Anti Nizam struggle for the integration of the state into Indian union which lasted for 13 months after 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947 up to 17<sup>th</sup> September 1948 was literally a war against the decadent monarchy, conducted by the people belonging to all political convictions, classes and communities. Only a few sections of people belonging to landlord classes criticized the Telangana movement as a movement engineered by the communists. Unfortunately even a section of congressmen, thanks to their class understanding, echoed the above nefarious propaganda. All the well meaning people, the democrats all over the country and the world lauded the struggle as one which provides many a valuable lesson for the future. It remains as a golden chapter in Indian history for freedom and democracy.

**i) My experiences in the Party Conferences:** The second congress of the CPI, held in Calcutta from 28<sup>th</sup> February to 6<sup>th</sup> March 1948 was a historic event which impacted almost the entire history and the future of the communist movement in India. I attended this congress as a delegate along with a large contingent from Andhra and Telangana. That was the time when the movement for the integration of the Hyderabad state with Indian union was at its peak. I had the opportunity to hear the speeches of the veterans of the Indian Communist movement for the first time and to study the documents of the party congress closely and between the lines.

Right from 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947, the indications of far reaching changes in the party policy and its estimation about the socio-economic conditions in the country and the level of peoples' political consciousness, were made available to the ranks. The political resolutions adopted in the second party congress mainly provided the theoretical basis for such a radical shift. Following are the main planks of the new line of thinking.

- 1) The economic crisis in all the colonial and semi colonial countries including India had aggravated and crossed the stage of no return. Bourgeoisie (capitalist class) including the national bourgeoisie and their political parties have joined hands with foreign imperialism.
- 2) The Inter imperialist contradictions have been intensified and the American imperialism is the main enemy today.
- 3) Objective conditions for a socialist revolution have matured. People have been totally disillusioned with the national bourgeois parties and they are prepared to plunge into the movement for socialism.

Later history of the Indian political movement as also the bitter experiences of almost all the colonial and semi colonial peoples movements for freedom and social democracy have proved the bankruptcy and the subjectivity behind the above planks. Practical experiences flowing from the above political policies and their execution, accumulated through out about half a century and over, have proved beyond doubt that the above analysis of the objective socio economic conditions and the level of the political consciousness of the people at large was totally based on simple and pure subjectivism which in real life amounted to suicidal adventurism. My own bitter experiences in this connection deserve a mention.

**South East Asian Youth Conference:** This was also held in Calcutta during the same year 1948. I had attended this conference as the leader of the delegation of the then state of Hyderabad. Even though the conference was designated as the South East Asian Youth conference, almost every major country of the west, Latin America and Africa was represented in it. I had attended this conference coming right from the midst of the heroic Telangana struggle demanding the merger of Hyderabad state into Indian union and to make Indian independence

complete. I was armed with a detailed document depicting the fascist rule of the Nizam of Hyderabad and the heroic struggles and sacrifices being made by the people of the State. This document which acted as a piece of fire arm, was beautifully drafted by the veteran of Hyderabad peoples' movement Dr.Raj Bahadur Gour. It was self explanatory, educative and rousing. All eyes of the revolutionary leaders of the world, particularly the youth were looking to Telangana which was creating history in India. This document made my job easy. I had only to elucidate and explain, to answer a few questions put by the enthusiastic delegates.

Personally I was very much impressed by the reports from different parts of the world, Asia in particular. The indications of the onward march of the peoples movement in South East Asia made me to believe that the socialist revolution allover the world, particularly in India was round the corner; and the days of imperialism and capitalism are only numbered. That it was only a day dream dawned on me within a few months of my return to Hyderabad and the police action there after. Some more details will throw more light on the above illusion and reality. I had the very good opportunity to exchange views with the delegates from China, Vietnam, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore also with the western delegates from Latin America, Cuba in particular; Africa and Yugoslavia etc., The sum and substance of our discussion was that the socialist revolution was on the agenda. Leaders of Indian delegation Com.Satyapal Dong and Geeta Mukherji, the fire brands, eloquently asserted that Sri Jawahar Lal Nehru was the Chiang Kaishek of India who betrayed the national movement and sold the mother land to Anglo American imperialism and declared that the Indian people are out to overthrow the Nehru Government and replace it by a socialist government. I had my own doubts about the correctness of the assessment of the Indian political situation. My wishful thinking made me calm and quiet and prompted me to make an in depth study of the Marxist theory of state and revolution, and the Indian reality for its application.

My conversation with the general secretary of the Burmese Communist Party is unforgetable. Com.Thakin Thanthun was the Secretary General of the Broad National Front of Burma known as anti fascist peoples' freedom league. Its president was U.Aungson a nationalist leader. He was the father of the Nobel laureate and Mayanmars present leader of the movement for freedom and democracy, Smt Aung Son Suki. Aung Son had died long back. The General Secretary of (AFPFL) Com. Thakin Thanthun convincingly told me that their party already had a lakh of well trained armed volunteers to take on the military government in power. According to him there was no dearth of arms as the Japanese fascist army which fled away after its defeat in the second world war had left back a good number of fire arms which can be collected easily. Hence his party will give a call for the offensive battle and will set up a parallel government very soon. Reports from China were much more encouraging. The leader of the Chinese delegation vividly explained how the

liberated areas were being expanded and how towns were being encircled and being liberated by the guerilla armies. All other reports, more or less gave the rosy picture of all round victory over imperialism and capitalism.

**Stories of Defeats:** Back from the South East Asian Youth conference and the second party congress I joined my duty in the party headquarters at Hyderabad. My usual interest in the study of relevant literature and my anxiety to know the objective situation got redoubled. China's successful revolution in the same year, 1948, gave me immense happiness and more confidence in the correct application of the science of Marxism to the specific conditions. However, the news emanating from other Asian and south east Asian countries dampened my enthusiasm and forced me to ponder over the causes for defeats. Burma's experiences pained me a lot. The news of Thakin Than Thun giving a call for an all out offensive battle against the Burmese government acted as a source of satisfaction. A few days later another news about the setting up of a parallel government in Burma with Thakin Than Thun as its Prime Minister enhanced the credibility of the leader. A few weeks and months after, news after news poured in giving an account of the retreat of the parallel government in to jungles. Finally a couple of months after, news appeared with bold headlines that Thakin Than Thun and his ministers were killed in an encounter with the army. News of the same kind of retreats and defeats from the South Asian countries caused a demoralizing effect on all those who had expected the onward march of the revolutionary movements. The developments in Indonesia are heart rendering. Indonesian party was known as the largest party numerically in the whole world. Its leader Idit was the well known popular leader of the country. Dr. Sokarno the president elect of Indonesia, a nationalist leader was a very popular national leader as our Mahatma Gandhi. The country did achieve freedom from the clutches of Dutch imperialism and the independent government was headed by Dr.Sokarno. Dr.Sokarno appointed Mr.Idit as his personal adviser in the due discharge of his duties as the head of the national executive. Since the world communist movement and its leader Comintern operating from Moscow came to far reaching conclusion that the situation all over the world was ripe for socialist revolutions and that the bourgeois nationalist leadership will hatch compromise with foreign imperialism and should never be trusted, the leadership of the Indonesian communist party came to the most unfortunate conclusion to put an end to Dr.Sukarno's government even by taking advantage of his close relationship with the party. The melancholy news of the sudden death of Dr.Sukarno appeared in the morning news papers. People of Indonesia came to the irresistible conclusion that communists had their own hand behind the conspiracy and the death of the President of the country. The masses of people in an island country rose in revolt against the communists and their followers including their sympathizers and resorted to mass killings. News appeared that instead of water the rivers of Indonesia were flowing with the blood of communists. Lakhs of communists were put to death. The largest party in the world was virtually liquidated at the hands of the people. The

framers of the policy of the Comintern sitting in Moscow are responsible for this holocaust. They never cared for the truth and the concrete conditions in different countries. The situation in Indo-China was qualitatively different. The leader of the liberation movement against French imperialism himself was the tallest nationalist and communist leader. Sectarian line of Comintern could not have any effect on the ruling front which was being led by the veteran of the nation. Movements in Malaysia, Singapore had to face defeat after defeat and the Communist parties got totally isolated from the public life. The experiences from Cambodia also known as Compuchia are suffocating for all patriots including the communists. Mr. Polpot, the leader of the Communist Party and the head of the state acted in a manner most disgraceful for all Marxists. According to his notion, bourgeois education is responsible for exploitation of man by man, and no educated man can be corrected. Therefore he decided to kill all the educated gentry in the country. Dictator Polpot carried out his philosophy of murdering all the educated people. Lakhs of literate people not thousands, were brutally killed and buried en masse all over the country. Barbarism was paraded as Marxism by a despot. The dictator Polpot, later suffering jail life died only a few years back. Such is the height of the misunderstanding and misapplication of the lofty science of Marxism founded on the philosophy of Humanism. This event combined with the most sectarian decision of the communist party of India to continue the Telangana armed struggle even after the police action and its suicidal results opened my eyes to open my mouth and effectively raise my voice of protest against the liquidationist line of the party. We all were underground. Ravi Narayana Reddy, the tallest leader of the Telangana armed struggle came to a similar conclusion and established contacts with the like minded comrades and together with his friends decided to fight against the suicidal policy of party and save the lives of thousands of innocent partisans.

**ii). Successful movement for the merger of the state of Hyderabad with the Indian Union:** Government of India left no stone unturned in persuading the Nizam of Hyderabad to join the Indian Union. Sri K.M. Munshi, the agent of Indian Government in Hyderabad played a key role in this persuasion. Government of India had entered into a stand still agreement with the Nizam. It also argued that communists will gain ground and expand their influence if Hyderabad state remains independent of India. All such arguments fell on deaf ears and Nizam proceeded ahead with the slogan of Azad Hyderabad. He even launched a complaint to the UN and the Security Council against the Government of India's "aggressive designs". People all over India got restive with the atrocities committed by the Nizam and his Razakar gangs and brought all round pressure on the central government to use police power and integrate the state of Hyderabad by force. Ultimately the central government, finding no alternative, conducted a well planned police action. The army's contingents led by major general J.N. Choudary entered the state from different corners on 13<sup>th</sup> September 1948 and converged to Hyderabad city on 17<sup>th</sup> September 1948.

This five days operation integration succeeded and the Nizam of Hyderabad surrendered to Indian Union on the last day. Blind faith and religious fanaticism of the Razakars made them to resist the onward march of the mighty army but in vain. Army succeeded in its venture with minimum causalities. This is the victory of the people of Hyderabad state and the political parties which led the movement for integration for the previous 13 months. The credit in the first place goes to the thousands of martyrs who laid down their lives at the altar of mother land to keep India united and strong. The common people of Hyderabad heaved a sigh of relief for having been liberated from the atrocities committed by the feudal and communal gangs. It also heralded a new era of freedom and democracy where the people will have their say in the shape of things to come. Communist Party deserves a special mention for its bold and consistent militant armed action in defence of the people and their properties. Its slogan of land to the tiller caught the imagination of the entire country and land reforms were taken on the agenda. It will be in the fitness of things to remember Vinobabhave, the renowned Gandhian who initiated Bhoojan Movement sensing the land hunger of the rural masses and its socio economic impact.

**iii) Post integration situation and problems:** The successful movement for integration with Indian union, while creating in the minds of people, a sense of liberation and freedom from the most oppressive rule, generated new hopes of socio-economic regeneration. Landlords who fled away from the villages and those who acted as the agents of the hated feudal rule, reappeared to the people as congress men and resorted to their out dated methods of harassing people conniving with the hated revenue and police officers. Lands which were occupied by the tenants and the real owners were sought to be taken back with the help of bureaucracy. Despite the repeated promises made by the congress leaders to introduce sweeping reforms to change the old order, things continued as they were. Adding insult to injury, the persons responsible for inhuman atrocities against the people, reappeared as congress leaders and resorted to avenge the people and their local leaders. On the other hand the policy to continue the Telangana armed struggle and expand it, adopted in the second party congress of the CPI made the situation very complex. Overwhelming majority of the masses heaved a sigh of relief after the autocratic rule was liquidated. People only desired the implementation of the progressive policies promised by the Congress government both Central and State. Communist party instead of paying its attention to the new demands of the people, carried forward its armed struggle with the most radical political slogans of overthrowing the Nehru government to create liberated areas where communist rule will be set up to establish socialism here and now. Thousands of the partisans organized in the armed squads were thrown into confusion. Congress government with its armed force was bent upon liquidating the communist movement by unleashing the worst kind of repression and terror, particularly directed against those who either participated in or helped the armed struggle. This unequal

battle continued till mid 1951 when the counter productive call for armed struggle was withdrawn by the CPI . It should be underscored that out of 4000 and odd Martyrs of this historic armed struggle, majority had to lose their lives after police action when the balance of forces shifted and the armed squads had to fight the most defensive battle against the mighty army equipped with the most modern weapons. However the martyrs laid down their precious lives with full commitment and confidence for the bright future of the people. Undoubtedly they were misguided by an immature political leadership, there should be no iota of doubt about their patriotic zeal and sincerity of purpose. It is up to the politicians to learn the costly lessons and rededicate their lives to redeem the dreams of the martyrs.

As a young student leader, unfortunately I had to witness this loosing battle from close quarters. Hundreds of young lives having bright future, had to be lost which created a very big vacuum in later public life. My personal efforts in company with the big guns in preventing this madness in the name of Marxism did not bear fruits. All said and done, one can never come to the conclusion that CPI with its Marxist philosophy is responsible for such a loss of life. As a matter of fact it was the CPI and its Marxian thought which kindled the class consciousness among the most down trodden people and made them to challenge the feudal system and its decadent rule. It is the CPI which awakened the masses of the people, particularly the women folk to face odds and fight back the enemy with gusto and self confidence. Inner party struggle, though bitter and costly enough, cannot be exploited to negate the scientific Marxism aiming at humanism. The life experience of the very Telangana people voting for the CPI(PDF) in the first general elections held in 1952 is proof positive of peoples' appreciation of the party that stood by them under the most inhuman conditions. Ravi Narayana Reddy the veteran of the Telangana armed struggle, topped the MPs in the whole country with his vote strength. Leaders like Dr.Jaisoorya Naidu and Pendyala Raghava Rao won more than one seat, thanks to their popularity with the people. I must reiterate my salutations to the Martyrs of the Telangana armed struggle and good wishes to the party that led it. Coming back to my personal experiences, I had to lead my underground life for about four long years commencing from September 1947 to October 1951 when I was arrested. I was arrested under preventive detention Act, released on parole in February 1952 just before the first general elections and rearrested within a couple of months. I was finally released after the judgment of the Supreme Court of India in the famous A.K.Gopalan Case, declaring the P.D.Act as ultraviris of the constitution. My underground and jail life is full of interesting and useful experiences; a few of them deserve special mention in this connection.

**Chikkadapally Episode:** It was early in 1949 when the line of the second party congress to over throw the Nehru government was in its full swing. Hyderabad state police with the help of Malabar Police and North Indian Para Military

force was active to put down the Communist movement. Communist Party took it as a challenge and planned for the guerilla warfare to the best of its ability. Hundreds of armed squads plunged into the “Liberation” war against the union government. Party’s slogan was to defend the liberated villages, protect the lives and properties of the people, and expand the liberated area to create a base for its further expansion like Yenon in China. The Vellodi government came to know about my operating from Hyderabad city. A special vigilance squad was entrusted with the job to apprehend me and my followers.

I had hired a house in Chikkadapally area near by the temple. My plan of U.G. life was to stay in this house during the day time and sleep in the house of late Sri N.Dharma Rao, at Narayana Guda. Dharma Rao, an employee of the Life Insurance Corporation was very strong sympathizer of the party apart from being my close relative and personal friend. Ultimately the intelligence squad succeeded in identifying my place of residence. My mother, wife Lalita with our young baby Aruna, and my brother Ch.Hanumantha Rao used to stay in the house along with me. Police hatched a perfect action plan to encircle my house and arrest me. Accordingly, in an evening, they posted armed police guard around the den while cordoning off the entire area of Chikkadapally by fixing pickets on all entrances. As usual I came from Narayanaguda to enter Chikkadapally early in the morning at about 5 A.M. A strong Police man suddenly prevented me from entering Chikkadapally by stopping my cycle, firmly holding the handle of the bike. When I asked for the reason to stop me the innocent police man loudly said in Urdu. “Today the government planned to arrest Ch.Rajeswara Rao, the Communist leader who is sheltering in Chikkadapally. We have identified his shelter and encircled it. We have also decided not to permit any body to enter or to leave from this basti till this operation arrest is over in the morning hours” I got the full information, and replied “I do not know nor I want to know about your plan. My problem is that I have bought tickets at Kachiguda Railway station to travel up to Kama Reddy. I have to take my mother there in a Rikshaw’ allow me to proceed further”. He strongly refused to allow me and told me “if you are in a hurry, look that side; there is a tent, and inside the tent Sri N.Satyaranayana Reddy, the president of ‘A’ ward congress committee is resting. If he permits I will let you to proceed further”. I got the confirmation of the whole plan, since the above congress leader was very much known to me and was very much keen to get me arrested. I immediately and persuasively asked the policeman not to waste my time in this discussion and instead allow me to go back to Kachiguda station and return the tickets. “Go back and return not today till the operation arrest is completed” he ordered “thank you I can travel tomorrow” I said and turned my cycle back and reached my night shelter Narayanaguda.

The police raided Chikkadapally den early hour in the morning, asked my family members about my whereabouts, when they expressed their ignorance, individually and collectively, policemen collected my Marxist literature and a

few papers from the house and placed them in the Police van out side. Seeing my brother Ch.Hanumantha Rao the Police Officer questioned him. "Are you also a Communist?" In an angry mood Hanumantha Rao retorted "yes! I am also a Communist – so what?" The police officer, very cunningly said "nothing! You come along with us to Narayananaguda Police Station and come back home with the literature we have just seized from your house" Hanumantha Rao readily followed them to the police station where he was recorded as arrested. Within a few minutes it was made known to him. He was determined to face any eventuality. He was shifted to Chanchalguda jail and there after was transferred to Jalna open jail in Marathwada which was specially built to accommodate hundreds of the Telangana Communist leaders and cadres.

Those were the days of acute struggle for the execution of a far reaching political strategy of the CPI. Equally firm were the state and central governments to put down with iron hand the armed struggle continued by the party. Hanumantha Rao, my brother, well equipped with the strategy and tactics of the party, was elected to the leadership of the jail committee. Party had even asked the comrades inside jails to brake the jails, resorting to militant struggles inside jails. He took the charge of taking political classes for the detainees. The government subjected the political prisoners to the worst possible difficulties in providing with food and other minimum requirements. The prisoners resisted this inhuman behaviour of the jail authorities and demanded better facilities. Hanumantha Rao could not withstand the sufferings, and lost his normal health, and became very sick and weak. He developed stomach trouble which the jail doctors could not cure. When his health condition deteriorated fast the jail authorities released him in a night only to escape from the consequences arising out of the further deterioration of his health. Released from the jail in the night in an unknown area, he somehow managed to reach the Jalna Railway station nearby. Season being very cold, having no clothes to protect his body, he chose to take some rest by lying down under a railway bench on the platform. Some more time passed, and a railway watch man, holding the signal light, came near the bench, and shouted "who is sleeping under the bench?" finding no reply forthcoming, the watch man, with the help of his signaling light, discovered that it was none else but Hanumantha Rao Babu whom he himself had served as a servant boy working at Nagaram village in Sircilla Taluq. He was Yellaiah belonging to Cheerlavancha village nearby our village, employed by our father to serve our family and to take care of Hanumantha Rao, the child then. Realizing the truth Yellaya hugged him to his heart's content, lifted him from the ground and carried him to his hut nearby. There, he was given a bath, clothing and necessary food and rest. Next day Yellaya took Hanumantha Rao to a particular place in Hyderabad, well known to our family. Our father immediately arrived from Karimnagar and took him to Karimnagar where our family was staying in a rented house. Father arranged for all medical help that is necessary for his speedy recovery. He regained his normal health within a few months. That was the period when the armed struggle had spread to

Karimnagar district from the borders of Warangal and Adilabad areas. The news of the growing activities of the Communist armed squads spread all over the district. Brother could not resist the temptation to join the ‘dalam’ in the earliest possible time as he was fit enough to discharge his duties. Our parents and the family members persuaded him not to take such a decision and spoil his health just recovered. All such efforts remained in vain and on one fine morning he undertook his journey to the jungle to join the squad despite the repeated requests made by our parents not to risk his life. I was getting the information regularly and was only worried about his physical fitness to face the sufferings as member of guerilla squad. Days and, months passed by, the news of his sagging health disturbed me in my den at Hyderabad. Within a few days news appeared in a daily that Hanumantha Rao was encountered by the reserve police. My self and our family members, parents in particular, passed sleepless nights worrying about his life. I wrote a letter to him through a courier asking him to come to city and join us at a particular place. No reply; and I was sure he would not respond. I requested Com.Maqdoom, our state leader and one whom Hanumantha Rao likes most, to write a strong letter and ask him to reach the headquarters immediately. Fortunately the letter had a salutary effect and Hanumantha Rao joined us within a couple of days. Party had arranged for all necessary medical help. He was put in charge of taking the classes to educate our cadres about the party’s line of action, its programme and policy. Myself and Lalita heaved a sigh of relief and fondly hoped he would recover soon. The den was a pretty big house located in Subzimandi near Puranapul. Leaders like Md.Kasim, the founder leader of the RTC Employees Union, T.B.Vithal Rao, the Railway Leader, Maqdoom, myself with Lalitha and child Aruna working class leaders Balram and his wife Smt. Bhagyavathi along with late Smt. Susheela whose husband late Sri Sena Reddy who was in jail and late Smt. Indira whose husband late Sri Narasimha Rao was our courier along with their baby girl Nirmala lived together. Some more leaders would temporarily visit our house for necessary discussions.

We had to shift from one den to another to escape the possible arrest. Brother continued to stay with us till he was again arrested after his Nalgonda district tour. He was finally released only after the party officially announced the withdrawal of the armed struggle in mid fifty one. The situation was absolutely unmanageable with underground life, when the contacts with the area committees and the squads in operation were sapped. Brother, after release decided to complete his studies which were stopped due to his rustication from Karimnagar High school. He concentrated on his studies again and completed his matriculation and intermediate appearing privately. He joined the Nizams college and completed his B.A course in economics; then did his M.A from Osmania university. There after he did his doctorate in agricultural economics. He was honoured with prestigious awards and decorated with rare certificates thanks to his well researched articles and books on economics and the problems of the most backward areas. He won the highest respects and regards from

hundreds of his IAS students who later became the masters of their respective fields of learning and administration: finally he served as the director of the Institute of Economic growth, Delhi and retired. He was appointed as the member of the Planning Commission and Finance Commission where his contributions were highly appreciated. He acquired the name and fame as one of the top ranking intellectuals in the whole country by dint of his hard work and commitment for inclusive socio-economic growth. The central government honoured him with the title of Padmabhooshan which gave a unique status for him in the country. Our family is proud of him for his sacrifices, as a freedom fighter, his dedication to the science of economics, agricultural economics in particular, and his way of life, plain living and high thinking. I am immensely happy to learn on the Republic Day of 2012 that he has been elevated to the Chancellorship of the Central University in Hyderabad by the President of India. It will be yet another honour to him.

**City College incident:** It was the period of intensified struggle to overthrow the Nehru Government I, despite my basic differences with the party line, did my best to execute the line, facing odds. The government was in the offensive to liquidate the party. Sri Nanjappa, well known for his merciless man hunting was appointed to deal with the communists in Telangana area. Apprehending the U.G. leaders and finishing them physically was his strategy. Ranga Chari, a youth leader, my close friend, who rendered his service in procuring the modern arms and supplying them to rural areas was arrested and detained in Warangal jail. Nanjappa, when he took charge was informed about this dare devil who was detained in Warangal jail. He did not lose any time and directly proceeded to Warangal, picked him up from the jail, took him to the nearby jungle and shot him dead, cruelly. His philosophy was to spread terror all around the area and frighten the people at large. Such inhuman methods were adopted in other Asian countries like Burma, Malaysia etc.,. This was the most unequal battle between the revolutionaries and the all mighty government. People in general, though sympathetic towards the sacrifices made by the Communists, remained neutral to avoid the repression from the side of the government. Yet, there existed a few families which were bold to provide with necessary shelters and food to the armed squads. At the same time they strongly advised the squads not to risk their lives in such an unequal warfare.

Under such critical conditions, I carried out my part of duty by involving some bold and committed student cadres. I took shelter in the house of Mr.Iqbal, a student of the city college. My ,main activity was to write leaflets and pamphlets, get them cyclostyled secretly and arrange their pakka distribution in different colleges. Iqbal and his old mother used to reside in a small house. I was provided with a room to carry on my work of reading, writing , and copying the leaflets. I was residing there in a Muslim Colony with the Pseudo name Gayasuddin. To be very familiar with the people of the locality, I even used to regularly offer prayers on every Friday in a near by Mosque. On a

day Iqbal did his job of distributing the leaflets in the city college premises. The information reached the special intelligence squad in no time. They moved into action with some force and a vehicle. Their plan was to arrest our student leader Iqbal, proceed to his house located in Agapura, arrest the leaders if any sheltering there and seize the machinery used for the multiplication of the leaflets. They arrested Iqbal and forced him to show the direction towards his residence. Another muslim student of the city college, closely observing the event, decided himself to rush to Iqbal's house on his cycle and save the party leader there if any. Accordingly he dashed on his bicycle to Iqbal's house. The doors were closed from inside. Myself and Iqbal's mother were inside the house. The young student shouted from out side to open the door and help escape of any communist leader staying there, as the police was approaching fast along with the arrested Iqbal. It was surprising for me. For a moment I did not know what to do. Neither I can tell any thing to the old lady who was very much upset, hearing the arrest of Iqbal. All that she knew was that I was the good friend of Iqbal, temporarily staying there. She was very much confused and perturbed. I took a decision to open the door and escape. I opened the door. Found young and energetic sympathizer of the party shouting only to help the party leader to escape from the place within no time as the van was expected to reach the place any moment. I followed the young messenger and took shelter in an isolated deserted house by the side of the stray animals. As expected the police reached Iqbal's house in no time, searched the house, seized the literature and cyclo machine. They interrogated the old lady, who told the truth which she knew. They harassed Iqbal in the presence of his mother to tell who was sheltering there. He pleaded his ignorance of the whereabouts and whatabouts of the escaped communist leader. He was taken to police station, subjected to severe torture and there after detained in the jail to undergo his trial. After a few months he was released on bail and he managed to go to Pakistan. I could not see him again. The young student who successfully reached the house earlier than the Police van and helped me to escape arrest and the following consequences, was M.K.Moinuddin, hailing from Mongol village in Medak district, nearby Siddipet. He later worked with me very closely as a student leader. He married the lady student late Zaheer. Moin and Zaheer played a very important role in organizing the party in Medak district. They and their children remained very active in public life. Zaheer, a lady with her commitment to serve the people could not do so for longer time as she suffered from the deadly cancer disease and died. It was the same Moiunuddin who created history with his fiery speech in the All India Peace conference in Calcutta and the polit bureau of the party wrote me a letter appreciating our delegate's rousing speech. He is now an old man, a freedom fighter. He is friendly to me and recollects the good old golden days. Their children are well settled, leading happy lives.

**Kababs and the Nawab:** This is an incident full of tension. After police action, taking shelter with the Hindu families was very precarious, rather very

difficult. Party had a good number of Muslim contacts. They were prepared to undertake any risk to help the party which was fighting against the union government. As such, party could protect itself with their cooperation.

Com.Sibgatulla, my admirer and active student leader hailed from Sircilla in my own district. His father late Mr. Agai knew me and my activities and blessed me many a time. Sibgatulla acted as my courier and helped me a lot during the period of severe political crisis. He arranged my shelter in a house of a big Nawab. This Nawab had no work to do. He depended on the monthly pension given by the government as the ex.jagirdar. Personally I had no friendship with him. I was advised by my courier to observe certain limits while talking to the Nawab. I was introduced to him as Gayasuddin, to be safe. He knew very well that I was an underground communist. He was proud enough to have had this duty to provide shelter for a communist leader. My Urdu language, dress and my behaviour to visit the nearby Mosque to offer prayers on every Friday, convinced the local inhabitants that I was a respectable young Muslim. Police was very much after me but had no idea of my personality either. They were at a loss that more than once I could escape from their well knit plan to apprehend me. Some how they knew that I was residing somewhere with a Muslim family in Agapura.

The Nawab, in whose house I was taking my shelter was shrewd enough to tackle the problems. One day, as usual, after the second show was over, I reached the house and to my utter surprise and shock I found two uniformed police officers sitting with the Nawab, enjoying the choicest drinks with a variety of eatables, Kababs in particular. Immediately the Nawab in a drunken mood said “what Mr.Gayasuddin Saheb, don’t you take care for your health?. Any work, so much as to spoil the health, every day is not good. Please go inside and take rest”. Accordingly I entered my room and bolted it from inside with a feeling of perfect safety. Nawab, despite his drunken mood, did not forget his duty to save me. Next day morning when Sibgatulla met him, he narrated the event of the previous night and explained whether he uttered any word which could cause displeasure to me. As a matter of fact, being a well known Nawab in the locality, he came to know about the movements of the police officers in the locality to shadow and arrest any communist activist. He himself took a decision to invite the police officers to have dinner with him and thus divert the attention of the police. He had even requested the police officers to have their dinner with him whenever they happen to visit the Agapura area. Police officers promised to him to comply with the request made by a benevolent and liberal Nawab. For some time such an arrangement with the police officers paid good dividends. Nawab used to collect the necessary information from the police officers and pass it on to the party through Sibgatulla, who would alert the party people and prevent their arrests.

After I was released from jail, I tried to meet the Nawab Saheb and pay my tributes to him for his extraordinary help, but alas, I was informed that the

Nawab was no more. He passed away only a few months before I was arrested. I was also very sorry to learn that my young friend Sibgatulla too faced an untimely death.

**Sabzeemandi – a mini head quarter:** Life here contained many a lesson. The house was pretty big to accommodate a good number of U.G.leaders and cadres. This was located in Sabzeemandi market area near Puranapul arranged by the city party. We stayed here for a long period in the year 1949. My self and Lalita with our baby girl Aruna, senior leaders like Maqdoom Moiuddin, Md.Quasim the founder leader of RTC, T.B.Vithal Rao, the Railway leader, working class leader Balaram with his wife Bhagyavathi, Smt Indira the wife of courier Sri Narasimha Rao along with her baby girl Nirmala and Smt.Susheela wife of Sena Reddy who was in jail lived there. We all were the leaders of different fronts discharging our respective duties. For the UG purpose I, Ramana Rao with my family was an advocate, heading the large family. The area was quite secluded from the crowded basti. Our duty was to take shelter here during the day time, leave the place on cycles early in the evening and come back late in the night along with the people returning after seeing the second show. We had our own distribution of jobs inside the den, jobs like washing the utensils, washing the clothes and cleaning the house etc. Our day time passed with endless discussions about the political line of the party often leading to heated discussions leading to tensions. However the stories of successes of our cadres would call upon us to remain united with dedication and sense of sacrifice. My self as the head of the family according to the story was practically responsible to take care of the food problem, procurement of the ration with ration cards. This went off well.

On a day the elder leader Sayad Kasim did not return back even late in the night. It was later known that he was arrested. Sometime after, the same thing happened with T.B.Vithal Rao. We were subjected to anxious moments and worry about the alternate dens. Finally myself and Maqdoom remained in the den. Party leaders who knew us as having common views about the ongoing policy, changed their attitude. Party wanted to convince us about the correctness of the party line, which it failed to achieve. Usual monthly salaries were stopped on one pretext or the other. I had to arrange the out right sale of the ‘Chandraharam’ the only ornament of Lalita, which helped our maintenance for a couple of months. There was no one to procure our ration on time. We had to live with the available green gram for some days. Com.Maqdoom seeing the pathetic condition of Baby Aruna, sometimes used to procure some rice made food in his hand kerchief. Some sympathizer from Karimnagar arranged some donation which helped us to sustain a couple of months. My uncle, party sympathizer late Sri Ananda Rao sent Rs. 10 to us to have a feast, as a token since a baby girl was born to him. That girl Smt.Vinoda is now a grand mother of four children born to her son and daughter. We wanted to prepare Biryani with that donation. Maqdoom was requested to buy the Masala required for the

purpose. He procured the needful Masala but the quantity of ‘Sazeera’ was more than double the requirement. Beautiful biryani became too hot to be consumed. However we preferred to wash it, get it dried up and then ate to our heart’s content. Such incidents used to make us forget the temporary difficulties and be optimistic about the better and brighter future.

A painful incident that occurred here is unforgettable. One day, myself and Maqdoom reached the den as usual at about 12.30 PM. To our surprise, unusually Lalita and Susheela did not appear to receive us but were sleeping in their respective places. I approached Lalita in our room and tried to wake her up. She refused to respond and on the other hand tightened her blanket. Maqdoom and myself were perturbed and smelt a rat. Maqdoom asked me to persuade Lalita and know whether some party leader came there during our absence. I did accordingly. After my repeated persuasion Lalita opened her mouth only to curse me and question me whether inner party differences will result in the betrayals to the party and the consequent braking of the families. On my report Maqdoom intervened and asked her and Susheela to frankly tell us as to what was told to them by the visiting party secretary. They revealed all the discourse with him which went on for over an hour. According to them the district party told the ladies that we were out to betray the party and join the enemy camp. He had asked the ladies to decide about their future; whether they will remain with the party or betray it along with the leaders. Lalita and Susheela strongly told the visiting party secretary that such a situation of betraying the party by the leaders will never come and hence there is no question of choosing any way. Maqdoom was happy to hear the determined reply of the ladies and practically took a class to convince them that the inner party debate was only to strengthen the party base and that it was only a friendly contradiction to be taken in a sportive spirit. Next day evening Maqdoom called for the secretary of the town party and had a lengthy discussion with him on the subject of inner party differences and the manner and extent to which they should be dealt with. The secretary only laughed at the whole development and said that he had only referred to the subject jokingly. Non serious jokes and things much more trivial assumed serious importance, some times leading to the divisions of many happy families. These are the stories emanating from a defeatist mentality where frustrated men and women suffer from fear complex, losing political confidence and we were not an exception to it then.

**With Bheemreddy Narasimha Reddy – My esteemed friend:** B.N, as he was popular was a tough politician with strong political views. We were very old friends. I got a message that Com B.N. proposed to meet me at a particular place. Accordingly I reached the place which was the residence of a working class leader, our common friend. The inmates warmly received me as it was a meeting after a very long gap. Meanwhile our veteran B.N. arrived. We hugged each other and had pleasant exchanges. The host requested us to have dinner with them which we agreed to.

“Party Secretary has asked me to discuss with you and convince you about the correctness of the party line” B.N. said to me. I just laughed and gave my consent

“please finish the dinner first and then proceed with your discussion” The host requested us. We agreed. I made a query to B.N. asking:

“Are you sure to argue out and convince me about the correctness of the present political line?”. He too laughed and said

“Neither I can convince you nor you can convince me about the correctness or incorrectness of our political line. I wanted to just meet you and broach the subject and fulfill the party’s instruction” He said, we laughed to our hearts content. “Time alone will solve the problem” we both agreed to. Fortunately, time alone solved the problem. Somewhere in mid 1951 party made an announcement declaring the withdrawal of the armed struggle. It was already too late and too costly as we had to lose thousands of lives of our young and prospective comrades who could change the face of Telangana. Com B.N. who is now no more, used to recollect this event whenever we remembered our good old days of struggle for the integration of Hyderabad state with Indian union. I relish his close association in working together in the Hyderabad Special Screening Committee in the year 1997-98, set up by the central government to recommend for the sanction of freedom fighters pensions to the partisans of the movement for the merger of the erstwhile Hyderabad state with Indian union, with myself as its Chairman. In a lighter mood, CPI cadres, committed to the China way would refer to B.N. as the would be commander-in-chief Judeh of Indian army when Telangana would become a liberated area as Yenon in China. Any way B.N. symbolized a dedicated and bold fighter for freedom and social justice. His political contribution to Telangana, Nalgonda district in particular, as an MLA and MP will ever be remembered.

**Hyderabad City Committees leaflet:** The city committee of Hyderabad issued a leaflet which went against the official line of the party. While the official line demanded the Hyderabad state to be liquidated in to three linguistic areas which will join their respective adjacent linguistic areas in British India to form linguistic states, the city committee, in the wake of the party line of creating liberated areas through armed guerilla warfare, came to the conclusion that it was much easier to liberate the Hyderabad state if it remains as it is and hence gave the slogan of ‘Azad Hyderabad’. The provincial committee immediately disowned and declared it as one which is totally against the party line of formation of linguistic states. Entire party considered it as a trivial issue. But the anti communist critics seized the opportunity to tarnish the image of the party as supporting the slogan of Razakars and the Nizam. They even went to the extent of spreading the canard that the CPI and the Nizam had colluded with each other to weaken the movement for the integration with Indian union. Reactionary press in India and the world over flashed this news beyond the

proportion. It was only a storm in the tea cup with no effect. I was surprised to read a book where the Australian historian went to the extent of saying that on a particular date, Sri Ravi Narayana Reddy and Sri Maqdoom Mohiuddin together met the Nizam of Hyderabad and had hatched a compromise to unitedly fight against the Indian union. Congress leadership at Delhi, based on the reports furnished by Sri K.M.Munshi, the Government of India's resident in Hyderabad, believed in this falsehood. Government of India originally refused to accept the merger movement of Hyderabad state as a part of the freedom movement. Thanks to the united efforts made by the Congress and Communist leaders, central government was forced to accept it. Then it refused to accept the communist camps. Again in the year 1998 Ravi Narayana Reddy and myself had to move heaven and earth to get their recognition, and ultimately succeeded. It was not merely a question of getting freedom fighters pensions for some freedom fighters. It was a larger question of a principle of the recognition of the merger movement in Hyderabad as part and parcel of the general freedom struggle.

**Kalpana's Birth:** It was a blessing in disguise. Under the most difficult conditions of an underground life, nature gifted us with another life to be taken care of. I had opted for this kind of life with the firm conviction in freedom and democracy and I must pickup enough courage and confidence to march ahead boldly facing odds. We had to follow certain technical guidelines for our safety and change our shelter frequently. There were rare occasions when the party had to lose the leaders and cadres because of their negligence and carelessness in observing the guidelines prescribed by the party. Here, in this den, myself and Lalita were the den keepers while Com.Maqdoom and Ch.Hanumantha Rao remained with us. My name was Ramana Rao an advocate and my work was to attend my senior's office every evening and study the cases posted for the next day. People in and around the area would come to me for legal consultations, and got satisfied with my legal advice. Com.Ch.Hanumantha Rao, with his semi underground movements did not encounter any problems and he successfully managed his behaviour as a member of our family. Com.Maqdoom's unusual behaviour his heavy smoking, sitting alone in a room reading books tirelessly, some times became a small problem. Our neighbours questioned about his peculiarity. I could easily provide with a very satisfactory answer, stating that he was my own elder brother Madhav Rao, who was feeling lonely and mentally disturbed since the recent demise of his wife. It went off very well, and the people around treated us with utmost respect and regard. They were more sympathetic towards our family, particularly because we were known as a landlord family from Nalgonda district, settled down in Hyderabad to avoid the insecure life created by the communists on one side and the anti communist violence let loose by the police on the other.

Our second daughter Kalpana, now 60 years old who, very recently celebrated her Sasthipoorti, was born on November 24<sup>th</sup> in the year 1950.

Lalita, unfortunate in having no lady companion with her to help her for a pretty long period before and after delivery, withstood the problems. Hanumantha Rao, my brother and comrade in arms rendered his services in taking her to the Bansilal hospital located in Mojamjahi Market area both before and after her delivery. We are profusely indebted to him for his kind assistance. Equally are the services of Maqdoom who took pains to assist and help me and Lalita in taking care of the new born baby girl, after Lalita was back from the hospital. Aruna, our elder daughter, enjoyed his care and help most. Since she liked wearing a saree, Maqdoom would get a piece of saree and help her to wear it and enjoy. Many a time, because of problems the entire family had to be satisfied for food with green gram or the rotees made of jawar. Maqdoom would often manage to get some cooked rice for Aruna, who would wait till late in the night for her 'Pedananna' who would surely bring her food. This was a risky life yet a golden life when the best qualities of our comrades came to play cutting across religion, caste and community, in the service of society. These are the values created and nourished by great men and women with the purity of heart and sincerity of purpose. We, in our under ground life decided to name our new born baby as Kalpana after the heroine of the brilliant armed struggle against British imperialism Smt.Kalpana of the "Chittagong armoury raid" fame, which is now in Bangladesh. Lalita, apart from caring for her two babies, took every pain to accomplish her duties as a lady den keeper. Friends and comrades visiting our place showered on her their compliments and best wishes which she eminently deserved. Our underground life style helped us not only in protecting our lives for future service to the society but also helped as a training ground for the generation of the best human values and their promotion.

**A week with Pendyala Raghava Rao – A lion of the Historic armed struggle:**  
This was an invaluable experience, deserving a worthy place in my auto biography. That was a period when the student youth filled with the spirit of sacrifice at the altar of mother land, joined the armed squads and staked their precious lives. I, as their leader, was interested in arranging for their comfortable participation in the struggle providing for their training and the area of operation. As such I had the opportunity to visit some areas and closely observe their performance. Accordingly I had decided to visit Warangal area commanded by a veteran and seasoned leader of the Andhra Maha Sabha and the CPI, late Sri Pendyala Raghava Rao. I took the assistance of late Sri Muttaya of Peddapalli in Karimnagar district, who later became the first member of the Legislative Assembly from Peddapalli. We together travelled from our Chanda camp. We reached the rural railway station after crossing the Kazipet station and were about to undertake our journey by walk, when the police stopped us for questioning. They searched the bag of Sri Muttaya only to find big robes only used for taking animals. The story told to the police was that we were from Andhra doing the business of agricultural animals, buying and selling them in different local markets. The dress including the style of talking in typical Andhra

area Telugu language convinced the police about the correctness of our story. They did not bother about me as I was little younger and was the follower of the elder one Muttaya. They let us off and we proceeded towards the direction already known to us. After our long march up to 15-20 miles, we broke our journey at the bank of a rivulet to finish our lunch. Through out our journey, we noticed an unusually terror-stricken faces of the people, we did not bother about it and finished our lunch, took a few minutes rest and then proceeded again. After some time, we noticed a person standing out side his hut on a hillock and trying to signal us to talk to him. Accordingly we reached his place. He told us “ Today the police was very much after the Pendyala Raghava Rao Dalam, their movement is further intensified when they caught hold of yester day’s Prajasakthi Paper flying out of the place. You must have had your lunch. Be careful”. When we asked for helping us as to which direction we should take to meet the dalam, he hesitatingly showed us the direction but repeatedly cautioned us to be very careful. We proceeded further in the same direction. After some time, the sentree sitting on the top of a tree shouted at the top of his voice and asked us to stop and tell our where abouts. We stopped and gave our names and told about our purpose to meet the dalam. He shouted back to state that it was not possible to meet the dalam that day as the police movements were extraordinary. We repeatedly requested him to help us as we were quite new to the area. Finally he showed us the direction towards a hill valley. We walked ahead further for some more time. We heard a resounding voice calling at us “halt who comes there?” We realized an angry man with an automatic weapon in his hand asking us not to proceed an inch further. We revealed our names and informed him that we were coming there only after receiving the necessary information of clearance. The angry man, immediately got cooled down and himself advanced towards us. On seeing us he smilingly told us. “Comrades I have the information about your arrival today. Unexpectedly to day the enemy is hunting us, and we are taking shelter in this valley”. We followed him further on only to see that the entire squad consisting of about 15 to 20 armed persons was aiming at us, in a fighting mood. Everything was over and we indulged in exchanging the days experience and the episode of our party organ flying nearby which caught the eye of the police. We realized then that it was really our mistake in not destroying the “Prajasakthi” paper in which only the previous day Lalita had packed our roties at Chanda camp.

I had the opportunity to stay with the squad for a week and closely observe the activity of the squad, with particular reference to our student cadres who were very happy to see me there. I had a unique opportunity to observe the commander Ragahava Rao’s personal behavior with in the squad as also his political understanding about the very crucial time in party’s history. He was really a competent leader, both in military and political sense. I must amplify his leadership qualities more to do full justice to his towering personality.

He would meticulously restrain from revealing to the squad members about the existing political ideological differences in the party. He would concentrate on the need to overthrow the feudal order and establish the democratic social order.

- He would historically analyze the existing system and educate the party about the need for liquidation of the state and the establishment of linguistic states for speedy development, and exhort the cadres to be prepared for any sacrifice.
- He would instill full confidence among the people in the inevitability of the defeat of the existing anti people order and the success of the people's movement.
- He would seriously condemn any cowardice and impress upon the members the need to be morally upright.
- He took pains to educate the common people at large on the above lines and thus generate people's support
- Evening time before dinner, some time would be spent on reviewing the days work and planning for the next day's programme, apart from criticism and self criticism.

Despite his repeated efforts, a member of the squad by Pseudo name Shankar was found fault for molestation of women. In an evening meeting he strongly criticized Shankar' repeated misbehavior and warned him of the dire consequences. Next day morning to our surprise, we did not find Shankar in the squad. All others were hesitant to ask the leader about the where-abouts of Shankar. I broached the subject with him only to get the answer "the fellow did not correct himself, he has been transferred to another squad as punishment". The matter ended there. Every body understood what the leader meant.

I had had a very good opportunity to discuss with Com.P.Raghava Rao about the ongoing inner party struggle. He repeatedly asserted that the aim of the party is to establish a new social order irrespective of the immediate political slogans; and this can be achieved only with a strong and united party capable of mobilizing the majority of our people who are the source of our strength. I had to leave the squad to attend the youth conference in Calcutta. I could meet him again only after 1952 general elections when he was elected to the Parliament from Hanmakonda constituency and to the state Assembly from two constituencies of the same district. He was a friend of the people and a terror to the enemies of the people, the agents of Nizam's government. He was a tireless crusader of freedom and democracy. My hearty salutations to the memory of a gem of the Telangana armed struggle, an immortal Pendyala Raghava Rao.

**My experience in a Bomb making training Camp:** I have already dealt with my visits to Calcutta twice in the year 1948, to attend the second party congress

and to participate in the South East Asian Youth Conference. This is the third time. I was directed by the state party to undergo a training for the preparation of hand grenades and other bombs. The chemistry professors of the Calcutta university along with other experts used to give the necessary training, both theoretical and practical in a highly protected den located in the heart of Calcutta city. For practical's ie., for testing the quality of the bombs we used to visit rural areas far away from Calcutta. A day's experience will be very interesting. After visiting a small village within a thick forest, where we successfully tested our preparations, we were returning back to Calcutta city. Suddenly we found two armed police constables asking our two jeeps to stop for necessary search and interrogation. Immediately our two security guards pounced upon the Police men and shouted in Bengali for necessary help from the nearby villagers. The scuffle between the police men and our security guards was going on, about 50 persons from the village side came running, caught hold of the two policemen, assaulted them, and asked us to proceed ahead without any problem. We reached our headquarters safely but with some tension.

We came to know that the area we visited was a safe area completely dominated by the cadres and followers of the CPI, and as such no police force could dare to obstruct our activity only if we take a little care to inform our local party.

Another event of interest is worth mentioning. As usual we prepared the Bombs and kept them at a safe place in the house. One of our inmates, a Bengali young man, took a bomb from the store room, went out and used it aiming at a nearby police station in the heart of the city. It burst out giving out a big sound and thick smoke. The police chased the running people to catch hold of the culprit. Our young man reached the den with a broad smile on his face indicating the success of his adventure. I was totally perturbed and shocked at the misadventure and indiscipline of the young man who boasted of his skill in the successful operation. I insisted that the fellow must be removed from the camp forthwith and if necessary we must vacate the den. To my surprise other Bengali friends, while sharing my view, asked me to forgive and forget as though the incident was trivial and after all it was police station that was targeted, and not a single civilian was hurt. That was the Bengali mind I realized. Out of one month training, 15 days were earmarked for technical training and the rest for practical work.

I was overwhelmed by the militant nature of the party cadres. Every body had a high appreciation and praise for the ongoing Telangana armed struggle. As the representative of the historic Telangana armed struggle I was literally adorned by one and all whom I could come across. I was also surprised to hear from some young mouths "wait for only four weeks! We will create not one but four Telangana's in our Bengal!". I was at a loss to understand and appreciate their challenges. These young men did not even realise that there should be

some socio political back drop to generate armed struggle. I tried to convince some educated and well meaning comrades about the necessary background. ie the repression and the violence let loose by the state on unarmed, peoples which alone will force the people to take to arms in self defence; but in vain. Most of them, thought, it can be started only if we decide upon to undertake and complete necessary subjective preparations.

**26<sup>th</sup> January 1950, the first Republic Day:** Government of India had decided and made an appeal to the nation to celebrate 26<sup>th</sup> January 1950 on a grand scale befitting the first Republic Day. The CPI had declared it as a black day, the day of total surrender to imperialism, and appealed to the people to strongly express their condemnation and resentment by holding public rallies and meetings all over the country. We were under ground in Calcutta and the local party had asked us to take every care for security and not to attend the rally which was held in the big Calcutta Maidan. Party's appeal to the cadres to come to the Maidan well prepared, appeared in the local daily. Myself and a few other U.G. comrades decided to follow the party guideline but took our own decision to observe the rally and proceedings from a distance as part of the visiting public. We stood by the side of a compound wall located at a distance, and followed the proceedings. The meeting was scheduled for commencement at 5 PM sharp and about ten thousand of party members and cadres had already collected with "ration bags", a code name for 'Bombs'; and almost an equal number of armed police surrounded them. The meeting was chaired by a renowned Calcutta advocate who was totally blind. I am sorry I cannot recollect the name of such a personality. At the nick of the time the Chairman of the meeting rose to announce that the government of West Bengal had banned the meeting which was condemned by all freedom loving people. No sooner the Chair Person had made the above announcement, than the rain of flying bombs started creating a very big commotion and confusion. Police immediately took its position and started firing at the public indiscriminately making the confusion worse confounded. A ding dong battle ensued. Unarmed public, that came to attend the rally ran helter-skelter. We too, fled away towards our shelter. The encounter continued for a pretty long time, half an hour perhaps, taking the toll of loses of human lives. On our way back we found some people sitting in a hotel before a radio, breaking the radio with sticks in hand. We enquired about the reason for such a peculiar action. "Sardar Patel is speaking from Delhi and it is the wrath of the people against him" was the reply given by the owner of the hotel. "That was the anger of the people" some others reacted. I could understand the depth of the anger of the common man and his commitment to party's call. Next day morning papers carried the news that 8 Communists and 10 Police personnel were killed, apart from many on both the sides being injured in the firing that took place in the maidan meeting.

I was an eye witness to the suicidal result of the ideological, political and sectarian mistake committed by the party. Cominform and its leader's analysis

of the then existing political situation was responsible for the liquidationist line of the second party congress. Other Asian parties which blindly followed this line had to meet with the same fate. My own doubts about the party's sectarian line in 1942 in 1947 and in 1948 were proved to be totally correct with this ghastly incident of 1950 when the first Republic Day was observed with blood bath. My efforts to search for an alternate and correct political thought got redoubled. My faith in the correctness of historic materialism and Marxism was not shaken, on the other hand my quest for truth got intensified, ie., I was very much after the application of the social science of Marxism to the concrete conditions of India, the Indian reality. However, in, my own limited field, I humbly tried to concentrate my work with a sense of realism and pragmatism without resorting to any kind of adventurism; and this paid me good dividends.

**All India Peace Conference in Calcutta:** It is yet another costly experiment with sectarian politics. It was well known that All India Peace and Solidarity Organization(AIPSO) was one of the party's frontal organizations, where veteran social activists worked along with the tested leftists and communists. The All India Conference of the AIPSO was held in Calcutta. A good delegation from Hyderabad state attended it. I was again instructed by the polit bureau not to openly participate in the conference but to remain under ground with due care and caution. Over a thousand delegates from various states participated in this conference. All of them were provided with lodging in different hotels of Calcutta. The concept of world peace is very flexible. It may mean in the sense of "No world war" or "No regional War". It can also mean a lasting peace where the world social system is clean and pure with no exploitation of man by man ie., establishment of socialism and communism world over where there could be no cause for any kind of conflict between nations. This is, at present, mere fundamentalism. The AIPSO conference in Calcutta or for that matter any world peace conference was understood in terms of no war, regional or world wide, in general, under the given circumstances and under the given social systems. The Cominform's concept of world peace emerged out of the fundamental concept of lasting peace. The very name of its organ was "For a lasting peace and for people's democracy." On further elaboration it means that the wars, regional or world wars are inevitable as long as the world is divided into different socio-economic systems; hence the demand for world peace emanating from the communist thought is the peace of fundamental nature, 'Lasting Peace'. It was also interpreted by the half baked Marxists that wars are inevitable as long as the capitalist system exists. The conflict of capitalist and imperial interests will inevitably lead to wars. The Communist Parties must take advantage of such crisis situations and with their skills convert imperialist wars into people's wars. The experiences of Russian Revolution emerging out of the first world war and the emergence of the East European Socialist systems and the Chinese revolutions of 1948 after the second world war, are quoted as the examples of turning the tables against the imperialists.

It was also hoped and expected that if the third world war takes place inevitably the whole world would be liberated from the yoke of imperialism and capitalism. Some of the communists expected such fall out from the Chinese aggression on India in 1962. It was asserted by them that a socialist country like China will never commit aggression except as a part of its strategy to expand socialism. I personally recollect the worst moments of such baseless and unscientific dialogues. The roots of the divisions and splits in the world communist movements can be traced back to such a sectarian and opportunist thought masquerading as Marxism.

Without any more ideological wrangling, let us revisit the Calcutta conference of the AIPSO. Along with many speeches on the ever lasting peace, the delegate from Hyderabad Com. M.K.Moinuddin delivered a fiery speech in chaste Urdu stating that he had come directly from Telangana where the real struggle for socialism and world peace was going on. This reference to Telangana armed struggle, roused the delegates who gave a standing ovation to the young student leader. “I am coming from the land where the veterans like Ravi Narayana Reddy, Maqdoom Moinuddin and Raj Bahadur Gour are leading the armed struggle for a lasting peace and for a social order free from the exploitation of man by man” he roared. The conference ended, delegates proceeded towards their respective lodgings, the police swooped on each and every camp of the delegates and arrested almost all the delegates including hundreds of volunteers of Calcutta Party unit. The repression continued and many district and Taluk offices of the West Bengal state were raided. The same evening a courier brought a signed letter addressed to me by Com.Bhavani Sen wherein he profusely congratulated me on the “thundering speech delivered by Com. M.K.Moinuddin which created history”. I was perplexed and did not know whether to relish the compliments by a P.B. member or to feel sorry for an over enthusiastic and sentimental speech made by my comrade from Hyderabad. I enjoyed both with a pinch of salt. I was really worried about the state of affairs arising out of the second party congress line of “two tactics.” And my own humble desire of the quest for truth got strengthened. A friend of mine presented me a portable type writer. I learned typing myself with that and used it for my regular correspondence with the state and central party leadership. I used to write to the party on almost each and every major national and international event to expose the bankrupt and subjective policies pursued by the communist parties and their counter productive results. Of course I was labelled as an incorrigible revisionist along with our leader Ravi Narayana Reddy. While utilizing every single opportunity to carry on the inner party struggle despite the problems faced in an under ground life, I managed to discharge my duties to the best of my ability, always receiving a pat on my back by the leadership of the party. I was surprised to come to know later on, that all my typed letters dealing with the inner party struggle on political line were carefully filed and preserved.

**My Sojourn to Bombay as part of inner party struggle:** This interesting event provides with an experience of inner party struggle in both its height, and depth. The political resolution of the second party congress in 1948 unequivocally declared that the people of all erstwhile colonies and semi colonies were mentally prepared for a socialist revolution like the Russian experience, where the working class in the cities will rise in revolt against the state, paralyze the state machinery and then spread to rural areas and liberate the rural population from the yoke of the state machinery, thus complete the revolution. This mode of revolution was totally opposed by the Andhra Provincial Committee of the CPI. Their understanding of the course of revolution was totally based on the Chinese pattern where the people's liberation army with the guerrilla warfare tactics will liberate the rural areas, create the liberated areas as their bases and then expand and encircle the cities and liberate them, thus completing the revolution. To be precise the first is Russian way while the second one is China way. Evidently with its base in the rural areas and with the lively experiences of successes in China, majority of the cadres opted for the China way. An emergency meeting of the Central Committee was held in Calcutta in the year 1950 and the Central leadership was changed. B.T.Ranadive, the General Secretary pleading for Russian path was replaced by Com. Chandra Rajeswara Rao, one who pleaded for the Chinese path. Both the experiments made during the period between 1948 and mid 51 proved very costly for the party leaving the scars and the pains of ideological and political differences which led to split after split, paralysing the whole communist and left movement, never to recoup its past glory. The leaders of both the lines missed the role of the common people and their level of political consciousness to physically participate in the process of revolution. The height of folly lay in the deep rooted sectarianism born out of subjectivism. The whole communist movement in the world badly suffered from this liquidationist and suicidal strategy and tactics. Indian communist movement received a death blow when thousands of young and militant cadres lost their precious lives while many more time tested leaders and cadres remained away from such an adventurist line of thought. Telangana armed struggle was a unique example of how people out of their own life experience step by step took to arms in sheer self defence as against the fascist atrocities committed by the most hated class of autocracy and feudalism. Aping such an experience under the conditions of newly won freedom with civil rights was bound to be doomed.

The latter experiences faced by the party in Telangana as a result of the continuation of the armed struggle after police action forced thousands of cadres under ground, over ground and inside jails to think and rethink about the counter productive nature of the party policy. Party got divided vertically. A situation of all round crisis and confusion over took the party. A politically divided party could never unite the party organizationally to face new challenges.

Under the above circumstances, three senior comrades Com Ajoy Ghosh, Com. S.A.Dange and Com. S.V.Ghate were released from jails. These three comrades with their outstanding popularity and appeal inside party together wrote a document wherein they pleaded for a new political strategy and tactics devoid of the sectarian mistakes of the past and befitting with the level of consciousness of the people of the country. They visualized a stage of partial struggles on the socio-economic problems under a parliamentary system of democracy and their gradual development into political movements. They appealed to the rank and file of the party to be united and undertake grass root level activity to prepare the peoples for more and more political struggles. This document with the three pseudo names, Prashant, Pradeep and Promod, popularly known as three Ps document was given a wide circulation inside the party. We, the student and youth leaders got attracted towards this 3Ps document and prepared a document with our own experiences and requested the Andhra P.C. to see the truth, the reality of life and withdraw the suicidal call of continuing the Telangana armed struggle. Myself, my seniors com.Paranjape and Com. Omkar Prasad, planned to bring necessary pressure on the P.C. leadership. As our first step we decided to go to Bombay, the then All India head quarters of the CPI and discuss with the three senior most comrades released from jails. Accordingly we undertook our journey to Bombay. Com Omkar known for his financial capacity to bear the expenses fully encouraged and helped. We three had the good opportunity to discuss with the three leaders and got their whole hearted blessings to go ahead. Com. S.A.Dange asked us even to hold an open convention of the legal and just released cadres of the party and prepare an action plan to embark on new line of thought. They however cautioned us against their personal involvement in view of the over all discipline of the party. We agreed with their view. We took the opportunity to circulate our document among all other leaders at the party head quarters.

On a fine morning I was surprised to see Com.G.R.K. at the P.H.Q whom my other colleagues do not recognize. He told me to accompany him and see the Andhra party leader camped in Bombay itself. He did not invite my senior colleagues. I requested him to invite them since they are seniors to me and their presence during the discussions will be useful. He was instructed to invite me alone as the matter was related to me alone. I could not understand the logic behind it. I informed my senior friends about the matter and accompanied him. I was taken to a distant place, to a palatial building. We entered the main gate. I found a gentleman in a pant with in shirt proceeding towards us in a big garden. I could easily recognize the leader who was in disguise. Seeing me, disturbed and in an angry mood shouted at me “what made you to come to Bombay and who sent you here?”

I politely handed over my document and was about to open my mouth in reply to his query, he tore the document to pieces and threw it away and again shouted “shut up! I will see your end and the end of the person who has sent

you here?" I was in a fix, not knowing what to do, and modestly but strongly retorted "I hail from Telangana area, I know my people and their mind. I can pay you in your own coin, wait for the day which is not far off," then turned back and proceeded towards the main gate. G.R.K followed me, took me to the P.H.Q. and went away. I narrated the whole episode to my comrades who were equally perturbed: We came to the conclusion that the leader representing the Andhra PC was more interested in settling the scores with personalities rather than understanding each other through a dialogue and patient conversation. After fulfilling our mission to Bombay we returned to Hyderabad safely. This event, though simple in appearance, underscores the height of madness a terrorist could reach to being totally blind to the ground reality. Truth, the whole truth asserted itself very soon, and things took a positive turn.

**Withdrawal of Telangana Armed Struggle:** The withdrawal of the call for an armed overthrow of the Nehru Government took place in middle of 1951. The leaders representing both the views were called to Moscow and after serious deliberations it was resolved that the situation in India, political and otherwise did not warrant for such a radical slogan. Com.Ajoy Ghosh, S.A.Dange representing the opinion for the withdrawal of the armed struggle and Com.Chandra Rajeswara Rao, Makineni Basava Punnaiah representing the opinion for the continuation of the armed struggle participated in this meeting, while Com.Stalin, Molotov, Melankov and Suslov, the top most leadership of CPSU, representing the Cominform, participated in this historic meeting. The leaders, after thorough discussion about the Indian political situation also studied the topographical and geographical situation and arrived at an inescapable conclusion to withdraw the political strategy to continue and expand the armed struggle in Telangana. This decision though formally endorsed by the Central Committee of the CPI was elaborated in an editorial article published in the organ of the Cominform, namely "For a lasting peace and for a people's democracy; published from Moscow. This episode is enough to prove the abject dependence of the Indian Communist Party on the wishes, likes and dislikes, of the Communist Party of Soviet Union, acting as the centre for the world communist movement. A true Marxist would never understand, much less appreciate, such a phenomenon. Truth emanates from the reality in life. The level of political consciousness of the people of India, Telangana situation in particular, cannot and should not be assessed by the foreign leaders.

A state level meeting of the Communist leaders was secretly held in Bombay during the same period to unify the party on the basis of the Cominform line. I attended this meeting representing Telangana along with a good number of my colleagues from all over the state. Com. Ajoy Ghosh played a key role in the presentation of this middle path. I was given the job to translate the speeches of All India leaders into Telugu and translate in short the Telugu speeches into English, in writing, and furnish the same to the leaders from the centre.

The gist of the resolutions adopted under the guidance of Com.Ajoy Ghosh is as follows:

- 1) The people all over the country both in cities and in rural areas are not prepared for an armed struggle.
- 2) Marxism is a social science and it should be applied to the concrete conditions of each society or country.
- 3) Sustained and broad based movements on socio-economic issues in India should be conducted patiently.
- 4) The significance of utilizing the parliamentary democracy and its platforms was emphasized.
- 5) While the over estimation of the people's level of political consciousness is wrong, under estimation of their radicalization is equally wrong and this is the main weakness of the party today.

This is how a compromise was evolved. Nevertheless the ideological differences persisted and reflected in the political and tactical line of action. Its harmful effects on organizational matters had widened the gulf among the leaders. The leadership could not arrive at a common opinion about the Chinese aggression on India in 1962 and ultimately the CPI got divided into CPI(M) and the CPI.

**Baba Saheb Ambedker's Thought:** Let me go back to the year 1946 when I had the best opportunity to have a personal and close discussion with the Father of our constitution Baba Saheb Ambedker. This is memorable and had a lasting impact on my thinking process. I was one of the leaders attending the annual conference of the All India Student Federation held in Bombay. We came to know that Dr.Ambedker's public meeting was being held in a beach in Bombay. A few of us wanted to take the advantage and hear the great dalit leader's speech. We reached the place little earlier, before it started. Realising that we were new people, Baba Saheb asked us to come close to him. Knowing that we were AISF delegates, he very frankly expressed his considered views and sincere differences with the ideology of the CPI. Caste system of India, unheard of in any part of the world, he said, was the real Indian peculiarity. Marxism as a social science is an instrumentality to see the reality, the truth of the matter. The CPI, according to him was blind to see this reality and hence is not able to unite the downtrodden masses however much it may harp on the class differences and class struggles. Social consciousness takes precedence over class consciousness. Political and social empowerment of the people at large, in a democracy, will enable them to agitate for economic equality. The second point he stressed was the CPI's mechanical approach towards the form of struggle. The form of struggle, he said, would depend upon the content and form of the rule by the upper castes and classes. It should never be mechanically imposed on people. Violence or non violence should not be treated as a creed.

He strongly differed with the line of thought adopted by the CPI. Otherwise, he said, you are the best friends of the down trodden, neglected and marginalized people of our country. However he wished every success to our conference. Dr.Ambedker's free and frank discussion and his emphasis on the caste system to be targeted first for any socio-economic revolution impressed me most. Man is a social being first and last. His freedom to be treated on par with fellow human beings is inalienable and most dear to his heart. He can never barter away his equal social status at any cost. My life experience covering over half a century convinced me about the primacy of socio political empowerment of the downtrodden people. The movements for reservations in the elected bodies at various levels have further strengthened this view point. The positive experience of political empowerment of the scheduled castes thanks to the constitution of India drafted under the stewardship of the great luminary like Baba Saheb Ambedker throws flood light on the question of upliftment of the so called 'untouchable' sons of the soil. I was very much benefitted by my discussion with Baba Saheb Ambedker. Because of my stress and some times over stress in my assembly speeches on the subject of class and caste oppression in our society. Sri Brahmananda Reddy the then Chief Minister of A.P. appointed me as a member of the first commission on Backward classes, headed by late Sri Ananta Raman. My contribution on reservations for the socially and educationally backward classes was very much appreciated and utilized in finalizing our report. Our constitution merely recognizes the need for taking steps for the amelioration of the socially and educationally backward classes. It requires an amendment to make it mandatory to enumerate them and provide for reasonable reservations.

## **(B) Arrest and Jail Life**

The Telangana armed struggle was withdrawn some time in the middle of the year 1951. This formal withdrawal did not solve the problems over night. A considerable number of the members of the armed squads and their leaders refused to surrender arms under the circumstances when the police with the help of the army had intensified its actions to brutally suppress the movement by arrests and fake encounters. Party's efforts at negotiated settlement with the government for an orderly retreat did not bear fruit. A citizen's committee headed by Dr.Jaisoorya Naidu, son of Smt. Sarojini Naidu, and other public figures persuaded the state and central governments to ensure peace and orderly retreat, by accepting the surrendered arms and withdrawing the pending warrants of arrest. It took pretty long time and patient hard work to execute this understanding.

My self, my wife Lalita with two children, Sri Ravi Narayana Reddy, his wife Smt. Seeta Devi, Sri Ch.Hanumantha Rao, my brother and student leader, Sri Sreedhar, leader of the Secunderabad party unit and Balram, working class leader of Hyderabad city were camping in a house. We received the information that our courier was arrested and was subjected to severe torture. We suspected

the leakage of the information about our den and came to the conclusion to immediately vacate the house. Accordingly we arranged shifting of two ladies Smt.Seeta Devi and Lalita with her children to the house of Sri A.Guruva Reddy who was already released from jail. Ravi went to Sholapur and then to Bombay. Sri Ch.Hanumantha Rao went to Nalgonda District while B.Sreedhar and Balaram left for other safe places in the city. I left for Bombay to meet some leaders camping there.

A.Guruva Reddy, a veteran leader of the party hailing from Medak District who was arrested much early and got released stayed legally at Narayananaguda along with his noble wife late Smt.Satyavathi along with his two children, a son(Babu) and a daughter(Baby). This family deserves every praise not only because Sri A.Guruva Reddy, a promising academic who resigned his lecturership in City college, and became the whole timer of the CPI, but also because of his dedicated services rendered to a number of comrades both under ground and arrested. Their legal house became a centre for correspondence and contact. Despite heavy shadowing by the police, the couple even risked its lives to save the party at a crucial time. Myself and my wife Lalita are indebted to late Satyavathi and her husband Sri A.Guruva Reddy but for whose affection and care our family would have suffered many more hardships.

Let me narrate the way we all the inmates except the ladies got arrested and jailed. All of us, except Ch.Hanumantha Rao returned to Hyderabad city and contacted each other. Sri Hanumantha Rao who had gone to Nalgonda District was arrested on his way back and jailed. Police had been strictly watching the house which we had locked. It wanted to arrest as many as possible and waited till all of us came back and reoccupied the house. Party organization was in a very bad shape. It was very difficult, rather impossible to set up a new den and coordinate with party centre. Finding no alternative we decided to take risk and occupy the abandoned den. As such we came back to the very same house one after the other and managed to work. Ravi, myself, Sreedhar and Balaram, one after another took our shelter in the same house. Mean while R.N. got the information that Sri Raja Bahadur Venkat Rami Reddy, who founded Reddy hostel in Hyderabad was on sick bed. A very well known philanthropist, he had rendered yeomen service in the promotion of education and social welfare while himself being in government service, particularly very close to the Nizam of Hyderabad. He also knew about the gradual development of the Socio political consciousness all over the state, telangana in particular, and did his best to promote such an enlightenment. He liked R.N. and a number of young social and political workers who were the boarders in Reddy hostel.

In a situation, when Com.R.N. had decided upon seeing his mentor before it was too late and was even prepared to get arrested, we had no alternative but to accept his proposition. Accordingly, one evening I accompanied him and left him in the house of his youngest brother-in-law located near by Kachiguda.

Next day morning he had the opportunity to see his revered guru who breathed his last on the same day. Seeing the big gun like Ravi Narayana Reddy coming out, police arrested him then and there and detained him in the police head quarters. They decided to raid our den and arrest the inmates quickly. It was the day time at about 2 PM. I was busy typing some document while Com.B.Sreedhar and Balram were there with me. Suddenly we heard some commotion outside. Within a moment heard the sound of some body knocking at the door, followed by the shouts of "open the door." We realized it must be a police action. We cannot avoid our arrest. I advanced towards the door and opened it. Three circle Inspectors four Sub-Inspectors about a dozen of constables rushed into the house, took three of us into custody and went on searching for others. One of the police officers, local sub-inspector perhaps, suspecting the location of fire arms in the den, searched every corner. He repeatedly questioned me rudely, about the where abouts of my brother Hanumantha Rao and wife Lalita Devi. I did not like such a behaviour, went out and sat in the police van along with my two colleagues. We were taken to a camp adjacent to the police head quarters. Com.Sreedhar and Balaram were lodged in a room while I was put in a small dark cell with iron bars. I was asked to sit or lie down on an iron cot with hands and feet chained. Four police personnel were posted to guard me. I was subjected to torture for nine long days day in and day out. It was a hell of a life. I picked up enough of courage by imagining about the worst sufferings undergone by the freedom fighters. Three Circle Inspectors, namely Dara Shakhan, Ayangar, Venkob Rao and a D.S.P namely Narsing Prasad used to frequently visit my cell for interrogations. I do not now know their where abouts, but they did meet me some time in fifties when I was elected as a member of the A.P.State Legislative Assembly for the first time.

Lalitha came to visit me and provide me with food. Police refused her an interview with me and asked her never to come with any eatables. She had to return with broken heart. I learnt the government used to pay to feed the under trials at a rate of six anas per day per head. Half of this would be stolen away by the police. Even if it is food, half of it would be eaten away by them. Except barbarism, no concept of human rights existed. I still recollect the inhuman methods resorted to by the brutal in police uniform. They were trained in this "art" of torture. I had to repeatedly request the guards to loosen the chains to enable me to attend the call of nature. I tried my best to convince the guards to behave a bit liberally as I was not that dangerous an under trial as to escape by force, but in vain. On the other hand they became stricter, saying that their officers ordered them to do so.

Police officers used to visit me only during the night time for interrogation. When I tried to say something about my problems and sufferings, they would nod their heads without any reply. Lonely life, hands and feet chained, I sometimes used to very seriously worry about my family; old parents, education of

my sisters and brothers and their future, my responsibilities as the eldest brother etc.. The memories of bitter experiences of many a freedom fighter who suffered much more than what I was suffering consoled me. My determination to face odds on my road to freedom and social justice helped me to forget the family at least for the time being. My father's repeated assertions about self respect and dignity, boldness to face odds, would rekindle my hope for a better future. I successfully picked up courage to face the problems without losing heart. I took a decision to pin down the officers who come for an unending interrogation asking them to provide me with a copy of the charge sheet against me and I did it. I even advised them to follow the rule of law and produce me before a court. Surprisingly the answer of the D.S.P. was positive and he promised me modesty to arrange for the necessary papers, within a couple of days. Within a few hours I realized the attitude of the police guards that had changed for worse. They wantonly refused to supply even the drinking water. They went to the extent of refusing to loosen the chains and enable me to go to the attached bath room. My repeated persuasion and even begging, did not stir the hearts of the hard core, to make them considerate. This is the philosophy of police being a mere instrumentality of oppression and suppression, devoid of any trace of humanism, and social consideration. However I changed my usual behaviour of tolerance and raised my voice of protest and strongly demanded for my production before the court of law. Next day at about 12 PM I was called upon to go to a room nearby for further interrogations. I followed the guards. It was very cold. I had to stand up and wait for the arrival of the notorious D.S.P. D.S.P arrived and I was standing with chained hands. "How is it! You have made him stand with chain's around his body! He is a graduate and student of law, knowing the Indian constitution and the laws flowing from it?" The DSP exclaimed and shouted at the CI standing by my side. I was asked to take my chair; was also provided with a hot cup of coffee. I could see the room which was full of materials used for torturing the under trial criminals. Anything may happen to me "Intellectuals like you must pardon our fellows if they do any thing not knowing your calibre and stature" the D.S.P. lamented and continued to question about the theory of armed struggle quoting few lines from out of a big file of papers, alleged to have been written by me.

"How come my documents are with you?" I questioned the DSP. He cunningly replied:

"It is not a problem at all! When we have raided your P.C. Office we seized every document and the present file contains all your letters addressed to your party leadership".

"When every thing is in your hands what more information you require" I asked.

"you have to reveal certain things, or else, we will be forced to the third degree methods" he told me asking me to have a glance at the instruments of torture.

“I can tell you all that I know and I can never say any thing which I do not know” I replied.

“yourself and other U.G. and legal persons numbering about hundred had met at a place near by the city. You must tell me its where abouts”? He politely asked.

“If you repeatedly deny to reveal this secret, we will have to make you reveal resorting to our traditional methods” he said with vehemence.

“Just now you lectured about the proper behaviour with a learned man, but you yourself are behaving in a manner most unbecoming of any educated man let alone a learned man”

I replied laughingly He stared at me for a moment and said

“O! I am sorry, I forgot” he begged my pardon I could understand the nature of typical police officer’s behaviour. I only tickled his sense of culture and have experienced it.

“We are police men. All our behaviour flows from the training we received we are liable to commit the mistake in taking into consideration as to whom we are talking to. You must excuse us for such lapses. Kindly do not think otherwise. I am now talking from the bottom of my heart please excuse me”. He sincerely told. Already it was 2 AM and he requested me to go to bed immediately and ordered the guards to totally remove the chains and help me by all means.

Another two days, passed by with petty questions and answers recorded by CI’s. Next day the ninth day of interrogation at about mid night, three Sub Inspectors, all new faces, with police force arrived at my room and asked me to accompany them immediately. I had to follow them. Another CI, addressing other police officers in the van talked about me saying:

“Ch.Rajeswara Rao is not an ordinary man. He is highly educated, and knowledgeable. He is totally against violence. He will certainly cooperate with us”.

Van proceeded. I did not know nor was I told about where and for what purpose they were taking me to. I went on observing the event with silence. I could realize that some more vehicles, jeeps and vans were following us. After passing though the city and its outskirts, I could find out our road was leading to Shamshabad area, part of Mahaboobnagar district. A little distance further, our vehicles stopped and I was asked to get down and follow them. I found the big buildings on both the sides of the road and thought they might be the summer resorts of the Jagirdars who normally reside in the city proper. A police officer came close to me and asked me to identify the house where we together with other under ground leaders had conducted our meeting. Immediately another police Circle Inspector reached closer to me and whispered:

“We have orders issued by our higher authorities to elicit the information from you about that particular building or else to finish you off here in an encounter.”

“I did not belong to this area. It is a new area for me. I cannot identify the particular place. I did participate in the meeting which I have already told you and nothing more” I said. They made me walk along with them from 3-30 AM to 5-30 AM. I said “No” to every house they spotted. I found some one or other inside or out side every house, may be they were either owners or watchmen. All were tired. The CI who very often would talk to me with some sense and with whom I made friendship was, Mr.Darashakhan who approached me very closely and whispered;

“The particular house we are in search of is already identified by Mr.Jawad Razvi, today we wanted its confirmation only. If you agree with me I will do one thing in our interest, and that is that, I will go and stand before that particular house and cough loudly, you understand my plan and say “yes it was the same place of our meeting.” Do not hesitate! No human being resides there. It is an abandoned “Bungalow – a Bhoot Bungalow”.

I nodded my head, within a few minutes the CI enacted the drama and played his role very well and I played my part. All the officers gathered there. Panchanama was conducted. We went back to our police head quarters. They had decided to send me to Chanchalguda jail as the time for police custody was over. I took my small bag of clothes and boarded the van waiting outside. It was a pleasant surprise for me to find Sreedhar and Balram waiting there to accompany me to jail. We were exchanging about our experiences of the past nine days and we heard a voice from the driver’s seat.

“Hello CH. How are you? How are our friends Sreedhar and Balram?” It was the familiar voice with familiar tone of Com.Ravi Narayana Reddy who was seated by the side of the driver.

“I was arrested immediately after I had visited Raja Bahadur, and kept in the police head quarters in a comfortable room with the best of a treatment comparable with a son-in-law’s enjoyment at his mother-in-law’s house. But I was told you were subjected to very bad kind of it. I am sorry. Those police officers told me every thing about you but they did not tell you about me” He said, Ravi and myself were lodged in a cell in Chanchalguda jail, other two comrades were sent to the common hall. The cell was too small with dimensions about 9/12 feet probably. A dirty box like thing was kept at a corner for attending to the calls of nature. A big lota was lying there to use for drinking water. An aluminium plate was kept for taking food. A mat was found used for sitting and sleeping purposes. All told it was a real hell. Every thing was dirty giving out foul smell. Food that was supplied was equally very bad, unhygienic. Coloured water with a lot of chillies and salt was given to mix with the rice or roties supplied. It was horrible to look at, most unbearable to

eat. Next morning we wanted to lodge a complaint with the jailor against the things supplied to us. The Jailor promised to set things right. We suffered for weeks together. The jailor stated that he did not get the necessary clarification from his top brass as to which category of prisoners we belong to. We were not convicts, criminals, under trials; neither we were Ex.VIPs for class one treatment. The Jailor could not make out as to the meaning of a detenues under preventive detention Act. Hence he thought it best to treat us as the third class prisoners. About two to three weeks took for them to realize that we were detenues and that too political detenues deserving many facilities. We were changed to a bigger room with better amenities including a servant, who used to be some convict. We were provided with dailies and necessary library and medical facilities. To our interest the room opposite to our room was occupied by the well known leader of the Razakars Mr.Kasim Razvi, who was convicted in a famous Bibinagar case of loot and arson. Next to us, in a palatial hall all the ex ministers of the Nizam's last cabinet were lodged as class one political prisoners. Their's was not a jail life, it was the Minister's chambers. A small incident of some interest is worth mentioning. Mr.Kasim Razvi, as a convict would get the Urdu news paper of at least a day old, where as we would get any paper of the day itself. Poor Razvi would like to read a fresh news paper. I was a little more interested in reading a Urdu daily, though old one. Mr.Kasim Razvi, through the jail attender, asked us for the English daily after our use. We obliged him gladly and we asked for his Urdu daily, though old one to kill our time. He flatly refused to share the paper. I conveyed to him my desire to know the reason for this unkind behaviour despite our favour to supply him with the fresh English daily. His reply was "they are notorious communist leaders I need not answer their query". As a fitting reply to such a behavior I stopped sending our English daily. He used to shout at us from out side the wall but of no avail. We together used to read a lot and discuss about the unfolding political situation in the country, inside Hyderabad state in particular. Hundreds of communist prisoners inside that jail would greet us warmly whenever they found us out of our cell, inside the jail compound. We were permitted for interviews with the family. Lalita used to visit almost every week end. She would bring some eatables. Two daughters Aruna and Kalpana would accompany her. Kalpana was just one year old and would very much like to catch hold of me from out side bars. I could only touch her tender arms and console her with my affectionate looks. The young student leader, my brother Hanumantha Rao's colleague, would usually accompany Lalita for her safety. He is a seasoned and now senior most lawyer settled down in Karimnagar. We remain grateful to M.Hanumantha Rao's services for ever. Jail life, though full of difficulties and inconveniences, also provides one with pleasantries. Let me narrate an event of this nature.

A day, a convict allotted to serve us, Ramayya(popularly called Donga Ramulu inside jail) told us "you see sir there is a small gate within the big gate of entrance to the jail; do you know sir an elephant passed though it several

times every day” He told us. “How is it possible and what do you mean by an elephant?” we wondered.

“Money is everything! You can get every prohibited proscribed thing inside any number of times with the help of the authorities. That is the world today; you are pure moralists” he opined. There were a number of pick pocketers inside jail, our Ramulu was a senior most convict. According to rules of the jail if a convict, after his release, is rearrested and convicted for the same crime, he has to wear a metal ring to his fore hand. If he is convicted again, a smaller ring will be linked to the original big one. Our Ramulu had a good number of such smaller rings linked to the bigger one giving out good sound as he walks. Including himself every one enjoyed his movements, with alarm.

On a day we were told that the Inspector General of Prisons, Sri Bhavnani would visit our Chanchalguda jail. The practice was that all the prisoners should go to their respective rooms and barracks and behave in a disciplined manner. The I.G.P. would walk through all the area and if necessary would halt at any place to enquire about the problems faced by the inmates. Superintendent, Jailors and their subordinates would accompany the Inspector General. Mr.Bhavnani was a refugee and belonged to Sindh province which had become a part of Pakistan at the time of partition. Lakhs of Hindus crossed to India while lakhs of Muslims of India became refugees in Pakistan. Both the governments of India and Pakistan with mutual understanding and agreements took care for this legal exchange of population and their properties. Mr.Bhavnani was such a Sindhi and he was appointed as I.G.P. and shifted to Hyderabad state.

The I.G.P. first visited our cell and we had the opportunity to represent to him about our problems. Then he took his round. At a place he halted and had a talk with the inmate convicts lodged in a hall. He spent a few minutes freely talking to them and joking to them on their expertise and adventurous actions. He returned and reached the office of the Jail Superintendent when a jail police constable presented to him with a pen stating that a convict had requested him to hand it over to the I.G. The I.G.P. immediately searched the pocket of his shirt and realized that his own pen was missing. He was told that the convict who had presented him the pen, was none else than Ramulu, an expert pick pocket who cleverly pick pocketed it at the very time when the IGP was talking to the convicts holding the prison bars with both of his hands. He was very much surprised to find such an expert hand. He called Ramulu to the room of the Superintendent and complimented him on his expertise in the art of pick pocketing. All the inmates enjoyed this story for quite a few weeks and the name of Donga Ramudu was on the lips of every body inside the jail. We, especially were very happy that our near and dear servant convict could earn for himself a big name and fame. This is how we spent our life in Chanchalguda jail for about four months. After a long time I received a copy of an order from the Police that I was detained in jail under the preventive detention Act. We

knew about such an act when late Sri Manohar Raj Saxena, the Secretary of the defence lawyer's committee, some time back had told us that it was very difficult to escape from the clutches of such an act which does not require any kind of evidence for detaining any person. Manohar Raj Saxena rendered yeoman services and got released hundreds of Telanangan freedom fighters. He would attend to even a post card coming from any jail, addressed to him by the ordinary and innocent sufferer and arrange for his legal defence. The defence committee consisting of eminent lawyers from all over the country, took pains to render all possible services freely to the political prisoners. Late Sri Manohar Raj Saxena's services will ever be remembered by the people of the erstwhile state of Hyderabad, who fought for its liberation from the autocratic rule of the Nizam of Hyderabad.

We were detained in the Chanchalguda jail for about four months. According to the preventive detention act every detenu's case should be reviewed every three month's time by a Commission appointed by the State Government for this purpose. Late Justice Pingali Jagan Mohan Reddy, a bar-at-law, fresh from England was appointed as one man commission to examine my case. After one or two adjournments, a day was fixed for the review. Justice Sri P.Jagan Mohan Reddy decided to examine my case inside the jail itself. Necessary arrangements were made. The D.S.P. was present with his bundle of records. Justice Reddy, after some preliminaries asked me whether I would defend my case personally or require the assistance of an advocate. I said, I would defend myself. He asked the D.S.P. to explain all the reasons warranting my detention under the Act. He took an hour's time and repeatedly asserted that I was a person with staunch belief in violence and hence very dangerous. He showed a bunch of my letters addressed to the state and the central party leaders, numbering 25 covering over 120 pages, all in English language. Justice Reddy asked the D.S.P. to close his arguments, took the documents and carefully went through all of them for about an hour. Later he asked me to wait for some time to rebut the charges against me. He himself started questioning the D.S.P. "Do you know English language?" he questioned the D.S.P. When the D.S.P. felt a little inconvenience to answer such a question, the Judge hurled at him another loaded question "What does withdrawal of the on going Telangana armed struggle mean?" The D.S.P. tried to open his mouth, the judge crossed him with another question "where are your office records based on which the government came to the conclusion that this detenu is dangerous and hence his freedom to move and speak should be curtailed?". The D.S.P. was dumbfounded. Except the order of detention and the file of letters to the party he could not produce any concrete evidence, Justice Reddy himself analyzed the contents of my documents, and summed up with the remarks.

"Mr.Rao has condemned the Dutch imperialist atrocities in Indonesia and justified the armed struggle of the people there. He has unequivocally

condemned the war launched by Anglo-Americans against the people of China and he praised the people's war of liberation there under the leadership of Maoze-dong. He has justified the armed struggle being conducted in Indo China under the leadership of the Communist leader Ho-Chi-Min. He has opined that the armed struggle going on in Burma, Malaysia and Singapore are the national liberation movements against the British imperialism. He has argued at length that the armed struggle conducted in Hyderabad state till the police action was totally justified. Based on all these experiences, he has strongly advocated against the continuation of armed struggle in Telangana. He strongly and explicitly, requested his party's leadership to discontinue such a suicidal armed struggle. Have you or your higher officers empowered to take decisions studied these letters? He has written in simple English language. Have you any single incident or event to substantiate his participation in any violent activity?

The D.S.P. had nothing to say. The Judge went on "the investigating and prosecuting responsibility should be taken out of the hands of police officers. It should be entrusted to an independent, impartial and autonomous authority then alone the guilty can be punished while the innocent can be protected".

Justice Reddy appeared a bit uneasy and intolerant at the whole review or trial whatever it was took the file and made an endorsement stating that the police has totally failed to prove the charges, the detenu should be released immediately and unconditionally. It was my moral victory and the victory of my philosophy to always stand by the people, their voice, the truth. Within a week, the notification for the first general election was published. I was released in February 1952, on parole with the condition that I must confine my movements to the limits of Karimnagar District. I was a free bird. Karimnagar district was throbbing with political activity under the unquestioned leadership of the Communist Party of India then called People's Democratic Front(PDF). I had plunged into the election campaign. Thousands of people extended me their warm reception wherever I went for the campaign. Party won hands down and with thumping majority all the seats it contested or supported. Baddam Yella Reddy the founder of the Andhra Maha Sabha and the Communist Party in the district won the Parliament seat, trouncing the Congress candidate, an intellectual, late Sri P.V.Narasimha Rao. A new chapter of parliamentary democracy was opened. New Challenges were faced by the party and the party did accept every challenge boldly. I was the Chief Executive of the party in the district to drive the party machine, and I did it successfully.

### **Bitter Experiences and costly lessons:**

The short period between 1948-1951, was a crucial period in the history of the CPI, when it committed gravest mistakes in applying the science of Marxism and Leninism to the peculiar conditions of India. It over estimated the level of political consciousness of the Indian people and called upon the party

cadres and people to resort to the most adventurous forms of struggles. It lost its valuable prospective leaders and had to retreat.

It is human to err, but is commonsense to stage a timely retreat and save the party, its cadres before it is too late. “Criticism and self criticism” the best organizational principle of the communists was more misused than used for correction. A thorough and objective study of the experiences of the people at large, their level of socio-political consciousness, was replaced by the bookish knowledge, likes and dislikes of the self centred leadership. It will go down in the history of the CPI as a period of bitter experiences and costly lessons. I could point out only a few of such experiences. In sum they are;

- 9<sup>th</sup>, August 1942, when the whole country had plunged into the movement demanding the British to Quit India, CPI, out of its consideration of Britain being an ally in the second world war, toned down the struggle against it and went to the extent of soft pedaling, even stopping the class struggles. This mistake was realized but too late, after missing the bus.
- The CPI had refused to accept the truth that India had achieved its political independence on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947 and persisted with its wrong understanding till it got isolated from the mainstream of the national movement.
- Its dogged persistence to continue the armed struggle in Telangana even after 17<sup>th</sup> September 1948 when the erstwhile state of Hyderabad was liberated and merged with Indian union thanks to the police action conducted by the government of India, costed the party dearly when thousands of young and prospective leaders had to lose their precious lives.
- The second party congress political thesis and other international documents had declared the Indian national bourgeoisie and rich peasantry as enemies number one and thus got isolated from the most vocal sections of the Indian people.
- The very establishment of the Communist international(Comintern) and then communist information bureau (Cominform) to decide even the strategies and tactics to be followed by each and every communist party in the whole world and the very perception that the protection of the so called socialism in the Soviet Union was the primary task of the world communist movement, has no scientific basis according to Marxism. It is quite different to defend socialism in USSR at times on concrete issues. Such a policy in the name of “socialist internationalism” or proletarian internationalism” proved very costly and liquidationist.

Marxism is a social science. It enables one to study the social reality in its process of evolution and appreciate the true situation. It enables one to creatively and flexibly apply the law of change, the next step forward and

learn from the experiences as also to retrace and correct in time if any thing goes wrong. It is a knowledge. It is neither a prefix nor a quick fix. It is not at all any eternal rule or law, on the other hand; it is a powerful tool to discover the process of change in accordance with the law of change which is eternal. It is never a dogma. It is totally against revivalist mantra. It is an ever green social engineering to help one to see and to work for the shape of things to come. These historic four years have taught lessons to all the think tanks of the world.

Those who could not learn lessons from the costly experiences of social life and persisted with dogmatism, became subjective and caused divisions and splits in the communist movement. Unfortunately such a process continues even now. There lies the inherent weakness of the whole left movement.

Let me here draw the attention of the Marxist thinkers to kindly ponder over what would have been the world situation if the concepts like two worlds, two world markets, cold war, inevitability of a third world war, "hegemony or the dictatorship of the proletariat," were replaced by more creative, inclusive concepts like 'democratic socialism' instead of 'socialist democracy' 'broad based national united fronts' in the place of left and democratic fronts excluding the national bourgeoisie, etc. I humbly submit, the world would have advanced much further and faster to scientific and technological revolution. Any way, the social scientists are far more richer now with accumulated social experiences both negative and positive. Such costly and rich experiences have to be capsuled to be applied creatively in accelerating the social movements, through appropriate social engineering.

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## **4. KISAN STRUGGLES IN KARIMNAGAR DISTRICT (1953-57)**

Entering in politics as a student leader, tempered as a youth leader, steeled in under ground and jail life; the internment to Karimnagar district by the parole order of the Nizam's government; and above all, enlightened by the rich experience of the electoral victory of 1952, I accepted the party's directive to lead the Kisan movement in Karimnagar while also steering the party machine and fill the vacuum created by the martyrs A.Prabhakara Rao, S.Bhoopathi Reddy and others. It was a herculean task, but the overwhelming support of the public, at large, the downtrodden people in particular , as also the cordial cooperation of the party cadres emboldened my young personality to face odds and start a new life of a Kisan Sabha leader. My own experiences coupled with my habit of learning things with open mindedness as a bumble student of the science of Marxism enabled me to successfully face the challenges hurled at me by the decadent feudal and semi feudal forces. The order of the Nizam's government preventing me from crossing the district borders, acted as a blessing in disguise. I had confined myself to Kisan sabha activities forgetting my own fields of student and youth fronts. Party's decision and government's order complemented each other. After a gap of about five years I had the best opportunity to meet my schoolmates and friends who joined the people's democratic front in consonance with the public opinion. The people's verdict in elections of 1952 was a proof positive to the unchallenged leadership of the CPI. The very recent experiences of the people when the Nizam's government aided and abetted by the Razakars on one hand and the local Feudals on the other, had convinced them beyond all doubt that the CPI stands by the common people and is committed to radical land reforms and social democracy. I was fortunate to work with Baddam Yella Reddy who had attracted me very much right from my childhood. I was overwhelmed by the team of young leaders comprising Amritlal Shukla, J.Ananda Rao of Sricilla Taluq, P.Chokka Rao, Mukund Lal Mishra, J.Laxma Reddy, Ch.Venkata Rama Rao of Karimnagar Taluq, Muttaya S.Nambaiah and Thakur Raja Ram Singh and Shyam Sunder Singh of Sultanabad Taluq, apart from a host of young leaders from other taluqs. We were a very good team to work together and do justice to the high expectations of the people. Our M.P. B.Y. and all the seven elected members of the legislative assembly cooperated with me by all means. It was a testing time for the party as to how best we could convert the massive support of the people into the organizational strength to build and sustain the movement for land reforms and reforms in the system of administration. Initial stages, we boldly faced every challenge but as time went on, the ideological and political differences about the stage of revolution, the role of different classes, the very characterisation of the congress rule and the tactics to be adopted in building the mass organizations like kisan sabha, the agricultural labour unions raised

their ugly heads and slowly but steadily corroded the CPI from within, ultimately drastically reducing its striking power as also its credibility in the due discharge of the duties cast upon it. However, despite the persistence of the above political and ideological differences, party in Karimnagar district could march forward thanks to the people's support as also the dedicated services rendered by the young comrades who were concerned with people's day to day problems more than the so called political differences percolating from above. I took advantage of this specific situation and succeeded to unite the party and champion the cause of the people however strong the enemy appeared to be.

In the general elections held in 1952 party (PDF) won 7 seats on its own, and won two seats of the socialist party and one independent candidate with its support. PDF leaders at Hyderabad and Karimnagar did their level best to enroll my name as a voter, to file my nomination papers as a candidate from Metpalli constituency but could not submit the papers to the returning officer within the prescribed time of 5 PM. As such, it was not accepted. Hence, late Sri Gangula Bhumaiah's independent candidature was supported by the CPI and he won with hands down. The reserve seat for the parliament from Peddapalli constituency was won by late Sri M.R.Krishna who retained his seat consecutively for a number of terms as congress candidate.

Immediately after the general elections, elections for municipalities were held. I had the duty as well as the good opportunity to visit all towns in the district. The PDF again came out with flying colours capturing the municipalities of Karimnagar, Peddapalli, Jagityal, Vemulawada and Sircilla. I could establish my personal contacts with a large number of young and promising youth which helped me through out my public life.

The long drawn Telangana Kisan movement under the leadership of Andhra Maha Sabha, culminating in the great armed movement for the merger of Hyderabad state into Indian Union, had given good dividends in the form of the enactments to abolish the age old Jagirdari, Maktedari and Inamdar system; the tenancy and ceiling on agricultural lands act and the rules to distribute the government's fallow lands to the landless poor. This has generated hopes, among the rural masses, to get the surplus lands of the land lords as also opened a golden opportunity before the social and political workers to go to the rescue of the rural poor and render their valuable services in the effective and pro people implementation of the progressive legislations. It was really a big challenge. Land lords, through the active support of the corrupt bureaucracy moved heaven and earth to escape from the clutches of all such progressive legislations. The political parties and their cadres could build their bases or protect and expand their old bases only by accepting the challenges thrown by the landlord class. Karimnagar district unit of the CPI which already had many established rural bases, could successfully expand such bases by its intervention in the unfolding new rural life and stood by the scheduled castes, tenants and rural poor. That is the reason why the CPI could sustain its

influence and strength despite the internal and external problems faced by it. I, with my educational and political background could impress upon the budding district leadership, to equip themselves with the knowledge about the new laws and the rules there under to effectively understand the new problems created by the landlord class. I had the good opportunity to study myself and to help the cadres at different levels to understand the complexities of the new acts and the rules. The landlords resorted to physically evict the tenants who were cultivating these lands for decades: The party had to make necessary preparations to face the physical attacks on our cadres engineered by the landlords with the help of the local police. This movement for the retention of tenancy, resistance to evictions spread all over the district and the kisan sabha did its best to protect the physical possession of the tenants whose only source of livelihood was this land. Kisan cadres left no stone unturned in submitting the written representations to the revenue authorities in the light of the new laws. I had the rare and good opportunity to attend every meeting arranged in this connection. Literally all the seven taluqs in Karimnagar district were covered by our active leaders and I was behind every body. Even the suffering ryots would directly approach me in my office and take my assistance and get satisfied with it.

Landlords, true to their class character and decadent social outlook, hatched a plan to remove me from the scene of land struggles, growing every day, and submitted a totally false representation to the District Superintendent of Police and the district Collector stating that I had jumped the conditional parole by visiting Laxettipet area of Adilabad district across Godavari River to rouse the tenants against the landlords. Congress government, immediately issued an order to cancel my parole and directed the police to arrest me and detain under the preventive detention Act. I was in the thick of the tenants' movement in Timmapur village of Jagityal Taluq when the police served me with this order. Next day police asked me to follow them. I was taken to Karimnagar jail, then to Warangal jail and from there to Musheerabad jail and finally to Gulbarga jail where I had to spend about five months before release.

I was really shocked at the way the state government acted at the instance of the landlords who were out to scuttle the very acts, from being implemented by the state government directly, with the connivance of the corrupt revenue and police officials. I had passed many a sleepless night always thinking about the fate of the tenants of certain villages where my presence was most essential. However I did restore my mission after a few months of jail life and did succeed in continuing the undisturbed possession of tenants whose cause was dear to my heart. The landlords who gained some breathing time, due to my arrest had to breath their last very soon after my release from Gulbarga jail. Tenants even got pattas on their tenancy lands since the landlords had to abide by the rule of law, section 38E of the Act. This period of detention gave me

another opportunity to study the literature on our freedom movement as also our great cultural heritage.

I can not forget my comradeship with late Com.Mahendra with whom I shared the big room in Gulbarga jail. Apart from routine amenities we were provided with dailies, weeklies, and books we asked for. Com.K.L.Mahendra, a veteran trade unionist had suffered from loneliness before I joined him in the jail. We used to read and discuss at length on many questions. Some times we would become sceptic about the future of the party and our own future. However the electoral results of 1952 and the massive support of the people had emboldened us to be optimistic. After our release, the work before us, both on the kisan and the trade union fronts, was so much demanding that we had no time to lose in mere thinking. We had become very busy in our respective fields.

Com.Mahendra and Prameela Tai Mahendra had donated their house site in Banjara Hills to the Telangana Martyrs' Memorail Trust which fetched about Rs.8 lakhs. This was spent in the construction of the Ravi Narayana Reddy Memorial Auditorium. He himself was the treasurer of the Telangana Martyrs' Memorial Trust till his death. His contribution and his valuable services to the trust will ever be remembered.

Next to our jail room in Gulbarga was located the ward where women prisoners were lodged; and Prameela Tai, wife of Com.K.L.Mahendra was one of them. We had seized many opportunities to exchange and discuss with her on the political situation existing then. She was a learned lady, most humble and humane in her behaviour. Afterwards she grew as the leader of the All India Women's movement and she had the rare opportunity, to represent the Indian women's movement outside India. Preventive detention Act, was challenged in the Supreme Court of India by the All India Telangana Defence Lawyer's Council. The Council seriously fought the case known as A.K.Gopalan's case. A.K.G. a veteran Communist of Kerala, was among the first detenues detained under this black act which gave the state governments the blanket power to arrest any body without any warrant of arrest and to detain him in jail for any length of time without trial. The legal luminary and the member of the queen's council in London Mr.D.N.Pritt had lent his free services to get this act quashed as anti human rights, and null and void under the fundamental rights enshrined in the Indian constitution. Myself along with hundreds of detenues all over the country were set free with this judgment. Fundamental rights under our constitution came to the lime light. Indian democracy got due recognition and respect thanks to the assertion of these fundamental rights by the Supreme Court of India. I personally got the golden opportunity to freely move and build the kisan sabha with redoubled vigour. I could move out of the Karimnagar District and serve my people with greater freedom and self confidence. This civil liberty, in the wake of good number of laws reforming the old and out

dated land tenures, opened up many opportunities to fruitfully extend our services to the rural poor. I had the rare opportunity to act as the defacto district Secretary of the party while leading the Kisan movement. My father, bearing the brunt of maintaining the large family, in the village also extended his helping hand, and support to me and my family in Karimnagar proper enabling me to settle down in public life. As already noted, the electoral victory of 1952 opened a new glorious chapter for the extension of the party to every nook and corner of the district. Our district unit had decided to collect Rs. 10 each from the party MLAs; as party fund from out of Rs. 150, they get as salary. This meagre amount would not satisfy the needs of the new duties. I had to face a lot of financial problems to run the party show. Growing moral support of the well meaning people of the district, as also the financial help arranged through small contributions gave me and the party enough strength to boldly face every challenge and steer clear on our road to build the party. The rich experiences of this period of about a decade helped me personally to emerge as a responsible Kisan leader.

**Prabhavati's Birth:** My third daughter was born on December 26 in the year 1952. She was educated in homeopathy system of medical science. She served as a teacher in the college, worked as the head of its research department and finally got retirement only last year as the deputy director of the medical and health department of Government of Andhra Pradesh. She was named Prabhavati after the name of A.Prabhakara Rao, the first freedom fighter who had laid down his life as the first martyr of Karimnagar district in 1947.

Those were the days when I had to stay at Karimnagar as the head of the family when our father looked after our agriculture at Nagaram village. Two younger brothers and three sisters would attend to their respective schools. Father, while taking care of our agriculture in two villages Marupaka and Nagaram would visit Karimnagar and look after our family. I had decided to be the whole timer of the party. As such I could not support the family financially. It was very difficult even to bear my travelling expenses. Some times I would envy my class fellows and colleagues who had settled down as advocates or the government employees or in any other avocation. Father alone would bear the burden of running such a show befitting our status in the society. I never worried nor our father brought any pressure on me to share the family burden. On the other hand he would express his appreciation of my public service, with good name. Even though he was getting old, he did his best to modernise agriculture by introducing new methods and new crops.

Progressive farmers of the villages around would share their own experiences with him and together would adopt new practices. I could carry on my work in a dedicated manner without any diversion. Some times the problems of education of my young sisters and brothers as also my own kids and their future would disturb me and cause some worry. Yet my determination and father's encouragement would embolden me to march ahead. The extra

ordinary behaviour of my sisters and brothers, their sense of adaptability to the situation, their tolerance and hard work, above all their affectionate attitude towards all elders gave me strength enough to manage the house and put up a standard show of life. No less encouraging was Lalitas behaviour of exemplary tolerance and devoted service to the large joint family. Under conditions of a serious mismatch between the sources of income and expenditure, the house wife's capacity to make both ends meet is very often subjected to crucial tests and I am proud she came out successful every time. Her heartfelt sympathy towards the party and party work, her determination to stand by me under all conditions made life very much livable. Now, aged over eighty, married life of over sixty five years we are passing our time happily hearing about and meeting the children, grand children and great grand children. Truthfulness and happiness make life the best. This is our experience. End of lives may separate us but we very much wish we could decide to end our lives together.

Father's doctrine – dignity, boldness and fearlessness in helping the needy, paved the way for the successes in my chequered life. My own moderate education, experience after experience, proved the truthfulness of the utterances of a seasoned personality, my father. His hard work, mental stress and strain, affected his health leading to blood pressure beyond control. Mean while I was elected to the legislative Assembly from Choppadandi constituency in the year 1957. I was in a better position to care for and arrange for his treatment. He could pull on with deteriorating health for just two to three years. The blood pressure could not be controlled and in the year 1959 we lost our beloved father at his age of 69 years. We lost, a great pillar of support in our life. Our family could not withstand the agony for quite a few years. Our youngest sister Sreedevi, unmarried at that time, rendered every kind of service to the bedridden father. Mother, old enough to share the burden could not help him alone under such difficult conditions. All brothers and sisters boldly withstood the void created by the demise of the great source of strength. Our own large family, close friends and relatives, above all the people at large around us expressed their deep condolences and solidarity to us all. Given the sincere help and hearty cooperation from all quarters, with our sense of tolerance and perfect mutual understanding and hard work our joint family marched ahead successfully on the path envisaged by our father. I was very much moved when the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, Mr.K.Rosaiah on the occasion of the release of the original Telugu version of this autobiography "Satyashodhana" recently, October 2010 paid rich tributes to our late parents for having sons and daughters of an excellent character and exemplary knowledge. Thanking him for his kind words, we wished that our children and grand children would carry forward this legacy.

#### **A) Kisan Movement in Karimnagar, services and experiences:**

People of Karimnagar district as part of the erstwhile state of Hyderabad, were faced with the inhuman and intolerable conditions of life calling for

an urgent and all round change under the new conditions of freedom and democracy. They expressed their fond hope of such a radical change very soon under the leadership of their newly elected representatives. The very experience of getting rid of the autocratic rule of the Nizam and the adoption of vital land legislations further strengthened their hopes and desires.

As the district secretary of the CPI as also Secretary of the District Kisan Sabha, I was mentally and morally well prepared to shoulder the new responsibilities. I had to visit all the taluqs of the district, meet the large number of local leaders and organize them in to the regular committees. It was a pleasure to talk to the budding youth, full of vigour to face any challenge in the execution of the policy and programme of the party. People all over the district, CPI cadres in particular, expressed their determination to carry forward the banner of struggle unfurled by the immortal heroes like Annebheri Prabhakara Rao and Singireddy Bhoopathi Reddy. Hundreds of local leaders coming from the peasant and handloom weaver's communities as also the dalit communities offered their services to reorganize the party and mass organizations. The colleagues and contemporaries of the martyrs like late Sri Amrutmala Shukla, K.V.Damadhara Rao, Gattipalli Muralidhara Rao, Polasani Chokka Rao, Japa Laxma Reddy, Muttaya, Nambaya, and Thakur Raja Ram Singh, Mallesham, Anneboina Mallaya, Poodari Yellaya, Dr.Ch.Venkata Rama Rao(All are no more now) including Sri Desini Mallaya belonged to the first grade cadres. There were quite a number of second grade cadres who did and are doing their best to continue the exceptional traditions of selfless work in the service of the people. I had joined the Karimnagar contingent of the CPI only after the Nizam of Hyderabad, through a conditional parole order confined my services to the boundaries of Karimnagar District which is clear from the previous chapter.

It will be in the fitness of things to recall the names of the people's representatives elected on the symbol of PDF in the general elections held in the year 1952 and they are as follows:

- |    |                            |            |
|----|----------------------------|------------|
| 1) | Dr.Ch,Venkata Rama Rao     | Karimnagar |
| 2) | J.Damodhara Rao            | Elgandal   |
| 3) | J.Ananda Rao               | Sircilla   |
| 4) | Baddam Malla Reddy         | Jagityal   |
| 5) | Venkata Reddy(Kasimpet)    | Indurthy   |
| 6) | L.Muttayya                 | Peddapalli |
| 7) | Eleti Raji Reddy(Advocate) | Sultanabad |

Along with the above seven candidates for the state Assembly, Sri Baddam Yella Reddy was elected to the parliament from Karimnagar constituency. The above elected representatives, new and old for the party, had rendered their services to their respective constituencies to the best of their abilities. I had the unique opportunity to help and assist them in their day to day work as also to

utilize their services for the reorganization of the party and Kisan sabha. It is useful to know that other six legislators, two elected on the ticket of the scheduled cast federation, two as independents and two elected on the congress ticket apart from one member of parliament elected on the ticket of the scheduled cast federation, were very friendly with the CPI and with me personally. It was a time when the measure of service to the common man determined the status of an elected leader. The CPI, being the leader in this field, having seven elected representatives apart from an MP, with a rich back ground of service and sacrifice in the great Telangana struggle, played its role of a pioneer in the district befitting its name and fame; and I was fortunate to utilise my skill and capacity in giving a shape to this popular leadership. August 15 of 1947, achievement of the complete independence for the country opened up an entirely new chapter for the country to get rid of the vestiges left by the hated British imperialism and the native princedom, and to resurrect the new independent India. The period from August 15 of 1947 to 1952 was mostly unstable because of the communal holocaust caused by the partition of the country, integration of the native states with Indian union. The congress governments elected in 1952, both at the centre and states had to bestow their undivided attention to initiate and advance the programmes and policies already promised to the people of the country. Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India was the source of inspiration and the guarantee for a good governance to face every challenge that came in the way of building a new and modern India. Despite the CPI's down right condemnations of the Nehru government as a lackey of foreign imperialism, a good number of communist leaders, including myself had some positive expectations from the bourgeois nationalist governments. India, rural India in particular of those days, though not very much changed now, yet was a hell of the worst kind of exploitation under feudalism and landlordism. Eighty to ninety percent of the agricultural lands were under the ownership of the feudal landlords. Over seventy percent of the cultivators were the tenants and agricultural labourers. Frequent eviction of tenants from the lands, bonded labour, high rates of rents, coupled with social oppression were the common problems all over the country. The situation in the native states was far worse. In Hyderabad state, over seventy five percent of the agricultural land was under the ownership of Jagirdars, Zamindars, Makedars, and Deshmukhs where lakhs and lakhs of tenants would cultivate the lands with paltry incomes. Lands known as "Sarfekhas" were the lands owned personally by the Nizam himself. The incomes from such lands would directly go to the Nizam's treasury for his expenses. The Telangana peasants' revolt against such systems of land tenure, for the radical land reforms with the slogan of land to the tiller brought about a radical change. This revolutionary struggle in Telangana as also the peasant movements all over the country forced the central and state governments to enact land laws which provided a lot of help with a number of rights to the real cultivators. Abolition of Jagirdari, Zamindari, Mukasadari and Inamdar acts as "also the Sarfekhas" were passed

in the year 1949 itself which removed the middlemen between the government and the actual tiller of the soil. An act known as Asami Shikmi Act was promulgated which gave total ownership rights to the cultivators who were only tenants till then. This gave relief to lakhs of tenants. Another act known as the Hyderabad tenancy and agricultural lands act of 1950 provided, security to all recorded tenants. The rent payable to the land lord was fixed at a rate not more than one third of the net income on the land. Tenants were protected from eviction, security of tenure was guaranteed. The protected tenants were given the preemptive right to purchase the land at a reasonable price fixed by law in ten annual installments. All kinds of forced labour were banned and any breach of law was made punishable. In the year 1952, law was enacted which fixed a ceiling on all agricultural holdings. The surplus lands would be taken over by the government and a fixed compensation would be paid to landlords by the state government. Surplus lands as also the fallow lands owned by the Government were largely distributed to the landless agricultural labourers. Abolition of Jagirdari and other systems, which had taken away the power of the landlords to rule the roost in the rural life gave the people the real freedom. The land legislations provided adequate security for life and labour. These structural changes, coupled with the extension of educational and other social facilities generated social consciousness and self respect. The Kisan sabhas and the political parties, through their struggles achieved some more rights for the peasantry. All the cultivators whose cultivation was recorded in the record of rights pertaining to the year 1954-55 would automatically be deemed as the owners of such lands. This amendment had enabled the ignorant ryots to obtain their patta certificates without any difficulty. According to an amendment in the tenancy Act, section 38 E, all the tenants of a landlord, who himself had lands up to a ceiling limit would become the owners on such lands and have to pay a nominal price. Another amendment to the agricultural land ceiling Act known as Section 50B, the tenants purchasing their cultivating lands need not get them registered under the transfer of property, mere change in the entries of land records would entitle them to become owners. This amendment had enabled lakhs and lakhs of tenants to become owners without the payment of any registration fees etc. By and large 54 acres of dry land or 27 acres of single crop wet land was fixed as ceiling for each family. Landlords capable of self cultivation tried their best to escape from such land laws through corrupt practices. Others had to abide by the law of the land. All said and done the great awakening generated by the Kisan movement, over-threw the feudal socio-economic system once and for all within a short period of a decade. However, let us not forget that in the states with weak or no kisan movement and stronger landlord lobby in politics, things have not yet changed to the satisfaction of the sons of the soil. Landlordism, tenancy systems are still surviving. Let us compare and contrast the land tenure systems existing within Andhra Pradesh itself. Thanks to the Telangana peasant movement of the 1946-52, the tenancy is just nominal, whereas in the coastal and Rayalaseema

districts, agricultural land cultivation is done by tenants who constitute over 50 percent of the agriculturists. Their tenancy is still not recorded as per the tenancy Act of 1976. It is there with a tacit understanding between the landlord and the tenants. Tenant is only a share cropper. Tenant has to share 20 to 24 bags of paddy per acre with the land lord. He has to pay an amount of Rs.30,000 to 40,000 per acre for the cash crops like Chillies and cotton. The tenants have to borrow loans privately at an exorbitant rate of 24% to 36% interest. Land ceiling law and the tenancy act are just ignored thanks to the political influence managed by the land lord class. This is the most unfortunate situation prevailing in all other states of the country except Kerala and West Bengal.

Apart from the private patta lands, there exist government lands with different names. Government at the time of settlement itself had earmarked ten percent of the total agricultural land under the category of Bancharai ie., grazing purpose for cattle and sheep. As the pressure on land increased government had to reduce the percentage to five and less than five. Ultimately there is no land left for the grazing purpose. Bancharai lands were assigned on patta to the landless people. There is another category of the government land known as Kharajkhata lands(lands removed from the regular records of rights). The great economic crisis of 1930s had seriously affected the money circulation, known as the crisis of liquidity. It was very difficult for the peasantry to pay the land revenue and other taxes in cash. They had to sell the land holdings for a song or surrender their patta lands to the Government. Such surrendered lands were known as Kharajkhata lands. After independence, thanks to the growing demand for lands, the state government had to distribute these lands to the land less. Another category of village lands known as ‘porombok’ land, which was neither cultivable nor reserved for the communal purpose, had existed in every village. Even this category was totally utilized for distributing for house sites or for agricultural purpose. Lands newly made available because of the changes in the river course known as “Nadi Baramad Porombok” were also grabbed by the landless which were later regularized as assigned lands. Very often tank bed lands known as “shikham lands” were encroached upon by the landless, despite the strict prohibitory orders, and the encroachers paid the heavy penalties, imposed by the government. There are a number of instances where a number of small tanks known as kuntas got defaced and even were disbanded because of the repeated encroachments for agricultural purposes. This was the depth of the land hunger. The kisan sabha activists were forced to give their full time for the protection of farmers, small and marginal farmers and the dalits. The village officers, mostly the big landlords had utilized each and every opportunity to harass the people to make money.

Implementation of a number of land legislations in favour of the peasantry land ceiling and tenancy acts in particular, struggle for the assignment of all kinds of government lands, agitations for the cancellation or reduction of a

number of penalties payable by the poor and marginal peasantry, militant resistance to all kinds of forced labour, above all fighting against the oppressive and corrupt rule of the village officers was the regular agenda before the kisan sabha. Those leaders who had personally attended to these problems and rendered selfless services, had emerged as the accepted leaders and occupied the elected posts giving the real meaning to democracy. I, as already mentioned, had the unique opportunity to work in the Karimnagar district for over twenty long years, from 1952 to 1972 and render my services in educating, encouraging and even correcting and defending scores of the party and kisan sabha workers in the successful discharge of their duties. This was possible for me thanks to my close study of the laws and the rules made there under also much from being close to the people and studying their problems and their social consciousness, preparedness to participate in any form of struggles. Knowledge of the subject is a prerequisite for learning from the people and finding the correct solution for the problems faced by the people. With the rich experiences obtained from the struggles, and my own study of the subject, I was able to handle the classes on kisan problems satisfactorily. I can confidently say that thanks to the hard work and dedicated service rendered by the kisan sabha leaders, we could ensure patta on over three lakh acres of agricultural lands in Karimnagar district alone. I wish to narrate a few land struggles where I personally participated to share with the readers the inspiration I got, the moral courage I derived from and the determination I arrived at in the service of the people; which contributed in deciding my future course of action in public life.

**Episode :1:** Alugunoor, a village adjoining Karimnagar city, is on the other side of river Manair. About a hundred agriculturists of the village had been cultivating as tenants over one hundred acres of lands belonging to a landlord. The cultivators, through their own labour excavated an irrigation channel from the Manair river and converted their lands into wet lands paying higher rates of land revenue to the government and higher rents to the land lord. The landlord wanted to evict the tenants from the developed lands and sell them at the highest rates and make money. The tenants approached the land lord with a proposal to purchase the lands on reasonable rates. The land lord rejected their offer with a design to get the highest rates by open sale. The leader of the ryots, himself a tenant, Sri Japa Laxma Reddy tried his best to arrive at an amicable settlement with the landlord but in vain. Sri Japa Laxma Reddy was my good friend and one year senior to me when I was the high school student in Karimnagar. I met him in the year 1952 after a gap of ten long years when I was released on parole, confining my movements to Karimnagar district. He had emerged as a Kisan leader with strong commitment to radical socio-economic philosophy. He had joined the CPI and occupied his rightful place in the district Kisan sabha. He was well known for his uncompromising and strong views in leading the kisan sabha. He was a big asset to me in my endeavour to build the Kisan sabha in the district. The land lord, known for his cleverness, made friends with the local congress leaders and resorted to all

kinds of methods to divide the tenants, and harass them by foisting false cases against them. Some times we had to take extra precautions for the security of their leaders' life. Thanks to the hard work and bold struggles led by Sri. Laxma Reddy the kisans of the village supported by the well knit Kisan Sabha of the entire taluq successfully faced every challenge thrown by the landlord. The Kisan Sabha, using the progressive land laws on the protection of Tenants, and the ceiling on land holdings, forced the landlord to accept the proposals put forward by the tenants; ultimately leading to the grant of ownership rights to all the cultivating tenants. Com.J.Laxma Reddy, a bold fighter for the cause of the downtrodden had joined the CPI(M) at the time of the split in the year 1964. Later he could not adjust with the CPI(M) and became a sympathizer of the CPI(ML) and became the leader of the Civil Liberties Union. A squad of the CPI(ML) had targeted and killed the DSP of Peddapalli. The very next day, police of Karimnagar, avenging the murder of the D.S.P. murdered the kisan sabha leader Sri J.Laxma Reddy in his own house in a fake encounter! The CPI and all political parties condemned such a dastardly murder of a popular leader of the movement for civil liberties. It was a great personal loss to me. The actions of the CPI(ML) and the counter actions of the police in the name of encounters continued for decades together making public life a risky one. The extremists will have to appreciate and accept the democratic way of life and shun violence while the police is bound to maintain law and order attracting the people's cooperation abjuring the cult of violence and the so called encounters.

**Episode :2:** Marupaka is my own village, then in Sricilla Taluq. The Gumasta patwari was busy in collecting the land revenue from the ryots. Usually, the village officers would prepare two types of registers; one, giving the names of the ryots and the revenue payable by them, as per the rates fixed by the governmental in the "PAHANI", and the second one showing the names of the ryots and the amount payable by them, over and above the actual revenue and fixed by the village officers. The second one was named as Chapavani. It will be of interest to note that "CHUPANA" in urdu language means 'concealment'. Hence the second record named as Chapavani is correctly named as a secret document.

On a day, in the morning hours, when I was usually in the district party office, two young dalits from Marupaka approached me and complained to me about the high rates of land revenue being forcibly collected by the patwari: Those rates according to them were very much over and above the actuals and were fixed by the Patwari illegally and arbitrarily. Believing in the statements of dalit youth, I had immediately proceeded to my village. Travel by bus and then by walk, took some time to reach the village. At the centre of the village, on a gaddi under the shadow of a tree I found the patwari very busy in his collection work surrounded by some people; all known to me. Seeing me, the surprised Patwari approached me and offered his services. I, straight away,

walked up and took all the registers and then checked them up to find out the two types of registers, the “vasoolbaki” and the “Chapavani”. Mean while a number of ryots including those having complaints surrounded me. I could very easily find out the difference in collections. The fear stricken patwari, almost shivering, himself told me that the extra amounts being collected were meant to pay the Mamools payable to officers. I took a concrete instance and asked for his explanation. The dalits had cultivated the prohibited tank bed land and reaped the crop of red gram. The revenue authorities after inspection levied one hundred percent penalty payable by the dalit cultivators. The original land revenue plus the penalty levied there on works to Rs. 9 per acre, where as the blessed patwari levied and collected at the rate of Rs. 90 per acre. In an angry mood I questioned how come you have added one zero to the original amount of Rs. 9 only. The patwari shamelessly gave two reasons. Reason one was that the revenue officers had asked him to collect more to satisfy all other officers’ Mamools. Second one was that, of late the market rates of red gram were far more high and that the dalits could afford to pay that much. Hearing this audacious and cruel argument I wanted to lay my hand on the cash there. The dalit youth pointed out to me that it was lying under the carpet. I look out the whole money and had distributed to all the ryots from whom the extra amounts were collected by the Patwari. Almost all ryots got back their surplus amounts. They were very happy at the event and profusely thanked me. I had come back to my office in Karimnagar by evening and had narrated the event to all the waiting comrades.

**Episode :3:** This was takkallapalli village. A landlord, well known in Karimnagar and Adilabad districts for his totalitarianism had camped here. He was a curse to the terror-stricken people. He could do any and every thing he liked. A dictator, a poisonous snake, and a beastly man, he was a relic of the decadent feudal system. He never cared for any body coming in his way. He had even committed a coldblooded murder of a police officer who had dared to arrest him. Stories of his cruelties and high handedness had terrorized the people all around the area. No police or revenue officer could entertain any case where he was involved. On the other hand such officers would enjoy his hospitality day in and day out only to serve him in his evil designs and cruel actions. After India achieved independence, he had spread his tentacles to the field of politics by winning over the local congress leaders. He would execute his cruel and selfish designs with the assistance of a band of rowdies and goons who were known as habitual offenders. I Knew him and his cruel history.

On a day, as usual, I had reached my office by 9 AM. Incidentally my important colleagues like J.Laxma Reddy and P.Chokka Rao had gone to different villages to attend to their jobs as planned. I was taken aback to see a batch of 40 to 50 women, coming to the office in an anxious mood and with a sense of urgency. I could understand their agony and welcomed, them to my room and enquired about the problem they were facing. One after another, they had

revealed the heart rendering story as to how an innocent and modest Muslim lady was molested by the above landlord when she had passed through the village after alighting from a transport bus. They narrated, with tears, how the goons of the landlord forcibly dragged her in to the house where the beastly man committed the heinous crime. Their demand, was that such a cruelty must be publicity condemned and the criminal must be brought to book. Mean while another batch of men and women came and joined them only to assert and reassert that they had taken a bold decision to put up a united fight against the cruel landlord by lodging a complaint against him and then drive him out of the village to get rid of him once and for all.

The ladies, with one voice, expressed their full faith and confidence stating that the Communist Party alone was bold and capable enough to courageously undertake this job and come to their rescue. I took some time and after some more elicitation of facts had appreciated their determination to face any eventuality in the struggle to protect the dignity and honour of women hood. I had to take a decision myself as the comrades of that taluq were already under the police custody in connection with a false case of land grabbing foisted against them by another landlord. I had made up my mind not to lose any time and to strike the iron when it is hot. I had asked all of them to go back to their village with an assurance that I would reach the village by the evening in a local bus. I knew my decision was serious enough. I had to travel alone to a village and to the place of a landlord notorious for his atrocities. I was even risking my life. Some times timely decision pays good dividends. Calculations about the consequences might lead to missing the opportunity to deal a death blow to an enemy of the people.

I went to my house, had finished my lunch and had immediately started with my hand bag, stating to Lalita that I would return back late in the night or at the most next day morning. Lalita did never vex me with questions as she knew it was usual for me. I took my bus and alighted at a village wherefrom I should undertake seven miles walk to reach the village of my destination. Luckily the leader of the local Hamali Sangham Sri Rajaiah spotted me out and had asked me about my programme. I had told him the purpose and the programme ahead. He was shocked a bit and had asked me whether I knew about the landlord whom we had to face, I narrated the whole story and told the urgency to publicly condemn the heinous crime committed by the landlord. He was a bold comrade with dashing spirit. He had asked me to wait in the shop of a sympathizer, for some time had gone to his house, finished his lunch, took a big lathi in his hand and arrived there. Together, we had proceeded towards the village. On our way, we had talked to some people who only frightened us to think about the consequences that might follow. Our comrade Rajaiah had replied to every question and counter posed the question that the landlord and his henchmen should know that they have to face the communist party which was the worst enemy of such landlords. We were reaching the

village proper when we heard slogans from a crowd of hundreds of men and women who were heading towards us only to receive us with a fanfare. All of us, with the beatings of the traditional drums and the sky renting slogans went round the whole village without leaving a single street and converged at the central place which incidentally happened to be in front of the hated landlord's house. The information about the villagers approaching the CPI Office and my arrival to the village to address a public gathering had already spread throughout the surrounding villages. It was an event of great importance when everybody was very angry against the landlord and also very anxious about its fall out. I must have spoken for about an hour and a half exposing the atrocities and the cruelties committed by the landlord, rousing the people to face him boldly and put them down through their militant action without any fear, with an assurance that the communist party would leave no stone unturned in standing by them for their liberation from the atrocities of the landlord. Mean while the villagers had brought to my notice that the same land lord had occupied a public pathway and included it in the compound of his house. I made an appeal to the people to show their grit and strength by literally demolishing the part of the compound wall erected to include the public passage in his compound. For a moment I had noticed some hesitation from the people as the landlord was visible watching the whole proceedings against him. Our comrade Rajaiah, a strong man with mustaches marched forward and started the operation dismantlement by pulling down a few stones. The men and women followed suit, and within a few minutes the entire enclosure was razed to ground. I had thrown a challenge at his face and warned him to do what all he can, only to face the consequences at the hands of the communist party. This was the period of early fifties of the last century when the historic Telangana movement was at its peak. The rural folk in particular, had shed their fear complex and helplessness. It was the time when with a small effort to fight back the feudal atrocities one could achieve big success and the landlords would stage retreat. This movement for the establishment of self respect and human rights kindled a social consciousness which could never be subdued by any amount of oppression or repression. The sense of self respect and human dignity achieved through struggles against the feudal oppressors leaves an indelible mark of social status, on the people despite their economic poverty and inequality. People, particularly the backward and dalit people, men or women, consider their social position as more important than their economic position. Marxism and its historical materialism deals with the production relations with the means of production to determine the class nature of the working people. In the context of Indian society with its caste divisions and social inequality scientific Marxists have to consider the social equality as a pre requisite along with production relation for a united socio economic movement for socialism.

Coming back to what happened to the landlord and the people who fought for their dignity, the landlord left for the town nearby, in his car, in the same

night, telling the people that he would never return to the village where he had faced an insult of the worst kind. He had managed to foist false and frivolous case against me and the villagers. I did not even go to police station, much less to a court of law to defend myself. It was a surprise all around. For six long years he had restrained to enter the village where he lost his face. He had tried to contact the local party unit with an offer to contribute to the party fund for the general elections due in 1962. Local party wanted my personal presence which I flatly refused. After six years he had managed the local people to persuade him to forgive and forget all that had happened when he went back to his village and made settlements with the villagers disposing off all his lands which he had grabbed from them. A few years after, the rich man had died a poor death unlamented and unsung. This was the victory of the united movement of the women folk who had displayed their courage and conviction.

**Episode:4:** It is Dharmaram village. The landlord was literally worshiped by hundreds of people as a god man. He was gifted with an extra ordinary behavioural pattern, which earned for him a good name besides affording opportunities to amass properties far more than any other landlord of his rank could. The kisan Sabha had exposed him as a big land grabber. It was unbelievable until the village land records provided the proof. The entire village trusted him as their saviour and friend in need.

The Hyderabad state government, thanks to the historic Telangana peasant revolt had issued a government order to give ownership rights to all those peasants whose names were recorded as “cultivator” in the village land records pertaining to the Pahani of the year 1944-45; known as Khasra Pahani. This extraordinary G.O. provided to lakhs and lakhs of cultivating tenants to become owners on such land holdings automatically without undergoing the painstaking procedure of registration and payment of stamp duty. It also empowered the tenants to establish their right to ownership notwithstanding the objections raised by the land owners. Tenants, who were the actual cultivators on such lands, approached the village Patwaris and got their names recorded in the Khasra Pahani. Patwaris obliged the tenants and had collected lakhs and lakhs of rupees as bribes. However the job was easily done after greasing the palms of the Patwaris.

Here the landlord who is also the patwari bluffed to the ryots that he does not require any ‘pairavi’ and that every tenant’s name had been correctly recorded in the ‘Khasra Pahani’. As a matter of fact, he took every care not to record the tenants names and on the other hand very carefully recorded the names of his sons, thus depriving the tenants of the benefits accruing, thanks to the G.O. A few tenants sensed a rat in the dealing of the landlord and started doubting the bonafides of the ‘trusted’ God man. The matter was brought to my notice when I started my own investigation on the subject matter. I had come to know that he was an elderly man with high-tech methods of exploitation. Though he appears very liberal and behaves with the people most cordially

and friendly, yet in his heart of heart he has not even an iota of affection towards them. He had acted perfectly well to ultimately cheat the very people who sincerely reposed their confidence in him. The highlights of his normal behavior were interesting. He knew almost every family of his village and its problems. He would assure and practically do everything in his hand to rescue the families from the problems faced by them. He did not resort to any forcible collection of even the land revenue, instead he himself would pay only to realize it on exorbitant rates of interest through out the year. He would spot out the poor families who required necessary food grains to eke out their livelihood; and would arrange for the required quantity of the food grains, only to take back, double the quantity, whenever the affected family was capable to pay back. This method was known as "Nagu" which is hundred percent or even more than original. He would help the people in need of cash or kind and skilfully took back with the highest rates of interests.

Thanks to such a peculiar practice, attitude and behaviour the land lord earned both the money as well as good name. But then the land record could not be suppressed for long. He had to come out in true colours. It took the kisan sabha very long time to convince the very sufferers of the village about the mischief meted out to them. The names of the rightful land owners were not recorded at all or recorded in the name of his successors. When we asked for a copy of the record, he would bluntly refuse to handover such a record. He had managed the Tahseel office to toe his line of action. I had come to know that he was trying to grab about 1200 acres of lands which should rightfully belong to the tenants or the original owners. Our kisan sabha had even tried to persuade the land lord to come to some compromise and arrive at a settlement with the tenants who were getting vexed and tired of such unending litigation. He had point blank refused to entertain any such attempt, on the other hand he took an offence against the local and taluq Kisan sabha activists stating that they were disturbing his cordial and friendly relations with his people and causing frictions by promoting ill will and factions in a calm going and peaceful village.

Such an irreconcilable attitude, behaviour on the part of the landlord as also his adamant behaviour had forced the Kisan Sabha to build a big mass movement against him exposing all his misdeeds publicly. He had used every tactic to divide the ryots between rich and poor, haves and have-nots, dalits and non dalits etc. It was a herculean task for the Kisan Sabha, personally for me, to unite the people who were all subjected to the land grabbing. In the year 1957 I was elected to the state legislative Assembly for the first time from Choppadandi constituency adjoining to this village. After some time when a friendly rapport with the then revenue Minister late Sri. Kala Venkata Rao got established, I had informed him about the clever landlord's cunning methods to cheat the people. He had advised me to pay the landlord in his own coin and for that he had suggested me to obtain the copy of the original records by

offering him a fair settlement keeping in mind his wishes. He had specifically warned me not to let out the truth behind our “fake” offer. I had sent a message to the landlord to this effect. Very soon he approached me, handed over the true copy of the original pahani which had convincingly established the rights of ryots. I had then approached the revenue authorities to do the needful according to the Government orders. Meanwhile the landlord had resorted to involve the peasants in a number of criminal cases. The issue had become a larger one leading to a number of demonstrations and physical encounters. At a stage the landlord had offered for a peaceful settlement as per my previous indication on the basis that he would leave about 300 acres of land of his choice to the tenants which we had flatly refused. Another year passed with the civil and criminal litigations getting aggravated with every passing month. The tenants in their hundreds refused to give up their possession on all the lands. At long last, our kisan sabha had agreed for a settlement on our terms. A day was fixed for negotiations. A big number of his relations, all landlords, assembled. Myself with Baddam Yella Reddy as our guide and leader had participated in the negotiations. By that time I was well versed with the history and geography of every survey number under litigation spread over in 4 villages, all hamlets of the original village. Ultimately he was forced to be satisfied with our offer to leave 300 acres of our choice located in four villages as against his offer of leaving 300 acres of his choice to the tenants. The facts, ground realities, above all the mental preparedness of the ryots to face any challenge, emboldened me to take an uncompromising attitude and sign the agreement on behalf of the kisan sabha. It took a few months more to correct the official records. This was how, a patient, flexible but hard line of struggle against a seasoned landlord helped the poor tenants to protect their ownership rights over a thousand acres of fertile lands. The victory goes to the innocent hard working tenants and the local leaders late Sri A.Peda Raji Reddy, Advocate, China Raj Reddy, S.Nambaiah and Lasmaya. My self, a student leader had emerged as a Kisan leader with credibility and with sufficient knowledge of Kisan problems which subsequently helped me to lead the Kisan Sabha.

**Episode:5** :Renikunta. It was a village nearby Karimnagar with a large tank capable of irrigating about 400 acres of double crop lands. An absentee landlord, well known for his landed estates and his closeness with the officials, had developed a desire to grab over thirty acres of the prohibited tank bed land of the village. His advisers had told him that it was a child’s play for him provided he had finally made up his mind. With the help of his henchmen he had successfully managed to cook up and forge a consent statement from the ayacut holders stating that they no longer require the tank as it had gone out of use thanks to its dilapidated condition, that they have no objection if it was declared as an abandoned tank and its shikam land was assigned to any eligible person or persons. Normally the abandonment of any tank is very difficult unless its tank bed land is required for any public purpose and the land owners of the ayacut agree to it. It takes a few years time to include the tank bed land

in the list of assignable lands even for a public purpose; For a private party it would be almost an impossibility. Keeping the land owners of the village in the dark, managing the revenue and the irrigation departments up to state level, the land lord had successfully completed his dirty job. The truth had come to light only when a big struggle was fought against the land lord and the state government by the people under the leadership of the Kisan Sabha.

On a midnight I heard somebody knocking at my door. I woke up and opened the door only to find a big batch of 40-50 women in an agitated mood. Surprised, I asked them what had happened and where from they had come? The women folk, most of them with tears in their eyes narrated the calamity they were facing. According to their woeful story the goons of the landlord had arrived at their village tank with implements to breach the tank. Their men folk had obstructed them. Yet the landlord's men with their material were over powering them. The tank must have already been breached by that time. Finding no alternative, to protect the tank full of water and the wet lands of over four hundred acres under it with very recently transplanted paddy crop; they sought the help of the party and party leaders to come to their rescue by arranging police help immediately; or else the wet crops belonging to hundreds of the families would get washed off with the flood water. It was a shock to me. I could not imagine such an event occurring in a village where agriculture happens to be the main stay for the entire village. People with an iota of commonsense would never think of breaching any tank, much less a tank irrigating hundreds of acres. Feudal landlords with their cruel designs alone can think and act in such an inhuman manner. Feudals, parasites as they are, know nothing about the dignity of labour. Their personal likes and dislikes alone determine their course of action. Problems of the entire village, much less the problems of life and death faced by the toiling people were alien to them.

I was in a fix as to what could be done in the mid night to save the tank and the crops. However I had assured them to do my best and reach the village within an hour. I had asked them to tell their men folk to go on resisting the goons without any fear. They had left my place almost crying as their entire investment on transplantation of about 400 acres would vanish in no time. I could imagine the landlord's cruelties in treating his servants and even public at large for selfish ends but could not digest the most inhuman act of destroying the only source of life which would cause untold hardship to the entire village including a few of his own followers. However I had decided to do whatever one could do and went to my colleagues late Sri P.Chokka Rao and Laxma Reddy told them about the challenge before the party. Immediately we had hired a jeep and had rushed to the village after putting a paper in the police station.

We had reached the village and found an atmosphere of all-round agony. Women folk with babies crying aloud, men confronting the landlords goons who were busy in breaching the tank while few young men were beating the

hired goons forcing them to runaway from the scene. On the other side we witnessed the water gushing out of the breached parts of the tank uprooting the plantation which was getting washed off. We could not withstand the ghastly scene and had joined the villagers in their hectic efforts to refill the breaches and prevent the water flow. Our comrades who knew much more than me about agriculture and irrigation, shouted at the top of their voice rousing the villagers, men and women, to leave no stone unturned in restoring the tank. They even had emboldened the public with an assurance that the police was posted with this information and they might reach the spot any moment. This appeal to the people had its salutary effect. People in agony and anguish made bold to unitedly act and fill the breaches. Already the party leaders from nearby villages like Desini Mallaiah, Anneboina Mallaiah, Poodari Yellaya, Mallesham and Venkata Reddy had arrived at the scene. Their militant action and rousing appeal further enthused the fear stricken people. All together did the magic of snatching the implements from the hands of goons, and tieing the most vocal rowdies to the trees. Our comrades had succeeded in filling up the few breaches by early in the next morning. Next day the entire women folk of the village with the help of men undertook the job of replantation wherever the crops got washed off with the flooding water.

This news had spread like wild fire. People particularly the ryots of the adjoining villages had come to see the most cruel act committed by the anti social elements to satisfy the greed of a hated landlord. Our kisan sabha leaders had given an open threat stating that they would not tolerate any action to breach the tank again and the persons responsible for such a heinous crime would have to face fatal consequence. The Kisan Sabha had issued a leaflet on the subject severely condemning the inhuman action at the instance of the landlord and had made an open appeal to the ryots and other political and social workers to condemn it. We had met the Collector and the district authorities to draw their attention to this anti social act, only to learn from them that all that was done was perfectly legal and the landlord concerned had obtained permissions, including police permission to breach the tank. How could a land lord dare to resort to such an anti people action caused surprise to one and all. Our own local cadre as also the actual cultivators were kept in the dark and the landlord's men had managed it, with forged documents and corrupt practices.

Two weeks passed by, the state government had issued another memo to the district Collector asking him to immediately execute the order of breaching the above tank with necessary police help. Knowing about such an order from the state government I had plunged into action to organize the entire Kisan Sabha cadres and resist the state government's pro feudal decision. All the district Kisan Sabha leaders had moved into action with determination exhibited exceptionally to call a halt to the Collector's operation to breach the tank. Hundreds of peasants with lathies in hand pledged to do or die, had reached the

tank bund, offered collective satyagraha. The revenue and irrigation officials with police support tried their level best to go ahead with their operation but were forced to think twice before any action. The whole village with the support of hundreds of ryots and Kisan Sabha activists, having red flags in hands, presented a picture of an actual tug of war taking place with the state government represented by a few officials hired goons and police on one side and hundreds of Kisans and Kisan Sabha workers and leaders on the other. The Government officers after a few hours of persuasion, threats of arrests etc., had to stage an ignominious retreat. The kisans and Kisan Sabha had scored a victory and had exposed the pro feudal policy of the state government. The local people heaved a sigh of relief. The Kisans and the public at large in the whole Karimnagar district and out side strongly condemned the anti people action of the state government.

It had come to light, after some time that the notorious landlord had dared to resort to such an unpopular action only with the help of his relative, a Cabinet Minister. A few months later, Cabinet reshuffle had taken place and the irrigation portfolio went to late Moin Navaz Jung, a highly respected person with humane outlook. I had narrated to him all that had happened. He had expressed his profound sympathy with the aggrieved people and had apologized for all that had happened in the name of the state government. He had visited the village and inspected the tank, and had given a strong direction to the irrigation officers and the Collector to take every care to protect the tank and to bring to book those responsible for such an illegal action.

Myself and my colleagues in Kisan Sabha, with rejuvenated spirit rededicated our services to the kisan movement. Our struggles for the implementation of the Tenancy, Act, land ceiling Act, records of rights Act etc had already won for us a very good place in our public life. I am only sorry, most of my colleagues are now no more to see the fruition of their hard work. Kisan Sabha now is faced with newer and newer problems of making agriculture an industry with reasonable profits for the cultivators, and to undergo the second green revolution

The few concrete instances of struggles against the noted feudal landlords on a variety of issues in different parts of the district have been referred to in this memoir. Hundreds of interventions by the Kisan Sabha helped the peasantry at large to assert their rights and come out successful. I can recall many such path breaking instances and be contented with my contribution along with the very valuable services rendered by a team of leaders and grass root level workers but for whose sincere and hard work the peasant movement could not have achieved the historic successes. I am proud of all of them.

The kisan movement in Karimnagar district was also conducted under the leadership of the then socialist party led by Sarva Sree Late P.Narsinga Rao, Venkata Rao, B.Venkataya and Padala Chandraya who had led number of struggles in the then Huzoorabad Taluq and had succeeded in protecting hundreds

of tenants from eviction, as also in the achievement of their rights under different land legislations.

**Birth of Ramesh:** Dr.Ramesh Chennamaneni the present MLA from Vemulawada constituency, was born on the third of February in the year 1956 as our fourth child. We named him after Ramesh, my venerable General Secretary of the All India Peace movement. As the father of three daughters and a son I had undergone vasectomy, an operation for family planning. I had successfully persuaded a number of my relatives to undertake family planning which then was a new concept. However the experience has disproved the futility of the excesses in family planning. China, under the hegemony of the Communist Party had implemented family planning in an excessive manner. It had punished the family having more than one child. On the other hand Indian experience of a moderate family is more encouraging. India today has 52 crores of young population with an average age of 25 years. This human resource if skilled and qualified, apart from abolishing the problem of unemployment, can generate wealth sufficient enough for a welfare state. Such a moderate population of youth is always an asset for any country. Demographic dividend is the modern concept which underscores the significance of skilled and trained youth as part of human resource. Experts assert that India's growth story today is the outcome of its demographic dividend, where youth is causing and sustaining the growth both as producers and consumers. With four children added to our already large family, our joint family had become richer. The problems of bringing them up apart, the real happiness is derived from the family life which is the sweetest of all. It gives the real homeliness where love, affection and partnership pervade. I am fortunate enough to have been born, brought up, and built up in such proud family. It is giving me the utmost solace and sense of satisfaction at this ripe age. I am sure every member of our large family shares my view point.

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## 5. 1957-67 GENERAL ELECTIONS – MY ROLE

The political situation, then existing, both at national and international level was qualitatively very different. Cold war between the two camps, one led by the USSR and the other led by the USA was at its peak. Such a situation was ideologically justified as inevitable under the imperialist domination of the world economies and politics by the Anglo American imperialism which continued, according to the communist view point. In this competition between two world markets, the capitalist market must be defeated either peacefully through peaceful competition or through a probable third world war when the world imperialism will be rolled back and the world will be liberated from the scourge of imperialism once and for all. Communist parties world over accepted and followed such an analysis till the communism of the USSR and the east European countries itself was rolled back and the theory of two worlds and two markets withered away, in the year 1990-91. National situation was also qualitatively different from today's situation thanks to Pundit Nehru's broad outlook of democracy and socio economic justice: By and large the then political situation was influenced by the pre independence values and the spirit of patriotism guiding the policies of both the central and state governments.

My own personal appreciation of the far reaching consequences, with bitter experiences of the second party congress thesis of 1948, the resolutions adopted by the All India Party conference held in 1951, brought about basic changes in my world outlook and analysis of both the national and international situation. Accordingly I had to intensify my inner party struggle while strictly observing the party discipline. I recollect my active participation through my repeated interventions in the finalisation of party resolutions in the third party congress held in Madurai in the year 1953 and the fourth party congress held in Palghat. My work in support or against the resolutions or proposition of necessary amendments to the official resolutions were very well appreciated by the then seasonal and popular leaders of the CPI. This had encouraged me to devote more and more attention towards the creative thinking and fruitful action for the furtherance of the communist ideology, its application to build the mass organizations. Such a concentrated inner party struggle went on for 8 to 10 years when the party had faced a split in the year 1964.

The issues which dominated our discussions were as follows:

- 1) The freedom acquired on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947 was fake and it was only an adjustment with British imperialism.
- 2) Government of India under the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru represents the bourgeoisie and landlord classes. It is cheating the people at large and the people of the country have realized the anti people nature of the Nehru government.

- 3) Indian people have lost all illusions about the ruling congress party and are actively fighting for an alternative to it.
- 4) The economic crisis in the country has matured in to a political crisis.
- 5) The objective political situation is ripe for a social political revolution. People are ready to plunge into revolutionary action if the CPI gives a call for such a radical action.

One can very easily understand now, how immature was the level of understanding of the party. We were then echoing and reechoing the most subjective understanding of the Comintern and then Cominform, without any regard for the ground realities existing in our country. The people in our country, cutting across the regions, classes and communities, accepted the independence and the republic days and were celebrating them as days of deliverance from the age old slavery under foreign rule. It is one thing to carry the message of making the freedom and democracy meaningful and to fight for it. But it was totally wrong to refuse to accept the political freedom obtained on 15<sup>th</sup> August and the 26<sup>th</sup> January 1950 when democracy was enshrined in our constitution. It was dogmatism and fundamentalism that blinded the communists and threw them out of the national mainstream. Left movement, particularly the Communist movement still suffers from such hangovers and is undergoing the trial and error methods to join the political main stream and then build a broad national democratic alternative leading to socialism. Parliamentary democracy a powerful means to be made use of to achieve the goal of socialism must and should be successfully harnessed with radical reforms. It certainly requires maximum unity on a minimum programme among the parties believing in socialist transformation of the society. They must first close their ranks through united action on the common issues faced by the people. The present political policies of the left movement, by and large, according to my perception, are on the right track. A strategy to forge unity of action among the political parties committed to secularism, democracy and inclusive growth with human development and eradication of poverty step by step as the starting point is welcome and most desirable. It eminently suits Indian psyche and tradition. I sincerely submit to the left to give up once and for all the alien and outmoded concepts of the “hegemony of the proletariat” “party of the working class” “no truck with the national bourgeoisie” etc which have and are inhibiting the evolution of a broad national front to achieve the goal of national democracy, political, economic and social. I know I am suggesting for an impossibility at this stage. However I am duty bound to open my heart before it is too late in my short life left.

The subjective and sectarian policies adopted by the CPI since 1948 had continued in one form or other, some times overtly, some times covertly, only to generate total confusion among the party members and sympathizers who had profound respect for the tested leadership. The twentieth congress of the CPSU held in 1956 as also the Chinese party congress held in 1959 almost

categorically appreciated the new political situation in free India with parliamentary democracy as an instrumentality to transform the socio economic situation on progressive lines. However the party leadership, by and large, continued to hold on to the liquidationist line of second party congress. This dogged inner party struggle clouded party's contacts with the masses of people and their mass organizations. The situation drifted and the party got derailed, so much so that the conflict in political views led to the clash of personalities and political rivalry.

Karimnagar district unit of the CPI was no exception to this unhealthy development. Party was divided into two warring camps, fortunately I happened to be the leader of the rank and file which was opposed to the sectarian line of the second party congress. I had to participate in a number of general body meetings throughout the district expounding the necessity to give up the sectarian outlook and to adopt a line of unity and struggle befitting the changed political scenario. I never tolerated any degeneration of the inner party struggle into factional or personal levels and did my best to utilize every opportunity to raise the level of political and ideological understanding of the party cadres, which gave me personally good dividends as a balanced manager of the political debates. A small incident of such a debate will be interesting. The meeting of the extended CPI district council, was held at Choppadandi village. The bone of contention in a debate was "whether a correct political line was more important or the correct organizational line, for the growth of the party". The marathon debate went on for two days continuously. Late Com. Amritlal Shukla championed the importance of the party organisation while I had to articulate the significance of party's political thinking which determines every other thing. Com.Baddam Yella Reddy our state leader, who was in Karimnagar, incidentally came to know about this endless debate going on in Choppadandi village. He rushed to the village and made a strong intervention stating that "for any serious political party, both, the political line and the organizational skills are equally important. They are the two sides of the same coin. You are only reflecting the political differences inside the party which have no relevance here. And there is no meaning in wasting any more time on such an academic debate" he had said. Com.Amrutlal Shukla, senior to me in age and experience was a man of strong convictions. He would not yield so soon. He was a school teacher before and had resigned his job to become a whole timer of the party. He was a calm going man. He had undergone the sufferings in underground and jail life. I vividly remember the day when he escaped from the police custody at Kachiguda railway station when he was being shifted from Chanchalguda jail in Hyderabad to Jalna jail in Marathwada. It was a sensational news then.

In the year 1956 when I was incharge of the party in Karimnagar district, elections for the district party Secretary took a serious turn, under the conditions of serious political differences of opinion. Party got divided into two warring

camps. The elections were conducted by a returning officer who came from the provincial centre. I was elected with a good majority defeating my contestant Com.Amrutlal Shukla. The moment results were announced he approached me and hugged me stating it was all in the political game, take it sportively. The party discipline we followed and the unity of action we demonstrated was reflected in the victory of the CPI candidates in the general election held the very next year in 1957, when I had won from the Choppadandi constituency and Com. Amrutlal won from Sircilla constituency along with others. Deep sense of service to the people along with a flexible political understanding coupled with discipline will certainly yield positive result in any democracy. I thank myself and comrades with whom I had political differences for my continued public life with repeated electoral victories along with promotions inside the party.

#### **A) My experience as a Legislator**

The electoral victories in the first general elections of 1952, and the party's closeness to the people fighting for the solutions of the acute land problems had earned a good name and fame for the party and its leaders. As the District Secretary of the Party, I had to bear the burden of helping all the CPI candidates and was left with only nine days time to take charge of Choppadandi constituency where from I had contested. The great impact of the Telangana armed struggle and the impact of the supreme sacrifices made by the martyrs continued to be a wave and added to it was our movement against feudal landlords and the corrupt village officers which together contributed to our victory in the second general elections. My constituency namely 'Choppadandi' was neither my home constituency nor my place of work, however party's influence coupled with my personal capacities helped me to get through in a multi cornered contest. My total expenditure was only Rs. 1500 cash. Ch.Venkata Rao my uncle at Sircilla, known as China Desai, asked me to make use of his old modeled ford car. My school mate Jagadish Singh offered his free service as driver. The merchants union and the Hotel Proprietors' union of Karimnagar together collected and handed over as party fund an amount of Rs. 1,500. This was sufficient for petrol, car repairs etc.. Comrades who won along with me were respectively late Sri Amritlal Shukla and Karrala Narsaya(Sircilla Double member constituency); Late Sri J.Ananda Rao(first MLA from Sircilla(Metpalli), late P.Chokka Rao (Indurthy) late Sri Laxma Reddy (Medaram), late Sri Baddam Yella Reddy was defeated from Karimnagar Parliamentary constituency. A few months later the congress candidate from Buggaram late Sri Dharma Rao was disqualified and the by-elections were announced.. I had a strong desire to get Sri B.Y. elected in the by-elections. But he refused to accept my proposal, with the involvement of Com.Ravi Narayana Reddy we succeeded in convincing him to contest. R.N. took the responsibility to collect the required funds, my self had acted as his election agent and the provincial committee had managed to send any number of volunteers and leaders to campaign. On the other side

late Sri Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy, the then Chief Minister himself took the organizational responsibility for congress candidate late Sri Lakshmi Narasimha Rao. Almost the entire Cabinet Ministers had camped at Korutla. The election battle had become a trial of strength between the congress and the CPI. Barring a few incidents of clashes, we successfully conducted the campaign and the veteran Kisan leader B.Y. was elected with comfortable majority. This victory had a salutary affect on the party in A.P. notwithstanding its serious political differences.

Political and ideological differences inside the CPI as a whole continued and a special party congress was held in April 1958 at Amritsar in the Punjab to narrow down the serious differences. The questions of the class character of the Central Government, and the level of political consciousness of the people at large were the real bone of contention. Despite the costly lessons after 1948, the leaders had hardened their positions. The uncalled for advices coming from both the USSR and the Chinese Communist Party, in the year 1960 had only added fuel to the fire. Their contention was that the world capitalist crisis had got intensified and reached a point of no return, opening the possibilities of socialist revolutions succeeding in all ex-colonial and semi colonial countries. Their ‘modest advice’ assumed as a mandate for a very good number of comrades already thinking on the same lines. Even though Comintern, the Central organization for the world communist movement was formally abolished in the year 1953; yet the CPSU acted as the sole authority to direct the world communist movement in the name of Cominform. Even the articles written by the soviet writers for academic discussions were treated as official guidelines. Personally, I was fed up with the most unreal and subjective analysis made by the so called historians and academics from the USSR which had blinded the Indian Marxists who had refused to see the ground realities of our country. We had wasted our valuable time and energy in abstract discussions.

The sixth party congress held in April 1961 at Vijayawada practically discussed on two documents diametrically different from each other. No conclusion could be arrived at. Com. Ajoy Ghosh known for his “middle path and unity in diversity” approach, came to the rescue and had drafted a resolution which was acceptable to both the trends. “Marxism” a social science of analysing the objective realities of social life at micro level and then evolve the concrete strategy and tactics for furthering peoples movement had been reduced to a text book of ‘Mantras’ to be followed meticulously. It was the dogmatism of the worst kind. Leaders refused to lend their ears to the practical problems faced by the cadres at grass root level. “Discipline” a virtue for self correction was converted into a dictation to be followed obediently. This led to the stagnation of the party. People having a very high regard for the party came to an unavoidable conclusion that “the communists are very good at times of big crises; but for the time being let us utilize the services of other parties and leaders who are in power.” This is how politely the ordinary people shifted

their allegiance to the bourgeois parties. Despite a very good name, CPI started losing its electoral support from 1962. CPI in Karimnagar which won seven seats in both the 1952 and 1957 elections could not retain a single seat in 1962. The political propaganda conducted by the Communists and their style of functioning including their incapacity to deliver goods was clearly visible to the common people who were badly in need of assistance to solve their day to day problems. The CPI leadership and cadres were not mentally prepared to swim with such public opinion and would on the other hand talk about fundamental changes here and now – thus getting isolated from the main stream politics. Such an isolation got accentuated with passing times ultimately losing the ground. Half a century passed by, but the Communists are still not able to find roots to stand on their own legs. My humble opinion is that the root cause for this isolation lies in the history of the party when the science of Marxism was not correctly applied to Indian realities. I also firmly believe that unless and until this science is correctly applied to the present day Indian reality, social progress, and inclusive growth, leading to eradication of poverty will not be a possibility. Communist, socialist and broadly humanist ideology alone through a coalition of parties can deliver goods and call a halt to the present suicidal path of crony capitalism with its cut throat competition. Qualitatively, a new direction to politics is long over due. The sooner this truth is realized the better for the country. The present inflexible and rigid political postures adopted by the parties is causing incalculable damage to the cause of democratic socialism preceded by social progress.

## **B) My experience as a member of the Second Assembly:**

My experiences as Kisan sabha organizer, with added work as a legislator, expanded my field of operation and I could not concentrate on my duty as the party Secretary of Karimnagar district. I had purposefully got relieved from the responsibilities as party secretary and handed it over to Dr.Ch.Venkata Rama Rao an Ex.MLA. He had joined the PDF and got elected to the A.P. Assembly in the 1952 election from Karimnagar Constituency. As a practising medico he had a good name. His wide contacts in Karimnagar town as also his habits of punctuality, prompt action endeared him to the rank and file of the party. I was able to concentrate my work in the kisan field both in Karimnagar and in the neighboring districts. The more I concentrated on the kisan field, the deeper my knowledge grew on kisan problems, the laws and the rules thereof as also the anti kisan methods adopted by the landlords and the bureaucrats which only complicated the solutions of the peasant problems. The necessity to educate the kisan sabha cadres and the kisans themselves helped me to emerge as a speaker and agitator. The role of the CPI as the crusader against the feudal system and for the empowerment of the kisans, tenants and agricultural labour in particular had provided me with an exceptional opportunity to emerge as the kisan leader, spokesman of the CPI and a good speaker in the state legislative assembly. Opportunities offer a number of positions but doing justice to the office or

positions depends entirely up on the hard work of the leader to acquire the necessary knowledge and to creatively apply it to educate the cadres and build a broad based movement. This is the common experience of all those who became successful politicians. For that matter, the same holds good for any profession. Myself as a budding political agitator had very soon learnt that mere phrase mongering or demagogic would not make one a good political leader. Truthfulness, honesty and commitment to the service of the people concerned, coupled with the art of speech will yield the intended object of educating the masses who alone will pave the way for a social change. I had the rare opportunity in the year 1947-48, as the student leader to speak in a number of public meetings in Andhra districts canvassing for their support to the Telangana movement for the integration of Hyderabad state with Indian union. It had acted as a training ground for speaking better in Telugu language and rouse the people for freedom and democracy.

Given the above background, I was able to successfully discharge my duties in the A.P. Legislative Assembly as the Chief whip of the CPI(in 1957) with over 40 elected members. Com.P.Sundaraiah was our leader, Sri Ravi Narayana Reddy and Smt. Arutla Kamala Devi were the Dy.Leaders. It was my pleasant duty to do a great part of the writing work. Most of the elected members being the grass root level leaders, required my assistance to prepare their written speeches on different subjects. Their performance was quite up to the mark. That is how I made myself. A few lively instances are of interest to my readership.

**Communist Caste-1 :** Sri Ayyadevara Kaleshwara Rao an elderly congress leader was the speaker of the Assembly. Sri Kala Venkata Rao another elderly congress man was the Revenue Minister. The Revenue Minister often used to call me to his chamber only to get some clarification about the Urdu words and phrases normally used in the revenue administration and I could satisfy him without much difficulty. This made us good friends. On a day, when the Assembly was in session, Kala Venkata Rao happened to see the speaker in the speaker's chambers. It seems, the Speaker Sri A.Kaleshwara Rao told Sri Kala Venkata Rao that I was a good speaker in Telugu in spite of my hailing from Telangana area and that I belonged to Brahmin community. Kala, with a purpose to keep the speaker under misunderstanding said "yes" to him and even added "how come a non Brahmin speaking in such a chaste Telugu!" Meanwhile Sri J.V.Narsinga Rao went to the speaker's room for some purpose. The speaker in his own way told the same thing to Mr.J.V. which he had already told to Mr.Kala Venkata Rao. Kala was silent and only heard the talk between the speaker and J.V. J.V. who, not only knows me closely but also is related to me told the speaker Ayyadevara that he was mistaken about my caste and that. I belonged to 'Velama' caste. This news perturbed the poor speaker who repeatedly sought clarifications from Mr.JV who reasserted his former statement. The uneasy speaker directed his orderly to call me from the Assembly hall. I

Immediately responded and entered the speaker's chamber where the three elderly persons were sitting as though waiting for my arrival. The moment I stepped into the room, the speaker, in an anxious mood questioned me whether I was a Brahman or non Brahman. I was shocked at such a question and replied why a question about my caste? I do not believe in casteism. You can take, I belong to "Communist Caste". While the speaker was spell bound, other two elders laughed to their hearts content. They were happy they enjoyed a joke at the cost of the speaker. I too enjoyed their joke but felt the speaker would not give me enough time to speak in the house. The speaker was a great man. He never gave any indication of partiality. On the other hand he encouraged me always and was cordial to me.

**Encounter with Statesman – C.R Chakravarthula Rajagopala Chari**, the veteran freedom fighter and the first Governor General of free India; the then Chief Minister of Tamilnadu state, had publicly made an observation stating that "those who have no ostensible means of livelihood become Communists". Such a statement according to me was not a political criticism against the communists, and amounted to a slander in an unparliamentarily language. As a member of the A.P. Legislative Assembly elected on the ticket of the Communist Party of India, I thought I must take it up as a question of breach of my privilege. Article 105/194 of the Indian constitution and the rules of procedure of the Assembly guarantee certain privileges to the elected members of both the houses. Accordingly I had moved a privilege motion on the floor of the house against the C.M of Tamil Nadu Sreeman Chakravarthula Rajagopala Chari stating that his public statement against the Communists amounted to the breach of my privilege. The Speaker had admitted the motion and directed the office to issue a show cause notice to the Hon'ble C.M of Tamilnadu. Within a week the State Legislative Assembly office received a communication from the Tamilnadu CM's office expressing regrets for the sweeping remarks made by the Hon'ble C.M of Tamilnadu. Our Speaker, noting the magnanimity of C.R directed the office to close the matter. This event while showing the large heartedness of a statesman, taught me a lesson not to be hasty in arriving at any conclusion to encounter an elderly statesman.

**Road and Bridge across Moolavagu at Vemulawada:** The pilgrims and public at large had faced many difficulties in reaching Vemulawada Temple town, in the absence of a connecting road and a bridge across Moolavagu. They had to alight the buses at Nampalli village and reach Vemulawada by walk. Lorries with goods would go up to Tippapur and goods would have to be transported to Vemulawad by carts or by manual labour. This problem was taken up by late Sri Polasa Nagabhooshanam, a nominated member of the Karimnagar district board. After my election, we jointly made our efforts to get the road and bridge sanctioned. This was completed in a record time, and gave a great relief to the public, the pilgrims in particular. Late Sri P.Nagabhooshanam, a close friend of mine, had a strong desire to work for the development of infrastructural facilities for Vemulawada, the Temple town.

**Services: a Telangana Problem:** According to my evaluation, the biggest problem faced by the Telangana people, after the formation of the state of Andhra Pradesh, had been the problem of unemployment for Telangana youth. Employment opportunities constitutionally reserved for the domiciles of Telangana were usurped by those who belonged to the Andhra Region. This was made possible because of the economic backwardness of the Telangana people who could not compete with others in the matter of giving bribes. A case of 14 teachers hailing from Karimnagar district was brought to my notice when their eligible applications were side tracked and instead the application of others were processed and sanctioned. After necessary verification I had decided to raise this question on the floor of the house; and had given notice of a short notice question, on the subject. Late Sri Pattabhi Rama Rao the then Education Minister, in his reply had categorically denied the charge of deprivation saying that “the honorable member’s allegation was far from truth”. I had contested the Minister’s statement with the facts, in my possession. The speaker gave a direction to the Minister to check up with the office about the correctness of the facts presented by me and report back to the house before it adjourned for the day. All the 14 Telangana teacher candidates seated in the visitor’s gallery awaited the Minister’s reply. The time for adjournment of the house was fast approaching. The moment, house was declared adjourned for the day, I stepped out of the entrance gate only to see the Director of School Education handing over to me the appointment orders for all the 14 Telangana teacher candidates. I had the proud privilege to distribute the order copies to all the teachers, anxiously waiting outside. They were very happy. I shared their happiness. I had forgotten this incident long back. Recently, a year back, one of those 14 teachers, now retired and old enough, in his speech in a seminar narrated the whole story, giving surprise to the audience. Myself, sitting on the dias, compared the present assembly with the old Assembly. The roles of the Speakers, Ministers and Members, then and now. The overall truth that the government of the day should be accountable to the state legislature, includes the vital content that the legislature is very much accountable to the people, the electorate.

**Archaka’s Problem:** The Archakas of the Raja Rajeswara Swamy Temple of Vemulawada in my constituency had been struggling for the security of their service for over a decade. The problem had become complicated thanks to the abolition of jagirs. Vemulawada a Jagir of Maharaja Krishan Prasad got converted into khalsa village after the abolition of Jagirs in the year 1949. During the Jagirdari period the items of income would be auctioned nominally in favour of one of the Archakas. An amount required for the payment of the salaries to the staff would be deducted from the total income and the rest of it would be equally distributed to all the Archakas. Archakas had a feeling that they had the hereditary right to perform the pooja and appropriate the income. After the Jagir abolition the management of temples was given to the department of endowments. The department had decided to appoint the Archakas for different

services on the basis of monthly salary without any fixity of tenure. This changed policy had created furore among the hundreds of Archakas who had treated their temple service as hereditary. The Archakas led by their seniors approached me and appraised me of their problem. I could understand their agony. As the problem was complicated in the light of the new law and as the government officials themselves were confused, it took enough time to come to a reasonable understanding. Late Sri Kalluri Chandra Mouli was the Minister for Endowment. He was a freedom fighter with an open mind. I took an appointment with him and explained to him the complicated question of evolving an amicable solution agreeable to the archakas whose services were indispensable and whose only source of livelihood was service in the temple. The elderly leaders of archakas late Sarvasree Garshekurti Rajaya and Shanigaram Narsaya insisted upon their hereditary rights which had got transferred to the state government under the Jagir abolition Act. With my political support, they presented the case of their absolute rights of the temple services notwithstanding any legislation. I, with my legal knowledge and the practical experience had appreciated their right to work as Pujaris which requires to be reconciled with the legal right which, had got transferred to the state government. Hon'ble Minister repeatedly tried to convince the leaders of the Archakas that with the advent of a democratic constitution and the laws on the subject government alone was entitled to run the temples. My intervention to convince the Minister and the government was to uphold the age old tradition and convention which is above law, or which requires to be honoured by any law. Rendering pooja to the deities in consonance with holy scriptures is not a material which could be subjected to any law. It is a traditional right accruing to the Brahmins capable of doing the specific service. The Minister appreciated my approach to the subject but pleaded his inability to convince the department. I stuck to my argument firmly and asserted that this convention amounts to a fundamental right of the Archakas. At long last we arrived at a pragmatic solution to spend one third of the temple income for the payment of the salaries to the temple employees, one third for the maintenance and renovation of the temple and the rest of one third to be divided among all the Archakas equally on the condition that all of them would render their services as Pujaries with due distribution of work among themselves.

This solution worked well and the Archakas were satisfied since their hereditary right got recognition. A few years after, the bureaucracy in the endowments department started meddling with the accepted policy. They had decided to manage all aspects themselves. Again the subject attracted my attention as an MLA. Late Sri P.V.Narasimha Rao was the Minister for Endowment. I thought I could solve the problem more easily, and had brought the subject for his consideration. After thorough examination he had told me coolly "I belong to Karimnagar district, I am a Brahmin myself, I cannot solve the problem and let the department handle it." I could not digest it. I continued my repeated representations to the Chief Minister. Sri G.Rajaya and Sri

S.Narasaya too continued their efforts. Another via media was evolved. According to this formula a sizable amount out of the total income of the temple would be set apart as “Gharpatti” which will be equitably distributed among all Pujaries irrespective of their services to the temple. A few years later, the bureaucrats of the department had reopened this subject stating that it was against the law and the rules. With a gap of few years, I was again in the field as an MLA to plead the cause of the Brahmins. The unprecedented rate of increase of the temple income caused a lot of uneasiness to the authorities and they were not prepared to part with a very big sum as “Gharpatti”. I had to take a changed attitude. This time I had insisted that all those Archakas required for services inside the temple must be recruited from out of the list of old Poojaries and with due training, their services must be utilized paying salaries regularly on par with other employees whose service conditions were equated with that of the state government services. Ultimately this changed solution got the approval of the department. And it is the practice in vogue now. This is how the problem of Archakas with due changes in accordance with the change of temple income, got finally settled. However I am happy my flexible intervention in favour of Archakas got good recognition and the path of change over from Jagir to Kalsa system was softened which also helped the local Brahmins to change over smoothly and steadily appreciating the dignity of labour. I am happy to recollect that my efforts to divert certain percentage of the temple income to the gram panchayat for keeping the town neat and clean is also paying good dividends. It is time to enhance the percentage in the interest of keeping the temple town more attractive and much more clean.

**Establishment of Raja Rajeswara College in Karimnagar:** Karimnagar district had no college, government or private, for higher studies. Students, had to go to Warangal or Hyderabad for prosecuting their higher education which was beyond the reach of a common man. Myself, late Sri K.V.Narsinga Rao and late Sri P.V.Narsimha Rao, close friends since forties and colleagues in the freedom movement, thought of grounding a college with the support of the state government. We required some seed money to start with and to deposit it with the government. Late Sri Y.Hanumantha Rao, a prominent freedom fighter hailing from Mamidipally village, near Vemulawada in Sricilla taluq joined us. On his suggestion, we came to the conclusion to name the college as Raja Rajeswara College and obtained the deposit amount from the Vemulawada Devasthanam as their donation. Rest of the required funds were raised by collecting from the public. I remember to have collected a few thousands of rupees from the student community and completed my quota. Smt.Rangamma Obul Reddy wife of the then S.P. Karimnagar Sri Obul Reddy was well known for her social work. She had encouraged us and acted as the Chair person for the college Committee. Prominent young political leaders and social workers like J.Gautam Rao, C.Anand Rao, Mukund Lal Misra and others joined the committee and extended their full support. State government

recognized the college and extended its cooperation under the rules. Sri Barlinge, who had successfully worked as the Principal of the new science college at Hyderabad had accepted our offer to work as the Principal of our S.R.R.College. I am very happy to note that the well known educationists like SriV.Kondala Rao, Ex.Minister Sri Vijaya Rama Rao and Sri I.V.Chalapati Rao had rendered their services as lecturers and principals and contributed their mite to build the budding college into a well established centre of education. Late Sri.Viswanatha Satyanarayana the man of letters, the top most Telugu poet as also the Gyananapeeth awardee had served as the principal of this college. To day this college has assumed the status of Shatavahana University. The credit goes to the founders and the college committee which pioneered this institution. The Golden jubilee of the college was celebrated a few years back when myself along with J.Goutham Rao and C.Ananda Rao had the privilege to participate and share the happiness with the students and staff. This is a living example to prove that a dream becomes a strong material force to reckon with under certain historic conditions and makes future history.

**Damodaram Sanjeevaiah a man in search of truth:** I must record my friendship with the Ex.Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh state late Sri D.Sanjeevaiah. He had become the C.M. in the year 1960 when I was the Chief Whip of the CPI, the main party of the opposition. His mannerism with sweet tongue is unforgettable. He had occupied his rightful place in the galaxy of the first generation of politicians in free India, known for their simplicity, sincerity of purpose and above all honesty in public life. I had the opportunities to have ideological and political discussions with him with particular reference to the caste system prevailing in our country and the means and methods to eradicate such an inherently divisive and self defeating social curse. We agreed with each other about its negative features, and the necessity to eradicate it. He could not appreciate my solution of class struggle leading to socio economic resolution as the only remedy to it. According to him even class struggle envisioned by the great revolutionary thinker like Karl Marx cannot be applied since class concept was based on industrial and economic exploitation while casteism is a social reality originated and got consolidated in India for thousands of years. The great Goutam Buddha could not bring about reformation of such an inhuman system. Marxism's theory of class struggle and social revolution will flounder before such a rigid compartmental out look. However our repeated discussions on the subject brought us closer to the only available practical solution of economic and political empowerment of dalits and other socially and educationally backward classes as enshrined in the constitution of India. Dr.B.R.Ambedkar, the father figure in drafting our constitution put his heart and soul on the subject. We are not satisfied with the results even after half a century only because the rulers are not paying adequate attention to the spirit of the constitution. A small event of the C.M's visit to Karimnagar is worth mentioning in this context.

Mr. D. Sanjeevaiah, the CM on his routine tour visited Karimnagar. He had camped in the R&B guest house. According to the convention, Collector used to invite the elders of the district also, apart from public representatives to meet the dignitary. Accordingly a good number of land lords and merchants of the district reached the place. I was seated by the side of the C.M. The big guns of the district, dressed well, with the choicest presentations to the C.M. entered the room one after the other. They had paid their respects and left. Most of the very elderly, and known for their over lordship in the district prostrated before the C.M. After every body left the place, Mr.Sanjeevaiah reminded me of the significance of political empowerment in a democracy. “I belong to the Malajagam caste, a dalit community” he said “and what made these giants of the upper castes to prostrate before me?” he questioned and replied, “It is thanks to the inbuilt philosophy of equality in democracy which enabled me to become a C.M. and this political empowerment forced them to give respect to me.” He continued and said “economic reforms enshrined in the directive principles of the constitution will enable the common man to boldly assert his position” I concurred with him. But I also asserted that ownership of the means of production will strengthen the hands of dalits and backward classes. He fully agreed with me such a conscious and sincere application of the constitution alone will slowly but steadily do away with social inequality and casteism, in our country we opined. His premature death is an irreparable loss to the whole country.

### **(C) Third General Elections(1962) – our Failures:**

Third general elections were held in the year 1962. 14 years after freedom, 10 years after the performance of the elected governments in the states and at centre, with the increase of the country’s population from 30 crores to 44 crores, and after the execution of two five year plans, the country could not prepare a road map envisioning an inclusive growth. The Prime Minister of India Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, did have a broad outlook of India’s industrial development with public sector at commanding heights. The industrial revolution of the Western countries and the great October revolution of the USSR had impacted his thinking process giving rise to the Nehruvian path of socialism. In practice, as the experiences of the five year plans have proved, Indian government failed to evolve a right royal road of an inclusive growth with Socio-economic justice. As a result India today, after 11 five year plans stands at the cross roads searching for the correct direction.

India with hardly three percent of its population as industrial working class and over seventy percent depending upon agriculture and other unorganized sectors, living in villages has to have a specific road map of development keeping in view the most modern science and technology and the tools thereof. Land reforms, land usage, irrigation, agricultural practices. Post harvest technology and the marketing of the produce require greater attention to create an impact of growth and human development on the teeming millions of our

people. The absence of a right prioritization, correct perception of human development has landed the country in to a chaotic situation with confused strategy. This is a sad state of affairs after the completion of six decades of freedom and self determination, and despite our boastings about being the biggest democracy and the fastest growing economy in the world.

The results of 1952 general elections, 1955 Andhra elections and the 1957 general election had boosted the image of the communist movement in India, but the results of 1962 general elections had dampened this image causing a set back to the CPI about the policy and programme of the party. The glaring disunity the high pitch political and ideological differences, inside the party and the consequent isolation from the people were the reasons for the serious electoral set back. We could not retain a single seat out of seven seats won in both 1952 and 1957 consecutively in Karimnagar district. The party committees of Sircilla taluq and Karimnagar district had proposed my name as party candidate from Sircilla constituency for the 62 general elections. But at the state level it was not accepted on the ground that my candidature for Karimnagar parliamentary constituency would be more appropriate in the background of B.Yella Reddy's defeat in 1957 elections. In the wake of expulsion of late Sri.Amruth Lal Sukha from the party on grounds of political difference, Baddam Yella Reddy's candidature from Sircilla was considered to be more appropriate as he was senior most to everybody else. I had expressed my difference of opinion with such a proposal. Com.P.Sundaraya and Com. C.Rajeswara Rao, tried their best to convince me that my services in the parliament would be of much more use and that the CPI required a specific number of seats in parliament to continue its recognition as a national party. I accepted their proposal with my descent note that both of us ie., B.Y. and myself would be defeated in our respective constituencies. Elections were over, Karimnagar district party could not retain a single seat. More disheartening was the losing of deposits by Com.B.Y. and myself. As usual, party did not dive deep into the causes for such an ignominious defeat. Though defeated, I was not shocked since I had expected it. Party and mass organization led by it, continued to function despite the unexpected electoral defeats. I had a hard time to attend every taluq, council meeting and explain to the local leaders about the invincibility of the communist ideology and the secondary role of the electoral victory or defeat in a bourgeois system of elections. At the same time I used to lay emphasis on the need for concentration on the problems of rural development and land reforms.

### **Communist Victory in Kerala in 1957:**

CPI won in Kerala with thumping majority and formed the first ever communist government. This victory had belied the oft repeated propaganda that communists will not come to power through democratic elections. As a matter of fact this was a rare example in the whole world. It had its impact on the inner party struggle of the party, where peaceful transition to power was

considered an impossibility by a good number of leaders. However, the Kerala Communist Government, headed by the veteran late Sri E.M.S.Namboodripad and his team of seasoned and tested mass leaders worked wonders. Their primary concentration was on land reform and the educational reforms which required urgent structural changes. The passage of these bills, having far reaching effects on the vested interests entrenched therein, could not be digested by the reactionary forces who had moved heaven and earth to dislodge the Communist government from power. Congress government at the centre with Panditji at the helm of affairs and his daughter Smt. Indira Gandhi as the head of AICC stooped so low as to misuse the constitution of India and remove the communist Government of Kerala. This event, for the first time exposed the intolerance of the feudal and capitalist classes at the peaceful emergence of a progressive system of government. The statement of Jhan Fastel Dulles, the then American President, stating that the emergence of a Communist Government in India was more dangerous is worth mentioning. He had the audacity to declare that under such conditions any help from America to India would be jeopardised. The American Ambassador to India Mr.Moinihan had the cheek to shamelessly admit that America had, through its CIA, managed to assist the Indian national Congress to put down communism in India. This is how the reactionary forces of India in collaboration with the world reaction had dislodged the first elected communist government before it completed even two years of its existence. As an MLA in the A.P. Assembly, I could follow each and every development. People are the ultimate arbiters. Half a century passed by, Communism could not be wiped out of Kerala. Democracy had its own way. In the last elections held in 2009 left coalitions had to lose their majority position both in West Bengal and Kerala. This electoral defeat should cause the necessary introspection and self criticism but not any disbelief in democracy itself.

### **Movements for Linguistic provinces:**

Right from the days of freedom movement communist Party of India had been demanding the formation of linguistic states. The cogent reasons advanced were that the then existing multilingual states were created by the British imperialism with a purpose to divide and rule and that a linguistic state would be very convenient for a participatory democracy. This principle was highlighted as an outcome of the rich experiences flowing from the October revolution in Russia. The movement for the reorganization of states found its acceptability among all classes of people. The central government had appointed a high power states reorganization commission(SRC) to go into the question and report. The commission was headed by an eminent personality Justice Fazal Ali. This committee submitted its report favouring the reorganization of the states on the basis of common language, geographical contiguity, ethnicity, common culture and common history. However, keeping in view the strong opinion expressed in favour of separate Telangana, the

Commission had recommended for keeping Telangana separate as Hyderabad state, for five years and then to merge with Andhra State if two thirds of the elected members opted for such a merger. However thanks to political pressures, the Central Government had decided to over rule the recommendation of the first SRC and merge Telangana with the newly formed Andhra State. The state of Andhra Pradesh was created on 1-11-1956 based on the gentlemen's agreement as also on the constitutional guarantees of setting up a regional committee for Telangana and assuring the protection of services in Telangana area. Further development will be discussed in a separate chapter on "the naked truth about Telangana".

### **Pochampad Project (Sreeram Sagar)**

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India had laid the foundation stone for the construction of Pochampad project(now named as the Sree Ram Sagar Project) in the year 1969. This project had been under consideration of the Nizam's government for over a decade. Nizam's government had contemplated to construct the dam across river Godavari at the point of Kishtapuram which is about 10-15 KMs above the Pochampad point. Such a dam at a higher level could have provided irrigation facility to the upland areas of Sircilla taluqs in Karimnagar district. The district Kisan Sabha had decided to make a representation to the Prime Minister who was scheduled to address a public meeting at Nizamabad district head quarters. Accordingly a kisan sabha delegation under my leadership had presented a detailed memorandum to the P.M. strongly urging for adhering to the original plan. The P.M. after consulting the engineers had told us about the difficulty in changing the site. After the formation of new state, the area under submersion in the old plan had gone to Maharashtra state and the new state was not prepared to part with that land. As such the site for the proposed project was selected down below at Pochampad village. However, the Prime Minister, patting me on my back, appreciated our representation and had assured that if things go well, the state government can arrange to lift water from the new site and supply it to the upland areas. For the first time the idea of lifting water to irrigate the uplands entered into my mind, and since then I had continuously pursued the subject. My task has been two fold: Educating the ryots and the rural folk about the possibility of lift irrigation schemes to at least fill the tanks and to convince the engineers and other bureaucrats as also the Ministers concerned about the feasibility of such a project. It took forty long years to convince the wooden headed bureaucrats who raised objections to my lift irrigation proposals on grounds of non availability of water, non feasibility of such schemes, paucity of funds and finally the non availability of power to make the project cost effective. I had congratulated the late Chief Minister of A.P. Sri Y.S.Raja Sekhara Reddy on his bold decision to establish the lift irrigation schemes where ever needed to provide water resource to the ryots of upland areas. My public statement of congratulating him on the day when he visited my

constituency, Malyal village in Chandurthy Mandal was misunderstood by some petty politicians who became inimical to their political opponents. Politics is an art of uniting and winning over maximum number of people for the quick solutions of the pressing needs of the people. The richest experiences from the drought prone country, Israel offer the most valuable lessons of lifting water, conserving it, and its management for successful agriculture. The Sreepada Sagar Project and the Pranahita Chevella Project, both lifts on Godavari and its tributary Pranahita, as also the ongoing and contemplated projects on Godavari will go a long way in the all round development of Telangana areas.

**Brief Sajourn as an Advocate:** My defeat for Karimnagar parliamentary election 1962, as expected, made me to think about my carrier. I had achieved enough recognition as a kisan leader, party organizer as also a commendable legislator. This gave me self confidence to continue my public life with added value. However, my duties as the head of a large family repeatedly warned me not to shirk the responsibility. I had myself come to a conclusion that I must complete my remaining law course, start practising at Karimnagar and also continue to be in public service duly balancing the activities. The examples of a number of freedom fighters who were also renowned advocates of their times were before me. Accordingly I had completed my second year of law course, left in the year 1947, completed my apprenticeship in High Court of AP as junior to late Justice V.Madhava Rao, my good old friend of college days, and had set up my practice in Karimnagr on 9-8-1964. The court gave me an interesting sight where most of my colleges or schoolmates had become senior advocates, myself remaining far junior to them; yet respected by all of them as a senior politician. G.Mohan Rao one of the senior most practising advocates now, had then settled down as a young lawyer. Being my eldest brother-in-law, younger to me by about 15 years, he came to my rescue in filling the age gap. We practised together. The bulk of the routine work, including the representation before the bench were handled by him. I was more or less ornamental, doing some home work apart from my party work. His association with me helped me to skilfully combine my political activity with legal practice. I remember the only day when I was asked to argue before the sessions Judge on behalf of a client who was charge sheeted in a theft case. My good old friend late P.Narayana Rao was the public prosecutor. The learned Judge after hearing my arguments convicted my client for the offence of theft. He was not a thief himself but since, the theft property was recovered from his possession, he was punished according to law. Another interesting experience is worth mentioning. As a kisan leader I had my own experiences of dealing with the problems of tenancy, land records etc., As such a good number of clients with land related cases would approach me. As usual I would help them through representations before the concerned revenue officers and help solve their problems without charging any fee. This fact irked a number of lawyers. I was surprised to find a delegation of such lawyers visiting me only to draw my attention to my method of free services. Their contention was that the normal

function of any lawyer is to work hard and collect the minimum fee from the client. I readily agreed with them and made the necessary amends to my practice. It was just a hangover of my work as kisan leader. Collection of my nominal fees apart, I enjoyed the legal practice with the sincere cooperation of my brother-in-law Sri G.Mohan Rao. Close contact with the common people is the life line for a politician. This inter connection between learning from the people as also earning for livelihood maintaining the sanctity of both, with due care and caution pays good dividends in building the character and personality of an advocate. This is also the secret behind a very good number of luminaries of law becoming popular political leaders. For me, this enjoyment was short lived. I had to contest and win from Siricilla in the fourth general election of 1967.

### **Remembering my Father:**

I had already referred to the personality of my father who had breathed his last in the year 1959 when I was a legislator from Choppadandi constituency. He was a very liberal land lord having close personal contact with all sections of people of our villages Nagaram, Marupaka and other surrounding villages. His main interest was agriculture and to make agriculture remunerative.

I had made Karimnagar my headquarters after my release from jail in 1952. My young sisters and two youngest brothers stayed with me and carried on their education right from primary stage. Our parents staying in the village, doing agriculture with utmost interest would also take care of our residence at Karimnagar.

I had to work as a party whole timer without any remuneration. As a leader of the district party I had to manage the district party office facing financial problems. The seven elected members of the party would contribute Rs. 10 each from out of their monthly salary Rs.150. Managing the district party office with a paid office boy and also reserving some amount for my travel expenses was almost an impossibility. Collection of donations regularly had not yet entered into the mind of party functionaries. Seeing the problems faced by me, father would express his readiness to help me in my work and would repeat his warning and advice to be fearless and bold and earn good “name and fame”. This blessing, coupled with my own socio-political commitment enabled me to devote my services with self confidence. More often than not I had faced financial difficulties in running the family at Karimnagar, despite our parents providing with all necessary requirements. I would request my close relatives and personal friends to lend me hand loans, which would be cleared on time but without interest. Plain living and high thinking was my motto and I succeeded in my life with this outlook. I am particularly happy, all the members of my family brothers and sisters; my wife and kids adopted this life style notwithstanding the extravaganza exhibited in the circle of our relations. But for the sermons preached by our father, our family life would have become a hell. An incident of his bold, tactfulness, deserves mention.

This was in the second half of the year 1948 when the armed struggle was continued and the policy of the CPI was to over throw the Nehru government and establish a socialist government. The government of India had taken a firm decision to suppress such a movement. On a day, late in the evening a unit of the paramilitary force, under the command of a military officer had come to our house at Nagaram where our father and mother were staying. The force came on horse back and sent a message inside the house asking our father to come out. Father instead of coming out, asked the messenger to ask the officer who they were and what for they want him to come out. Meanwhile arrangements for their seating were made and father came out. The commander, hailing from north, posed the question as to how come two elder sons of a deshmukh had turned communists, leading an under ground life! He wanted father to produce us before him or give our whereabouts. Father coolly explained to him the state's back ground and the circumstances which had forced us to join the party and lead an underground life. He told the officer his total disconnection with us. The commander, it is said, raised his voice and asked father to oblige him or to face the consequences. This threat by the army commander irked father, and he immediately threw a challenge at the commander with raised voice stating that if they knew their job well, they must arrest his two sons who were under ground near about some jungle, make them stand before him, hand over their rifle, and to see for themselves whether he would shoot them down or not. This challenge made the commander spell bound. A moment after, cooled and soft spoken Commander pleaded his inability to understand how could the sons of a big land lord become communist guerillas and terrorists. Father reiterated his original statement and invited the Commander, his staff to have dinner in our house. They accepted his offer. A couple of hours later they enjoyed the non vegetarian north Indian dinner to their heart's content and left the house thanking our father both for the enlightenment on the subject and the sumptuous dinner. Father, liberal, with profound commonsense, always mindful of his responsibilities under changing conditions was a believer in the philosophy of self help and the dignity of labour; was also a highly respected landlord in and around the villages.

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## 6. CHINESE AGGRESSION ON INDIA

China had committed aggression on India twice in the early sixth decade of the last century refusing to recognize the century and odd old Mac Mohan line as India's north eastern border line with China and also staking its claim on Arunachal Pradesh which is an Indian state. The aggression by China on India had shaken the friendship between these two countries, known as "Hindi-Cheeni Bhai Bhai". These two countries together with colonel Nasser of Egypt and president Tito of Yugoslavia had evolved the five principles of friendship well known as "Panchasheel" in an atmosphere of cold war. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the co-architect of the Panchasheel formula, could never imagine that a friendly China would so soon turn out a foe and resort to a war of aggression. The whole world shared India's anguish. India's Prime Minister Panditji not able to digest the most unexpected situation died a premature death, in 1964.

Chinese aggression against India had accelerated the already existing political and ideological differences within the CPI. Two diametrically different versions of Chinese attack on India were propagated within the CPI. First, China, a Communist state will never venture to attack a friendly and neighbouring state like India. Indian army must have provoked China which only retaliated. Second: China should follow the old agreements entered into and honour the sovereignty of India recognising the existing borders. These views on Chinese aggression further aggravated the inner party differences. Government of India, taking advantage arising out of the new situation declared an external emergency and arrested thousands of communists supporting the first view point.

I was in my village Nagaram where I heard about aggression through All India Radio. I immediately proceeded to Karimnagar. The news of Chinese attack on India spread like wild fire. I contacted the Municipal Chairman and requested him to convene an all party Citizen's committee meeting at the Municipal hall. Within a few hours it was arranged. I took the initiative, explained the back ground and condemned the attack on India by China. All political leaders including the prominent citizens supported me and strongly condemned the attack. Inside the CPI, while a good number of comrades were taken aback by such an unexpected political development, there were some sectarians who were convinced that the Chinese attack on India was not an accidental one, it is a part of the international communist movement's strategy to conquer India and set up a Communist government here. Hence communists should not be surprised by the event. All such pro-Chinese thinkers were rounded up by the government. Our leader Baddam Yella Reddy was one of them. Inside jail, there went on a heated debate on this subject. Baddam, supported the Chinese attack immediately after the event, but after a few days he realized

and said that revolutions could not be exported and the native people through their own strength must decide their future. After his release he remained with the mainstream of the party. Myself, firmly condemned the Chinese aggression and argued against it as an unscientific and un Marxist action and as pure and simple adventurism arising out of left sectarianism. Sectarians questioned my hasty action of condemnation in Karimnagar without any discussion in the party committee. I defended my self as it was my primary patriotic duty. This situation enlarged the already existing gulf within two sections of the party. Finally on 11<sup>th</sup> April 1964, a minority section of 32 members walked out of national council meeting which was held in Calcutta. Later, they held a convention at Tenali in Andhra Pradesh. It was stated that 146 delegates representing a lakh of party members attended the above convention.

### **A). Emergence of CPI (M)**

In the month of December of 1964 the divided section held a parallel party congress in Calcutta in the name of Seventh Party Congress and announced the formation of the CPI(M). Necessary amendments were made to the old party constitution. The ideological and political differences which had started in the second party congress held in Calcutta in the year 1948 culminated in to the split in the party after 16 long years of wasteful discussions and debates, side tracking the burning problems of the people.

The crucial ideological and political difference between the CPI(M) and the CPI was about the class character of the congress government. The programme of the CPI(M) characterized it as a bourgeois landlord government led by the big bourgeoisie while the CPI programme says that this congress government represents land lord national bourgeois combine. The difference appears to be thin and small. But on elaboration, in practice, it can be stretched to any length. According to the CPI(M)'s view point the Indian Government led by the big bourgeoisie will collaborate with the foreign imperialism and will obstruct the independent national development. Any development in our country will be possible only after the present government led by the pro imperialist big bourgeoisie is over thrown. CPI's view is that the present government is led by the nationalist bourgeoisie which can undertake independent national development despite its vacillations towards imperialism. The question is to see that the fruits of development equitably reach the common people, the workers, peasants and other unorganized classes of people. However, all said and done, even after 47 years of the major split in the CPI, neither of them is in a position to challenge the rule of the reactionaries and their combine. Looking back, we can see how the CPI(M) was again split within only six years after its existence. The radicals said that the people were ready to overthrow the government led by the big bourgeoisie land lord combine through an armed struggle, while the CPI(M) had opined that the time for such a revolutionary action was not ripe. The splitters again split into two, three and

four parties, making the confusion worse confounded. People of the country in general who saw and knew the selfless sacrifices made by the communists in the anti imperialist anti feudal struggles before and after freedom extended their full support, but as time went on, new generations of people who only saw the splits and terrorism of the so called communists developed an aversion towards the Communist movement in general. CPI(M) and the CPI sticking on to their old bases, depending upon their historic legacy are able to continue as national parties with the requisite minimum percentage of votes. Their position in West Bengal and Kerala where they are united in a coalition government appeared shaky. The recent electoral results proved the correctness of the fears.

Present national situation is extremely vulnerable. Sixty three years after the achievement of freedom and sixty years after the advent of democratic constitution, 83 crores of working men and women out of the population of 120 crores are eking out their livelihood with a paltry sum of Rs. 20 per head per day. Inequalities have grown enormously. Human development reports from united nations every year present a demoralizing picture of India's backwardness in literacy, health, nutrition, child mortality etc. Unemployment, unemployability of the youth is staring at our face. The highest rate of economic growth is reflecting in the rich becoming richer and poor becoming poorer. Adding insult to injury the growth of crony capitalism is creating unprecedented scams after scams. The working people, democrats and all well meaning patriotic people of the country are seriously searching for a political alternative to fill the void being created. The need of the hour is to forge unity of all left and democratic political forces wedded to a common minimum programme of human development giving top priority to equity and social justice in an economy of inclusive growth.

An argument is being advanced by a section of intellectuals that under conditions of globalisation, in the wake of science and technology, Marxism has become obsolete and Communist parties have become irrelevant. Such an approach to social movement only serves the interests of the most unscrupulous exploiters of crony capitalism and decadent feudalism. Marxist thought when applied to Indian psyche, Indian tradition works wonders as the sharpest weapon in the hands of all democrats to fight against all forces of reaction; feudal, pro feudal; capitalist and crony capitalist. Globalizations, scientific and technological advancement are being exploited by the vested interests. The need of the hour is to turn the tide and utilize the growing globalization, science and technology as the powerful weapons in the hands of revolutionaries. The forces of the left and democracy when united can best attract the people at large who are prepared to unite and call a halt to the unbridled exploitation of all kinds of reaction. The call of the time, in terms of great Vivekananda is to awake, arise and stop not till the goal of socio economic democracy is achieved. This is pure and simple Marxism when applied to Indian situation. Marxism, a social science born after the industrial revolution, in the west steeled and tempered in the struggles

of the working classes and working people is the powerful weapon in the hands of social revolutionaries. It is self propelling. It is a bunch of human values. It upholds and illuminates the course of the future society. It gives a clear vision of the shape of things to come. Human history has given birth to a number of theories and philosophies and contributed for the evolution of a better society. Marxism is the latest philosophy with the same objective of furthering the evolution of human society, towards socialism, a society which guarantees equality of opportunities. It is not at all a dogma as some believe. It is a dynamic thought with creativity, flexibility and adaptability as its characteristics to radically change the outdated social order and take it to higher and higher levels, till exploitation of man by man is totally eliminated. Unfortunately such an ever green humane philosophy is being tarnished as life less, static, dogmatic, with violence as its creed, thanks to the sectarian and adventurous actions of a few pseudo Marxists. Marxism, a successor to the loftiest humane values generated in the hoary struggles for existence of mankind is indeed against each and every form of human exploitation which deserve to be thrown into the dust bin of history.

I strongly believe in humanism. I believe in rationalism which alone helps quest for truth. Every philosophical thought that accepts the above is laudable irrespective of its origin. Science and technology which unearth the secrets of nature and create the means of production for generating wealth require to be respected as the creation of human genius. Wealth requires to be distributed to the society based on the principle of each according to his labour. Absolute, lifeless thoughts and dogmas incapable of innovation and action arrest the onward march of the creative human venture, deserve to be thrown into a dust bin. A broad based peoples militant movement, socially and politically conscious, alone can put an end to the existing, corroding system of corruption and nepotism and herald a new social order of sustained and inclusive growth providing equal opportunities to all the members of society. Seventy years of my political life, social service were dedicated to such an end. I am happy I could do some justice to my job. The self satisfaction I had achieved prompted me to continue my quest for truth. The day is not far off when capitalism in all its anti people forms will vanish yielding place to socialism ie., “Sarvajana Hitaya; Sarvajana Sukhaya” or “Sarvodaya.

## **(B) The Effects of split in Karimnagar District**

The split in the CPI had impacted the Karimnagar district unit also when a small section of the party led by Com. Amruth Lal Sukhla divided the CPI and formed a unit of CPI(M). More than the number, this division had caused a big confusion among the rank and file which followed the communist movement. The total defeat of the CPI in the general election of 1962 aggravated this demoralization further. Despite such a severe jolt to the party, we did our best to retain the structures of the mass organizations and maintained our links

with the people. The cadres who saw the split at the top levels were only happy to see the common people preferring unity to carry forward the mass movement, so badly needed.

Myself, though attended the court every day, yet could spare enough time to be in touch with the party leaders and cadres and restore the unity of the party as also continue and spread the work on mass fronts. Late Com.Tamma Reddy Satyanarayana, the then Secretary of the State CPI had visited Karimnagar a number of times to see that the party is saved from disruption. I can recollect his affectionate and persuasive skills in maintaining the unity of the party. While agreeing with me about my family problems and the necessity for my continuation as a practising lawyer, he would persuade me to examine and consider the need to become a whole timer in the broader interest of the district party and mass movement. Such a friendly and most earnest suggestion of Com.Tamma Reddy had its own effect on me who was practising law only half heartedly, I had started thinking about reverting back as a whole timer of the party and pay some attention to our agriculture to make both ends meet. Father's experiences as a progressive agriculturist were already before me. I used to go to Nagaram Village every Saturday evening and come back by Monday morning. Whatever littled amount of money I could save I used to hand it over to our seridar(Chandraya) one who would supervise our agriculture, and direct him to take care of the crops and agricultural operations more meticulously. Week after week my expectations could not fructify, on the other hand agriculture had become burdensome with increasing debts. At this point of time, I thought of an innovative and unusual method. I had planned to hand over entire lands with all implements and oxen to our six agricultural labourers plus one supervisor for five years in return of 12 quintals of fine rice to be supplied to us every year. This proposition was accepted by them, who were very accommodative. This agreement worked well for about five years. As the needs of cash investment, for inputs on agriculture became a problem, they pleaded their inability to sustain this practice. Finding no alternative I had to come to the conclusion of dividing the property among the four brothers. All three of my brothers agreed with me. Agricultural lands in Nagaram and Marupaka, both wet and dry, totaling about 150 acres were partitioned. With certain small amendments, my proposal of partition was agreeable to the rest of brothers. An operation partition which often becomes a problem to reckon with went off silently and with a sense of perfect understanding and good will. Later on lands were disposed off conveniently.

Coming back to my party work, I could help maintain the unity of the party with least damage. Despite the over all adverse impact of the split, which did give a shakeup to the party and led to its demoralization, we succeeded in maintaining the broad structures, of organization and contact with the people who had not forgotten the historic role played by the CPI in the district. The

greatest lesson I learnt from the people at the grass root level was from the questions they asked us as to who engineered the split when they were most indebted to and thankful to the party in general and its legendary leaders in particular, who staked their lives in the struggle against the worst kind of autocracy and feudalism. My answer to such searching question, in my heart of heart was “it was Comintern and Cominform” which I never told openly.

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## **7. FOURTH GENERAL ELECTIONS OF 1967**

Fourth general elections of 1967 approached fast and I was disturbed., Comrades of Sircilla Taluq and district committee unanimously resolved in favour of my candidature from Sircilla. A number of non party individuals, including a few congress men favoured my candidature and approached me to persuade me to accept their proposal. Personally I had a desire to avenge the defeat of Com.Baddam in 1962 elections. Smt.Indira Gandhi the then Prime Minister of India, with her most populist slogan of “Gareebihatao” toured the entire country. She had addressed a mammoth public meeting at Sircilla. The sitting congress candidate Sri J.Narsinga Rao, was again the congress candidate. I had to accept the party’s decision and public opinion. It was a very good political contest. I was contesting from Sircilla, my home constituency for the first time. Our comrades were afraid of the outcome of Smt. Indira Gandhi’s public Rally. I knew the difference the voters make in attending the public meetings and the actual voting in elections. I was elected for the second time, with a very comfortable majority. Unfortunately party got defeated in all other seats in Karimnagar. The reasons are not far to seek. The same reasons which caused our total defeat in 1962 elections, caused the defeat in a number of constituencies. Mature voters elected their representatives, keeping in view the parties of the candidates as well as the capacities of the candidates to deliver goods. Our party in Karimnagar district could not rise to the occasion, winning the confidence of the people. The defeated congress candidate Mr.J.Narsinga Rao is a gentleman who took his defeat sportively. He had extended his full cooperation in all my works for the development of Sircilla constituency. I had taken a decision to devote my full time again to the party work, and wind up my legal practice. Already Mr.G.Mohan Rao, advocate worked as my partner, continued his practice. My own brother Ch.Vidyasagar Rao had started his legal practice, they took care of my remaining commitments as a lawyer.

### **A) Parliamentary Democracy:**

Our country had opted for a system of parliamentary democracy of British model. Our constituent assembly consisting of freedom fighters, the veteran lawyers and statesmen, having studied different constitutions, had come to the conclusion of adopting British model with some changes.

According to our constitution, people are sovereign. The ultimate authority to rule. They delegate their political power to their elected representatives who select an executive body out of them, called the Cabinet consisting of the Chief Minister or Prime Minister and the Ministers. This cabinet with the assistance of the Secretariat and Directorates, the bureaucracy, runs the government based on the rule of law. Legislature, executive and the independent Judiciary all together constitute the state. Free press, consisting of Print and electronic media has now assumed the status of the fourth pillar of democracy. All the four

wings of the state, with their accountability and transparency constitute democracy, translating the will of the sovereign people. All the four wings of democracy are separate and are independent within their spheres of work. Hard work with the sense of accountability and transparency determines their success or failure.

I had entered the fourth Assembly as a second time legislator with an amount of experience in public life. Even now eighty percent of the population living in rural India is the worst sufferer. The absence of both macro and micro level infrastructures had put the rural folk to innumerable hardships. School buildings, drinking water facilities, roads, minimum of medical help were and still are the burning needs of the public at large. An elected representative is required to know about the actual problems of the people, make due representations to the concerned authorities and get them sanctioned and executed with the strength of his persuasive power, good conduct and character. The days of mere agitation and slogan mongering were over. Necessary agitation by the suffering people coupled with adequate representation was and is the need of the hour under the conditions of meagre resources available. I was elected as the floor leader of the CPI Legislature Party consisting of a much reduced elected members. Previous floor leaders Com.P.Sundaraiah and Vemulapalli Sreekrishna were the shining examples before me. I took the responsibility with full confidence in the party and its capacity to build the movement, slowly but steadily. Stalwarts like Tarimela Nagi Reddy, and P.Sundaraiah were the leaders of the CPI(M) with whom I had a very good rapport. Com.P.Sundaraiah was well known for his hard work. Com.Tarimela Nagi Reddy was a fiery speaker capable of cornering and exposing the misdeeds of the ruling congress government while championing the peoples' needs. Com.Vemulapalli Sree Krishna had a rare quality of persuasive power coupled with the spirit of agitation. I was fortunate to learn from them and execute with added values. Constructive criticism coupled with persuasive skills and flexibility, ie., open mindedness make a good agitator and leader of the opposition.

**Sri B.V.Subba Reddy, an able speaker:** Late B.V.Subba Reddy was an able speaker with profound common sense and legal background. I had seen him as an independent legislator fighting a lone battle against the strong but short tempered Chief Minister Sree Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy. As a speaker he had tried his best to combine in himself the rare characteristics of the leader of the house, an opposition leader, an impartial umpire and a knowledgeable person. The job of any speaker though difficult, yet is very crucial in providing the above flesh and blood to the constitutional democracy. Congress party alone was in power both in the centre and states. Communists, now vertically divided were very much reduced in their numbers. Despite their reduction in numbers, communists symbolized the virtue of commitment and selfless service to the people. However their reduced numbers and disunity had incapacitated them to challenge the ruling congress and provide a viable alternative.

**Congress Party – a house divided against itself:** Right from the commencement of the first general elections in the year 1952, I could see the congress party as a house divided against itself. Excepting a few freedom fighters, majority of the leadership did not possess the requisite social commitment so badly needed for the development of the country. Power mongering, hankering after power, factionalism were and are the order of the day. Annual budgets and five year plans were made ceremonious. The fundamental rights and directive principles enshrined in the constitution were not honoured with the spirit of accountability to the electorate. The whole administration was left to the bureaucracy which never was transparent and accountable. The elected representatives of the people including the ministers were more interested in their personal or group affairs giving a free hand to the officials. It is most unfortunate that despite the passage of six decades of democratic administration our nation is at cross roads, not able to envision a road map for the future development. Worse still, we are facing the unprecedented problems, of corruption, and nepotism leading to more anarchy in the administration. The ruling congress party enjoying monopoly of power is not able to rectify its mistakes. Other opposition parties, many of them being the splinter groups of the same congress, are not at all in a position to provide an alternative to the ruling class of power brokers and cronies. Bharatiya Janata Party(BJP), thanks to its Hindu card is finding itself handicapped to advance secular, and composite democracy of Indian polity. Communists and leftists in general are faced with the same old problems of ideological fundamentalism deep rooted in their political thought. Such a vacuum in politics is indirectly helping the most selfish and immoral forces of crony capitalism to occupy the wide political space and rule the roost. It is high time all concerned will change themselves on war footing to change the policies for better, in the interest of country's political future.

**1). V.B. Raju a trend setter:** More often than not political leaders of one party treat the other party leaders as untouchables, rivals and even enemies, which is but a hangover of the past. A small incident connected with a small man, an ordinary minister late Sri V.B.Raju will provide with a big lesson. Mr.V.B.Raju, though an ordinary congressman, was well known for his public relations. He was a good friend of mine since my college days. Congress men would enjoy a political joke which said “Dr. Chenna Reddy out side the cabinet or Mr.V.B.Raju inside the cabinet are very dangerous for the stability of the Cabinet.”

After my election in the year 1967, I had extended an invitation to Sri V.B.Raju the then revenue Minister for the distribution of house sites in the weaver's town of Sircilla. He readily agreed, and requested me to accompany him in his car as I had no personal car. We reached Sircilla town together. Local Congress President requested Mr. Raju to board a jeep decorated with congress flags to go in a procession to the meeting place. Another batch of Beedi workers with red flags waited there to receive me and take me to the

meeting place by walk. I was in a fix. Mr. Raju requested me to stand in the jeep by his side as both of us were invited to the same function. The local Congress president, a tough man, objected to Mr.Raju's invitation to me stating 'how could a communist rival board a congress jeep'? Beedi workers and their leaders with red flags and congress workers with tricolour flags stood on two sides of the road. Disturbed by the rude behavior of the local congress president, Mr. Raju practically jumped out of the jeep, told me, "let both of us go to the meeting place by walk and the cadres of both the parties would follow one batch after the other". Irked by the Minister's anger and finding himself helpless the congress president came running to us who had started walking, and prayed for pardoning him for his improper behaviour. "The Minister and the MLA, both are the honourable guests for the evenings public function" he said. He appealed to both of us to board the jeep to go in a procession followed by both tricolour and red flag volunteers. Mr.Raju taunted him for having lost common sense saying that he was not there on any invitation by congressman and on the other hand he had come all the way to attend a programme arranged by an MLA who is also a Communist leader. However, the congress party could utilize the opportunity by arranging a separate meeting and he would happily attend that. The humbled congress president reiterated his appeal and we all went in a big procession unitedly, Mr.Raju and myself standing in the jeep followed by the mixed crowd of tricolour and red flag volunteers. After the ceremonial distribution of the patta certificates by both of us. Mr.Raju took the opportunity to educate the cadres and leaders of all the parties on the subject of democracy, and its values. This incident acted as an eye opener to the political workers in Sircilla town. Political decency, observance of protocol under all circumstances, particularly at times of multi party gatherings has become an established tradition in Sircilla.

**2). Discovery of truth:** Late Sri Venigella Satyanarayana, the then Hon'bl Minister for Excise was a simple and modest man. The Speaker B.V.Subba Reddy had to direct him to unearth the truth and report immediately to make the question hour lively.

My good old friend and advocate the first legislator from Sultanabad constituency in Karimnagar district late A Raja Reddy had requested me to represent to the government for the removal of an unlicensed toddy shop being run by the side of his own house and very close to one town police station. His representations to the local officers proved invain. He had shown me the shop with a strong request to get it removed. I had put a short notice question in the house with due permission of the speaker. The question was "whether an unlicensed toddy shop is being run in front of the one town police station in Karimnagar Town? If so will the government remove it immediately?" Hon'ble Member's question is unwarranted as no unlicensed toddy shop existed there" was minister's reply. I was taken aback, and asked a supplementary question challenging the veracity of the answer which was cooked up by some bureaucrat

and was being read out by the Hon'ble Minister like a parrot. The speaker had directed the minister to unearth the truth himself through spot inspection on that day itself. He had also directed the Minister to go together with me. The house was adjourned for the day.

I had finished my lunch and the Hon'ble Minister came to my quarter in the Old MLA's Quarter and requested me to accompany him to Karimnagar for necessary spot inspection. We went together. I had directed the car driver to the exact place. To our utter surprise the owner of the shop, expecting us to be a good party had started the preparations to serve the drink. The minister asked for the sub inspectors of police and excise. Both were not available. Within a few minutes they came running. They had no reply to the angry questions put by the Minister. On his direction, necessary panchanama was conducted. The minister had directed for the closure of such an unlicensed shop by the next day morning. He had warned the Inspector of the dire consequences for providing false information. On our way back we had discussed at length on the importance of the question hour, the irresponsible behaviour of the bureaucrats, and the Speaker's independent action to find out the truth as laudable. My friend late Raja Reddy expressed his gratitude to the Minister. This small but very important incident in administering law created a furore in Karimnagar when the role of the Speaker and the Assembly was highly appreciated.

This incident highlights the significance of the cordial relation among the legislators, notwithstanding the political differences, in the best interest of service to the people. This is the secret behind the success of any democracy. Political parties are the institutions which make democracy really work in the interest of people at large. Cooperation among the political parties and groups is crucial for a meaningful democracy.

**3). Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy's respect for the rule of law:** Even though he hailed from a feudal landlord family and was a bit short-tempered, late Sri Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy was a freedom fighter of the first generation and had imbibed in him the values of freedom and democracy. I was quite comfortable in company with a good number of freedom fighters in the second Assembly of 1957. Speaker, Chief Minister and Ministers wielding political power were simple, modest and appeared like ordinary citizens without any pomp and show.

When Sri N.Sanjeeva Reddy was the CM for the second time the private bus owners of Kurnool had challenged the government's decision to nationalize the bus routes. The A.P. High Court had given its judgment upholding the contention of the private bus owners. It had also criticized the complicity of the politicians in such an illegality. Hon'ble Chief Minister late Sri Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy had taken the moral responsibility and had tendered his resignation from the Chief Ministership immediately. This was quite in line with the late Lal Bahadur Shastray's resignation as Central Railway Minister who had resigned his central cabinet ministership on moral grounds after a railway accident.

Such an action of sacrifice and accountability to the people had enhanced his prestige while highlighting the lofty principles of democracy.

**4). Kasu Brahmananda Reddy's statesmanship:** Late Sri Kasu Brahmananda Reddy had continued as state's C.M. when I had entered the Assembly for the second time in 1967. I was elected as the floor leader of the CPI while Sri P.Sundarayya and Sri T.Nagi Reddy were the leader and deputy leader of the CPI(M). We used to sit side by side in the front bench of the opposition and would work with a spirit of sportive competition. As a matter of fact I used to learn from them as my seniors and they used to give me due respect as the young leader of the CPI. Hardly any difference of opinion among us had reflected on the floor of the house. I remember an interesting comment made by a congress Minister: "I have been searching for any difference of opinion between the CPI(M) and the CPI represented in the house respectively by Sri P.Sundarayya and Sri Ch.Rajeswara Rao. Excepting the difference of a hand washed shirt and an ironed kurta, there is no other difference". We had enjoyed the comment as a good joke. Sri Kasu Brahmananda Reddy the Chief Minister was a very calm going sober and silent leader of the house, qualitatively different from his predecessor Sri Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy. A few months after, I had discovered in him an attitude of friendship towards me. He used to comment on my performances as constructive criticism, very useful to the government. At the same time he had showed his profound respect to the elders like Gautu Lachhanna, P.Sundaraiah and T.Nagi Reddy. A shrewd politician and a statesman Sri Brahmananda Reddy had taken parliamentary democracy with all seriousness. However I had noticed in him a behaviour of friendship and closeness towards me which only encouraged me to do my duty with more dedication. An instance would amplify my above contention.

The issue of selecting the congress candidate for the presidency in the then ensuing ZP elections had become a bone of contention between two congress groups of Karimnagar District. Their presence and hectic activity in the Assembly lobbies was felt by the legislators. The C.M. was expected to give his clearance. Both the groups had agreed to abide by the decision of the C.M. The Cabinet level minister Sri P.V.Narasimha Rao of the same district had remained out of picture as he did not meddle with the group politics. The CM had told both the warring groups to go back to Karimnagar with the assurance that he would select the names and send to them in a sealed cover by the time of filing nominations next day. Accordingly the group leaders had left for Karimnagar. In the evening session of the house, I found the CM signaling me to go to his seat. I did not take it seriously as I had no habit of going and sitting by the side of any CM inside the house. But to my surprise, I could clearly see the CM signaling me with show of hand. Finding no alternative, I had signaled him asking him to come out. Myself had gone to the CM's room and waited there. Within no time he had come there, and asked me to take my seat. He had closed the door and asked the orderly to get a

pen and paper, and had asked me to help him by writing out the names of the probable congress candidates capable of doing justice to their jobs as ZP Chairman etc., I had expressed my surprise and difficulty in selecting the congressmen from my own district. He had expressed his full confidence in my impartiality and had requested me to assist him in this important work. I had taken the gesture as his compliments and wrote down the names for different posts. He had got it typed and sent it to the district and had fulfilled his promise to them. Accordingly they had filed their nominations and all of them got elected. There was no opposition worth the name except me, a lonely CPI MLA.



*Conversation with the then Chief Minister late Sri Kasu Bhrahmananda Reddy cordial and an able administrator*

A few months after, the Chief Minister had invited the Z.P. Chairmen to a dinner hosted by him. He had interacted with the guests to know the problems of the districts. While interacting with Z.P. Chairman of Karimnagar, late Sri Sreenivasa Rao, he had mentioned to him about his selection as the candidate for the Chairmanship. He had frankly told him about what had happened on the day of selections and had also asked the Chairman to thank me for having suggested his name. The CM repeatedly expressed his satisfaction with the good work done by the ZP Chairman of Karimnagar. Late Sri Sreenivasa Rao had come to my quarter after the dinner party, and profusely thanked me for having suggested his name to the CM. He also narrated to me his discourse with the CM who had expressed his satisfaction with the good work of the Chairman. I was happy to know about such an event. It again confirmed the open mindedness, impartiality and the out of box thinking of late Sri Kasu

Brahmananda Reddy. I had thanked myself for having spotted out a right man for discharging an onerous responsibility. Partisan attitudes, personal interests have no place in public life, where merit and merit alone makes democracy attractive and acceptable. Another instance connected with late Sri Kasu Brahmananda Reddy when his conscience pricked him is worth mentioning.

Congress party in the country got vertically divided into two separate parties, after its meetings in Ahmedabad and Bombay in the last week of December in 1969. Late Sri Morarji Desai was elected as the leader of one, known as ‘syndicate congress’ while late Smt. Indira Gandhi was elected as the President of “Indicate Congress.” The differences were acute.

Under such circumstances, presidential elections came on the agenda. All the senior leaders proposed the candidature of late Sri Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy. Smt. Indira Gandhi, finding no ground to question the candidature of Sri Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy, formally extended her support to him and even signed his nomination papers. She had in her mind her own design to get him defeated in the elections. Late Sri V.V.Giri, a veteran labour leader’s nomination for the presidential election was filed. All the opposition parties and groups including the Communist Parties decided to support him as against the Congress candidate. I was selected to act as the election agent for Sri V.V.Giri in the A.P. As such I had the pleasant duty to receive him and introduce him to his voters in the A.P. Assembly and send him off. Accordingly our job was over and I followed him to the Begumpet aero drum. We were seated in the V.V.I.P. longue and Mr. Giri asked me whether I was personally in good terms with the then CM Sri Kasu Brahmananda Reddy. I told him about my cordial relationship with the CM. He took out a sealed cover from out of his pocket and handed it over to me with a request to pass it on to the CM. Next Day morning I met the CM in the ante-room of his chambers in the Assembly. He was a bit surprised to find me there and laughingly asked me about the prospects of our candidate. I had silently handed over the cover addressed to him. He asked me to be seated and had read the letter. I had noticed a great inconvenience from his face. It had clearly appeared that he was upset and perturbed. In a fit of anger he told me “this lady will finish the congress party. She has given a strong direction that every single vote of congressmen should go to Giri. Our own congress candidate Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy hails from A.P. apart from being a freedom fighter and my guru. How could I work against my own conscience?” I had expressed my sympathies with him.

Next day, the voting took place and all the legislators irrespective of their parties had cast their votes in favour of our candidate Mr. Giri. Smt. Gandhi had given a call for conscience vote. An indiscipline can never become a discipline under conditions of democracy. Late Smt. Gandhi could publicly express her displeasure with Sri Reddy’s candidature. Having agreed to and having signed his nomination papers, her master plan of engineering the defeat of Sri N. Sanjeeva Reddy amounts to stabbing him in the back. Such an action on her part goes

down in the history of Indian politics as an act of abject betrayal of the trust reposed in her. All the democrats and well meaning people of the country had strongly condemned such petty politics of Smt. Gandhi. However our candidate Sri V.V.Giri who had won the presidential election with hands down, had proved an excellent head of the state being near and dear to the poor.

**My experience as a member of the State B.C. Commission:** The first commission to study the socio-economic conditions of the backward classes in Andhra Pradesh and to recommend for necessary reservations was appointed with late Sri Ananta Raman, the then Chief Secretary of the government of Andhra Pradesh as its Chairman. Chief Minister late Sri K.Brahmananda Reddy had decided to nominate me as one of the members of the commission. He requested me to serve on the committee, since communists were very much knowledgeable and interested in serving the poor, who happen to belong to the backward classes in general. Serving the poor and fighting for the rights of the poor is different from identification and grouping the castes as backward classes for necessary reservations in education and employment. Our committee had ample time to go round different areas and to discuss with the people committed to reservations. I had the opportunity to study the literature on the subject, and compare and contrast my personal experiences with the opinions of the leaders of the backward castes. Marxism as a social thought had taken its birth after the industrial revolution and the rise of capitalism in Europe. French revolution had focused on the rise of the industrial working class demanding its due share in the profits earned by the capitalists. Karl Marx and Engels and a number of thinkers of that period had to concentrate and analyze the rich experiences of such struggles of the industrial working class. Our case in India, in identifying the educationally and socially backward classes according to our constitution is qualitatively different. Caste system in India is prehistoric. Ordinarily the overwhelming majority of the poor people hail from the socially and educationally backward castes. All the commissions appointed in different states and also the central commissions had made their studies making castes as their basis. The Indian judiciary, High Courts and the Supreme Court after a long study and debate, had come to the same conclusion for the identification of the B.Cs. Our commission, taking into account, the researches and the judicial findings could identify a number of socially and educationally backward castes and their groupings. After the submission of the report to the state government, and government's approval, the Supreme Court's judgment on the creamy layer's exclusion from the necessary reservation, gave a new dimension to the subject. This issue had formed part of our commission's discussions and we had unanimously come to the conclusion that social backwardness accumulated and got hardened for centuries together could not be removed within a short period of economic wellbeing of a few families. However the verdict of the honourable Supreme Court of India mandates due consideration and action.

The inter connection between the caste and class formations deserves closer study. Late Sri Raj Narayana a socialist leader had stated that in India caste is class. Both are inter connected and interdependent, but to equate both would amount to ignoring the Indian history which is peculiar. Economic empowerment under the modern conditions of globalization will certainly go a long way in undermining the undesirable divisions in the society created by the caste system during the early historic period. That has been the experience of the freedom and post freedom movements from a century. Economic independence, self reliance coupled with education under conditions of socio-political democracy would certainly help erase the irrelevant and obsolete social divisions. The state and central governments have to realize this truth and allocate sizable funds required therefor and to see that they are properly and purposefully invested and utilized. Special social audit to evaluate the successes in this field would enrich our experiences for future action. The present state of affairs is not at all encouraging. The state and central governments' policies and the funds earmarked towards the above end, are most inadequate to face the gigantic social problem. Creation of an even level play ground is the need of the hour.



*Chairman and members of the first A.P. BC Commission with the then Chief Minister late Sri Brahmananda Reddy*

Let me share with the readers an event of some interest which is connected with the tour of BC Commission. After our visit to Tamilnadu, some members of our committee had requested the Chairman for arranging a boating in the high sea for enjoyment. Sri Ananta Raman had worked as the director of the state fisheries board. It was arranged in no time and our committee undertook

the pleasure trip from Kanyakumari. We must have gone up to a length of five KM and had thought of returning back. We found the driver of the boat facing some trouble in proceeding further. On our enquiry, the driver expressed that the engine of the boat had gone out of order and he was not able to locate the problem. Himself with the assistance of his colleagues, mechanics, tried his best for some time to repair the engine but in vain. The calm high sea too appeared disturbed thanks to speedy wind. Our boat, rudderless as it was, could not withstand the blows of the wind and the rising waves. To our repeated queries all the crew expressed their inability to repair and restore the failed engine. We were overtaken by a sense of despair and a feeling of meeting a watery grave. Shocked and surprised Chairman had changed his normal dress, and had worn a silken lungee, and started prayer, while the crew of the boat, started signaling to the port office from the top of the boat. All of us had almost come to the conclusion that there was no escape from the ensuing calamity. Almost half an hour had passed by, there appeared no way out. Nature was furious enough, and the wavering boat appeared to sink any moment. Within a few seconds to our utmost happiness, we had realized that two boats were fast approaching towards our wavering boat. The rescue operation started. All of us were shifted to the rescue boats with the help of ladders. We were relieved of the great catastrophe. The crew of all the boats had heaved a sigh of relief. Our return journey started. We were supplied with snacks and hot coffee. A happy leader had commented that "God, the Almighty had accepted my prayers" to spare the lives of the people's representatives. We all had thanked him for his real stewardship. The driver and the crew who had successfully sent the message of trouble to the seaport through their signals expressed their confidence that their system of signaling had worked wonders. Without hurting the faiths and beliefs of our leader and the crew, we had a very good time to discuss about science and technology versus prayers to God. Prayers to God helped us to be bold without losing heart while the technique of signaling and the consequent rescue operation had saved our lives. Faith in God and confidence in science, as long as they do not contradict each other, will go hand in hand and work wonders as complements to broaden the vision of human beings. This was a dreadful experience.

### **Establishment of the Sircilla Cooperative Electricity Supply Society(CESS)- Siricilla:**

Out of over sixty years' of my public life, the establishment and successful functioning of CESS in the erstwhile Siricilla taluq is an outstanding achievement. I am particularly happy and proud of it because, it occupies the first and foremost place in the whole country today.

In the year 1969-70 the then American government offered its financial aid for the establishment of cooperative electricity supply societies in India. Government of India had asked the government of Andhra Pradesh to select one taluq for the purpose, and intimate them. Late Sri K.Brahmananda Reddy

was the Chief Minister. Late Dr.M.Chenna Reddy wanted it for Vikarabad in R.R.District. Late Sri Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy the Ex.CM wanted it to be established in Anantapur District, while late Sri J.V.Narsinga Rao a Cabinet minister wanted it for his Adilabad district. When I had come to know about such a project proposal, without wasting any time I took the assistance of the technical experts and got a perfect project proposal prepared and submitted it before the government. I had also come to know that the CM, too desired it to be grounded in his constituency Narsaraopet in Guntur district. I thought it would be a herculean task for me to come out successful in competition with the big guns. The procedure laid down was that the project reports would first be scrutinized by an expert team and then the American team would visit the places for deciding its viability and feasibility. There after, based on the recommendation made by the government of India, the American government would sanction the project.

All the contenders had used their political influences. The project report submitted by me was considered to be on lines prescribed by the donor agency ie., the cooperative federation in the USA. However I was afraid of the political pressures. The American delegation visited all the areas. I had accompanied them to Sircilla taluq and took them to villages like Mallaram where water was lifted from the wells with the help of pumps driven by the bulls.

A couple of months passed by and the state government headed by Sri K.Brahmananda Reddy could not take any decision. On my representation, he had expressed his inability to arrive at a decision since the big guns were involved in it. He however had given a hint that since my project report was considered to be better than all other reports by the American team, I should go to Delhi to represent the matter to late Sri K.L.Rao, the then Minister for Power, Government of India. On my request he had given me a personal letter to be submitted to the central minister. Immediately I had proceeded to Delhi along with late Sri Y.Hanumantha Rao, and late Sri Annam Raja Reddy both presidents of Vemulawada and Sircilla panchayat samithis respectively. Both of them were the congress leaders and had cordial relations with me. Dr.K.L.Rao, was pleased to receive our representation and had assured us to take any decision based on the merits of the project reports and not on political pressures. I recollect his following comments with admiration. "If political consideration becomes the criterion to sanction a project; your combination of two congress leaders supporting a Communist MLA's project proposal is the best one for consideration". Another delegation had visited Sircilla and submitted its final report recommending Sircilla taluq for grounding such a prestigious project. I was happy that Sircilla truly being a backward area was properly represented through a correct project report which facilitated the central government to arrive at a true and correct decision.

Government of India had then set up a rural electricity corporation (REC) to speed up rural electrification all over the country. Our CESS by its performance

always stood first and the R.E.C. had been helping the CESS by all means. R.E.C had recognized CESS by honouring it through awards and rewards. CESS, today tops all the rural electrical cooperatives in the whole country. At its inception in 1970, the number of total consumers of power was 4720 which rose to 186003 today. The consumption of power per head rose from 25 units to 711 units. Agricultural services got extended from 2299 in the year 1970-71 to 53958 by the year 31-3-2008. Industrial connections, mainly for power looms are nearing 10000, providing employment and producing essential goods. The significance of such a supply cooperative lies in the fact that thousands of its primary members participate in the administration of the society through their elected representatives. The society attends to and takes care of each and every problem including power supply on time and to the best satisfaction of its consumers. I am particularly happy with my close association with such a fast developing society. Corrupt practices, bureaucratic behaviour at the state level have had their own adverse effects on the society. I am satisfied I could do my bit to protect and promote the society. I only wish that the elected leaders and the staff of the society would continue the lofty legacy of the past. The state government should never entertain any idea to merge the cooperative society with the TRANSCO. On the other hand the government would do well to gradually dissolve the DISCOM(distribution corporation) and hand over the job of power distribution to the mutually aided cooperative supply societies. Mutually aided cooperative societies(MACs) are the best instrumentalities to attract the peoples' cooperation and establish the participatory democracy.

Late Sri Kasu Brahmananda Reddy was the CM of AP from 29-2-1964 to 30-09-1971 ie., seven years and seven months. I could work with him for about five years with immense satisfaction, despite myself being the leader of an opposition party. The spirit of service to the people and not power or self to one self generates and promotes healthy politics. Late P.V.Narasimha Rao, my venerable friend, had stepped in to the shoe of late K.Brahmananda Reddy on 30-09-1971 and continued till 10-01-1973 when the president rule was clamped which continued up to 10-12-1973. Late Sri Jalagam Vengala Rao had taken over as the CM of AP on 10-12-1973 and continued up to 6-3-1978 when the general elections for the sixth assembly of AP were held. The preceding decade was full of historic events in the AP State. Late Smt.Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, by wielding her unquestioned political power erratically had created history. Congress party was split for the first time. National emergency was declared. Janata Party took its birth. It also got split into more than two parties. B.J.P. had come into existence. And soon, instability and fluidity in politics was visible for even a naked eye. Old values in politics had yielded place to new politics of rank opportunism and political corruption, political betrayals and back stabbings. According to my own experiences the era of decline deterioration and degeneration of political morals had started in the early seventies and God alone knows how, when and where this drift will

come to an end. I sincerely believe in the invincible power of the conscious and concerned people who will awake, arise, and stop not till the rot is routed. A few more scams and a little more deterioration of political morals will be enough to create the political crisis with people on the front line. Democratic parties the left parties in particular, cannot afford to let the deterioration reach its logical conclusion. They are called upon to face the challenge by providing adequate leadership to the surging masses, or else, the democratic and socialist parties will again remain divided and isolated from the mainstream politics leaving the field to the anarchic elements

**Communalism raised its ugly head again:** Going back to late sixties, we find the communal forces raising their ugly heads in the year 1967, only reminding us the communal holocaust of the partition days. Articles 15-16-25 of our constitution which guaranteed equality before law and equal rights and opportunities for all citizens, liberty and freedom for all, were snubbed and subjected to stress and strain. Communal riots flared up in Meerut of Utter Pradesh. Ranchi in Bihar, Alahabad and Kareemunj. Secular parties and groups condemned it and held the RSS, Jansangh and Congress parties responsible for this communal carnage. The then Home Minister Mr. Y.B.Chavan had denied any role for the congress party in it. However the secular and democratic forces proved the complicity of the congress party with facts and figures. The election of Sri Zakir Hussain as the President of India, the appointment of Sri Hidayatulla as the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court or the induction of Sri Fikruddin Ali Ahmed in to the Central Cabinet would not provide any answer to the question of communal riots. The appeasement policy proved in vain and the secular forces asserted. Communal amity could be sustained only through the restoration of communal harmony by sincerely implementing the constitutional guarantees. A nation wide campaign was successfully undertaken by the secular parties. I had the opportunity to address a few conventions inside and outside our state. Unity built up among castes and communities through their struggle for socio-economic amelioration alone would lay a firm foundation for the lasting communal peace. The experience has proved beyond doubt that behind every communal or caste divide, invariably there are the hidden hands of vested interests. Communal amity and secular polity are the corner stones for social democracy, and social progress.

## **B) The movement for separate Telangana state(1969)**

This was a historic movement in which the student community and the employees of the state government mainly participated. The feeling of getting Telangana area separated from the state of Andhra Pradesh had originated from the repeated experiences of denials and betrayals of the promises made and the breaches of agreements entered into by the leaders of the larger and affluent area of the then Andhra for over twelve long years. The state of Andhra Pradesh emerged in the year 1956 thanks to the merger of the then existing states of Andhra and Hyderabad respectively, based on the understandings and

agreements known as the ‘gentlemen’s agreement’. Such an agreement was needed to dispel and assuage the feeling of a probable domination of the developed area(Andhra) on the most backward and under developed Telangana area which was just then liberated from the most oppressive and notorious rule of the Nizam of Hyderabad. The accumulated anguish of the people of Telangana, youth and services in particular, had burst out in to an open agitation demanding the statusquoante ie., a separate Telangana state. This sensitive situation, as usual, had been best exploited by the then leaders of the congress party for power and pelf. The Communist Party of India which had championed the formation of the linguistic states found itself in a dilemma. The decade long life experience of repeated injustices done to Telangana area could not be denied, by it, however it preferred to stick to its old policy of linguistic state while fighting for the implementation of all agreements and understandings. The party did its best to prevent the degeneration of the movement for separate state into a regional antagonism. Many Andhra colonies spread over in Telangana area were protected by the members of the CPI from the wrath of the Telangana youth. At the same time party had loudly voiced the genuine demands of the Telangana people. At a time when Hyderabad city was boiling with the agitation, party had decided to play its card by organizing a parallel satyagraha demanding the implementation of the promises made as also to retain the unity of the state. Such a programme of action under the conditions of a strong separatist movement, could not catch the imagination of the CPI cadres even, much less the people at large. However, as a disciplined leader of the CPI I had ventured to lead a batch of Satyagrahies.

Accordingly the batch of CPI satyagraha under my leadership offered Satyagraha in Sultan Bazar area demanding “Vishalandhralo Prajarajyam” (peoples’ rule in greater Andhra). We were rounded up by the police in no time and were sent to Musheerabad jail. The jail had already been filled up with the hundreds of separatists. We were asked to wait in the jailor’s room. The fact of our satyagraha had spread all over the jail. A number of young men from inside the jail tried their best to pounce upon us but were prevented by the jail police. They had resorted to throwing sand and brickbats at us through the windows. The crowded separatists appeared impatient. The jailor expressed his inability to send us inside the jail from the security point of view. I could understand the worsening situation; and contacted Com. Maqdoom from the jailor’s room with a request to immediately contact the then Home Minister late Sri Ibrahim Ali Ansari and arrange to shift us to any other jail. Within an hour the jailor received the information of an alternative arrangement. We were taken to the Sanjeева Reddy Nagar colony which had been converted into a temporary jail. We alighted the police van only to see a surging youth towards us. The hundreds of inmates of this jail had already come to know about our arrival there. This advancing crowd was led by the late G.V.Narayana Rao, Mallikarjun and Madan Mohan, who later became Speaker, Central Minister and state Minister respectively. They were my good friends and admirers. Seeing us as

the new type of satyagrahis under my leadership, they arranged for a fool-proof protection by asking the concerned police to put us in a separate house under lock and key. We had been saved from a possible assault by an angry crowd. A day after we were released on personal bonds. Mine was a lonely voice in wilderness. This parallel movement did not click. However Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India was bent upon defusing the movement by all means. This is more interesting.

She had worked out a plan of action to execute her decision immediately. All the floor leaders of the AP Assembly were consulted by arranging one to one meetings in Delhi. I was in Karimnagar then. The then district Collector Sri Mala Kondaiah had passed on to me a message from the P.M. asking me to see her at a particular time next day itself. I could understand her purpose. I had immediately left for Hyderabad to consult the then general secretary of AP. Late Sri Chandra Rajeswara Rao. I was advised by him to forcefully present the genuine cause behind the movement for a separate state and that she should not take the CPI's stand of keeping the state integrated, for granted. He had also emphasized the point that it were the congress governments both at the centre and state which had flouted each and every item of 14 point gentlemen's agreement and then roused the separatist movement for their narrow ends of political power. I met Smt. Indira Gandhi for about half an hour at her residence in Delhi and had answered all her questions. She promised to take all the steps required to assuage the feelings of the suffering people of Telangana. She appeared to be little hesitant about the change of the Chief Minister late Sri K.Brahmananda Reddy. She assured me of taking every political and organizational decision required. Accordingly she had flown to Hyderabad the very next day, accompanied by the then Chairman of the Telangana Regional Committee, late Sri J.Chokka Rao; held the meeting of the state congress leadership at the Begumpet airport itself, and had announced her decision to replace Sri K.Brahmananda Reddy by a Telangana leader and to appoint Dr.M.Chenna Reddy as the Governor of Utter Pradesh. Such a decision in power politics had suddenly poured cold water on the burning movement when the Telangana Praja Samithi headed by Dr.M. Chenna Reddy had merged with the congress and the whole movement for separate Telangana was withdrawn. Thousands of jailed Telanganites were released. This dramatic event had unleashed a wave of demoralization all around Telangana and the people developed a sense of aversion towards the political leadership. Further details on the question of separate Telangana will be discussed in detail in the last chapter 18 of this book.

### **C) Land struggles – my experiences:**

We had seen the depth of land hunger among the majority of rural population in the rural Telangana where feudalism and landlordism were powerful. The landlords tried their best to escape from the land ceiling act through misrepresentations and manipulation of records. They even refused to surrender

their surplus lands and approached courts of law on baseless grounds. They had the audacity to grab the government lands, denying the assignment rights to the landless poor. The district kisan sabha and the CPI unearthed hundreds of such cases and had lent its full moral, legal and even physical support to the landless dalits and tenants wherever they had come forward to occupy such lands. The state governments irrespective of whoever was the Chief Minister, or Minister concerned almost invariably stood by the highhandedness of the landlords. Congress leaders would openly support the landlords and the corrupt officials. In a number of villages, tenants and landless dalits, had come forward to occupy the government lands meant for assignment in favour of the landless. Their request was that some leader with political influence and recognition should physically stand by them only to ward off the police intervention at the instance of the local landlord or his henchmen. They politely requested me to personally plough the land handling the first plough to be followed by others. I had no hesitation in accepting the suggestion coming from the rural poor whose upliftment was my first concern and dear to my heart. I had led such land occupation movements and few experiences from selected villages require special mention in this context.

**Boinapalli Village:** This village was the head quarter of revenue circle in Sircilla taluq and is now the head quarter of mandal. There were hundreds of acres of Bancharai lands in that village. All of them were fertile with B.C. soil. Over and above the reserved area for grazing purpose, over a hundred acres were readily available for the assignment to the landless dalits. The powerful landlord, a congress leader himself acted as a watch dog to prevent the repeated efforts of the dalits to occupy such lands. I had gone there accompanied by a few local leaders. As planned, thirty to forty ploughs were kept ready. I took charge of the first plough, followed by a few dozens of young dalits who desired to teach a lesson to the local landlord. An hour after, when we must have occupied over ten acres of land, about a dozen of police personnel led by the local SI and CI approached us and asked us to discontinue the operation occupation. I had flatly refused to accept their proposal stating that they had no business to meddle with a peaceful programme, led by me an elected representative of the people. Hundreds of poor dalits and other landless poor, men and women got emboldened with my warning to the police officers. I asked them to produce the warrant of arrest if any. The CI and SI of police left the place only to consult the local landlord. Our land occupation work did continue unabated. An hour later the same police officers approached me to arrest me and about 20 others in accordance with the order of the DSP stationed at Sircilla. We were taken to the Vemulawada Police station. I was thrown in to a small and dark cell while my colleagues were put in a separate room. I had to bring to the notice of the CI the fact that an elected MLA could not be arrested without the prior permission of the speaker of the assembly. They had no reply. The elders of Vemulawada town and my admirers had strongly pleaded with the CI and SI to immediately release me since my assistance

to the landless poor was quite justified. However, late in the night I was released from the cell on personal bonds. This incident had its impact on the growing consciousness of the people and exposed the shameless intervention of the local police who had only served the evil design of a local landlord whose only aim was to deprive the poor of their legitimate right to own the land. This incident, while enhancing my personal prestige, had redoubled my determination to fight against such cruel landlords.

**Nampalli Village:** This village is nearby Vemulawada and was a very strong base for the Kisan movement with efficient leaders like Jadala Ramaiah and Gummi Pullaiah and others. There was a large area known as Bancharai land and the corrupt revenue officers practically refused to execute the government order for assignment. There was no one to obstruct our occupation. A good number of landless poor holding high the red flags had received me and followed me with a number of ploughs to occupy the land. We occupied as much land as was possible on that day and the rest was occupied by the local people themselves without any hindrance from any quarter. The police and revenue officers kept mum and the necessary paper work for the assignment of the occupied land was completed within a few days. This experience highlights the necessity of the emergence of a committed local leadership, capable of boldly leading the people.

**Eglaspuram Village:** This experience of land occupation is quite interesting. This village is in Konaraopet Mandal of the previous Sircilla Taluq. The problem was peculiar. The village is surrounded by hills with reserve forests. The kisans very badly required some land within the reserve forest for carrying on the post harvest operations. The forest officers flatly refused to concede their demand. The ryots of the village, inspired by the land occupation call given by the kisan sabha, decided to occupy about a hundred acres of forest land only if my personal presence on the spot was ensured. I had readily agreed to do my part. On a day myself holding the first plough followed by over fifty ploughs participated in the operation. Neither police nor any forest officer dared to come in our way. But within a few days cases under the forest act and other penal provisions were foisted against me and about a dozen ryots of the village. We were arrested and lodged in Karimnagar district jail. When we were produced before the Munsif Magistrate of Sircilla we had refused bails. As such we were kept in Karimnagar jail for a few weeks with frequent visits to Sircilla court. Every time we would reach Sircilla court with handcuffs, local men and women particularly the handloom weavers would express their agony and anguish at the government's cruelty in arresting their elected representative whose only crime was to help occupy a forest land, having no forest, worth the name, and which was badly needed by the ryots. I had a good time in Karimnagar District jail where I had enough leisure to educate and enlighten my colleagues about the determination to fight for one's legitimate demands. I must remember late Patakala Poshetty and Kotaiah along with

others who remained loyal to the party and me personally. The police and the forest department had lost their case against us for want of adequate evidence and we were ultimately acquitted. I was only sorry that the then Secretary of the district party could not find time to visit us in jail at least once in a few weeks. I could understand his weakness. I was happy, my arrest, jail life, and repeated parades in Siricilla with handcuffs had unleashed a wave of sympathy in favour of the Kisan sabha and the CPI. Selfless struggle for truthful cause rouses the people's consciousness which is an essential element behind the sustenance of any democracy. I am satisfied I could do my bit for this socio-economic democracy.



*Participation in the movement of occupation of Government land in Eglaspur In Konaraopet Mandal*

Kisan Sabha, all over the state could succeed in occupying 5-6 lakh acres of fertile land and get it distributed among the landless poor. The landless poor who were benefitted by this struggle, still happily recall the pitched battles and the leaders who had led them. I am proud of my people but for whose affectionate political support I could not have earned the public position I occupy today.

#### D) Argumentative Communism

The ideological and political differences in the Communist movement of the whole world continued in the decade of sixties weakening its uniting and striking power. In India these differences got multiplied with Chinese aggression on India. The mass organizations of workers, peasants, students and intellectuals which had carved out a unique and prestigious position for their popularity among all sections of patriots got badly divided and had lost their mobilizing

and striking capacity. Each and every effort for their unification and rejuvenation by all well meaning persons had failed. CPI had argued that the national development was possible with peaceful transition through a non capitalist path of development while the CPI(M) vehemently countered this view by its argument that any development in the country could be possible only after a violent over throw of the government led by the big bourgeoisie. The determination of the class nature of the central government itself, was a big bone of contention. Left sectarians viewed that the central government had already crossed over to world imperialism. It was questioned by the moderates. Sectarians asserted that the socialist revolution was on the agenda since Com. Lenin had categorically stated that the world was under the grip of imperialism and hence the socialist revolutions were the need of the time. The sectarians had the cheek to argue that the inter imperialists contradiction had reached a stage of no return when the third world war would be launched any moment and the duty of the communist parties was to effectively prepare themselves to convert such inter imperialist wars into people's wars to liberate the entire world from the scourge of imperialism once and for all. The moderates and the rationalists could not at all stomach such a subjective analysis of the world situation and had strongly opposed such an understanding. The twentieth party congress of the USSR under the leadership of Com. Krushchev was dubbed as a rank opportunism on the part of Kruschev who had condemned Stalinism as the worst kind of dictatorship. The democrats all over the world and some Marxists had welcomed the resolutions of the twentieth party congress as the victory for democracy. Such was the height of the ideological controversy within the Communist movement and India was no exception to it.

Even after two decades of the demise of 'socialism' in Russia and the east European countries, and the shining examples of reorientations and reforms with exceptional results in China and Vietnam, the Communist and left parties in India are either refusing to or hesitating for any thorough self criticism to radically reorientate their ideological and political lines, which is bound to prove very costly for their existence. The experiences of the European, African and the Latin American communist parties are pointing out the need for a serious re-examination of the old understanding and creative implementation of the science of Marxism. Marxism as the most modern social science for social advance has proved its capacity to understand the world, ie., different societies of the people at different stages of their evolution. It does not offer any uniform and ready made instrumentality for change, on the other hand its analysis of the concrete conditions of life of the common people of a particular society with particular production relations enables the dynamic social leaders to think creatively about the particular strategies and tactics to be adopted to change the existing social order or evolve into a higher and better relations of production through united and class conscious movements. Determination of the stage of social evolution, gauging the level of social consciousness of the suffering people is, in the main, the object of historical materialism.

Unification of the suffering people against exploitation and united struggles for the amelioration of the conditions of their life is a tested universal law of social development under Marxism. Existence of classes with contradictory interests and their resolution through struggles is the principled position of dialectics for social progress. Mechanical application of the universal principles and decide the strategies and tactics, notwithstanding the level of social development and social consciousness of a given society is sheer dogmatism leading to liquidation of social movement. This has been my humble experience. I am very much interested to study the literature on the revisited Marxism. Marxism as a social science will be ever green as any other science, requiring open mindedness with perfect sense of adaptability in a changing society. As the great thinker Karl Marx himself had stated that "the philosophers of the world had interpreted the world, however the need was to change it". He had closely studied the capitalist system in its early stages and had propounded the theories of surplus value produced by the working class, exploitation of labour by the capital, the crisis of over production and the ultimate end of the capitalist order and the emergence of a socialist order, finally leading to communism. The experiences after Marx had established the correctness of Marx's methodology in understanding the societies and their stages of evolutions but had not offered a fool proof prescription to change the world, laws of change, evolution of societies, resolution of contradictions through revolutions are very much real and require to be skilfully applied to change a specific society.

#### **E) Girijan movements under Congress rule**

The rise of Girijan movement since 1967-68 under the leadership of the CPI(ML) and its sustenance is the most welcome development. All the parties and groups responsible for this awakening and action deserve compliments. As a legislator I had the rare opportunity to tour Sreekakulam district and study the conditions of life of the Girijans. To be brief, I can say that the Girijans were subjected to the worst kind of socio-economic exploitation by the landlord class aided and abetted by the hired anti social elements. Their poverty and social exploitation was far worse than the Telangana peasantry which had made history by its bold resistance to the princedom of the worst kind. It was and still is the primary duty of all left and democratic forces to leave no stone unturned in building up the movement of Girijans. The state and the central congress governments had badly failed to implement the laws on land reforms and to protect the rights of Girijans. The landlords with the help of the corrupt officialdom had successfully managed to escape from the operation of such laws and dragged poor villagers and Girijans into endless litigations. Poor villagers were forced to fight their cases at the level of the Supreme Court. It is gratifying to note that along with the left extremists, the cadres of both CPI and CPI(M) rendered their services in protecting the possession of the hapless poor Girijans on their lands. I had the opportunity to reflect the woes of such Girijans on the floor of the house. I should remember with due respect the

services rendered by the leader of the CPI late Dasari Nagabhushana Rao.

The congress, under the Chief Ministership of late Sri J.Vengala Rao tried to suppress the Girijan movement resorting to the worst kind of tortures and fake encounters. The elected government could not realize the fact that the Girijans rose in revolt only to protect their legitimate rights guaranteed by the constitution and the laws of the land. Over two lakhs of the sons of the soil living in about 500 villages were subjected to inhuman atrocities. I tried my best to convince the Congress ministers including the Chief Minister to see the truth of human exploitation and take effective steps to implement the land laws in the interests of the girijans and the rural poor. The congress philosophy of “ Sarvodaya ” “ Antyodaya ” and “ Gram Swaraj ” are only meant to mislead the suffering people and assist the decadent landlords and feudals to continue their inhuman exploitation as long as possible. The uprising in Srikakulam was tarnished as the terrorism which was engineered by the left extremists. Any sane human being with commonsense could easily unearth the fact that the protection of human rights was the motive force behind the struggle. It was most unfortunate to find even some democrats had distanced themselves from such an uprising. Had the left and democratic parties and groups forged their unity and continued to lead it to the logical end, the picture of the area would have been far more better. Narrow partisan approach, ideological dogmatism, exclusivism had been the worst road blocs in the way of uniting the broadest sections of the political forces for the redressal of the grievances of the suffering people. Fanaticism is the worst enemy of democracy, and this is the costly lesson taught by history.

### i) Wranglings for power politics:

In the year 1970, the Indian National Congress had vertically split in to two, one commonly known as syndicate congress, the other as Indira Congress. Swatantra Party and Jansangh had come closer to syndicate congress led by the seasoned rightist leader of the Indian national congress, late Sri Morarji Desai. This split appeared like a division between the conservative and moderate political forces. As a matter of fact there existed certain irreconcilable socio-political differences of approach on a number of questions of policy. Swatantra party, known for its closeness with feudalism and princedom, Jansangh, well known for its Hindu revivalism had appreciated the politics of Sri Morarji Desai, an incorrigible rightist and anti communist having no progressive social outlook. As the saying goes birds of same feathers flock together, conservatives, revivalists and anti communists, had joined together. Men with modern capitalist outlook, broadly supporting democracy and equality, young in age as also supportive to the socialist camp led by the USSR; briefly Nehruites had made their presence felt under the leadership of late Smt.Indira Gandhi in Indira Congress. The differences were more on wielding political power rather than on the policies and programmes to be pursued for the socio economic development of the people at large.

Communist parties, both the CPI and CPI(M) in their blind anti congressism had arrived at a hasty conclusion of making common cause with the syndicate congress as against the Indira Congress. A nationwide campaign was conducted with conclaves as their platform. The executive of the AP council of the CPI, after due deliberations had come to the conclusion that it was politically wrong to sail with the syndicate congress and on the other hand it would be correct to utilize their differences in promoting the mass movements. The national leadership had come heavily on the AP leadership for debating on a question which was exclusively in the domain of the central leadership. Myself and late Com.Giri Prasad the then State Secretary of AP were shocked with the central intervention. As usual, I had to adjust myself with the situation, and continue my difference of opinion within party. Both the congress parties published their 10 point programmes. They even resorted to rouse the caste and communal sentiments to secure their political bases. Communist parties, while keeping intact their differences tried to fight against Indira Congress from the platforms of conclaves. The experience had not justified their political strategy. Yet they found no time to have any self criticism and draw appropriate lessons.

**Nationalization of Banks and land reforms:** Smt. Indira Gandhi decided to nationalize 14 banks with an avowed aim to provide resources for the growth of small scale industries which would open up and expand employment opportunities to the jobless poor. She also enacted the land reforms acts to remove the concentration of the agricultural land and provide land to the tiller. The experience of a few months itself had disproved her contention behind bank nationalization and the land reforms along with other steps. The acts contained a number of loop holes through which the landlords and the money lenders could easily escape. Telangana area had its own experience of determined struggles against landlordism and the implementation of land legislations in favour of the tillers. No where in the country except in West Bengal and Kerala, where the communists had ruled, the land ceiling Acts were sincerely implemented. The same is the case with the nationalization of 14 banks. These banks under the control of the Reserve Bank of India had been serving the interests of the big capitalists and big merchants while small and cottage industries were left to the tender mercies of the money lenders. The bitter experiences of the last over three decades have proved beyond doubt that the split in the national congress and the realignment of political forces in to two warring camps, was only for securing the political space in the states and centre. The problems of the poor, the rural poor in particular still stare at the faces of all democrats and socialists. Much of the valuable time had been wasted in entertaining false illusions, trials and errors.

### **New Agenda in 1972:**

My work as a legislator from Sircilla convinced me and my party colleagues that my victory in 1972 general elections would be a foregone conclusion. People at large had the same expectation. I had contested and was defeated at

the hands of the same J.Narsinaga Rao whom I had defeated in 1967. This unexpected result, had surprised a good number of my colleagues and admirers. I had to console them explaining them the way some people behave. As an elected representative I could serve my constituents to the best of my capacity and conviction and they would remain loyal to my party and me personally. At the same time, a section of the people with the help of a few middle men would approach me seeking my help to bail them out of certain problems which were the results of their own illegal or immoral deeds. At such times, my practice would be to desist from rendering any assistance to them and on the other hand I would counsel them to rectify themselves. This is the social responsibility cast upon any sane citizen and much more so on an elected representative. A good leader has to learn from the people but at the same time he has to teach the people. That is how society grows from a lower level to a higher level. People disappointed with such behaviours of a leader, more particularly the people who make such a practice as their profession, seriously work overtime to defeat the leader whose rational behaviour they do not relish. Political opponents take advantage of such situation and extend help to ensure their own victory. Such have been my repeated experiences. I was elected from Sircilla constituency five times and was defeated four times from the same constituency during the period of five decades. Excepting Sri J.Narsinga Rao no body who had contested against me and had defeated me was elected for the second time. I had the proud privilege of winning the peoples' support for five times. I had come across the voters who requested me for pardoning them for their mistake in not voting in my favour. Elections, under parliamentary democracy have a necessary procedure to be followed by all the contestants sportively. An incident of some interest is worth mentioning.

This was in 1972 when my contestant and the winning candidate Sri J.Narsinga Rao had been to the Assembly. Incidentally I had also gone to the Assembly premises with the purpose to hand over books to the librarian. Both of us met and had some pleasant exchanges. Meanwhile late Sri Kakani Venkata Ratnam an Ex. Minister, seeing me had approached me closer, and asked "who is that fellow who had defeated you; your absence in the assembly is being badly felt"? I had laughed and pointed my finger towards J.Narsinga Rao. Realising his hasty remarks, Kakani had joined us in our laugh. He then had complimented me for maintaining so cordial relations with one who, only recently had defeated me. This is all a part and parcel of life under democracy. Excepting the interests of the society, the people, no other interest should have any place in public life. Sportive attitudes will solve friendly contradictions and promote healthy democracy.

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## **8. SEVENTIETH DECADE OF TWENTIETH CENTURY— MY EXPERIENCES**

Events of national significance and international importance took place in this decade.

**Vietnam's Liberation:** Indo China(Vietnam) was liberated. It was a French colony for over a century. During the second world war it was occupied by the Japanese fascists. With the defeat of German Nazism and Japanese fascism, the allies had divided Korea and Indo China into north and south, when north was under the administrative control of the USSR and the south was left to America. The understanding among the allies was to reunite these divided parts after a period of 5 to 10 years when all the vestiges of the defeated enemy were totally removed. But the united states of America had repeatedly rejected the USSR formula of reunification and continued to rule the southern areas of Korea and Indo China with the help of its army. Northern parts of Korea and Indo China were evacuated by the USSR army handing over their administrations to the elected peoples' representatives. Naturally the local communist parties were entrusted with the political power, Dr.Hochiminh being the tallest leader of the northern part of Indo China was elected as the head of the state. The French imperialists, flouting the old agreement wanted to reoccupy the north Vietnam with American support. This was vehemently resisted by the people of Indo China. US had openly supported the French by sending its armies with the most modern armaments. World communists and the democratic forces had lent their unstinted support to the fighting people of Vietnam(north Indo China) and finally the US had to stage a retreat. CPI had built a very big movement in support of the people of north Vietnam. I, along with other comrades was very much in the picture by organizing and delivering a number of speeches against the French and American imperialism. America, the so called democratic country, continued its most illegal war of aggression on the north Vietnam for over thirty years. North Vietnam's liberation was also followed by the unity of both the Northern and southern parts restoring back the old Indo China. Presently it is in the camp of socialist countries and friendly with every democratic state of the world. Korea still remains divided into north and south Koreas, north ruled by the communists and the south by a pro-American party. The liberation of Indo China and its unification, impacted my political life giving a sense of personal victory. The emergence of independent Indonesia, Chinese revolution, and other democratic transformations in South east Asia except the Myanmar(Burma) had an equally strong impact on my political life and carrier.

**Emergence of an independent Bangladesh:** At the time of India's partition, present Bangladesh was the eastern wing of Pakistan, known as East Pakistan.

The mother tongue was Bengali language for all the people born in Bengal irrespective of the religion they belong to. The then Pakistan government had imposed Urdu as the official language and introduced Urdu as the medium of instruction right from the primary stage. This imposition of Urdu was opposed by the people whose mother tongue was and is Bengali. A big movement demanding Bangla language as the medium of instruction was launched which had culminated into a national movement demanding the separation of East Pakistan from the west and the creation of the state of Bangladesh; named after their mother tongue. Sheik Mujeebur Rahman emerged as the tallest leader of this historic movement which had united people belonging to all religions. Pakistan government had decided to put down such a movement. A national movement, with mother tongue ‘Bangla’ as the cementing force could not be suppressed. People of the east Pakistan had shown their grit and had boldly continued their war of another independence. The Indian government led by the then Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi had extended its full support to the fighting people of east Pakistan. Indian army had entered the scene and helped the fighting people who had won the battle with flying colours. It was a movement for freedom in the real sense of the term. With the retreat of Pakistani forces, general elections were held in east Pakistan when Sheik Mujeeburrahman was elected as the President of the New born Bangladesh state. He had obtained over 95 percent of the votes cast, beating the world record. Nevertheless the new state of Bangladesh could not undertake any socio economic reform and the people at large remain as poor as they were, despite being very rich in natural resources. Bengali Muslims do respect Urdu as their religious language next only to Arabic language. I had repeatedly witnessed their abundant affection to Urdu language. During my underground days, when I had to stay with the families of seamen, who happened to be Muslims, I was repeatedly requested by the housemates to talk in Urdu language which was highly appreciated by them. However the imposition of Urdu language at the cost of their mother tongue ‘Bangla’ was intolerable for them. Struggle for mother tongue was successfully concluded into the emergence of an independent state of Bangladesh.

**Declaration of national emergency in 1975:** Smt. Indira Gandhi the then Prime Minister of India, faced with a challenge to her personal leadership thanks to the split inside the national congress and with a calculated design to putdown the surging political opposition, to her leadership, had imposed national emergency in the year 1975. As a result thousands of cadres and leaders of the opposition parties were arrested and kept behind bars. Freedom of press was denied and hundreds of dailies and weeklies were either closed down or their pages were blacked out. Smt. Indira Gandhi, justifying her authoritarian and most undemocratic action alleged that leaders like Morarji Desai, Jai Prakash Narayan and the political parties like Janata Party and the Communist Party of India(Marxist) had conspired against her government to

establish a rightist and even a fascist government in India; and therefore she had to impose the national emergency as a preemptive action to protect democracy. Communist party of India alone supported such an action on the part of the Prime Minister. I could not swallow such a bitter pill. I had contacted the leadership both at the state and central level and was only told to wait and see. The CPI, though extended its support to the emergency, was in total confusion. I had taken my own decision to conduct padayatra in my Siricilla constituency and educate the people to be prepared to face the probable attacks by the fascist forces. I was surprised to hear the questions from the people whether the British imperialists had decided to reconquer our motherland. I evaded to answer such questions and appealed people to strengthen their unity to protect freedom and democracy. It was only adherence to party line. I visited the Warangal central jail to meet my own youngest brother Ch. Vidyasagara Rao, an advocate and BJP activist and late Com. Bodepoodi Venkateswara Rao, a leader of the CPI(M) and my good friend. The CPI had committed the greatest blunder by supporting an act of suppression of democracy by a semi feudal, authoritarian, power monger lady Prime Minister. Party and the mass organizations led by it got isolated from all the well meaning sections of people. My dialogue with my venerable and elderly leader late Sri Gautu Lachanna was very interesting. I met Lachanna escorted by the police in the corridors of NIMS hospital where I went for a routine checkup. An outspoken leader, Lachanna, in an angry tone, questioned me “what is the cause behind the CPIs support to the national emergency declared by the Prime Minister” whether fascism was knocking at the door of free India”? “Are we fascists?” I was dumb founded, unable to reply to his questions. I was rather overtaken by a sense of guilty conscience. “How are you? How is your health?” I questioned him. A laughing Lachanna had taunted me “unable to answer my questions you are diverting the issue” he said. Such were the searching questions put by not one but by thousands of middle class people. The CPI lost its credibility heavily. Failure to analyze the facts independently through a patient and collective discussion, blindly accepting the directions coming from above leader or a group of leaders was bound to derail the entire party machinery. Absence of inner party democracy and prevalence of commandism was the order of the day. Decades old practice of blind submission to the line of Comintern, Cominform, in the name of socialist centralism had sapped the objectivity and creativity of the party’s leadership. It is not an accident that the party of the poor, wedded to social revolution, with 85 years long history of service and sacrifices, was rendered hapless or impotent and was not able to attract even. 3 percent of voters in a vast country. The whole history of the CPI provides the strong and unrebuttable evidence of misunderstandings and miscalculations. Party had signally failed to appreciate the national significance of the non cooperation movement of the twenties, the civil disobedience movement of thirties, the quit India movement of the forties,

the achievement of political freedom on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947, the proclamation of a sovereign republican constitution on 26<sup>th</sup> January 1950 in the last century. The party had blindly accepted the so called Leninist thesis, that it was a period of all round political crisis of imperialism when the third world war and the consequent socialist revolutions could become inevitable. It was a falsehood engineered by the worst sectarians like Stalin.

Not-withstanding a number of ideological and political mistakes and despite their stunted growth communists in India continue to be respected and lauded for their personal honesty and sincerity in public life. The saga of their sacrifices before and after freedom continued. The great martyrdom of Shaheed Bhagat Singh, the historic Chittagong armory raid and the great Tebhaga movement in Bengal, the punapra vailar land struggle in Kerala, the great Telangana armed struggle, to quote a few outstanding and unmatched movements will go a long way in establishing the unquestionable revolutionary commitment and the zeal of the communists. Barring a few individual cases of corruption, the communists in India had been and are still setting the shining examples in public life through modesty, simplicity and incorruptibility. Such a good character certificate will enhance the credence and acceptability of individuals which is very much lacking today. The requirement today, however is the scientific application of the science of Marxism, its historic materialism to the present day conditions of India for its sustained inclusive growth under conditions of world scientific and technological revolution and the resultant globalization. Such an evolution of a broad policy and programme of action based on the principle of the maximum unity on a minimum programme brooks no delay. Political democracy is being recklessly misused by the unholy combine of greedy politicians and the wooden headed bureaucracy. Nation cannot afford to waste any more of its precious time and the need of the hour is to unite, mobilize the people at large to call a halt to the present day deteriorating values in public life and instead, set up popular regimes in the states and centre to make political democracy a powerful weapon to establish democratic socialism.

Coming back to the national emergency of 1975, it was a blot on Indian democracy when the Indian constitution was amended by the 42<sup>nd</sup> amendment act only to suppress democracy and the freedom granted by the very same constitution. Mid night of June 26<sup>th</sup> of 1975 will go in the annals of Indian political history as the black day when the government of India under the stewardship of Madam Gandhi had tried to turn the clock of history back to despotism. Leaders of Congress(O), Jan Sangh, Socialist party and the CPI(M) were rounded up and thrown behind bars. The arrest of Jai Prakash Narayan, a true Gandhian was condemned by one and all. Freedom of press was scuttled. This was followed by the removal of all the state governments which were inimical to the Prime Ministers' authoritarian rule. Even the parliament of the country was done away with.

Public opinion under democracy could not be throttled for long. All the opposition parties forged their unity keeping aside their political differences, and forced the central election commission to hold general elections. General Elections were held and the Janata Party with its allies had bounced to power under the leadership of Morarji Desai and Jaya Prakash Narayan. Indira Gandhi was trounced. The absence of a common minimum programme and the negative electoral verdict against the tyranny of emergency in the back drop of the Indian psyche new government could not sustain its victory. Individualism and egotism of the leaders, fanaticism of certain political parties had played their liquidationist role. Janata government consisting of the leaders of different political formations had concentrated its whole attention on taking cutgels against the Ex.Prime Minister India Gandhi by repeating all the undemocratic and high handed methods, which were disliked by the common people, men and women. Very soon fissures erupted inside the Janata conglomeration leading to splits after splits. Thus within a couple of years the whole political space was again restored back to the very leader whom the people of the country had dislodged from power. BJP and different parties of Janata Dal had emerged out of the suicidal crisis in the Janata Party.

CPI realized, though very late, its mistake in extending support to the emergency. In its self critical report, it had accepted its underestimation of the damage caused to Indian democracy by the emergency and had accepted its failure to appreciate the views of a number of party leaders and followers. The dark period of emergency and the darker period of janata rule assumed a critical chapter in the post independent India's political history. All said and done the role of the people suffering from a variety of economic and social problems was side lined and the role of individual politicians, mad after power and pelf was highlighted beyond proportions. This whole period according to my observation had obstructed the on-ward march of Indian democracy and 'peoples' movement for social justice.

### **The cyclone in Andhra Pradesh:**

The cyclone which had badly hit the coastal belt of Krishna district in Andhra had caused incalculable damage in terms of human lives and property. 2300 villages inhabited by 70 lakhs of people suffered from this unprecedeted natural calamity. Along with the rest of the A.P. the whole country expressed utmost sympathy to the bereaved families and extended material help liberally to rehabilitate the uprooted families. Over 1200 lives of men and women including children were lost in this nature's fury. According to moderate estimates property worth over a thousand crore was lost. All the state governments and central government, apart from hundreds of native and foreign NGOs had come forward to rescue the hapless families. It was agreed on all hands that the construction of high quality shelters with reasonable heights along the sea shore was the only dependable solution to face the wrath of the tidal waves. I had

the opportunity to serve the unfortunate humanity along with a spate of Kisan Sabha activists. It was an unforgettable scene of all going together in the service of the most unfortunate people. Communist party cadres did their best in competition with a lot of congressmen. We had come to know that in the same place in the year 1864 the tidal waves had claimed over 34000 lives. Human efforts on war footing to protect the villagers all along the sea coast, from such natural calamities brooks no delay.

## **Jai Andhra Movement**

A very big movement for the separation of the old Andhra districts from the state of Andhra Pradesh and to revive Andhra state shook the AP in the early year of the seventieth decade(1972). It was known as the Jai Andhra Movement. On a closer scrutiny we find two reasons for the sudden eruption of this unexpected movement. It was a period when the separate Telangana movement got subsided thanks to the firm action taken by the central government. However the Mulki rule affecting the government services which was struck down by the AP, High court was upheld as fully constitutional by the Apex Court in 1972. The Supreme Court validated its retrospective application. Such a strong verdict of the S.C had left no way out for all these thousands of non Mulkies, who occupied the posts of the Mulkies, ie., the Telangana people. Another development had added fuel to the fire. Central government framed a new agricultural land ceiling Act and the states were directed to adopt and implement it. AP adopted and implemented such a law twice which was implemented in the Telangana area more seriously thanks to the organized Kisan movement. This time the then Chief Minister of AP late Sri P.V had initiated steps to effectively apply this law in the interest of the landless people. The powerful landlord lobby of the Andhra area took it as a challenge and pledged to defeat any effort on the part of the state government to execute such a land legislation. Both the issues, the legalisation of the Mulki rules and the implementation of the agricultural land ceiling legislation irked the elite and the land lord class in Andhra area to rouse a revolt against the government of Sri P.V. Narasimha Rao. The Jai Andhra movement was engineered on a wide scale when thousands of people were arrested and the government had come to a stand still. Indira Gandhi the iron lady was forced to accept the demands of the people of the Andhra Area. Mulki rules were abolished through a constitutional amendment. The Prime Minister had announced a new formula, known as the six point formula, where by the Telangana regional committee was replaced by the three regional boards, future employment opportunities between Andhra and Telangana were directed to be in the ratio of 2:1. The political turmoil forced the then Chief Minister Sri P.V to resign on 10-1-1973. President rule was clamped on the state from 10-1-1973 to 10-12-1973. Late Sri Jalagam Vengala Rao was appointed as the Chief Minister, who had led the government for four years and four months till the end of the term of the fifth Assembly. The six point formula

which was evolved to satisfy the Jai Andhra movement was honoured only in its breach. Never was a single point implemented to assuage the pent up feeling of the people of Telangana. This subject will be dealt with elaborately in the last chapter of this book.

Late Sri Jalagam Vengala Rao's period was under-scored for his efforts at putting down the left extremist movement in Sreekakulam district. Unlike P.V, he was not a highly educated pundit. He was the production of the grass root level congress party full of common sense with the capacity for quick decision. Thanks to his pragmatic approach, he had succeeded in promoting some dynamism in the sagging administration. His experiences as an able ZP Chairman of Khammam district stood him in good stead. He continued to develop Khammam district without giving any chance to any body to criticize him as being partial to his own district. His out look about the left extremism was very peculiar. He had a strong belief in putting down such a movement with iron hand. My own experience with him was that he had no idea about the crucial relationship between socio economic conditions and their impact on social violence. However he had the determination to pull on successfully which he had done. An instance will elucidate his frankness. Party had decided to field its senior leader late Sri Neelam Raja Sekhara Reddy as its candidate for the ensuing Rajya Sabha election. CPI did not have enough number of legislators and it required the surplus votes of the congress party. As the leader of the CPI's group of legislators I was entrusted with the responsibility of this management. Accordingly I rang up the Hon'ble CM and asked for an interview with him. A shrewd son of the soil had sensed my purpose to meet him and had replied to me on phone: "You are welcome to meet me any time you feel convenient but you need not meet me on the subject of our surplus votes for Rajya Sabha elections. We will never cast our votes in favour of Communist candidate". Such was his anti communist out look. We dropped our idea.

**Allendy's Murder:** I will be failing in my duty if I do not remember a good social reformer who was brutally murdered by the reactionary imperialist forces with the connivance of the CIA. Allendy had been elected as the president of Chili state. He had the finest ideas of transforming the political democracy into socio-economic democracy. His brief tenure earned for him a very big name and fame. Myself, always in search of a leader capable of bringing a peaceful revolution in the socio economic systems, had developed in me an abundant appreciation of Allendy. To my utter surprise and dismay, I had to find in a morning paper that Mr.Allendy was brutally murdered by the reactionary forces in league with CIA. The democrats all over the world condemned this dastardly incident. Imperialist forces feared the rise of a red star over the horizon of Latin America. Reactionaries of all hues had conspired to close the chapter of any peaceful transformation to socialism. Such were the bitter experiences of the period of cold war.

Sixth Assembly elections were held in 1978. This time late Dr.M.Chenna Reddy led the congress team of ministers for two years and sever months. He was replaced by late Sri Tangutoory Anjaiah whose tenure of Chief Ministership lasted for only a year and four months when late Bhavanam Venkataram and Kotla Vijayabhaskara Reddy had ruled as Chief Ministers, consecutively for a period of only four months. This phenomenon of the most undemocratic irrational change of leadership speaks volumes about the central congress dictatorship over the state leadership. No principle worth the name but the likes and dislikes of the centre ruled the roost giving a good-bye to the constitutional democracy. Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru followed by the great Gandhian late Lal Bhahadur Shastry were the first and the last Prime Ministers who had scrupulously followed the constitutional mandate. Even Punditji had fallen a prey to authoritarianism, when he had dislodged the democratically elected communist government headed by the great social thinker EMS Namboodripad. I am a living witness to this endless authoritarianism of the congress party at the centre. Four Chief Ministers in five years, with dozens of Minister and a frequent change of portfolios of the ministers coupled with the reshuffling of the Secretaries at the behest of ministers presented a very bad governance. People at large were at a loss to know the reasons behind such an anarchy. All the above four Chief Ministers who were very friendly with me had expressed their utmost dislike and disappointment at the way the central leadership had sought to manage the state governments. Corruption at the top had been institutionalized. Nothing short of an over-hauling the party system through a thorough democratization at all levels would help change in the fast deterioration of political values in public life.

I had contested from Karimnagar parliamentary constituency in 1977 supported by the then national opposition, but in vain. The Telangana wave helped my good friend Sri M.Satyanarayana Rao to win the seat. Next year ie., 1978 I contested from Sircilla and had won the seat. Apart from being a candidate of the CPI, as also my own personal contact with the constituency, division inside congress had helped my victory. This was my third term out of a total of six terms as legislator. The state government as we saw had no stability. No progressive policy worth the name was implemented. As the leader of an opposition party I had ample time to utilize the floor of the house to sharply criticize the self centred power mongering, policies of the ruling congress. Newly elected members of the house irrespective of their party links would often approach me to learn about the intricacies of the parliamentary democracy. I had the pleasure to help them winning their friendship. A good number of my admirers who had got their promotions as MPs or Ministers often called on me to pay their respects which gave me immense pleasure.

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*AP Leaders of the CPI with the founder of the Communist Party of India late Sri Ameer Hyder Khan*



*With late Giri Prasad and Ramakotaya in Moscow*



*With late Sri Pula Subbaiah, Secretary of A.P. Kisan Sabha*



*With late Sri Nallamala Giri Prasad and late Sri Tammareddy Satyanarayana, State Secretaries of the A.P. State CPI great Sri Chennamaneni on the occasion of his sixtieth birth anniversary at his residence*

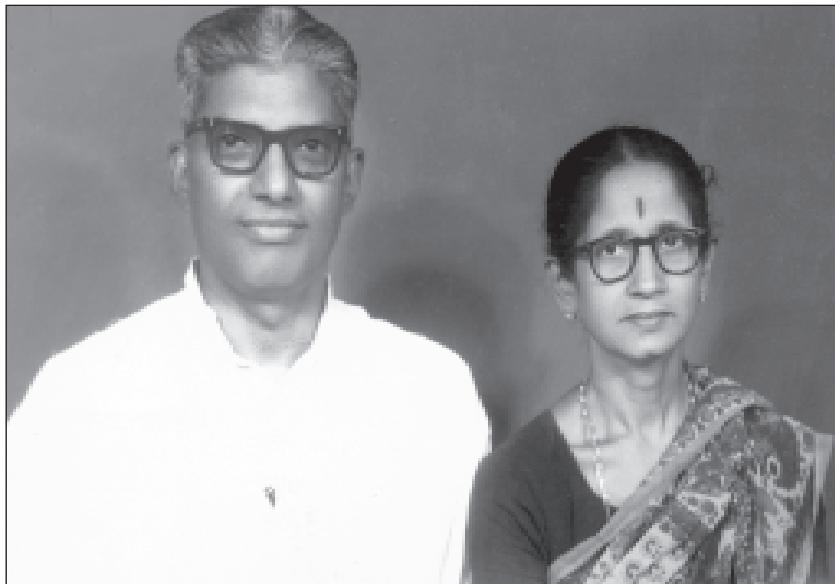
## 9. MYSELF AND MY FAMILY

I had already dealt with some of my family members occasionally. Now I propose to give the total but brief picture of our large family. I must remember my family elders who blessed me from the bottom of their heart. My autobiography pins me down to pen in brief about the families of my own sisters and brothers, but for whose affectionate cooperation my life would have been a failure. It would be in the fitness of things to talk about my own four children and their families. Lastly I am duty bound to bring to lime light my grand children and great grand children who will carry forward the legacy of the Chennamaneni family which has made a mark in a circle of the contemporary society.

**1) Homage to my parents:** I am happy to pay my and my family's affectionate tributes to my late parents Chennamaneni Srinivasa Rao and Smt.Chenammaneni Chandramma with a sense of pride for having lived up to their fond hopes and expectations. Let me record with due respect the words of my dear friend Sree K.Rosaiah Ex.Chief Minister of AP releasing this autobiography(Satyashodhana – in Telugu) which are “let the souls of the couple, who had given birth to such gems rest in eternal peace”. Father was well known for his liberalism, truthfulness, and the values like “courage of conviction”, “boldness”, “fearlessness”, “honesty”, “straight forwardness”, the spirit of “forgive and forget” and “humanism” which were his oft quoted words. He was very much interested in making agriculture, a dependable source of livelihood for one and all. He was the pioneer in the then innovative practices of using oil engines, fertilizers, pesticides and good seeds. He had lost his good health because of over work in hot sun and tensions, ultimately succumbing to an uncontrollable blood pressure at the age of only 69 years!

Mother Chennamaneni Chandramma was an embodiment of love and care. She left no stone unturned in nursing and bringing up her seven daughters and four sons. Her extraordinary capacity to manage things enabled her to successfully surmount each and every problem under the circumstances of growing needs with limited resources. She was an asset to our father. She had lived with my family till her end at the age of 86 years. My youngest brother Ch.Vidyasagar Rao had set up “the Chennamaneni Chandramma Memorial Trust” to help promote many a social activity. Her sweet memories are a source of strength for over a hundred families consisting of her children, grand children, great grand children, etc.

I must pay my homage to my uncle late Sri Chennamaneni Laxma Rao, a learned man and the only younger brother of our father. His wife Smt. Satyamma our aunty had a special knack of teaching manners to the children, through her exemplary personal behaviour. They had two sons by name Ch.Muralidhara Rao, Ch.Narsinga Rao and a daughter by name Vimala, who



*The author with his wife Smt. Latiha Devi*

are all now no more. I am happy to meet and see their children who have grown up and live as part and parcel of our large families. My eldest sister late Smt.Buchakka was our step sister, born to the first wife of our father, late Smt. Hanumakka of the Gaurneni family in Vemulawada. The end of the first world war in 1914-18 was followed by a contagious influenza taking a toll of lakhs of lives all over the country. In a single village of Vemulawada hundreds of men and women lost their lives and Smt. Hanumakka the first wife our father was one such unfortunate victims. Our father with a purpose to rescue the Gourneni family which had no male issue had arranged for an illatam(adoption) of late Sri Ram Gopla Rao, S/o. Joginapalli Hanumantha Rao of Manuwada village, giving in marriage his own sister-in-law late Smt.Mangamma. Father himself had married(second time) Smt.Chandramma the only daughter of Joginapalli Hanumantha Rao of Manuwada and the only sister of late Sri Gaurneni Ram Gopal Rao and brothers. This, in brief, is the back ground behind our late Buchchakka and our family, interestingly enough, Lalita my wife, happens to be the eldest among the three girls and four boys born to late Gaurneni Ram Gopal Rao and late Smt.Gaurneni Mangamma.

**2) My brothers and sisters:** The eldest sister late Smt.Buchchakka, referred to above, was like a mother for all of us. Her husband Sri Sirikonda Ranga Rao, hailing from a land lord family of Musakhanpetta village of our Sircilla taluq was a friend of the people. Himself, along with his eldest brother late S.Soorya Rao and younger brother late S.Rama Rao had actively participated in the movement for freedom from the British imperialism and its lackey the Nizam of Hyderabad. The eldest son of Sri Soorya Rao named Sri S.Balakishan Rao Garu elder to me by about two years, had actively participated in the

freedom movement. Sister Buchchmma and Ranga Rao garu had three sons and two daughters, namely 1) Late Sri S.Raghupathi Rao, 2) S.Kamalakara Rao 3) S.Prabhakara Rao and late Smt.Andalu and Smt.Vijaya. S.Raghupathi Rao an agriculturist did not live long and his premature death had caused incalculable loss to his family. Sri S.Kamalakar Rao, retired as an agricultural officer of the state continues to help the voluntary organizations which promote agriculture. Sri S.Prabhakar Rao very active in promoting private educational institution in Karimnagar, is very popular as friend in need. Smt. Andalu, a symbol of affection, died recently. Her daughters and grand children are all leading lives with contentment and happiness.. Smt.Vijaya the younger daughter is an industrious lady, found always work-minded. Her husband Sri Ayodhya Rama Rao is a leading educationist running the prestigious Vidya Niketan Institutions in Karimnagar proper. The second daughter to our father and the first daughter to my mother, my second sister late Smt.Satyamma was extra-ordinarily genius. She had the guts to assert the equal rights for women. Her husband late Sri Polkampalli Venkata Rama Rao was a well known advocate in Karimnagar, besides being the district president of Andhra Maha Sabha. I had already mentioned in a previous chapter that I had the fortune of spending my school days living with him and my sister. Sister Satyakka was very dear to me and I recollect the very sad days in my life when my brother-in-law had to leave the world without seeing free India which was his dream and also the day when my dear sister had breathed her last suffering from the deadly disease, cancer. Their off springs Sri P.Deenavan Rao(Son) and Smt.J.Nirmala(Daughter) rose up very well. Sri P.Deenavan Rao's family, with their three sons and a daughter are very happy; while Smt.J.Nirmala died recently suffering from Asthma. Her husband J.Rajeswara Rao had retired as an R&B S.E. Their son P.Ramana Rao and two daughters Anuradha and Anila are hale and happy with their beautiful children.

I was the second issue to my mother and next to me was late Joginapalli Lalitamma. Her husband late Sri J.Hanumanta Rao hailed from Narsingapuram village in Boinapalli Mandalam, now a part of Choppadandi constituency. Late Sri J.Hanumantha Rao Garu and my sister lalitamma, along with their brothers late Sri J.Narayana Rao and late Sri J.Venkata Rao were most popular landlords of the village, popular for their close movement with every section of the population. The couple had three sons and two daughters namely, late Sri J.Rajeswara Rao(my own first son-in-law), Sri J.Prem Sagar Ro, J.Raveender Rao and Smt.Anasooya and Smt.Sulochana. Smt Anasooya's husband late Sri Ch.Satyanarayana Rao was my admirer and did his best for my success in each and every election. The couple have a son by name Sri Ch.Venu and a daughter by name Smt.Jyoti who are all well settled. Sulochana's hauband Sri Marthanda Rao was a senior class one contractor with good name. Their son Sri Ch.Ramu is continuing his father's profession with credit. Dr.Janaki is the only daughter of Smt.Sulochana and late Sri Marthanda Rao. She has set up her clinic in the city and is rendering good service to the patients. Her learned husband Sri



*The inaugural ceremony of the house “Sreenivasa” in the MLA Colony, at Banjara Hills, along with mother Chandramma, the eldest and youngest sisters Smt.Buchamma and Smt. P.Sreedevi can be seen*

B.Vinod Kumar is the eldest son of our younger sister Suguna about whom I will write later.

The eldest son of my sister Lalitamma, late Sri J.Rajeswara Rao was my eldest son-in-law married to my eldest daughter Smt.Aruna on 13-5-1966 when I was practising law in Karimnagar court. The couple has two daughters by name Smt.Sreelata and Sreelekha. Both the daughters, are well settled in USA along with their husbands Sri M.Dayakara Rao and Sri R.Venkateswara Rao respectively. Unfortunately my eldest son-in-law late Sri J.Rajeswara Rao became a victim to the deadly disease cancer and left this world at an early age. Her second son Mr. J. Premsagar Rao, his wife Smt. Swarna have two children, Kavita and J. Aditya who are well settled in Hyderabad. Her third son Mr. J. Ravinder Rao, his wife Shailaja have only a daughter Smt. Tejaswini, settled down in USA.

Next to late Smt.Lalitamma was Smt.Yasodamma whose high intelligence

always attracted the family from her young age. But it was cut short by her premature death due to diarrhoea in the year 1945. Dr.Ch.Hanumantha Rao was born after late Yashodamma, I have already commented about my close association with him in our public life and his own academic services as an exceptional agricultural economist in the country, decorated with Padma Bhushan Award by the Government of India. He stands as the tallest in our large family, in every sphere. He is now settled down in Hyderabad with his wife Smt. Krishna Kumari.

Smt.K.Ratnamma follows Ch.Hanumantha Rao in sequence. Her husband late Sri K.Venkata Rao hailed from Malyala village nearby Siddipet in Medak district. Mr.Venkat Rao, though a landlord of the village was loved by one and all thanks to his simplicity and helping nature. Ratnamma has continued the lofty tradition laid down by her late husband and is liked by the people of her village as well as her own family.

Smt.C.Pushpalath follows Smt.K.Ratnamma. She was married to Sri C.Kamalaker Rao, an advocate in Karikmnagar. Sri C.Kamalakara Rao who had started his career as a good teacher had settled down finally as an advocate. Frankness and fearlessness are his inimitable attributes which pay good dividends to his neat and clean character. This couple has three daughters Shoba, Padma and Arundathi. All of them, are learned, hard working, and well settled in life. It gives me utmost pleasure to visit their families as great grand father to attend the ceremonies pertaining to their grand children. Dignity of labour is the motto followed by them, their husbands and children, and I am happy about it.

Late Smt.Suguna was our sister last but one. Her name befitting her personality. She is married to Sri B.Muralidhara Rao, a revenue officer in Warangal district who is well known for his mannerism. Suguna emerged as a successful house wife. The couple have two sons and a daughter. Sri B.Vinod Kumar an efficient advocate in Warangal had earned a special place in public life as a leftist intellectual. He was elected as a member of parliament representing Hanmakonda. Presently he is a member of the polit bureau of the Telangana Rashtra Samithi and is its leading light. B.Sreenivas Rao the second son has established himself as a top class businessman, running a number of commercial institutions. His mindset to help all those who help themselves, pleases me a lot. A number of our own relatives who other wise would have to suffer for want of employment are now happy in life by dint of their hard work and for this. B.Sreenivas Rao deserves special compliments. Shailaja, the only daughter of late Suguna is very hard working and unassuming. It was one of the calamities faced by our family that her husband, an engineer had breathed his last at a very young age leaving behind a son and his widow. It is her boldness and her belief in hard work that is sustaining her in her lonely life.

The youngest of our seven sisters Smt.P.Sreedevi had the advantage of serving our father when he was on his death-bed. Old age requires a painstaking personal attendance and service. Apart from our loyal servant Mudam Chandrayya

(Rajayya) it was Sreedevi who had lent her helping hand to our father and mother. I had the privilege to arrange and conduct her marriage with late P.Navaneetha Rao a senior employee of the Hyderabad city civil court. Late Sri Navaneetha Rao had earned very good name for his incorruptibility and duty mindedness. They have two sons and a daughter. P.Sreenivas Rao, the eldest son settled in Hyderabad city as an honest businessman while the second son Sreenath has settled in USA doing a commendable job. Both of them have children who are being brought up under the protective umbrella of Sreedevi, their grand mother. Her daughter Sandhya had entered the court service during the lifetime of her father and she is now a senior court officer. She has a daughter prosecuting her advanced technical education in the states while her son is successfully going through his school education.

Ch.Venkateswara Rao and Ch.Vidyasagar Rao are both younger to Sreedevi, and Vidyasagar Rao happened to be the last one to our parents. Age wise myself and Hanumantha Rao are close with a difference of six year; while Ch.Venkateswara Rao and Vidyasagar Rao are nearer with a difference of four years. As such Ch.Venkateswara Rao and Ch.Vidyasagar Rao are younger to me by 18 years and 22 years respectively. After my release from jail in the year 1952, when I was in charge of CPI district committee, I had to settle down in Karimnagar, taking care of the education of my sisters and brothers. Father was there to provide with all facilities. I discovered a private school run by Sri Nagabhooshana Rao an RSS man who would pay his personal attention to the students' education. His emphasis on imparting the Indian cultural values to students attracted me much and I had entrusted him with my two younger brothers, for completing their primary education, which he had done successfully. There after their high school and college education went on very well thanks to their hard work and concentration on their studies. Ch.Venkateswara Rao after his graduation struggled for settling down in some service. He could not succeed despite his best efforts since his health did not permit him to undertake long tours and restless work. He took to agriculture but could not succeed. He worked with me in the Kisan Sabha and the CPI, giving me a lot of relief and had earned for himself a good name as an able organizer with pleasing manners. His wife late Padma was an active member of our large family. Unfortunately she had to end her life as a cancer patient at an early age. The couple has two sons by name Ch.Sreenivasa Rao and Ch.Sreekumar. Sreenivas is now well settled as an electrical contractor working inside and out side the state while Sreekumar is more interested in social work. Presently he is an elected member of Zilla Parishat representing our home mandal Konaraopet. Mr. Ch. Srinivasa Rao and his late wife Rama have only son, Ch. Sudheerchandra a student of Engineering College. Mr. Ch. Srikumar and his wife Smt. Harini have a son Likith and a daughter Sreenika both of school going age. I wish them all the best. Ch.Vidyasagar Rao, the youngest of our family, occupied a high post as the central minister of state for Home affairs. He had emerged as the state leader of the BJP and was elected to the Metpalli constituency for

three terms consecutively and then was twice elected to the parliament from the Karimnagar constituency. I still recollect the bad time when he was seriously injured in the Osmania University campus in a scuffle with the extremist student wing. He had completed his law and practised in Karimnagar as a noted criminal lawyer. He suffered jail life under the conditions of the national emergency declared by the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Later during his parliamentary life he rendered commendable services to his constituents initiating a number of rural development programmes. His efforts in the establishment of "the Chandramma Memorial Trust" and executing through it some projects are very commendable. His wife Smt. Vinoda is the third daughter of my friend and colleague late Chennadi Satyanarayana Rao of Korem Village in my constituency. Late Sri Satyanarayana Rao and his brother Sri Chennadi Hanumantha Rao earned a good name for their progressive agriculture and laudable social life. Vidyasagar Rao and Vinoda have two sons and a daughter. They are Mr. Ch. Vivek, Ch. Vinaya and Ch. Vikas. Vivek and his wife Charita with their two children; and Smt. Vinaya with her husband Dr. Sreedhar and their two children have settled down in USA. Dr. Ch. Vikas with his wife Dr. Deepa has settled down in Karimnagar. This, in brief, is the bird's eye view of our large family. As the elder, I had enjoyed the hearty cooperation, the highest regard, above all the best of mutual understanding in steering the chariot of the joint family despite many odds and hurdles. I sincerely remember late Sri Mudam Chandrayya, a resident of Marupaka, who served our family and our father in particular, through out his life. He richly deserves tributes on behalf of all of us.



*Good Number of the large family gathered on the occasion of marriage of the youngest brother Ch. Vidyasagar Rao with Vinoda*

**Myself and my children:** Myself and my wife Smt.Lalita have already spent sixty seven(67) years of married life happily with mutual understanding and cooperation. Three daughters and a son constitute our property and treasure. I have already dealt with them briefly on the relevant occasions. Presently, I propose to go little deeper.

Aruna, our eldest daughter, now 64 years old had a chequered life thanks to the most unpredictable and critical life we had passed through, during the days of our struggle for freedom and the integration of the erstwhile state of Hyderabad with Indian union. She had to suffer at an age when children deserve complete freedom of action. It was an inevitability and was not our mistake. However she had her school and college education and completed her graduation without wasting any time. She was married to late Sri J.Rajeswara Rao, the eldest son of my late sister Lalita. The couple have two daughters Sreelatha and Sreelekha who succeeded in acquiring good education and enlightenment. Sreelatha's hard work in running a standard private school in Hyderabad, then settling down in USA along with her noble husband Sri Dayakara Rao, a software engineer never forgetting the work culture, gives me utmost satisfaction. The couple have two daughters Sreya and Sneha who are crossing their school education. Sreya desires to become a medical doctor and she deserves our blessings.

Aruna's second daughter Sreelekha is equally fast in working and learning. She married Sri R.Venkateswara Rao a hard working software engineer who has settled down in the states. They have two sons, Akshit and Anvit who are gifted with creative thinking and restless work habit, which are rare qualities required for the youngsters to reach the enormous heights. Aruna appeared dejected in life after the premature demise of her life partner, but fortunately her daughters and sons-in-law had successfully filled up the void created by nature. She is now leading a life with contentment amidst her hard working family and upcoming grand children. She visits states every six months and then comes back to take care of us. Her life is an example as her worldly worries could be successfully over come with a determination to face them boldly.

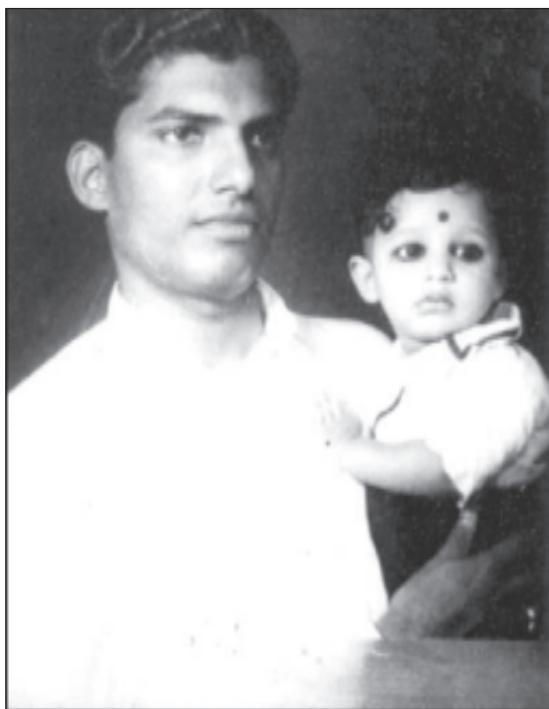
V. Kalpana, our second daughter, born under the most difficult conditions of our underground life, had little chance to spend her childhood as freely as one could expect. She had to stop her education at the high school level. She married Sri V.Rammohan Rao, an electrical graduate hailing from Kollapur area in Mahaboobnagar District on 5-5-1971. She, with her aptitude for innovations, occupied a special place of respectability in her large family as an ideal house wife. Sri Ram Mohan Rao, now retired as the SE is spending his time in a voluntary organization meant for rural development in his native district. The couple have a daughter namely Kavita and son Kiran. Both of them, acquiring post graduate level education have settled down in the states along with their educated spouses. Kavita and Mr.Venu have two children; son Asheesh and daughter Ashrita. Kiran and Swapna have a son Armith. We are happy to see the upcoming children without any problem.



*Golden Jubilee of marriage with daughters and grandson Sushanth*

Ch.Prabhavathi our third daughter made a mark in her carrier as a Homeopathy doctor scaling up step by step as a government homeo physician, research in-charge and finally the Additional Director of AYUSH. I must, in this connection, remember my colleague and freedom fighter, who was the health minister late Sri Kodati Rajamallu who had taken personal interest in providing employment to Prabhavathi. Dr.Prabhavathi, as the head of the research department published valuable papers and books, appreciated by the state government. We are proud of this. She had retired from her service recently. Prabhavathi was married to Sri G.Sudharaka Rao a contractor by profession. As the own brother of Lalita, he is very much part and parcel of our family. The couple have two sons; Milith Kumar and Sushanth. Milith completed his graduation in engineering and had married Krishna, a post graduate in software engineering. It was an inter-caste marriage. They liked and loved each other as students in London. On their request parents of both had arranged the marriage. Strengthening of Indian nationalism, so badly required today, demands the overcoming of the caste divisions and the inter-caste marriages are the powerful means of abolishing the caste system which is eating into the vitals of India's hoary composite culture. Initial teething troubles apart, inter-caste marriages, particularly love marriages are most welcome. I congratulate the young couple and offer my best wishes, and good luck. Sushant, a post graduate software engineer completed his education in the states. Well settled in the states he recently married Sruti a software graduate from our own area and relationship. Both of them after their marriage on 13-03-2011 have left for the states. Dr.Prabhavathi who is always with us, cares for our health and shares our problems, if any and acts as our defacto guardian.

Our fourth child Dr.Ramesh was born on 3-2-1956. Unlike Aruna and Kalpana who were born under conditions of an insecure life, Prabhavathi and Ramesh took their birth under conditions of total freedom, which enabled them to enjoy their childhood life. I was elected to the A.P state Legislative Assembly within a year ie., 1957. My legislative innings started and I had to skilfully combine my political leadership with the legislative duties along with the family responsibilities as the head of a large family. New situation and newer opportunities gave me enough courage to steer clear with self confidence. Along with my brothers and sisters my own children took their queue in the prosecution of their studies with limited resources at our disposal. Ramesh, started his primary education in Karimnagar, continued it in Hyderabad, where he completed his intermediate course from the New Science College.



*With young son Ramesh Chennamaneni, MLA*

Those were the days when the socialist camp of countries consisting of the USSR and the East European countries, as part of their international duties, had a policy to encourage the families world over who had devoted their full time to further the cause of communism and the popular movements for freedom and democracy, by extending their help in the form of providing free education to anyone of such family. The Communist Party of India offered me such an opportunity. Ramesh with his first class intermediate certificate was ready to utilize this rare opportunity. Accordingly he was allotted to the then

East Germany where he was admitted in the college of Lipzig city. He had learnt the German language in 1977. He completed his graduation and post graduation studies in agricultural science, by 1983, and did his doctorate in 1987. As a meritorious student, Dr.Ramesh Chennamaneni was appointed as a lecturer in the same Humboldt University in the year 1988. This university is famous and prestigious where Karl Marx had prosecuted his studies. Very soon he was promoted as the assistant professor. The historic events of the nineties which had led to the demise of socialist system in USSR and the East European countries, had unified the east and west Germany. This historic event had only strengthened the bonds between two Germanies by integrating their politico-economic systems. East Germany known for its backwardness is now comparatively well developed as an integral part of the world's highly developed country ie., Germany.



*Dr. Ramesh with parents in Berlin (Germany)*

Conditions of cold war between the socialist camp led by the USSR and the capitalist camp led by the USA, had made transport and communications very difficult. A letter from Ramesh in Berlin would reach us weeks after its dispatch. There existed a family in Berlin city which was very friendly with Indian students and was very much impressed by the humane Indian culture, the ex-students from India passed on this information to Ramesh. Ramesh and his colleagues would ordinarily visit this family whenever they happened to go to Berlin from their college in Lipzig. Ramesh had made his visits more frequent. Frederich Welge and Margaret Welge are the husband and wife who served in the local church as its father and librarian. They had two daughters Catharina and Maria and a son, Earns, an engineer. Smt.Catharina a Ph.D in

theology had married an advocate Mr.Babiet son of a freedom fighter, hailing from Vietnam. Second daughter Maria was studying in a school of physiotherapy. All of them, very well educated were committed to religious brotherhood and social justice and had developed cordial relationship with Ramesh.

On a weekend day, Ramesh, on his return journey from Berlin, in his effort to catch the train had slipped on the ice ladden railway platform and had a big fall breaking his hip bone. He lost his consciousness. Police had rushed to the scene and found out the telephone number of the Welge family from his diary. Very soon the whole family had arrived and made arrangements to shift Ramesh to the hospital. After some time, regaining his consciousness, in the hospital, suffering from an unbearable pain, he saw the kind family that had come to his rescue. His lips had uttered the words ‘A-mm-a’, and Margaret Welge responded with her kind touch. After a major operation and a few weeks of rest in the hospital, he was shifted to the house of Welges where he stayed till he totally recovered.

This ghastly incident came to my notice only after six months of its occurrence through Com.Tammareddy Satyanarayana, the state Secretary of the CPI who consoled me and had asked me not to reveal it to others. I could not control my agony and grief and passed many a sleepless night in not knowing what to do. Ultimately I became bold not to reveal it to any body even to Lalita. I had successfully adjusted myself with the situation by suppressing the truth, keeping in dark even the mother of an unfortunate son, except thanking the Welge family and the doctors attending on him, I had no alternative before me. I had the opportunity to frequently obtain the progress report of my son’s health through the Indian delegations which happened to visit Berlin during that period.

I had twice undertaken visits to the USSR and the East European countries including East Germany as a member or leader of the Kisan Delegations. Another opportunity appeared to materialise soon. The Central Kisan Council(CKC) meeting was held at Delhi and the last item on the agenda was to select a delegation to visit East Germany. Hope of seeing my son at least after about an year, of his survival had given me a sigh of relief. When the item on the agenda was taken up, colleagues of the Central Kisan Council proposed my name casually. I took the opportunity to talk to the AIKS General Secretary, venerable Indradeep Sinha and told him about my personal interest to be the member of the proposed delegation. He agreed with me and finalized the delegation under my leadership. However the name of a lady member was left undecided. Again my personal interest prompted me to try to include Lalita as a lady member. I had broached the proposal with our leader Com.Sinha. A sympathetic Com.Sinha placed before me the two problems. One was to provide a satisfactory answer to a probable question of selecting my wife, avoiding senior women leaders which may appear odd; another, if at all I insist

on her accompanying me, I must be able to bear the expenses for her travel. I had preferred the second alternative. But I had neither ready cash of five to six thousand to book her ticket, nor I had any bank balance to make adjustments. It was late in the night at Delhi. I rang up to advocate friends at Karimnagar from the Central Party office. One was Mr.G.Mohan Rao, my own eldest brother-in-law and the second Mr.M.Hanumantha Rao, my admirer and well-wisher. I requested them to help me by arranging the needed amount by the evening of the next day through the Telegraphic money order. They readily consented to my request. Next day evening, the Central Party Office Secretary at Delhi, approached me with a broad smile and told me that the office had received the amount and Lalita's ticket was ready. It again proved "friend in need is a friend in deed".

Two days passed and we were in Berlin. As the member of the National Council of the CPI, myself and my delegation, according to protocol had warm reception at the air port and were lodged in 24<sup>th</sup> floor of the prestigious hotel at Berlin. I was perplexed, was in sixes and sevens, about my revelation to Lalita the truth of the fatal accident suffered by Ramesh about a year after and the reasons therefor.

The Welge family along with Ramesh reached our hotel offering us their warm greetings. A few minutes after, seeing Lalita I had asked her "you have seen our Ramesh, how is he?" "what happened to him, he is quite hale and healthy" the innocent mother in Lalita exclaimed. Thus started the conversation covering the accident and the development thereafter. Lalita could not control her agony and tears of anguish and joy of ultimate rebirth of her son rolled out of her eyes. Expression of her profuse thanks to the Welge family moved me and we had the rare opportunity to witness the idealism, humanism and internationalism all in one 'socialism'. Lalita got herself reconciled with the reality and never did she question me for keeping the matter a secret. She has the capacity to understand the problems faced by me. All is well that ends well.

We had successfully completed our visit to various agricultural cooperatives knowing the secret of success of the mutual aid cooperatives, where the members have complete freedom to produce and market their products with the minimum support of the government. The cooperative laws in our country sap the creative initiative of the primary members and instead provide every opportunity to the government to meddle with the liberty of the cooperatives to act freely and independently. Let us deal with the subject in another chapter.

A few weeks after our return from Berlin I received a telephone call from Ramesh. He asked for our consent to marry Maria whom he had loved and their mutual love affair was warmly blessed by the Welges. I reported the matter to Lalita standing by my side. She expressed her immense happiness at the development and we had given our consent with a sense of honour to the Welge family.

Ramesh was married to Maria on 11-05-1988, in a Church following the rituals of the Church. The invitations for their marriage were sent to all of our families in India. We received photos of the celebrations. We, on our part arranged a reception party at Hotel Ashoka in Hyderabad when the couple arrived first in India some time later.



*Mr. and Mrs.Chennamaneni with son Dr. Ramesh, daughter-in-law Maria and Grandsons Arun and Lalit in Berlin(Germany)*

Ramesh's family life in Berlin is very harmonious and prosperous as he was promoted as a professor in the Humboldt University and Maria was appointed as a doctor in physiotherapy. As symbols of their pure love and happiness a boy was born on 18-05-1989 named Arun. The second boy was born on 16-12-90 and he is named Lalit. Third child a baby girl was born on 03-09-1996 named Sangeetha. We had repeated occasions to visit their family in Germany. They, along with the revered Welges visited our country on the occasion of the celebration of my 75<sup>th</sup> birth day. Ramesh and Maria with their kids visited us a number of times and we look forward to their visit again in the coming holidays this year.

I had my legislative innings for complete thirty years beginning from 1957 till 2009, with alternate intervals. Considering my age I did not contest in the 2009 elections. The reorganized Vemulawada constituency, by and large remains the old Sircilla constituency except Sircilla town and mandal, and with two new mandals namely Kathalapur and Medipalli added to it. Ramesh had expressed his readiness to contest, not as a successor to me, but as a legitimate candidate with over a decade history of serving the area through the activities of rural development valuing over 40 to 50 crores of rupees involving the government



*Chennamaneni with Ramesh's inlaws Mr.Frederich Welge and Mrs.Margaret Welge also a grandson in Berlin(Germany)*

of AP and the Government of Germany. Ramesh was honoured by the electorate with its clear verdict. The political developments in Andrha Pradesh after 2009 elections had forced him to resign from the TDP and his membership from the Assembly. A few months after, in the by-elections, he had emerged with flying colours as one who had sacrificed his Assembly membership, adhering strictly to the promises made to the electorate. Further developments in this regard will be discussed in the last chapter.

**My message to youngsters:** You must have followed, in brief the facts about our large family. I have presented it as short as possible with due selection of facts on priority. I could not pay adequate personal attention to the family because of my pre occupation with the public service underground and jail life. It was a trying and testing time for me to reconcile the family and political responsibilities and my family had extended the best of cooperation, by plain living and high thinking. At this ripe age I am happy with my services to my mother land. I am happy I have a wide constituency of admirers and followers. The large family consisting of a number of grand children and great grand children is an asset, a treasure of my love of life. May I say a few words of advice; you are at a stage to build your own personalities to make your and your societies' future as bright as possible. Awake, act, and stop not till your goal is achieved. This message of Swami Vivekananda should be your motto in life. Never get tired. Life, full of problems, conflicts and contradictions frightens the beginners. Your knowledge and your capacity to analyse them in the light of rich experiences and lessons taught by history and culture, will empower you to surmount each and every problem, acquiring maximum good

with minimum amount of sacrifice. Devote your life to do the maximum good to the maximum number of people. Individualism personal ego, and money mindedness are the things of the past. Social mind set and collective life are the most modern traits of good life. India with her 54 crore strong youth of an average age of 25 years is the richest in the skilled manpower. Given its hoary culture, full of human values, our mother land is set to emerge as number one in the comity of nations within a few decades from now. Your future is bright. Social mindset, total devotion and hard work to reach the lofty ideals via values is the message I reiterate.



*On the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of his marriage. From left to right: Smt. Vinoda Vidyasagar Rao, sister Pushpalatha, sister Sreedevi, sister's daughter Nirmala and Smt. Sreedevi Deenavan Rao.*



*Freedom Fighter late Smt. Brij Rani Gaur's felicitations to Mr. and Mrs. Rajeshwara Rao on the occasion of his "Sashti Poorti"*

**Maternal uncles:** The role of my maternal uncles has been significant and worth recording. Late Sarva Sree Gaurneni Ram Gopal Rao, Joginapalli Venkata Rao, and Joginapalli Ananda Rao were three brothers. My mother late Smt.Chennamaneni Chandramma the eldest of all was their only sister. As already mentioned my personal life was much closer to all of them.

**Gaurineni Family:** Late Sri Garurineni Rama Gopal Rao, being the father of Lalita is my father-in-law. Late Smt Gaurineni Mangamma his wife was a noble lady with an inexhaustible power of tolerance. Sri Ram Gopal Rao as already referred to had been adopted by this family. He was worldly wise and had the habit of helping all those who needed it. He earned his own respectable position and place in the growing Vemulawada town, himself remaining above politics, including village politics. He had three daughters and four sons. Despite his busy schedule, he paid his maximum attention to bring up and educate his children. I had the privilege, as his eldest son-in-law, to be benefitted by his public relations. In every general election, he did his best to help me win the seat without getting subjected to any adverse criticism from the opposition however strong it might be. He had a special knack of doing right things at right time in a right manner. He was very friendly with late Baddam Yella Reddy and Singireddy Bhoopathi Reddy, the leading lights of Andrha Maha Sabha during the days of struggle against the Nizam's government. Smt.Gourineni Mangamma, my mother-in-law had the rare quality of tolerance and hard work. Their first son Sri G.Mohan Rao, is a leading lawyer at Karimnagar. His younger brothers G.Prabhakara Rao, G.Sudhakara Rao and G.Kamalakara Rao have settled well in their respective avocations. Sri G.Mohan Rao's wife Smt.Chandramati is a house wife doing full justice to her pretty big family. Their elder son G.Ramana Rao, a computer engineer with his wife Anita are well settled in life. Second son Dr.G.Rajeswara Rao with his wife Dr.Hema are medical practitioners settled abroad rendering their laudable services. Daughter, Smt.Padma and her husband Madhusudhana Rao, a senior Civil Engineer are very well settled in Karimnagar. Padma is credited with giving birth to two daughters and a son in a single delivery. All the three are now grownup and educated. Sre G.Prabhakara Rao the second brother and his wife Swarajya Lakshmi are famous for their tireless services and we all enjoy their free services. Sri G.Prabhakara Rao has two daughters namely Harita and Harini. Harita's husband Sri Ravi is a business man with a lot of experience while Harinis husband Mr.Sreekumar, my own brother Ch.Venkateswara Rao's son has interest in public life and presently he is the ZP member from Konaraopet mandal.Third brother Sri G.Sudhakara Rao is my third son-in-law, doing his business as a contractor. The fourth one Sri G.Kamalakara Rao, is very familiar and friend of all. His wife Uma and his only daughter Deepthi are his assets.

A few words about the three daughters of the Gaurineni family would be relevant. The eldest daughter Smt.Chennamaneni Lalita requires no introduction as she is my life partner sharing my problems. Next to her Smt.J.Radhamma is



*Chennamaneni with his great, grand daughter Sreya*

a renowned teacher who has retired from her service. Her affectionate behavioural pattern has earned for her a special place in our family circle. Her husband Mr.J.Madhusudhana Rao is a freedom fighter. More than as an advocate of the Karimnagar bar he is known for his frankness in public life. We are together working in the Karimnagar district freedom fighters trust. As chairman of the trust I very much appreciated his devotion to the trust as its managing trustee. Smt.Radhamma and Madhusudhana Rao have two daughters highly educated scientists, namely Shailaja and Padmaja. Shailaja married Sri Govind Rao son of my admirable friend; while Padmaja married Mr.Satyaranaya, a scientist. Both the families, well educated are well settled in USA, with their up coming children. The youngest sister-in-law Smt.Shobha and her husband Sri P.Bhaskara Rao are almost equal in their age with my own brothers and sisters. Their closeness speaks volumes about it. They have a son and two daughters. Ravi Prasad is well settled in Hyderabad doing business. Elder daughter Rajani and her husband Laxman Rao are running educational institutions creditably. Second daughter Renuka and her husband Sri Srinivasa Rao too settled in Hyderabad doing good business. This large family of Gaurineni origin is the closest and dearest to our family and we hardly miss a single member from each and every social or family function.

Gaurineni family's history will remain incomplete without reference to late Smt.Narsamma who served that family throughout her life and every single member of that family is deeply indebted to her. Myself and my wife Lalita should pay our respectful homage to her sweet memory in my autobiography. Also we owe our gratitude to late Narala Pochetty whose services we had enjoyed for decades together.

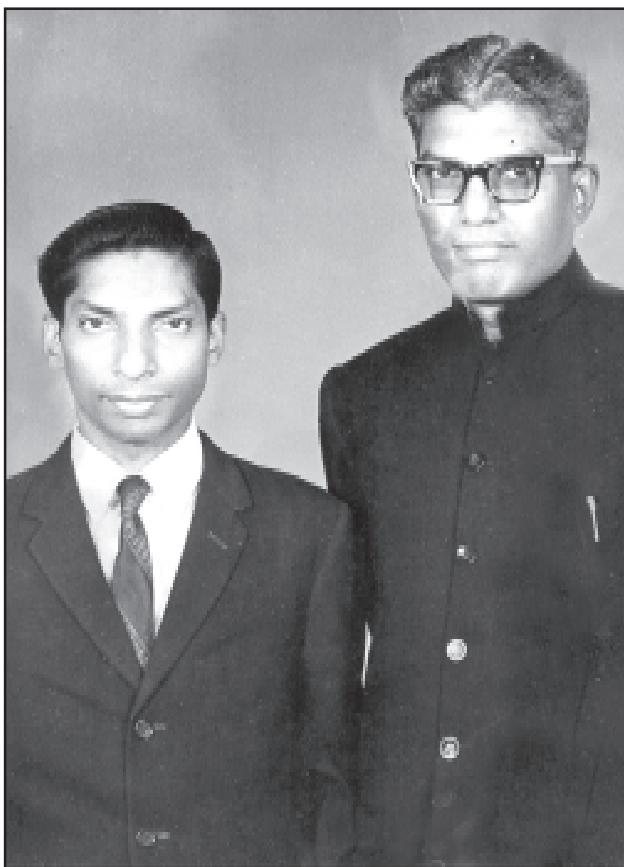


*With brothers Dr.Ch.Hanumantha Rao, Ch.Venkateswara Rao and  
Ch.Vidyasagar Rao*

My second maternal uncle late Sri Joginapalli Venkata Rao of Manuwada village was a bundle of love and affection. His wife late J.Anantamma, a model house wife was a source of inspiration to her children. The couple has two sons and four daughters. Smt. T. Sharada, Swarajyalaxmi, Uma and Indira, daughters; and Mr. J. Srinivasa Rao and J. Sudhakar Rao, sons. All of them are the integral part of our large family. The youngest uncle late Sri J.Ananda Rao was my colleague, both in education and public life, already referred to. His wife Radhamma Lalita's close friend, stood as an example of womanhood in her exemplary service to her husband, particularly during the long period of his sickness. They have daughter Smt.Vinoda and son Sri J.Hanumantha Rao. Smt.Vinoda's industrious and noble husband Vara Prasada Rao hails from a landlord family of Hazipur in Adilabad district. Vara Prasada Rao's late mother born in Manuwada Joginapalli family Smt Buchchamma was an embodiment of love. They are now settled in Hyderabad, with their children and grand children working in India and abroad. J.Hanumantha Rao serving in a private firm, and Laxmi his wife have the only daughter by name Tanivi. She is a post graduate computer engineer employed in the states. Family life becomes sweet when the members sincerely exchange their affection most dispassionately and disinterestedly. This helps promotion of perfect mutual understanding which in

turn might help solution of each others problems if any. Exploitation of family trust for ulterior motives will prove fatal and even lead to the breaking of families. Hope this experience is very common. Society is the combination of families. Happy families alone make a happy society. Social capital, consisting of the good will of the society is the real human capital un comparable with the finance capital or material richness which is perishable. Leaders and social workers with social capital to fall back upon, alone will succeed in their public life. This is my humble view. To complete my reference to my family, I am obliged to pay my affectionate tribute to my cousin sister late Vasundhara of Rudrangi village in Vemulawada constituency. She was a popular lady sarpanch of the village serving her people most sincerely with or without power. Known as Akkamma she was literally loved by one and all. She has two daughters and two sons who are all well settled.

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*With brother Ch. Hanumantha Rao*

## **10. SIRCILLA A POLITICAL TREASURE HOUSE (1978-1985)**

### **A) Handloom Industry**

I had come into contact with the handloom and beedi workers having their own problems after the first general elections in 1952 when I took charge of organizing the CPI in Karimnagar District. It was an eye opener for me when I had personally and closely observed the appalling living conditions of the poorest of the poor in our country. Reading in books about the social exploitations making the poor poorer is one thing, but seeing is the real believing. Limitless work with only a limited wage is the essence of the exploitation of handloom weavers. These workers were brought under organizations, first and foremost by the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), in cities like Bombay, Sholapur, Ahmednagar and Bheemandi, where thousands of Telangana workers got enlightened about the trade unionism and collective bargaining to get more wages and social facilities. Thousands of such families in Sircilla town, with their abundant loyalty to the AITUC and its red flag had inspired me and enabled me to see the truth about the real poverty and the resultant way of life. It was a very strong political force in Sircilla.



*A procession on the occasion of electoral victory in Sircilla in 1967*

Thousands of handloom weavers from rural areas had been visiting the big cities for employment. They had the opportunity to unite and fight for their rights. This enlightenment coupled with the Marxist education of resistance to the capitalist exploitations of labour, had trained and steeled them in the art of organization and the organized struggles. Unions sponsored by the exploiters did their best to split and divide the working class but had failed in all their

attempts. The overwhelming majority of the handloom weavers hail from the Padmashali caste or community and almost all of their employers also happened to belong to the same caste but had followed the ruling party congress, only to safeguard their vested interests.

Thousands of workers as also a number of mill owners belonging to different villages in Siricilla taluk, had developed an idea to promote the handloom industry in Siricilla to avoid frequent visits to distant towns of other states. Siricilla, then a prosperous village with a lot of facilities, attracted them and the master weavers and their money lenders who had concentrated their efforts on this venture. Early in the twentieth century, slowly but steadily the handloom weavers, spread all over Karimnagar District found it easier to work and earn in Siricilla.

Sircilla was the seat of the government administrations run by the Sir Desais, who were entrusted with the collection of land revenue from the cultivators for the Nizam's state. They were empowered to run the administration with the help of their private machinery and the private force. Present Shantinagar of Siricilla was the head quarters of the force under Sar Desais known as "Dhanduboguda", an upland where the private army was stationed. Sircilla has a number of irrigation tanks to irrigate thousands of acres of agricultural lands. The gradual spread of the handloom industry had led to the occupation of agricultural lands for the industrial purposes. Irrigation tanks were also encroached upon for this purpose. Streets known as Sainagar, Gandhi Nagar, Subashnagar, Nehru Nagar and recent Baddam Yella Reddy Nagar including Sundaraiah Nagar, Taraka Rama Nagar, Rajeev Nagar indicate the growth of Sircilla from a tiny village in to a big township. Frequent movement of the workers and their employers between Siricilla and the cities like Bombay, Sholapur, Bhivandi, and Ahmadnagar had strengthened the bonds of the trade and commerce with these cities. Consequently, most of the handloom or power loom workers in Siricilla speak Marathi fluently and also follow the rituals and traditions of Maharashtra state.

In 1952 when I had visited house to house in Sircilla in my political campaign, I was astonished to see the concentration of labour in Sircilla. If you open a door and enter the house, you would find a big hall on your right side where 5 to 20 or even more handlooms are set up, on the left side you would find a number of small rooms for accommodating the workers and their families. There lived more than one family in such a small room divided just by a curtain. Cooking and other human needs had to be managed within such four walls. It was really an eye opener for me. Things have changed fast during the past half a century. I have been the eye witness, and even an instrument of the working humanity to bring about such a big change. One will be surprised to know that people who once led the lives like ants and animals are today living in the independent houses with reasonable facilities. Master weavers and merchants are enjoying the lives as in big cities. However,

I am not satisfied with the progress already achieved. Much more should have been achieved during the course of half a century. Even today there exist a few thousands of families needing employment and housing. The state and central governments have miserably failed to bestow their attention towards this class of people despite big promises.

I had the opportunity to study the problems of the handloom industry in different cities like Bombay, Sholapur and Bhivandi, in the late sixties of the last century. I was really shocked to see the living conditions of our workers. I had the good opportunity to meet many a leader of this industry including the veteran late Madooru Venkappa who was once elected to the Maharashtra state Assembly from the Sholapur constituency. I had the closest observation knowing the problems of the industry along with the pathetic living conditions of the handloom and power loom weavers. I had to shed my tears and pass sleepless nights when I had personally seen a batch of at least 15 to 20 day time workers, resting in a small rented room, where the same number of workers doing the night duty rest after the previous batch vacated. There was only one tap and a single bathroom for their use which they used standing in a Queue. All this experience had only confirmed my conviction that the problems are all man made. Men with their unity and conviction and commitment to change the social order can succeed in their lofty aim. Struggles and sacrifices are the needs of the hour to awake, arise and stop not till the goal of social justice is achieved.

I had, a number of occasions, good opportunities, as the elected representative of the people to focus on the subject of the handloom industry on the floor of the legislative Assembly. To my surprise the ruling party and its ministers very often had reflected more upon the problems of the master weavers and the merchants rather than on the problems of the thousands of helpless handloom weavers. Lion's share of the budget earmarked for this industry would go to enrich the middle men rather than to ameliorate the living conditions of the workers. After decades of experience I had arrived at an inescapable conclusion that handloom products could not compete with the mill made cloth in the market which was and is expanding every day thanks to scientific and technological development and globalization. There are certain hand made goods and handloom cloth products which still remain most attractive and fetch handsome price in any world market. Such products must be protected and promoted by the state. However handloom cloth for ordinary and common use, cannot withstand the cut throat competition with the most modern textile industries. As such, I had arrived at the above conclusion to promote power looms in the place of handloom industry which is on the verge of extinction. This had been the bitter experience all over the world and India cannot be an exception to it.

Sree Konda Laxman Bapuji, presently an active nonagenarian congress leader and late Sri Pragada Kotaya, both hailing from the handloom weaver's

community, had rendered yeomen services in organizing the handloom cooperatives and thereby serving the handloom workers, in the Telangana and Andhra areas respectively with the help of a team of leaders of the industry. Credit for highlighting the cause of this small scale and house hold industry on the floor of the AP state legislative Assembly and the parliament of India, goes to them along with a number of congress and communist leaders who had devoted their lives for the amelioration of the living conditions of this working class which still happens to be the poorest of the poor.

Myself with firm conviction to change over to the power loom industry from the incompetent handloom industry, had to cross swords with the veterans who religiously believed in the sanctity of the handloom industry. Hundred of votaries of the handloom industry had developed their vested interests in the handloom cooperatives both at the local and state level bodies. Governments, both at the central and state level too had no clear perspective on the subject and preferred to echo the voice of the interested leadership of the handloom cooperatives. I had to make herculean efforts to convince the ruling politicians and the bureaucrats. However my efforts covering two decades, the sixties and seventies of the last century had borne fruits and we had succeeded in the installation of a few hundreds of power looms in Sircilla town. The availability of land and other infrastructural facilities, had attracted a good number of master weavers and small scale industrialists to invest and promote power loom industry. Today roughly 15 to 16 thousands of power looms employing over 25 to 30 thousands of workers are producing a sizable quantity of cloth including exportable varieties. I am so happy that my dream has come true and the industry sustains despite odds. Every growth entails the problems of growth, which deserve proper solutions. Cut throat competition with the most modern textile industry in the internal and the world market, calls upon the central government to undertake a number of protective steps like providing power at concessional rates, tax concessions etc. until it is required. Indian political economy is providing with the most valuable lessons where its teeming millions will have to depend upon small scale agriculture and the small scale industry for the longest period in history, applying the discoveries, inventions, innovations created by science and technology for the equitable and inclusive growth of the society at large, thus promoting the best form of social justice ie., socialism. Modern political economists, think tanks are visualizing the emergence of India, China, a new Asia, to lay such road maps.

Coming back to the promotion and protection of the power loom industry, the central and state governments are required to undertake political and legal steps to regulate the entire textile industry keeping in view the above philosophy in the interest of human development, Let me suggest a few such measures.

1. Quality goods capable of withstanding the competition in the world market should be produced more and more.

2. Governments at the central and state level have to take steps to provide necessary resources to the entrepreneurs at concessional costs.
3. Governments should, themselves construct the houses for the power loom weavers with the capacity to locate a pair of power looms and hand them over to the workers with a facility for the repayment of loan, interest free loans in easy annual statements.
4. Power loom workers must be provided with, free education and health facilities apart from the provisions of food articles at the cheaper rates, as also old age pensions.
5. Government should take all steps to promote the textile and garment parks in the public, private and the joint sectors for the reduction of poverty and unemployment.
6. The Government and the society must and should realize the truth that the sole cause behind workers' suicides is the abject poverty and indebtedness of the workers. State should leave no stone unturned in taking all kinds of steps to prevent it. Reasonable ex gratia amount should be paid to all such unfortunate families without any litigations and with a sense of urgency. Very soon the most melancholy stories of suicides must come to a stop thanks to the all round attacks on poverty and unemployment. An honest and sincere appreciation of the directive principles enshrined in our constitution will help advance in this direction.

#### **House sites for handloom and power loom workers in Siricilla, an experience:**

By 1970, the problem of providing house sites for the workers in an expanding town had appeared to be impossible when the available government lands had already been distributed and private lands were not available. We had to accept the challenge and solve the felt need of the workers who were already distressed. "Raini Cheruvu" an irrigation tank with over 200 acres of tank bed land, had gone out of use as its registered ayacut of over 500 acres had already been sold for housing purposes where Gandhinagar, Nehru Nagar and Subashnagar etc., have come up. I knew occupation of tank bed land was a serious offence. I also knew very well that the deletion of the tank bed land from the prohibited list and making it available for assignment for house sites entails a lot of litigations and corruption apart from being time consuming. However, there was no alternative but to face the challenge squarely and boldly.

When Sri K.S.Sharma IAS took charge as the district collector of Karimnagar. I had called on him to greet him on his posting to Karimnagar district, I found the young and energetic Collector with the spirit to do something tangible for radically reducing poverty. I had referred to a number of road blocs in the shape of rules and regulations which are obsolete and outdated. He had readily agreed with me and made it clear that as a district collector, it was a part of his duty to identify such problems and over-rule the obsolete rules in

the interest of good governance. I was very much impressed by his creative thinking. Next time when I met him I brought to his notice the problem of deleting the above tank bed land of Sircilla from the prohibition list. He had assured me to get it done within a week. Next day itself he had called for the records, sorted them out and took the papers personally to Hyderabad and had convinced the authorities of the revenue board. Next week, he came back with the orders for the deletion of the entire tank bed land of Raini Cheruvu. He had issued direction to the Tahseeldar Sircilla to send the proposals for issuing certificates to all the eligible people with my consultation and concurrence. This is an example where the committed bureaucrat can work wonders and promote good governance.

It took a few months for me to finalise the list of eligible beneficiaries because of local politics and petty rivalries among the beneficiaries themselves. Ultimately, batch after batch, patta certificates were issued. It took over two to three years to complete the programme. On my request the area was named as "Baddam Yella Reddy Nagar" to commemorate the struggles and sacrifices made by the pioneer of freedom movement in Karimnagar district. Thereafter as the demand grew, new colonies named after P.Sundaraiah, Taraka Rama Rao, Rajeev Nagar came up. The demand for house sites is growing with every passing day and is spreading to villages like Sarampalli, Badnapalli across river Manair. Sircilla once an ordinary Panchayat village is now developing as a Municipality with modern buildings, overhead water tanks, pipe lines and drainage facilities. However the solution of the problems of development always lags behind the demand. This is the law of development. I am happy to see this growth. I very much wish and hope that the elected representatives at all levels will carry forward this legacy of rural and urban development.

## **B) My visits abroad**

As the Kisan leader and as a member of the national Council of the CPI, I had a number of opportunities to visit the then USSR and East Germany. I had the good opportunity to visit Malaysia and Singapore as a member of the AP government's delegation to the World Telugu conference held at Koulalampur. Every visit abroad helped me to understand the specialities and peculiarities of the country and their chosen road maps for development. It will be interesting to draw the attention of the readers towards only a few events which are informative anecdotes.

I had visited East Germany as the leader of the Kisan Sabha delegation to study the role of the mutually aided cooperative societies in the development of agriculture. Incidentally a world youth conference was held in Berlin during the same period. The leaders of the World youth conference had extended an invitation to me to attend their inaugural session and greet the conference. I had gladly accepted the invitation, prepared my written speech and requested my interpreter, a lady, to carefully type and make its copies. She typed the

speech, but approached me with a small request. On my query, she politely requested me to reconsider a few lines wherein I had spelt out the appalling poverty in India and the need to eradicate it. She had explained to me in so many words, my appropriate reference to India's hoary culture and the historic movements for freedom and democracy, but observed that my exposure of poverty in India does not fit in with the occasion. Hence her humble request to either delete the two sentences or to amend that portion befitting the occasion. I was really moved and took a self critical view and permitted her to delete the sentences which were a misfit, in a short speech to greet the world youth conference. The ringing call of our own poet late Sri Rayaprolu Subba Rao garu had pulled me up where he had warned against any kind of undermining the honour of our mother land 'Bharathi', on any world platform and had advised to hold high the banner of India's all round greatness with self respect. Later she told me that she was an admirer of Rabindranath Tagore a symbol of Indian culture. This event had provided me with a lesson that the predominant negative thinking in me, misunderstood as Marxism, was neither a product of scientific Marxism nor a teaching of the lofty Indian culture. It was a pure cynicism parading as Marxism. The corrected speech was received with applause by the delegates.

Our delegation was very much enlightened when it visited a number of farms, poultry farms and dairy farms in particular where the mutually aided cooperative societies worked wonders. The producers were most happy with the promotional role of the government and its least interference with the activities of the cooperatives. Agricultural producers and the government had a perfect mutual understanding and cooperation in enhancing the production. There could be no reason for the down fall of such an economic system except the glaring absence of democracy in governance. The experience of the demise of Socialist system in USSR confirms this truth. USSR's leadership had suffered from an obsession and the illusory, imaginary superiority of the economic power and military might of the imperialist countries, their challenges of third world war and even star wars; and hence it had diverted all its resources to its own defence efforts and the protection and promotion of the communist governments and the communist parties all over the world. Its own inbuilt weakness of authoritarianism, commandism and intolerance to democracy contributed to its alienation from the common people who wanted speedy development with quality goods and increase of their living standards under the modern conditions of science and technology. Such a mismatch between the supply and demand coupled with a hollow machinery of the party and administration caused the down fall of the socialist system. The lesson according to me is the resurrection of democracy to sustain equality and the equal opportunities and not the negation of socialism and restoration of capitalist system. Unfortunately today a good number of leftists, not to speak of all kind of extremists, right and left, suffer from such negative thinking which is sectarian and most subjective. Evidently such an exclusivist thought makes one blind to see the truth behind

every phenomenon and consequently fails to provide correct leadership to the surging masses. Before coming back to our visits to the agricultural cooperative societies, narration of an instance would be interesting. Our hosts arranged for a boating entertainment. Germany is well known for its lakes and the boating programmes. We thankfully accepted and boarded a special boat along with a number of local tourist families. Sri Sharma, a veteran kisan leader from Madhya Pradesh was one among our delegation. He knew the art of pleasing the children in foreign countries. And that was to give as presents packets of Indian coins. He had brought with him a number of packets. As the boat took off, a girl from the tourist German families enjoyed the trip by running inside the boat. I had gone up, the second floor of the boat along with my guide to have a wider look at nature. Suddenly I heard an unusual commotion and noise from inside the ground floor of the boat where my seat was reserved. I hastily came down only to be surprised by a crowd assembled around Mr.Sharma an elderly member of our delegation.

The fact of the matter was that Mr.Sharma, pleased with the happily moving small girl, handed over to her a packet of Indian coins and the girl was very much moved with the honour done to her and showed the same packet to her parents seated a little farther to our Sharma. The parents of the girl who were very happy to see their dancing girl honoured, approached Sri Sharma to offer their profuse thanks; the father of the girl shook hands of Mr.Sharma while the mother almost fell on Mr.Sharma and kissed him. Mr.Sharma, a traditional Indian elder was shocked at the behaviour of the lady and shouted at the top of his voice pushing her back. This incident created a flutter and surprise among all inmates, while German tourists enjoyed it. Our delegation and the guide rushed to the seat of Mr.Sharma to console and cool him down. Meanwhile I entered the scene. The parents of the girl modestly pleaded their innocence and their desire to offer thanks to the elderly dignitary who had honoured their little girl with a nice gift. Mr.Sharma, elder to me, appeared in a mood of anguish at the way the woman behaved with him. Kissing, in Germany and the whole of Europe is an expression of profound happiness, gratitude particularly to the elders. In India kissing publicly is a prohibitive act, except kissing children. Thanks to western influences, kissing among elders too is becoming a fashion. Globalisation with its speedy communication and information revolution, is drawing different continents into one world, where the diverse cultures and traditions merge together highlighting the human unity in diversity. This was the summation we had arrived at.

### **My experiences as a student of the international school of Marxism and Leninism in Moscow**

I was one of the thirty member first batch of the national council of India to undergo schooling for three months in an international school of Marxism and Leninism in Moscow. The discussions and discourses here had provided me with unique opportunity to raise my own doubts and get them clarified.

Apart from studying the Marxist classics we were taken round the country for seeing the centres of learning and places of historic importance in Russia.

Myself and Late Com. Nallamala Giri Prasad, later the Secretary of the A.P. State Council of the CPI were very close with each other as roommates. We had plenty of time to study and discuss, go out for walking and shopping. A few weeks after, Com. Giri Prasad brought to my notice about an unusual thing. Whenever we went out, two plain clothed young men followed us secretly and silently. Com. Giri had checked it up and then informed me about it. I too had carefully observed it and got its confirmation.

This phenomenon gave rise to a number of questions in us. What is the reason for shadowing us when we were the known foreign guests of the Government? Who are those followers? If they are from the state intelligence department, what prompted them to doubt and follow a friendly country's communist leaders? We in India had heard anti communists and anti soviet parties and persons talking ill of the USSR, its dictatorship and suppression of freedom and democracy whether there is any grain of truth in it? Finding no answer with us we had asked the very principal of the school to provide us with the correct answer. The Principal took our question seriously and explained to us that the persons following us were really from the department of intelligence whose duty was to take care of our security as we were the V.V.I.Ps(Very Very Important Persons). We were not satisfied with the answer and asked relevant questions whether inside a socialist country such a security measure, as a guarded secret, was called for. The principal reiterated his original answer with a rider "your security is our prime concern, we are afraid of our own shadows"! I could not stomach such an explanation. The fall of the USSR in early nineties had proved beyond doubt that the source of such an extreme scepticism was negative thinking, doubting each and every thing. The fall of the mighty USSR under its own weight, without a single incident of gun shot or violence speaks volumes about the danger of the concept of "dictatorship of the proletariat" and "socialist centralism". Absence of democracy at all levels of the party organization and the governance is the single biggest cause of the downfall of the so called citadel of socialism. A serious student of socialism has to under-score the fact that it was neither monarchy nor feudal autocracy that was overthrown by the people. It was not a decadent capitalist exploitative system that was pulled down by the fighting working class. On the other hand it was a fanatic ruling party with its iron frames and walls of steel which suppressed the fundamental rights of the people in the illusory interest of world socialism and its imaginary estimation of the superiority of imperialism that forced the conscious people of the USSR and the east European countries to silently but efficiently withdraw their political and moral support. The slogans of "Perestroika"(reforms) and "Glasnost"(openness, democracy) given by Mr. Gorbachev, the party's general secretary which had spread like wild fire, caught the imagination of the mature people leading to the collapse of the tottering

systems most peacefully creating history. Never again the socially and politically conscious working people of the world will promote or tolerate such an anachronism.

### **C) My experience with the late Sri Satya Sai Baba**

Without prejudice to the believers and followers of Sri Saibaba, as a rationalist I must mention the event of my meeting this godly man.

Parliamentary democracy has a number of wings to process the public opinion and present it to the democratically elected bodies, parliament or state Assemblies. Financial committees are well known as the 1) Public Accounts Committee (2) The Estimates Committee and (3) the Public undertakings Committee. They themselves are elected by the legislatures concerned on the principle of proportional representation. The Speaker nominates a number of committees consisting of all the represented parties and groups, to deal with different subjects. During my long innings as an MLA, I had the opportunity to be elected to the PAC or Committee on Estimates.

Our committee had decided to visit and have a darshan of late Bhagawan Sri Satya Sai Baba at Puttapparthi in Ananthapur district. Accordingly all arrangements were made by the authorities. The sight of hundreds of Indian and foreign devotees sitting with pin drop silence awaiting the Darshan of Sri Satya Sai Baba was absorbing. After the completion of the General darshan, Baba came to our room and occupied his seat. He knew our programme, and spent over half an hour to talk to us. Baba spoke for about fifteen minutes explaining the theory of Karma as propounded in Bhagvat Geeta by Lord Krishna himself. All the 15 members of our committee with closed eyes and total devotion heard the attractive presentation by Baba. When the Baba asked for any clarification, I took the opportunity to submit to him “when, according to the theory of Karma, each and every action of man or woman is predetermined based on their good or bad deeds in their previous birth, and is inescapable unavoidable and unchangeable, what is the use of religious or social and political institutions and their leaders including your holiness to enlighten the mass of the people to make them do right things in a right manner to change the course of events?”. Swamijee paused for a moment and taking my name as the leader of the Communist party in the A.P. Legislative Assembly, most happily preached that “things on earth and in society are invariably subjected to the law of change which is universal. Service to humanity tantamounts to service to God. Where is God, when Atma in every human being guides him, to do right things in a right manner? Its totality is Paramatma – God himself, always illuminating the road to dharma and satya”. Every body enjoyed the masterly presentation of the ultimate truth, and took leave of the Swamijee. My colleagues were apprehending the unfolding of a debate, I knew the art of discourse, we accepted the presentation of ‘Vibhooti’ from the Swamijee and then left the place. My intention behind my intervention was to seek further light to remove

the dark corner of self contradiction in the philosophy, caused by the blind faith. More the truth prevails over blind faith, the better for the human society.

### **My effort for rescuing a young revolutionary from a probable encounter death:**

Let me recall a specific incident when my timely intervention helped to save the precious life of a young revolutionary from a probable encounter death. I found late Sri Mallojula Venkataya, my good old friend and admirer, hailing from Peddapalli town in Karimnagar district anxiously waiting for me at the entrance of Maqdoom Bhavan, the State CPI Office in Hyderabad. I was surprised to see him sad and worried and enquired about the problem. With tears in his eyes he told me about the news item appeared in the dailies of that day and that young man called Koteswara Rao was his son. The news stated that Mallojula Koteswara Rao, a young leader of the CPI(ML-People's War) was arrested the previous day but not confirmed officially. Sri Venkataya had given me the details and had expressed his apprehension of a probable encounter story repeating. I personally heard of the movements of Sri Koteswara Rao in my Sircilla constituency, but did not know his antecedents. It was about 8 AM and the state Assembly meeting would commence from 8-30 AM. My friend Sri Venkataya's tearful request was for my immediate intervention to ward off any excess from the Police side. Immediately I contacted on phone the then C.M Dr.M.Chenna Reddy who was about to start for the Assembly meeting. After hearing me the CM had exclaimed "then what can I do? why are you worried?". I told him the whole truth and persuaded him to intervene promptly and save the life of my friend's son. After a few seconds he asked me to "rush to the Assembly immediately and to give him a notice under the rule with the speaker's permission demanding an urgent answer. Immediately after the question hour, in the Zero hour, rise in your seat and insist upon the reply to your notice. If I say that the accused has been apprehended and will be produced before the court, think that his life is safe, but if I say that such a person was not apprehended then the matter ends – I cannot help" the CM had said in friendly manner. I did my part successfully with a sense of urgency and the CM in his reply had positively confirmed the arrest. Myself in the assembly and my friend Venkataya in the lobbies of the assembly heaved a sigh of relief, and the young life was safe.

The activist of the people's war had somehow come out of jail and again went under ground. It is after about thirty long years we are hearing about him with his pseudo name as Kishanji, a member of the polit bureau of the Maoist party, leading the war of liberation in east India, bordering Andhra Pradesh. A person hailing from a freedom fighters' family, dedicated to the cause of social revolution deserves the sympathy of one and all, political and ideological differences apart, all such revolutionaries and their organizations stand on a different footing when compared with "terrorists" who have no social outlook.

**Left Extremism:** It is a phenomenon that arose out of the frustration repeatedly suffered by the socially and economically most suppressed strata of the society despite their best efforts to solve their life problems peacefully and democratically. Intellectuals, notwithstanding their class or social origin, and committed to equality and equal opportunities for all, provide leadership to such a radical movement. It is worth while to under-score the statements made by the Home Secretary Government of India that Naxalism had spread to over 150 districts out of a total of 600 districts of our country. Honourable the Minister for Home repeatedly asserts that merciless crushing of such extremism is the crying need to maintain law and order in the country. Hon'ble Prime Minister of India has the cheek to pronounce that extremism is the number one problem for the country's internal security. Government of India is intentionally confusing left extremism with the scourge of right extremism and religious fundamentalism which are qualitatively different from the left extremism. Ruling political parties have to provide with a satisfactory answer to the public at large to prove their accountability. Left extremism can never be put down through violence. Only alternative is to undertake socio-economic reforms and implement them with utmost sincerity of purpose taking into confidence the people's organizations and their tested leadership.

My own experience of the last three to four decades convinces me beyond doubt that the origin of the left extremism is leftism which itself originated from pure patriotism and spotless character of its leadership. Most of the extremists came from the families of the freedom fighters who fought against the Nizam's rule and feudal set up. The youth had anxiously waited for 25 to 30 long years after freedom for a visible change in the quality of their life. But the change was the other way round. Economic exploitation and social oppression increased with every passing year, driving them to one form of frustration to another form, forcing them to resist such an onslaught with more and more militancy. A frustrated mind set cannot correctly assess the level of political consciousness and the preparedness of the masses of people concerned and hence the liability of subjectivism overtaking the common sense in decision making. Creation of the most common infrastructural facilities at both macro and micro levels like the restoration of minor irrigation sources, construction of school buildings, formation of rural roads including the link roads, providing power and potable and fresh drinking water with drainage facilities etc., with due priorities in planning and budgets there of, could have taken the wind off the sails of the extremist thinkers. The ruling congress both at the centre and state levels had no imaginations, let alone the scientific planning to assuage the public opinion. Paucity of funds was a make belief when even funds budgeted and earmarked for specific purposes of health and education were diverted and misused for corrupt practices. Favouritism, nepotism, corruption ruled the roost in the distribution of funds. Had the state and central governments adopted and executed measures to uplift the poorest of the poor, both rural and urban, and succeeded in ameliorating the standards of life of the teeming millions, left

extremism would not have taken its roots. Youth, working youth with self satisfaction and self respect would not get demoralized and frustrated, and would not have resorted to terrorism. I am pained to pen these words since in Karimnagar district alone, fifteen of my innocent colleagues and followers, committed social and political workers and leaders were brutally murdered by the so called extremists' for no reason, worth the name, I had to rush to the scene of offence with heavy heart and console the bereaved families, and pay my homage to the martyrs. Extremism does not raise its ugly head in a progressive society. Even if it finds its root some where, the society will not permit it to spread. Social and political consciousness is far superior to the animal instinct. Hence social and political extremism is never a problem of only law and order. It is primarily a socio economic problem which can be solved only by executing socio-economic reforms.

Racial wars, communal carnages, religious fundamentalism political extremism, each has its own historic and local back ground. If political and social leadership of the day fails to nib the malady in the very bud, it is bound to spread into a large scale violence taking the toll of thousands of human lives. If recent Indian history is any guide, terrorism in Kashmir, Religious fundamentalism in the Punjab, left extremism or Naxalism in east India offer valuable lessons, which if properly learnt could save thousands of lives including the precious lives of the two Prime Ministers of India, Smt. Indira Gandhi and Sri Rajiv Gandhi, the mother and son. The saying "prevention is better than cure" holds good in politics equally.

#### **D) Attention Please!**

Almost sixty five years after the achievement of freedom from centuries old foreign domination, when I look back, pessimism overtakes me some times. 300 million population has grown into 1200 millions. Rate of growth of gross domestic production lagged far behind the population growth. All other vital indices of growth rates are most disheartening. India remains poor and very poor. I had the good fortune to have been in the frontline of many a movement to fight for translating the political freedom into socio-economic freedom. Let alone the eradication of poverty, every evaluation confirms the existence of 300 million Indians still rotting below the poverty line, no less than 700 millions are at various levels of middle classes, many being on the borders of the poverty line. The largest democracy in the world has the largest number of the poor not able to make both ends meet.

Political freedom coupled with democracy and adult franchise was expected to catch the momentum of high rates of inclusive growth and very soon India would become a welfare state taking its seat in the front line of the comity of nations. First two decades passed off with hardly 2-3 percent growth rate, nick named as the 'Hindu' rate of growth' by the noted economist late Sri K.N.Raj under the stewardship of no less a popular leader than Pundit Jawaharlal

Nehru himself, whose philosophy of ‘socialist pattern of society’ could not help the country even to take off. The following two decades saw the worst ever crisis of political instability including the ghastly and dastardly murder of the two Prime Ministers of the country. Despite the five year plans, the country had neither a vision nor a mission to advance. Last two and a half decades of liberalization, privatization and globalization have certainly helped the national growth rate reaching 8-9 percent sans socio-economic justice, making the rich richer and poor poorer. Such a lopsided growth in the wake of globalization, scientific and technological revolution while generating consumerism is also causing frustration and a sense of alienation among the predominantly poor and the lower middle classes leading to social tensions and violence. Communal fanatics and half baked Marxists are trying their best to fish in the troubled waters. This, in brief, is the state of affairs, our great mother land is faced with.

A bird’s eye view of the fate of ‘reforms’ would unmask the truth behind the much trumpeted revolutionary enactments. Agriculture and agricultural land happens to be the biggest means of production, potential enough to provide self employment to the growing population. State and central governments have enacted land ceiling Acts with the slogan of land to the tiller. But the feudal landlords have succeeded in scuttling such laws making the land reform a day dream except in a few states and areas where the organized popular movements fought against the nefarious efforts of the land lords. Such a single biggest opportunity for self employment has been left unexplored.

Next to agriculture, manufacturing industry had occupied the pride of place in Indian economy which had been mercilessly killed by the British imperialism only to create a big market for its industry. Mahatma Gandhi and national leadership had pledged to restore the manufacturing industry back to its place of honour and dignity, but again the naked truth unmasks the signal failure of the government on this front too. Modern economists and social scientists are crying hoarse to high light the importance of manufacturing industry in our country and the need to give priority to education and health reforms to enable the youth to become employable by dint of their skills. The absence of a clear vision and road map for a sustained swadesi, inclusive growth and the growing impact of national and international corporate culture in the name of globalization, the central and state governments are showing a picture of very bad performance in achieving the targets of human development and inclusive growth. Mere growth of the gross domestic production only confirms the growth of monopoly and crony capitalism in India and the flight of capital, for its concealment in Swiss and other banks.

Another vital failure exposes the hollow boastings of the governments. According to figures of the last decade, an amount of over 5 lakh crore rupees per annum was spent by the centre and state on different kinds of subsidies, which is the second biggest budgeted item. Out of such a huge amount, 40 percent of the population consisting the rich and upper middle classes cornered

over three lakh crores while 60 percent of the poor middle class and the poorest of the poor together utilized only 2 lakh crores. Another truth unmasks the height of injustice. According to a dependable estimate, the central government is extending its support of 700 crore rupees per day to all the corporate bodies in the form of subsidy and exemption from different taxes. The lion's share from our annual budgets is being appropriated by the richest class while the organized sector and salaried classes are leading a life of hand to mouth and the overwhelming majority of unorganized working people are left to their fate of absolute insecurity in life. Constitutional safe guards and directions are being just forgotten. A new class of brokers and crony capitalists has emerged which resorts to each and every unethical method to become rich overnight. Parliamentary democratic system is being perverted and polluted by a handful of rich. An impartial and collective effort on the part of 1200 non government organizations reveals the following astonishing facts pertaining to the parliamentary electoral results held in the year 2009. Three hundred MPs out of over 500 are the croropatis. In the previous election their number was only 154. Out of the above 300 MPs who are crorepatis the party wise score is as follows:

The Indian National Congress	137
The Bharatiya Janata Party	58
The Samajvadi Party	14
The Bahujan Samaj Party	13

Indian National Congress tops the list. The method of bribing the voters is also gaining ground. It is high time, the democrats ponder over this deterioration in public life. Yoga Guru Baba Ram Deo's allegation that about 400 lakh crores of rupees are stashed in foreign banks, that this black money has to be brought back to India for public use is laudable. Anna Hazare's agitation for a Lokpal bill to be adopted by the Parliament brooks no delay. The institutions of the Prime Minister, judiciary and accountancy must be brought under the purview of this bill. Let us for a moment recollect Dr. Ambedker's warning.

"Democracy is the way of life with liberty, equality and fraternity. Our elders had accepted this gospel. Our duty is to review where we stand today. The deterioration of the values should not lead to the erosion of confidence in the very system of democracy. Time has come when every democrat has to pledge to restore and rejuvenate democracy. It should be done with a sense of urgency. There is no time to lose".

Dr. Ambedker's fears have come true. Anna Hazare and Ramdev are not alone in this crusade for the restoration of political values. Thousands of freedom fighters, their successors, leaders of the civic society, as also the patriots and democrats active in different political parties are getting vexed at the down fall of all the values generated and nourished in our great freedom movement. They are longing for a second freedom movement. It is high time to translate their

wishes into a broad based movement for far reaching reforms and their execution in all fields.

As already indicated, apart from my student life and the life in underground and jails for ten years, I am one of the living witnesses to the mode of functioning of the parliamentary system of democracy in India for the last sixty years. My training in Marxism and experiences in constructive work and the mass movements at the grass root level have convinced me about the potentiality of the democratic system to fully take care of country's equitable socio-economic progress if and only if, the people at large keep a vigilant and watchful eye on the performance of the politicians and the bureaucracy, and effectively intervene whenever or wherever things go wrong. Excepting the early years of about two decades when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was at the helm of affairs, all the Prime Ministers with a difference of degree have signally failed to give a proper vision and direction through providing good governance and executing the promises made to the people. To be brief, late Smt. Indira Gandhi, despite her good background and longer innings as P.M. could not make a mark except the sad memory of emergency rule and sacrifice of her own life. Rajiv Gandhi had generated hopes of a good governance but the single incorrect decision of the central government for the military intervention in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka, had cut short his promising life. My venerable and good friend Sri P.V. Narasimha Rao had maintained the status quo with a bad remark of the demolition of Babri Masjid and a good name for liberalizing the stagnant Indian economy. The period of the rule of the opposition parties got wide publicity for its inept rule and power politics.

The down fall of political values, started with the black days of national emergency and got accelerated with every change in the central leadership. Inside the states, the same deterioration of political values got reflected. The legacy of freedom movement got diminished steadily with the demise of the freedom fighters from the fields of public life.

My close observation right from the fifties of the last century and now, for thirty years direct and another thirty and odd years indirect, is that the legislatures, both central and states did reflect the people's problems and the committed social reformers and revolutionaries cutting across the political parties they belonged to, fought for the short term and long term solution of the people's problems. However the ruling parties lost the political will to firmly execute their electoral commitments and their own party policies and gave in to the pulls and pressures brought upon them by the vested interests and bureaucrats. Slowly but steadily a nexus among politicians, businessmen with vested interests, and bureaucrats got hardened. Such an unholy alliance based on money power, muscle power, defacto refused to sincerely execute the progressive laws and on the other hand gave full protection to the law breakers. This is the reason why the progressive legislations on land reforms and taxations failed to achieve the results intended for and the lion's share of the wealth created by the toiling

millions in agriculture, industry and services went in to the black market unaccounted for. Yoga Guru Baba Ram Dev's alleged black money is only a tip in the ice burg. As a result, we find year after year that central and state budgets are showing increased fiscal deficits caused by revenue and capital deficits, increased cost of debts and debt burdens, more and more expenditures on subsidies and unproductive expenditures and paucity of funds for capital and social development like, the most essential items, education and health. We have arrived at a stage when people at large are realizing the urgent need to call a halt to this bankruptcy caused by the unbridled corruption by undertaking reforms in all the fields of legislature, executive and judiciary, by enacting and implementing the new or amended laws provided with sharp teeth. It is up to the politicians particularly the left to accept the challenge and bring about a paradigm shift in the course of our road to a brighter future.

#### **E) Movement for remunerative prices for Agricultural Commodities**

My experiences as the Kisan Sabha worker and leader for the last four to five decades are quite valuable. I had faced many a critical problem and succeeded in their solution. Kisan movement in Andhra Pradesh, as also in the whole country, after successfully fighting against feudalism, and landlordism, and for the protection of Tenancy has arrived at a stage of struggle for the remunerative prices for all kinds of agricultural produce. Kisan Sabhas led by all the political parties had no clarity on the subject. A general misunderstanding that remunerative prices for agricultural produce would enrich landlord class alone, that it would lead to the general price rise, prevailed and was very difficult to convince the political leadership. Only after a long period, when the numerical strength of the small and marginal farmers and the area of agricultural land under their cultivation, increased the problem of remunerative prizes assumed importance and the political parties took it on their agenda.

I remember vividly when late Sri Chandra Rajeswara Rao, the General Secretary of the CPI had seized every opportunity to convince the national council of the CPI about the need for struggles demanding the state and central governments to fix the minimum support prices for the agricultural produce with special reference to the food items like paddy and wheat and the commercial items like cotton and tobacco. He would find time to discuss and convince me and late Sri Y.V.Krishna Rao, the General Secretary and President respectively of the AP Kisan Sabha. Our demand for parity of prices in agricultural and industrial goods found general acceptance. The steep increase of the costs of all agricultural inputs, the consequent increase of the debt burden on the peasantry, particularly the small and marginal farmers causing suicides among the cotton growers opened the eyes of one and all and the demand for increase of the prices for agricultural commodities on par with the industrial goods gained ground. Slowly but steadily broad based kisan movements strongly championed the cause and the governments of the day were forced to fix minimum support prices(MSP) for all food and commercial crops. This was the biggest

achievement of the kisan movement of the country next only to the struggles for abolition of feudal landlordism. The implementation of the accepted policies is now the real question faced by the peasantry and their organizations. State and Central governments are required to have the comprehensive understanding about the (1) higher rate of growth of agricultural commodities with special reference to the food crops (2) the government's responsibility to intervene the market and arrange for the purchase at the rate of MSP and store it, (3) supply the inputs including the seeds and fertilizers at the subsidized rates on time (4) issue permits for the export of agricultural products to the public and private sectors regulating and balancing the internal and the external demand every year and (5) provide total security against the damages caused by the natural calamities through crop insurance and national calamity funds.

The successful implementation of the above major policies evidently means an additional burden on the state and central governments. It is an accepted fact that the rate of productivity and production of agricultural goods can never compete with the industry despite scientific and technological revolution and all kinds of innovations. It is mainly dependent on nature, the sunlight, the rain fall and the unpredictable climates. Hence the society and its governments must be well prepared to support agriculture and protect its employment potential when 70 percent of the nation's working population is dependent on it. Our vision about our future strongly suggests about the continuity of a green, clean and healthy atmosphere with agriculture as its main stay. Industrially developed countries of the west are now able to subsidise agriculture by spending up to three hundred percent of the cost of its production. Countries like India, China and Asia just cannot afford to bear such a big burden. But yet there is no escape from this problem of life. Realising the necessity to apply modern technology and reduce the cost of agricultural production, one cannot forget the above mentioned inherent qualities of agriculture. This is why the population dependent on agriculture is getting reduced year after year and it is very difficult to prevent it unless and until the society is prepared to bear the whole additional burden now being borne by the farmers. Social and legal measures to reorganize the entire agricultural scenario with the help of science and technology are best executed with the active participation of the agriculturists themselves. A second green revolution is most welcome. This must top the agenda of all the political parties and their kisan wings as also the state and central governments.

Some enthusiastic politicians with pure academic approach rightly stated that agriculture was a losing concern and it cannot sustain with the burden of growing population. They had envisioned the old western model of growth with industry as driving force for the backward economies. The think tank of the modern world is vividly changing its outlook. Future growth will have to be harmonious with nature. Destruction of natural balance will cost heavily for the very life on mother earth. Long and short term measures have to be followed with all green perspective, particularly by the countries already

dependent upon agriculture. For the present, subject to the limitation of the resources the state and central governments have to regulate and monitor the production and distribution of the agricultural goods without reducing the area under agriculture, keeping in view the following:

- a) A separate commission for each state for determining the cost and prices for agricultural goods be set up.
- b) The principle of adding 50% of the total expenditure on the crop production to the cost of production and then fix its MSP, as suggested by the Swaminathan Commission be followed. It may appear illogical and unscientific. But there is no alternative to meet the minimum needs of the peasantry in an atmosphere of increased cost of life in a modern society with its corporate culture and consumerism as way of life.
- c) The need to subsidize agriculture for production and distribution be appreciated and executed, despite the budgetary constraints. I can visualize the political difficulties in the execution of such a policy. However as said above there is no alternative to it. All the developed countries are heavily subsidizing agriculture. One need not be surprised to know that France today is subsidizing over 300 percent of the cost of agricultural production and is providing fresh and quality goods to its citizens. Our agricultural scientists have the responsibility to raise their voice and successfully over-take the present predominant industrial culture which treats agriculture as secondary or tertiary.

## **F) Efforts and Results**

I propose to change the subject and bring to light a few of my efforts and their fruitful results. We have known about the Baddam Yella Reddy Nagar in Siricilla. Now a few words about my efforts to build Baddam Yella Reddy Bhavan to locate district unit of the CPI at Karimnagar.

I wanted to utilize my friendly relationship with the then Chief Minister Sri M.Chenna Reddy and seek his assistance in the collection of funds. Accordingly I approached him and requested him to consider to name Karimnagar District after Baddam Yella Reddy and also arrange for some donations for the construction of a building in his name. He pleaded his inability to my first proposal stating that it would be in the fitness of things to name any newly created district after any leader, like Ranga Reddy district, or else, change of the existing name would create problem. I concurred with his opinion and left the matter at that. As for the collection of funds, he rang up late Mr.Koti Reddy the then S.E. of Sreeram Sagar Project and advised him to persuade the contractors working under him and help raise some funds for the building. I pursued the matter with Mr.Koti Reddy who sincerely cooperated with us in raising funds to the tune of over a lakh rupees. With this we started the building and confidently raised the rest of the required amount of over two lakh rupees. Late Sri C.Prabhakar, leader of the Beedi Workers' union actively worked, as

the Secretary of the building committee, myself being its President. Like wise, I must record the construction of Karmika Bhavan at Sircilla to house the CPI's office of Siricilla Division. Sri Rajoori Ramalingam, a merchant with strong will power came forward to purchase and donate a centrally located space for this purpose. His sole condition was that myself along with my wife Lalita should perform the Bhoomi pooja. I had readily agreed to his condition and the required funds were collected by the local party leadership and the building was completed on a record rime. Sri Ch.Venkateswara Rao, my brother gave his active support in its early completion.

**Polytechnic College at Agraaharam:** Training the youth to acquire skills in various avocations especially in the Textile technology was a badly felt need of the weaver's town Sircilla. In the absence of a programme for a planned development, personal approaches and persuasions were and still are the only available mode of getting sanctions for any developmental project. As I was well known to the CM or other Ministers, I could successfully play my dual role as the spokesman of an opposition party sharply criticizing the wrong policies of the state government and for getting sanctions for different projects for the development of the constituency.

I had invited the C.M. Dr. M.Chenna Reddy to visit Siricilla and know the people's problems. He readily agreed and a programme was arranged. Late Sri Rudra Sankarayya was the Sarpanch. We had planned for an appropriate representation on the local problems. Rudra Sankaraiah in his welcome address had effectively placed the demand for the establishment of a polytechnic college in Siricilla, and requested the CM to make a positive announcement then and there. Before rising to speak, the CM had asked me as to what to do. I strongly requested him to openly accept the proposal of the Sarpanch and direct the authority concerned to take the follow up action. I was happy the CM did what I requested for. Later it was also decided to obtain a donation of Rs. 5 lakhs from the Raja Rajeswara Swamy Temple at Vemulawad, as seed money. Collector was entrusted with the job. However, a week after it came to light that the chairman of the Devasthanam dodged the issue of a resolution on the subject of donation. I had brought the matter to the notice of the CM. He was angry and issued a strong direction to the Collector, Karimnagar to send the resolution within 48 hours positively. Things moved fast, and the resolution was sent to the concerned authority within 24 hours. This is the short story behind the establishment of the Raja Rajeswara Polytechnic at Agraaharam. Last thirty years, few thousands had passed out from this college with the requisite skills in various avocations and are well settled in their lives. The college, still faces the problems of development into a full fledged engineering college which requires the attention of the present peoples' representatives and the authorities concerned.

### **Sri T. Anjaiah as CM: Degree College at Agraaharam:**

My acquaintance with late CM Sri T.Anjaiah was very old. Himself as a

T.U.Leader and myself as a student leader since the Nizam's time made us close friends. Surprisingly, poor Anjayya was called upon by the congress high command to take the Chief Minister ship of AP. He had happily agreed to it and constituted his cabinet. He is well known for setting up a cabinet consisting of 60 ministers, which is unprecedented in the annals of free India in any state. No state Chief Minister has broken this record as yet. An interesting event in this connection is worth mentioning. On a day he rang me up to have a cup of tea with him at his residence for a chit chat. I went to him, we two were enjoying his few experiences whenever he visited Delhi. We found two MLAs, neatly dressed, approaching him with some representation. Mr. Anjayya the Chief Minister told them with a bit louder voice.: "I have already completed the job of Ministry making, I have made it known to all concerned. No vacancy please"! The two visitors replied: "Sir, you have already blessed us by giving us Ministership. We have only come to represent to you for the allotment of Bungalows as the authorities are expressing their inability to allot them". "Then go to the Chief Secretary and represent to him. It is his job to find the way out not me" he said. The ministers returned empty handed. For the first time I had the confirmation from him of the story of Chief Ministers carrying the brief cases with them when ever they visited Delhi to meet the Congress High command. He was sorry that the high command was unhappy to receive only one brief case each time of his visit.

Occasionally I had requested him to sanction a degree college for Sircilla to be located at Agraaharam a central place between two growing towns of Sircilla and Vemulawada. He had readily agreed to my written representation but it could not materialize during his brief tenure of Chief Ministership. It was Mr.N.T.Rama Rao the founding father of Telugu Desham Party and the head of the first non-congress government in A.P who laid the foundation stone for the degree college at Agraaharam. I am happy to have been closely associated with it in its course of different stages of development. It is most unfortunate that in a popular democracy, development of institutions run by the state, require repeated representations and even pressurisations, by the people's representatives and also agitations from the students. Pressurisations are easily possible in developed areas where politicians are powerful from every view point compared to the backward areas like Telangana where even solemn promises made are easily broken. Development today means the human development and the development of every backward area. It should be preplanned and strictly executed. Political intervention to change the approved plan must be desisted.

**Junior College for Vemulawada:** It gives me immense pleasure to recall the day when late Sri Bhavanam Venkat Ram, the then Chief Minister of AP found time to visit Vemulawada and declared the upgrading of the high school in to the Junior College. He was a modest and simple person with laudable manners. We lived together for over a decade side by side in the old MLA quarters in Himayathnagar. Prior to his becoming the CM for a brief period of 13 months,

his experience as Minister for education stood him in good stead and had handled his brief tenure successfully. The ceremonious way he was entrusted with the responsibility of a CM, and the un ceremonious way he was removed from his post are a part of political culture of the congress party beyond my comprehension. I am only sorry my good friends like T.Anjayya, Bhavanam etc., had become scapegoats.



*Political discussion with Sarvasree late Sri Bhavanam Venkat Ram, Chief Minister, Freedom Fighter and the outstanding leader of the Backward classes late Sri Gautu Lachanna and the Speaker Eswar Reddy*

**Lift Irrigation project for Sircilla an upland division:** It was my dream. Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru in his speech at Nizamabad after laying the foundation stone for Sree Ram Sagar Project(then Pochampad Project) had personally assured me for a lift irrigation from there to provide water for irrigation to the upland constituencies like Sircilla.Right from that date till the first decade of 21<sup>st</sup> century ie., over half a century, major part of my political life, this subject occupied the top most priority of my agenda. I, myself had made a study of the subject and left no stone unturned in my efforts to convince the irrigation authorities and the Minister and the Chief Minister of the day. Everybody showed his utmost sympathy with my project proposals, but practically failed to advance the cause with the required sincerity of purpose. A Chief Engineer after the examination of the subject for over a couple of years, came to the conclusion that the concept of lift irrigation is novel to India and hence it is beyond his capacity. Another ENC, an expert, came to the conclusion that it involves a lot of power consumption costing beyond the limits of the cost of construction. Another Chief Secretary to the government my own colleague in the student movement promised to take it as a challenge and get it done. But

after a year he coolly advised me to forget the project as it was not remunerative from any view point. Another stalwart, a Chief Minister himself promised me to get it grounded convincing the authorities at Delhi. He could not do anything as he himself was dethroned by the high command thanks to power politics. I knew the inherent weaknesses in the administrative system and the political limitations of the Ministers, yet I continued my persuasion. I could pursue with little more confidence with late Sri Y.S.Rajasekhara Reddy the Chief Minister and the leader of the 12<sup>th</sup> Assembly. I knew him since he had become an MLA and a Minister for the first time in 1978. A few months after his assumption of power, I found in him a dare devil in taking positive decisions, otherwise impossible under the given rules, conventions and practices. These decisions covered land acquisitions for special economic zones(SEZs), private industries; major irrigation projects mostly lift irrigation projects in the Godavari, Krishna basins, permits and licenses for mining industries etc. I, as the responsible leader from the opposition, vice president of the main opposition party, Telugu Desham, with an experience of 25 years as the opposition leader representing the CPI behind me covering over half a century, could not imagine and digest the authoritarian, most undemocratic depths in committing illegalities and improprieties a Chief Minister could stoop to in his lust for power and pelf. TDP and all other opposition parties unitedly opposed tooth and nail, the high handed and unilateral policy decisions of the Hon'ble Chief Minister on the questions of E.P.C.(Engineering Procurement and Construction) lifting water from one valley to another valley without utilizing the allotted water for the valley, arbitrary and illegal methods resorted to for land acquisitions for private or corporate bodies and SEZs etc., The united opposition with documentary evidence proved on the floor of the house the gross illegalities committed and the huge amount of public money running into thousands of crores going into the pockets of unscrupulous politicians and bureaucrats in the name of estimates and advances. Despite all such steps of exposures made by the united opposition, permitted by parliamentary democracy, the authoritarians steam roller did not come to a halt. Later the reports of the CAG, PAC, High Court and even the Supreme Courts confirmed such improprieties and illegalities.

Under such most inconvenient circumstances, I had to perform my duty as a legislator representing a constituency. Accordingly I approached him and drew his attention to the need of the lift irrigation scheme to provide drinking water and irrigation water to the upland areas covering about four constituencies. He readily agreed with me in principle and directed the department to study the feasibility for inclusion under Yellampalli project. He had also asked the authorities concerned to discuss with all the MLAs concerned. Sarva Sri Ratnakara Rao(Buggaram), the Minister, Sri T.Jeevan Reddy(Jagityal) also a Minister, Sana Maruthi(Choppadandi) a retired E.N.C. irrigation who represented TDP along with me(Sircilla) were the legislators representing the upland areas. We had two to three sittings and had convinced the Engineers about the feasibility and viability of such a lift irrigation scheme. Sri Maruthi, then an MLA from

Choppadandi is an expert on the subject and his enlightened contribution was very well taken by the Engineers working on the project proposal. Once the traditional obstructions like cost benefit ratio, availability of quality power and the budgetary allocations were over-ruled by the CM, it was easy to prepare any feasibility report. It was far more easier under the EPC system newly adopted. With the sanction of the Pranahita-Chevella project, the engineers tagged on a part of the above lift irrigation scheme with it. Yellampalli project and Pranahita-Chevella project will now cover the upland areas by lifting water from Yellampalli and Mid Manair Reservoirs. Political commitment, technical and administrative sanctions are completed on a war footing. Availability of funds for all ongoing and contemplated projects is the real Achilles heel. With the increase of the cost of construction and the consequent revision of the estimates permitted under EPC one is not sure about the completion of such projects within the scheduled time. It may take a few more five year plans for them to see the light of the day. However I am happy the lift irrigation scheme my dream to fill the minor irrigation sources at least once in a year or two with Godavari waters, to quench the thirst for drinking and irrigation purposes will materialize some day or the other and the succeeding legislators will follow it up with full attention it deserves. I must, in this connection make it very clear that a people's representative at any level is bound to represent and solve the felt needs of his electorate notwithstanding his ideological and political differences or his own personal likes or dislikes of the authority in power. Such an impartial, impersonal attitude will pay good dividends in public life.

## **G) Emergence of the Telugu Desham Party as a viable alternative in AP politics**

I was not returned to the 7<sup>th</sup> Assembly in the year 1983 because of a sweeping political wave of the Telugu Desham Party led by the most popular film star late Sri N.T.Rama Rao. My usual vote bank voted for me, however the additional votes required for a decisive victory went to Telugu Desham. Sri Mohan Reddy of Almaspur got elected with thumping majority. Congress party in the whole country, particularly in Andhra Pradesh lost its credibility due to bad governance caused by the most unstable governments led by four Chief Ministers in five years. People at large were fed up with a state of anarchy and wanted a change. Fortunately for the people of A.P. Nata Ratna late Sri N.T.Rama Rao had plunged into politics with the slogan of self respect and social justice for Telugu people. He had a fertile political soil and the people at large welcomed him with all the traditional gaiety of the Telugu People. Within a short period of nine months he had toured every nook and corner of the state and had built up his party. He had the extraordinary capacity to attract masses thanks to his variety of roles of incarnations of Gods in all the mythological pictures. Women, in particular adorned him as yet another incarnation of God wedded to uplift all the down trodden and hapless people.

On 9-1-1983 Sri N.T.R. was sworn in as the Chief Minister of the A.P. No sooner he was sworn in than he had plunged into action to implement his promises to the people. His promise like the socio political and economic empowerment of dalits and all the backward classes stirred the hearts of millions of the under privileged people. His decision of supplying rice at the rate of Rs. 2 per KG acted as an immediate relief and gain under the conditions of soaring price. Total prohibition promise acted as a magic wand and roused the women folk into an unprecedented political action. Structural and systemic change of abolishing the hereditary village officers' system brought about a revolution in rural governance where the 'patel patwari' system had created innumerable problems and caused the divisions and factions in rural life, thus precluding the very entrance of democracy and panchayat raj in rural life. The change over from a larger administrative unit(Taluqs) to smaller and viable units called mandals is yet another revolution in making the administration close to the people. Telugu people had for the first time since independence in 1947 tasted the real meaning of freedom and democracy. Never before a ruling party sincerely and honestly implemented its manifesto and electoral promise. N.T.R. as a politician had a clean mind without any malice. He just hated manipulations and double talk, in public life. People did exploit his liberalism and promptness in decision making which caused some worry to him. However he held his head high and managed things with self respect and due respect to those who sincerely understood him and his behaviour in public life.

I had a pleasant encounter with him the very year he assumed power. Sri Gopala Prakash Rao, now a senior politician was elected from Peddapalli constituency in Karimnagar district on the ticket of Sanjay Vichar Munch in 1983. Mr.G.Prakash Rao, a free and frank young man had resigned from the membership of the Assembly. The Election Commission had held bye elections to the seat within six months of its falling vacant. CPI and its active Secretary late Sri N.Giri Prasad Rao, in their efforts to show the voting strength of the CPI, had decided to contest from Peddapalli bye election, with myself as its candidate. I had clarified about the limited voting strength of the party and had declined to be a candidate. Giri had repeatedly persuaded me to accept the candidature for a political contest. I had to follow the decision of the party and the whole party plunged into the campaign with men and material. NTR himself led the campaign on behalf of TDP and its candidate. Incidentally my jeep and NTR's Ratham crossed on a road. Seeing me, he stopped his van. As a courtesy I came out of the jeep and offered my respects. Promptly responding to me with a smiling face, he exclaimed "How come, I am obliged to campaign against you, a thorough gentleman, I had offered seats to the CPI and CPI(M), 25 each but your leaders insisted on much more numbers!" I had no reply nor it was an occasion to discuss a matter which was then irrelevant and we were in the think of elections. I replied "it is our political contest only to show our strength, wish you all the best". We departed. Election was over and it was a surprise that congress candidate Sri Mukunda Reddy had won the seat. I got

9999 votes, My defeat was expected but the defeat of TDP was surprising. Election is a number game. Division of votes gives surprising results. CPI's decision to contest was to teach the TDP a lesson and its capacity to defeat and I was made a scapegoat in this political game. Of course I too was a party to it.

Sri N.T.Rama Rao had to visit USA for a medical checkup. He was advised to undergo bypass surgery of heart which he underwent.

Inside AP, congress leadership with the connivance of the notorious central leadership under the guidance of late Smt.Indira Gandhi had conspired to stage a coup by splitting the Telugu Desham Party and make Sri Nadendla Bhaskara Rao the Chief Minister in the place of N.T.R. Nadendla a seasoned congress leader, then a T.D.P. leading light had agreed to play his role. He made representation to the then Governor of A.P. Sri Ram Lal that he was the leader of the T.D.P. with majority of its elected members behind him. The Governor, under centre's influence most undemocratically accepted the contention of Sri Nadendla and appointed him as the C.M. N.T.R. a heart patient in USA convalescing after a major heart operation had cut short his resting period and jumped in to the political field totally disregarding his health. He raised the banner of "save democracy" and along with the majority of the TDP MLAs made a strong representation to each and every centre of power under the constitution and demanded the restoration of democracy. Entire country supported him and condemned the most high handedness of the central congress leadership. Smt. Indira Gandhi the Prime Minister and president of the AICC was forced to stage a big retreat and resurrect democracy by ceremoniously calling upon the hero, N.T.R. to reassume the power of Chief Minister on 16.8.1984 just one month after he was arbitrarily removed. This was a victory for democracy. But NTR emboldened by his moral victory challenged the congress leadership and those who had become ploys in the nefarious game of congress and advised the Governor to dissolve the Assembly. Election Commission had held midterm poll for AP Assembly in 1985. NTR, came out with flying colours and formed his ministry. He had successfully made friends with the CPI and CPI(M) who had lent every support to him in his countrywide movement of 'save democracy'. And I had won from Sircilla constituency with the support of the TDP and assumed my leadership role of the CPI on the floor of the Assembly. I must recollect the role of late Sri G.Narayana Rao who played the role of the Speaker. A first time MLA, an agitator for separate Telangana and a fearless practising advocate, G.Narayana Rao proved the best of all speakers in his impartiality and independent behaviour. The period between 1985 and 2-12-1989 was really a golden period from every view point.

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## **11. POLITICAL SCENARIO (1985-1994)**

**A) Central and state Congress governments: Their failures as I saw:** The ghastly murder of Smt.Indira Gandhi, the extraordinary lady Prime Minister of India, while giving a rude shock to the whole world had suddenly created, a vacuum in Indian politics. India had to pay dearly for her costly mistake in interfering with the Sikh religious affairs. Rajeev Gandhi, Indira's eldest son and a pilot by profession had to be persuaded to fill the vacuum created by the sudden demise of his mother, a strong lady with grit and guts. Rajeev Gandhi, young and energetic, occupied the seat of the Prime Minister on 31-10-84 and continued as a genius head of the Indian government till 02-12-89 when unfortunately he fell a victim to the human bomb at Sri Perambadur in Tamil Nadu, master planned by the terrorist gang of LTTE, causing an other irreparable loss to the country.

In Andhra Pradesh Sri N.T.R. with his inimitable dialogues followed by quick decisions and actions conducted himself very well amidst populist programmes. He very often used to feel very inconvenient to act under the most rigid and inflexible rules and regulations introduced by the age old imperialist and feudal systems of governance. However he could successfully pull on with his profound commonsense and mass backing. Reforms like Rs. 2 KG of rice, abolition of the obsolete system of hereditary village officers' system, decentralization of administration through the creation of smaller units of administration, mandals, stood him in good stead. Prohibition a laudable reform did attract the public sympathy, particularly the women folk, but could not succeed after the introduction of "Varun Vahini" another form of drink causing the same evils. N.T.R. a towering personality emerging from out of the film field did not possess the requisite knowledge about the consequences of the moribund administrative system and the experience of fighting against them. The bureaucrats and the die hard dog-mats could easily misguide him and get away. His own party leaders and people's representatives, new to politics could not play an effective role in changing the old order with a social commitment. We, from the left and friendly parties, did our best, under the limitations, to convince the CM and his colleagues in the party and government about the firmness to be shown in the implementation of reforms and policies of the government. This absence of social outlook and firmness in dealing with errant bureaucrats or corrupt officials resulted in a confusion in the public with mixed feelings of good and bad.

I must recall the laudable services rendered by late Sri Nallamala Giri Prasad Rao, the state Secretary of the CPI who had discharged his duties successfully both by building and preparing the party to conduct mass movements on the popular issues as well as drawing the attention of a friendly government

towards the solution of the burning problems of the people. The legislature party of the CPI with me as its leader had the credit of good performance on the floor of the house. More than once the General Secretary of the CPI late Com. Chandra Rajeswara Rao addressed letters expressing his appreciation and satisfaction with our performance.

The T.D.P. under the unquestioned leadership of N.T.R. had a very good opportunity to initiate, continue and stabilize reforms for a good governance, but failed to fully utilize the golden opportunity, due to want of a clear vision and determination to fight the obstructions and road blocks created by vested interests and the incorrigible bureaucrats. However it retained the good name as a major agent of change for the good.

An experience with the CM will amplify the situation then existing. Sri N.T.R, the C.M. called for a meeting of the leaders of the legislature parties at his residence in Abids. The purpose was to explain the contents of an amending bill to the existing land ceiling Act. The officials had explained the contents. More than the officials the learned C.M. elaborated the bill and emphasized its necessity. I, with my three decades old experience, on the subject, both legal and political, could easily grasp the spirit behind the bill. It was intended to legalise all the lands concealed by the landlords through benami transactions for the last few decades only to escape from the clutches of the agricultural land ceiling Act. I took my own time and politely declined to accept any explanation as it was an anti people measure. Leader of the CPM supported me while the Congress and others welcomed the bill. The C.M. tried to convince me but in vain. Then he proposed a postponement of the discussion. We all agreed with him and left the place. Next morning, to my surprise I found the bill as an item number one on the day's agenda in the Assembly. I tried a little to get it removed from the agenda but realized the governments' decision to push through the bill as an important bill. At the time of the introduction of the bill itself I took objection to it, but the government was bent upon going ahead. More than the Minister concerned, the C.M took the floor and tried to highlight it as a step in the direction of ensuring land to the tiller. After the formal speech by the Congress leader of the opposition, I took the floor and attacked the bill as a shameless attempt to protect the interests of landlords who must have been behind bars for concealing their lands through forged documents of benami sales and bogus family partitions, even going to the extent of showing the lands in the name of their wives with false divorce documents. I was a bit agitated and had criticized the C.M. as yet another agent of landlords deserving punishment. Friends of the T.D.P were hurt by my harsh words. I did not repent. It was my political duty. The bill was adopted despite our opposition. Within a couple of days the office had forwarded the bill to the Governor for his seal of approval. The Governor had approved it and it was published in the official gazette. I was surprised at the way the department hustled through it. As a rule, every bill related to land reforms must be sent

to the planning commission for its approval and the concurrence of the central government under the amended ninth schedule of the constitution of India. I brought the legal position to the notice of the state government. The government had forwarded the bill to the planning commission. I addressed my own representation to the planning commission. Any way not weeks but months passed by without any reply from Delhi. Finally the planning commission had expressed its negative view on the subject of amendment bill and it was dropped. I want to drive home the point as to how the wooden headed bureaucrats cling on to the out dated ideology and the politicians without a social vision fell a prey to it under pressures from the vested interests. It is one of my bitter experiences.

**Telugu Grameena Kranthi Patham:** N.T.R. the chief Minister, unlike the politicians who think and act basing on their prejudices, likes and dislikes, had an open mind receiving suggestions and advice from any quarter and gave it a fair trial. I had the opportunity to speak on the subject of rural development in the house. As usual, I spoke at length with facts and figures and emphasized the importance of people's participation in identifying the items of development and their execution. People are ready to lend their active support in the form of shramdan provided their felt needs are correctly identified and government is prepared to invest the estimated cost purposefully taking the local people in to confidence, and not the contractors. The C.M. who followed my speech with rapt attention was impressed by it, particularly the active role of the local people. He had asked his secretary to get this item included in the agenda for the Cabinet meeting scheduled for the same day evening, for necessary discussion and decision. Accordingly the issue was discussed in the Cabinet meeting. The C.M. had expressed his appreciation for the concept of people's contribution in any work of their choice with participation. The Cabinet gave its green signal and a G.O. was issued to ground such schemes under rural development budget. The scheme was named as "Grameena Kranthi Patham". The G.O emphasized the participatory role of the people in selecting and executing the works. It was also made clear that the peoples' contribution should be one third of the estimated cost and it must be in the form of shramadan. The scheme attracted the rural folk very much and was successfully implemented for over a year, yielding good results. However, the brokers and contractors with the connivance of the local officials nullified the spirit of the scheme by all kinds of illegal methods and looted the public funds through manipulation of records. The selection of the work was made by the local landlords who themselves were the contractors and the estimates were boosted up by including the people's contribution in it. Such schemes succeed when the enlightened Gram Panchayats and Gram Sabhas are involved and the village elders, cutting across their political allegiance, join hands and take the people in to confidence with the spirit of self help and self reliance. Progressive policies of the people for the people and by the people will never be sincerely executed by the selfish system of governance. N.T.R. and his party TDP were neither committed nor prepared for a systemic

change. The concept of democracy comprising of the basic socio-economic and political change in the out dated and absolute systems is being reduced to a mere introduction of electoral democracy. Big promises are being made to win the elections and then forgotten with nominal reforms. This has been the fate of our ‘democracy’ since independence. Politicians and political parties committed to the whole-some and radical concept of democracy alone can unitedly struggle and deliver goods.

An example will highlight the position. The government servants hailing from Telangana area had convincingly represented to NTR about a number of injustices done to them by the governments of the day flouting all agreements entered into since the formation of AP state. The C.M had positively reacted to it and had issued G.O.M.S. No. 610 to set right all the injustices immediately even by creating supernumerary posts where necessary. But his own government, the Congress governments succeeding him and also Telugu Desam government under the shrewd leadership of Chandrababu Naidu, for over nine long years, not to speak of the Y.S.R. government thereafter, have all conveniently slept over such a G.O driving the Telangana employees to frustration. The problem is still acting as the biggest irritant behind the demand for a separate Telangana state. The six point formula and the Zonal system under it have been mercilessly throttled. The TDP government under the charismatic personality like N.T.R, generating unprecedented hopes and expectations, despite its stability for five years and three months had to face defeat in 1989 elections yielding place to the congress rule. It was a surprise to the common man, but not so much surprising to the intelligentia.

I had to face defeat at the hands of late Sri Krihsnayya a candidate of the CPI (ML) Janasakthi. This party and its lonely MLA could not gain ground and the constituents of Siricilla, realizing their mistake elected me again in the year 1994.

Congress party, back to power in 1994 continued its strategy and tactics of manipulations and management from Delhi making the state congress hapless without any grass roots down below and any influence on high command above. Dr.M.Chenna Reddy held the reins of power for only one year from 3-12-1989 to 17-12-1990. He was replaced by Sri N.Janardhana Reddy who led the congress government for a year and ten months from 17-12-90 to 9-10-92. The Congress high command in its wisdom appointed late Sri Kotla Vijayabhaskara Reddy as the C.M. of A.P, who ruled from 9-10-92 to 12-2-1994 i.e. for an year and four months, Frequent changes of the CMs, changes of the Cabinet Ministers leading to very frequent change of the officers presented a clear picture of instability in governance. The above mentioned Chief Ministers did have the capacity to do justice to their job as they had ample experience as Cabinet Ministers previously. However, factionalism, group politics and the likes and dislikes of the so called high command at Delhi contributed to the total dissatisfaction about the congress rule. No socio-economic reform worth the

name was undertaken by the congress regimes. Such a political confusion led to the very bad defeat of the Congress. TDP with Chandrababu Naidu as the Chief Minister was enthroned.



*Introducing grandson Sushant to the Chief Minister late Sri Kotla Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy along with dear friend Dr.Sreedhar Reddy*



*Meeting the Chief Minister Mr.N.Janardhana Reddy along with late Valluri Gangadhara Rao, General Secretary, A.P.Kisan Sabha and CPI leader Sri Shiva Ram Reddy.*

Let me recall my confrontation with Nedorumalli Janardhana Reddy some time back when he was the revenue minister in Sri Brahmananda Reddy's cabinet. A bill to exclude the tenants of all temple lands from the purview of the tenancy act, was being piloted by him in the Assembly. The adoption of the amendment bill would make lakhs of tenants on temple lands helpless before the local officials, whom the amendment empowers to issue eviction orders arbitrarily. This is totally against the very purpose of the Act. I took serious objection to the introduction of the amending bill and demanded the Hon'ble Minister to withdraw the bill. He had flatly refused to withdraw. He could not defend the bill as it was evidently against the interests of lakhs of tenants, whose protection the government was committed to. After some heated debate and exchanges he was forced to withdraw the bill on the advice of the CM. Later it was known that the state government had to act on the advice of the endowment department without applying its own mind. Much of valuable time of the house could be saved from pointless discussions only if the parties concerned did their home work well and had open mindedness to accept constructive criticism, amendment or suggestions.

**Bofor's Scam:** India's Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi's dastardly murder shook the entire world. It was a big political shake up for our country. The general elections for Parliament held in this back drop gave a thumping majority to the Indian National Congress. Sri Rajiv Gandhi, son of Smt. Indira Gandhi was elected as the Prime Minister. The young Prime Minister had an unprecedented opportunity to take full advantage of the popular support and lead the country in a new direction. But very soon things appeared to continue to move on the trodden path of Smt. Indira Gandhi, without any direction and qualitative change in internal and external policies of the country. Very soon the hopes and expectations from the youthful Prime Minister got evaporated. Adhocism likes and dislikes and not a clear vision guided the politics. Corruption at higher levels and on a large scale came to light for the first time in India with the exposure of Rs. 60 crore commission alleged to have been appropriated by the national Congress leadership as party fund from a dealer in modern guns 'Bofors' for the defence department through a middle man namely Mr. Cattrochi of Italy. This exposure in parliament, attracted the attention of the entire country. Corruption at the high echelons of the central government was condemned by one and all. Parliament debated the issue for weeks together without transacting the regular business. The subject was entrusted to the CBI for a thorough probe and action. 25 years after, the CBI comes forward with its recommendation to withdraw all the cases against Mr. Cattrochi. This state of affairs tells upon the very system of investigation and the procedure therefor. The age old laws of C.R.P.C and I.P.C continue to operate without any change in their structures. The out dated principle "let 99 criminals go unpunished but one innocent person should not be subjected to punishment" still guides the criminal jurisprudence. As a result hardly five percent of the criminals are being punished and 95 percent of the accused are getting acquitted. Radical reforms in civil and

criminal jurisprudence are long over due. The government is sleeping over the matter. Corruption, particularly white collar corruption is increasing with every passing day. Even new and high-tech methods of cheating and embezzlement of public money are being adopted. Nexus between the anti social elements and the politicians is eating into the vitals of democracy and decency. According to a world famous expert committee report, a few capitalists in India are evading Rs. 3000 crores of tax, every year. Black money worth Rs. 4000 to 16,000 crores of dollars is going out of the country every year. It was estimated that in the year 2006 alone central and state government officials had earned an amount of worth 1000 crores of dollars through corrupt practices. It is not surprising to know that India stands in the front row of corrupt countries. There is no dearth of money generated by our own blue collared and white collared labour. If only corruption is arrested and the money saved is ploughed back for productive purposes, poverty and unemployment will become the things of the past and India will emerge as a developed country. Basic reforms in the legal system and good governance alone can bring about such a qualitative change. Nation calls upon every patriot to come forward and do every possible thing in his or her own way to arrest the further deterioration in public life and restore the moral and ethical values with a sense of urgency.

**Decentralisation of Power:** Article 243 of our constitution dealing with the decentralization of power was amended by virtue of 73rd and 74<sup>th</sup> amendments to the constitution of India. This was done with a clear purpose to devolve functions and funds to the elected local bodies of the state. The states were directed to make the consequential amendments in their laws on the subject. The age old promise of Gram Swaraj or self rule was sought to be fulfilled. This lofty concept is in consonance with the Indian tradition of panchayat raj where the Gram Sabhas play their vital role in identifying the people's problems and prepare a road map for their solution with due prioritisation. Two decades have passed by, no effective action has yet been taken by the majority of states in our country. West Bengal and Kerala governments, thanks to the strong left movements have taken tangible steps in the execution of the spirit of the constitutional amendments and the elected local bodies have been empowered, thus ensuring the active participation of the people in the administration of their affairs, through their elected representatives.

The reasons for the failure in revitalizing the panchayat raj system are not far to seek. The socio-economic life dominated by the semi-feudal classes and their vested interests is the primary reason. Secondly the bureaucracy from top to bottom is not committed to the philosophy of gram swaraj and does not want to share its power with the elected representatives of the people. As a result the panchayat raj system has become a mere formality without the devolution of functions and funds. Democracy is a system of governance evolved after the centuries old struggles and sacrifices of the working people throughout the world, against the despotic and authoritarian rule of the monarchies which had

suppressed the voice of the common people. Liberty, equality and fraternity are the under-lying principles of democracy. Accountability, transparency are the essential features of this participatory democracy. Selfish and power crazy individuals do not like the change over to such a popular democracy and hence create all kinds of obstacles in this process of social change. Unless individuals and the political parties committed to this most advanced philosophy, struggle against the reactionary and conservative forces, such a popular change over to a new social system cannot be achieved. Kerala state has made a very good advance in this direction and the people are happily managing their socio-economic affairs. West Bengal state under the rule of the left parties has succeeded in this direction, to some extent, but the interference of the political parties beyond their limits, amounting to a kind of dictatorship, it is feared, is making democracy at the grass root level, a mere eye wash. The surprising electoral defeat of the major ruling party CPI(M) in West Bengal, in the recent elections speaks volumes about its political and organizational weaknesses. The weaknesses of the panchayats controlled by it being one of them. Such a thing has to be corrected immediately. All over the country, decentralization of power has yet to make a headway.

**(B) Legislatures – Protection of Rules: Role of the Speaker:** According to my own experience, the role of the speakers the presiding officers is crucial in ensuring sound debate in the legislatures. In a parliamentary democracy, very often, the member belonging to the ruling majority party is selected and elected as Speaker or Chairman. The presiding officer has to protect the rights and interests of the members of the house, irrespective of the parties they belong to. He himself is expected to behave in the most impartial manner befitting his stature as the custodian of democracy. Speakers are expected to meticulously follow the rules and conventions established therefor. Such an onerous responsibility can best be discharged by one, who is qualified enough educationally and possesses commendable commonsense. He is also expected to have a broad understanding of the constitutional provisions dealing with the legislative business. Usually persons with legal knowledge have proved successful. Speakers have to particularly use their discretion in allocating time for speeches. Opposition party leaders and members play a vital role in any democracy. Their views on various subjects have to be elicited. Late Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, though not a legal luminary, once remarked that the secret behind his success as a good speaker was that he had given enough time to the opposition to ventilate its views, as that would amount to a good check on the ruling party. The members of the opposition parties too are expected to fruitfully utilize such an opportunity by offering constructive criticism. Fora of the legislatures are meant for patient discussions on the problems of the day, laws enacted must be speaking, unambiguous, and intended for the protection of the fundamental rights of the citizens guaranteed by the constitution.



*Embracing late Sri D.Sripada Raom the Speaker of the A.P.Assembly*



*Receiving birthday felicitations from late Sri Manohar Raj Saxena, Advocate the Secretary of the Legal Defence Committee for the thousands of the under trial heros of the historic armed struggle of Telangana (1946-51)*

Of late, more often than not elected representatives, ignoring the discussions in the house, are resorting to personal attacks and political mudslinging even using unparliamentarily language. This is giving a very bad taste about the legislators. Speakers are expected to pull up the erring members and give proper direction to the debates. Knowledgeable and skilful speakers will do it better without hurting the members concerned and at the same time winning the submission of the entire house by dint of his capacity to control. If the members refuse to yield to the speaker's direction, speaker need not allow the debates to drift further. He is free to adjourn the house and give an opportunity to the erring members to correct their behaviour and if necessary express their regrets to the house. Live broadcast of the proceedings of the house can both be useful and harmful. It is a double edged weapon. It is up to the members of the house to project the image of the house positively in the best interest of parliamentary democracy. Unfortunately, of late, both the ruling and opposition parties are not able to exercise their control over the adamant and unruly members who are creating ugly scenes in the house inviting public criticism; thus devaluing the very dignity of the house. All concerned, speakers, leaders of the house, leaders of the opposition, together can arrest such deviations and restore the decency, dignity and decorum of parliamentary democracy provided they themselves are committed to democracy as the only way of conducting any good government responsible to the people. However it all depends upon the maturity of the personnel who man the institutions involved.

It is understandable that during the course of heated debates, amidst challenges and counter challenges, even the seasoned parliamentarians might lose temper, but wisdom demands immediate correction, which enhances the calibre of the speaker involved. The way, often the honourable members of the houses, both parliament and state assemblies are creating the scenes of dharnas inside the houses, rushing to the well of the house, even surrounding the speaker's podium and man-handling the speaker himself is cutting a very sorry figure of parliamentary democracy in our country and the people are losing their confidence in the utility of democracy itself. It amounts to inviting anarchy and violence. I have seen the speakers like late Sri B.V.Subba Reddy and G.V.Narayana Rao who could control and avoid ugly scenes by dint of their capacity to ably, tackle the issue involved, or to take a prompt decision to adjourn the house for some time till the tempers are cooled or even adjourn the house for the day. Speaker is one who speaks less and commands the house more with his exemplary personality.

**Media's Role:** Media, both print and electronic, has increasingly played its role in furthering parliamentary democracy with the help of modern technology. Its salutary role in furnishing the information truthfully with a commitment to educate the public and build public opinion as an invaluable social capital is most welcome. This is how democracy gets deep rooted. Never the less, there are instances when the media falls a prey to narrow mindedness and tends to

become tool in the hands of vested interests. An independent and free press has always been a powerful guide in the hands of patriots enabling them to see the shape of things to come and enthusing them to plunge in to action. One hopes the media to rise to the occasion, shed its drawbacks and build a healthy public opinion for a brighter future, resurrecting the values in all fields of life.

**Proper functioning of the Legislatures:** Debates and discussions on the floor of the houses are only a part of the whole legislative business. Legislatures have to keep in mind the delicate balance between the various wings of democracy. Legislature, executive, and the judiciary are three historic wings. The information revolution has given a unique place to media raising it to the level of a fourth pillar of democracy. Legislature has to discharge its crucial role of framing laws and rules in the light of the constitution and in tune with the change of times. Executive is duty bound to run the administration in consonance with the rule of law. Judiciary acts as a watch dog of the constitutional democracy. Media is meant for providing truthful information boldly and honestly. The thin lines of demarcation among the three constitutional bodies are vital, one cannot encroach upon the other. Executive, though relatively dependent, has to be accountable to the legislature and judiciary. Legislatures on their part have to be accountable to the judiciary, in as much as the laws and rules passed by them do not transgress the four corners of the constitution. Every wing while efficiently carrying out its responsibilities has to satisfactorily maintain its relationship with the other wings faithfully.

My long experience as legislator convinces me beyond doubt that the above crucial but delicate balance of relationship is more disregarded than honoured. More often than not the laws and rules framed by the legislatures are being struck down by the honourable courts of law on grounds of impropriety or unconstitutionality. This tells upon the very quality of the legislative Assembly, and its staff. Corrective steps taken in this regard are not encouraging. Members are confining themselves to the exposure of each other's party, forgetting their significant role in the functioning of the committees of the house. As a result executive's accountability to the Assembly is reduced to a mere formality. Executive is bound to furnish the truthful information to the various committees of the house including the main committees of the house on public accounts, estimates and public undertakings. Very often the reports are either untrue or based upon half truths. Committees with scant respect for the vital problems of state policies and their truthful implementation, submit their formal reports to the houses which are never read by the honourable members. That is how the wooden headed self serving bureaucracy is escaping from the scrutiny at the hands of people's representatives. When ever any committee points out any lapse in administration and directs the officers to furnish reports to the house on their corrective steps and the results there of, the officers just forget about them and the committee forgives them. This is how accountability is being given a go by. It is most unfortunate that such a state of affairs is further

drifting from bad to worse and the speakers and the leaders of the house as also the leaders of the opposition are busy with their own problems. This is why the people at large are losing their confidence in democracy and are getting frustrated with lawlessness all around.

**Chief Minister as the leader of the house:** Chief Minister is not only the Chief of his party in the Assembly, he is also supposed to be the leader of the entire house. He is expected to coordinate with the leaders of all the parties represented inside the house and then with the cooperation of the speaker's office, supervise the business of the house. Chief Whip and Whips of the ruling party are duty bound to assist the leader of the house in this work of coordination. As the Chief Minister he heads the cabinet, all the cabinet ministers are the heads of their respective portfolios and are expected to take their own decisions in accordance with the policy of the government.

This is the constitutional position. This division of jobs worked well for about three decades since independence. Then started the interference of the C.M. with the jobs of other ministers. As a matter of fact Chief Minister is number one among all of his cabinet colleagues with equal responsibilities. Since the last over three decades power of the ministers is gradually becoming formal and is being usurped by the C.M. Except a few CMs who have acted as the team leaders, all others are disregarding the principle of division of jobs and collective responsibility. As a result the secretaries and heads of departments are giving scant respect to their own bosses and are approaching the CM's office for each and every major decision. Such an unhealthy and undemocratic practice is resulting in the over centralization of power. The worst example of such an over centralization of power is the tenure of the late CM when all the principles of administration, like division of jobs, procedures to be followed for taking any decision, were all, either over looked or over ruled resulting in the disposal of the properties of the state worth billions of rupees, to private and corporate bodies for a song.

Such an anarchic method of administration penetrated in to all levels of the government leading to an unbridled corruption and all kinds of evils. People are getting fed up with such an administration. Evidently such a government's accountability to the legislature is either faulty or fraudulent. My own bitter experience as a member of the estimates committee of the 12<sup>th</sup> Assembly, when compared with my experiences in the previous assemblies and their committees testifies to this fast deterioration of governance. It is high time we undertake parliamentary and administrative reforms with a sense of urgency and protect the democratic values.

Party system being the root of parliamentary democracy, deserves thorough reforms. The legislators representing various political parties in the house are required to be equipped with the minimum necessary knowledge about the principles and practices of the parliamentary democracy. The position today is

most discouraging. I recollect the good old days when the leading lights of the society were selected and elected to represent political parties. Their contribution to the debates on different subjects was worth emulation. The members used to do a lot of home work before their performance in the house. One could find more light than heat coming out of the healthy debates in the houses. It was very pleasant to learn about the attractive parliamentary language, mannerism displayed in rebutting the arguments from the side of opposition, and the sportive spirit exhibited by the stalwarts in public life. I am fortunate to have had worked with them and learnt from them. Exceptions apart, the quality and calibre of the present representatives of the people, both at the central and state levels is substandard and repulsive. The reasons are clear. Persons with ability and capacity are remaining far away from politics, while people with vested interests, having money and muscle power behind them are very much anxious to acquire political power to further their professional interests. The leadership of various political parties is admitting such people into their parties indiscriminately. Money, and not political ideology or social service is the main criterion to become a political leader. Parties based on ideologies, discipline, and dedicated social service are finding themselves unable to compete with such bourgeois parties and are remaining only as good examples. Of late even such parties with a very good back ground and record are getting devalued and adulterated under the impact of the polluted political atmosphere. It is high time all such parties close their ranks, based on the rejuvenated common ideology, present an alternative platform and grow fast attracting the patriotic and selfless people anxiously waiting for a radical change in the fast deteriorating political set up. I am sure such a healthy political platform will fill the vacuum and serve the needs of the time.

It will not be out of context if I submit my own strong opinion about the political parties. As repeatedly referred to above, the mainstream political parties have become over centralized devoid of democratic functioning. A people's government has to draw its power from the people to serve the best interests of the people. Party membership, particularly the active membership must be equipped with the ideology of the party. Their commitment must be reflected in their day to day service to the people which may mean building the people's movement on their day to today issues both short and long term or participation in the constructive activity to see that the public funds are properly invested and benefits thereof reach the deserving people. Such a tested cadre alone will be posted with the ground realities about the needs of the people and people's preparedness to adopt suitable forms of struggles for their redressal. Leadership, imbued with such ever changing ground realities, objectivity, can never afford to be subjective and dogmatic. Truthful ideas flow from bottom to top and not top to bottom. Almost all the ruling parties of the day, with their only ideology of obtaining power and pelf are absolutely blind to the ground realities and the need for building a party capable of running a government for the people and by the people. As a matter of fact the government they set up is the government

of the people elected through all kinds of foul methods. Their parties are intended to manoeuvre manage such electoral victories. One can very well see the basic difference between the cadres committed to social service and those committed to obtaining political power by hook or crook. Hence the necessity for the emergence of an alternative political force to achieve a people's government for the people and by the people. Such a radical change in governance can be brought about by parties individually or through coalition only if they are qualitatively new in their composition, far from any trace of casteism communalism or money and muscle power, and are tested and dedicated to socio-economic democracy.

**Reforms:** Political parties, being the main instrumentalities in the system of parliamentary democracy, deserve to be subjected to legal disciplines to make themselves accountable to the people. Representation of the people's act must be amended to compel the registered political parties to produce the certificate of social audit of the party concerned, and the social audit must cover the periodic membership, democratic elections of the leadership and the source of funds etc. It may appear, undue interference on the part of the executive in the freedom of organization. In the light of the experiences of the past it is a reasonable restriction in the interest of democracy. Election Commission may be empowered to take care of this discipline.

Electoral law requires major reform. As of now, the system of "first past the post" is in vogue where a candidate obtaining more votes than other contesting candidates is being declared elected, irrespective of the number of votes majority or minority of the total votes polled. This is, on the face of it undemocratic. People with their caste influence or with money and muscle power are able to muster more votes than other contestants. It will be in the fitness of things in the backdrop of growing consciousness of voters, to insist upon the majority of votes cast, for electing any candidate. If necessary, reelections must be ordered till one with the absolute majority of polled votes emerges. The electoral method of proportional representation is worth considering. Every recognized political party must be permitted to contest the elections on its symbol alone. The Election Commission will decide upon the quota of representatives from each party based on the votes secured by the party in proportion to the total polled votes. This method is being followed in some European countries attracting the intelligent decision of the conscious voters. This will prevent all kinds of alien influences and provide the party an opportunity to select men or women with capacity to represent their party. Our country with half a century of electoral experience behind it should undertake electoral reforms necessary for better representation of the will of the people.

Election expenditure has become a hard nut to crack. Unaccounted money is flowing like water. Even the voters are being bribed competitively bringing disgrace to the very spirit of democracy. It is high time such a malpractice is arrested. State funding of elections has been the topic of discussion for a long

time. Main stream political parties are not very much interested in it as this would curb their money and muscle power. This is exactly the purpose for the introduction of this reform. European countries have succeed in this experiment. There is no reason for avoiding such a reform in our country. State funding of elections does not cost more than one percent of our G.D.P. which is quite tolerable in the interest of democracy.

Another reform, though appears a little radical, is worth considering. Right to recall an erring elected representative of the people by the voters of the constituency will establish people's power. An elected representative will be forced to keep his eyes on the needs of the electorate and their solution. This will compel him to resist all kinds of alien influences, pressures, and make himself accountable to his electorate. Electoral reforms covering the above subjects brook no delay. With sagging confidence of people in the vey system of democracy, constitutional mandate for free and fair elections call upon all thinking people to demand for such reforms without any more delay.

### **C) Ghastly murder of Rajeev Gandhi**

With the most cruel murder of the then dynamic Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi, the country had lost all hopes of filling the void. Rajeev Gandhi, the elder son of Smt. Gandhi was considered as the only choice to fill the vacuum. A pilot by profession, Rajeev was gifted with high commonsense apart from possessing scientific temper. Given the family background of top ranking freedom fighters, people of the country unanimously approved of his selection for stepping into the shoe of his great mother. Within weeks, he had proved his mettle as a suitable successor, and the country had heaved a sigh of relief.

All this solace was cut short by the calamitous news that the young and promising Prime Minister fell a victim to a bomb blast engineered by the terrorists belonging to the LTTE, when he visited Sri Perambadur in Tamil Nadu. A human bomb in the shape of a lady attempting to garland the P.M. had triggered off the bomb built in her body, killing the P.M. and a few others instantaneously. This news of a sudden end to the hope for a bright future had sent shock waves throughout the country. It was most unfortunate that Rajeev had inherited certain qualities of thoughtless and quick decisions on matters deserving deep consideration. Government of India sending its troops in support of the Sreelanka's government to put down the Tamil Elam movement for self determination was ill advised. It was a clear interference into the internal affairs of a neighboring country. Tamil minority in Sreelanka expects moral support from India where crores of Tamilians exist. In Tamil Nadu, moral support to LTTE is well known. National arrogance of the Punjabee families had cut short the life of Smt. Indira Gandhi who accepted the wrong advice to chase the leader of sikh religion, Bhindranvale hiding inside the Golden Temple. Now Mr.Gandhi was cruelly murdered by terrorists for the fault of following an ill-advised decision to hurt the Tamil sentiment. Politics, according to me is a

science having far reaching effects on social life requiring serious analysis of any phenomenon with a broad vision. Decentralising is also an art of drawing power from the people, and utilise it to run the administration, qualitatively superior to each and every authoritarian administration of the past. People should have the satisfaction of self rule. Ultimately the quality of the person elected counts much more than any form of democratic election.

Late Sri Vishvanath Pratap Singh, a tested politician as a good C.M. of Utter Pradesh was elevated to fill the void created by the untimely demise of Sri Rajeev Gandhi. This change did not stabilise the political situation. His stewardship for 11 months between 2-12-1989 and 10-11-1990 was not enough to judge his performance. However, he is remembered for initiating a social reform by appointing a commission headed by Mr.Mandal for the identification of the backward classes in the country and to classify them for necessary political reservations. This was done, despite the obstructions created by the youth hailing from the so called upper castes. This principle of reservations is now being followed in all the states in as much as the elections to the local bodies are concerned. BCs now want this reservation to be extended to the levels of central and state legislatures. Indian social structure based on caste system, peculiar when compared with the whole world, deserves positive consideration through amending our constitution.

The P.M. Sri Vishwanath Pratap Singh was replaced by late Sri P.Chandra Sekhar, whose short term between 10-11-1990 and 21-06-1991, seven months only, was only negligible for any evaluation. Then entered my venerable good friend late Sri P.V.Narasimha Rao who led the Indian government from 21-06-1991 to 18-05-1996 for full five years. Jharkhand Mukthi Morcha's five members of parliament saved his government providing bare majority. At the same time these five members unfolded the worst practice of accepting bribe from the ruling party, notes for votes, which was challenged and proved in the court of law. It does not behove of a party with the best traditions behind it. P.V. as the P.M. with Sri Manmohan Singh as Finance Minister had to face the worst ever financial crisis when the government could not pay the interests on the loans contracted from the World Bank and had to literally mortgage tons of gold with the bank. Such a worst financial crisis had forced the government of India to take a paradigm shift in its fiscal policy and liberalise its closed door economy welcoming the foreign investment and trade. The economic crisis was a blessing in disguise to herald a new direction of open door policy putting an end to closed doorism. It is this open door policy that has enabled the foreign and native private capitalists to play their role in building Indian economy which has today occupied an enviable position in the comity of nations with its 8 to 9 percent annual growth rate and a stable economy. This enhanced growth rate, compared with the previous proverbial "Hindu rate of growth" of 3 to 4 percent, is commendable and provides a strong base for embarking on yet a new path of distributive justice and inclusive growth aimed at reducing poverty of

almost fifty percent of the Indian population. The credit for such a far-reaching growth goes to PV and his colleague and the present P.M. Sri Man Mohan Singh.

Late P.V as the Prime Minister, had to suffer from a black spot which could not be erased at all. His “wait and see” mentality and practice of indecision even over major policy questions proved very costly when the Hindu communal fanatics dared to demolish the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya. It was not an event which happened suddenly surprising the country. On the other hand it was very much on the agenda before the P.M. His own soft corner towards Hindutva, blinded him and made him to believe in the false promises made by Sadhus whom he had persuaded to behave and also the empty assurances given to him by the tallest leadership of the BJP whose active support he sought for to maintain law and order by keeping away from the Babri Masjid. His beliefs were belied and thousands of Sadhus and the workers of BJP erased the old structure of Babri Masjid to ground while the whole country witnessed in the Television. The P.M. could take a strong decision to prevent the operation demolition, even at the eleventh hour which he did not. This shameful event shattered Indias image of its commitment to secularism. Except this most unfortunate event, P.V’s period of Prime Ministership heralded a new path of speedy economic growth and a better governance.

#### **D) Establishment of the Telangana Martyrs’ Memorial Trust (TMMT):**

Establishment of the TMMT in 1983 gives another dimension to my socio-political service to my motherland, the freedom fighters in particular. Late Sri Ravi Narayana Reddy my ideological Guru and companion encouraged me to undertake this lofty venture, himself being the originator of this idea. The historic Telangana movement, started with the aim to attain the civil liberties under the autocratic rule of the Nizam, developing into the movement for socio-political reforms, assumed the nature of an armed struggle against the cruel feudalism, with its forced labour and concentration of land. It had evolved into a militant armed force demanding the Nizam’s state of Hyderabad to merge with Indian union in 1947-48. Over 4000 partisans of this great movement had laid down their precious lives at the altar of the mother land demanding full freedom and far reaching socio-economic reforms like land to the tiller and responsible government. This movement had attracted the attention of the whole world, creating a durable impact on the Indian people’s movement. Ravi Narayana Reddy, Baddam Yella Reddy, D.Venkateswara Rao, Maqdoom Moiuddin and Raj Bahadur Gaur, and Arutla Kamala Devi were among the notable pioneers of this popular movement. A host of second rank leaders or second generation leadership contributed to make the movement deep rooted and more and more militant. I, for one, had the fortune to follow them and do my bit in the student movement, youth movement, and then state level political movement.

Ravi and myself being very close in political thinking for the last few decades were also influenced by the successful efforts made by late Sri Govinddas Shroff and P.V.Narasimha Rao in registering the Swami Ramananda Teertha Memorial Trust and raising funds from the freedom fighters who had just started getting freedom fighter's pensions. Telangana martyrs', most of them belonging to the then CPI, had to be remembered by the CPI. Some how the CPI now divided did not politically relish the idea of accepting any pensions from the bourgeois state or central governments in leu of sacrifices made for the country. This was the out come of the then general political policy of both the CPI's. We were forced to take our own decision to form the TMMT and also to do our best to get political pensions for the living freedom fighters and for the families of the martyrs'. Accordingly we plunged into action with determination, got the trust registered with the seed money of five thousand; Sri Ravi Narayana Reddy and myself as President and Secretary respectively. We had included the names of Raj Bahadur Gaur, Giri Prasad, K.L.Mahendra, Dasari Nagabhushana Rao and V.K.Adinarayana Reddy as members of the trust. We thanked them for accepting our proposal. They took it as our good gesture of honouring them. We had also included as founders of the trust almost all the state council members of the CPI hailing from Telangana, whom we informed much later and they confirmed our idea with thanks. I am venturing to go into the above details only to reiterate that the future CPI leadership will appreciate the real history behind the trust and carry forward its moral responsibility to see that the trust functions as a broad, independent body and carries forward the lofty aims and objects enshrined in the trust deed.

The leaders of both the Communist parties who had jail certificates did apply for and got the political pension sanctioned. The problem of thousands of comrades who led underground life and who made sacrifices remained untouched. Evidently such a dual policy hurt the sentiments of partisans of struggle. Our offer to render our services to help them, in this regard encouraged them to apply for such pensions. Within a year the number of such applicants reached to thousands and it was a bit difficult for us to monitor and assist all of them. Slowly party leaders too responded to the pressures from the ranks. But the main job of obtaining recognition for the communist freedom fighters, particularly for those who did not go to jail but remained under ground was a herculean task for us. Central government authorities had refused to even consider such applications. A canard that the communists had helped the Razakars and supported their slogan of "Azad Hyderabad" was spread by the anti communist congress men. Such a false propaganda had become a big hurdle in our way. Ultimately a senior congress leader Sri Govind Das Shroff who was appointed as the Chairman of the Special Screening Committee to examine and process the applications, agreed with us and asked Sri Ravi Narayana Reddy to furnish the names of the border camps and their incharges who had trained the partisans of armed struggle. Ravi did the needful and all those camps were recognized by the central government. Ravi and myself had to visit Delhi a number of

times to discuss with the Ministers and officials concerned to dispel the false and cooked up propaganda against the CPI. Govindas's strong recommendation made our job easy. Shroff had initiated the bold decision to strongly recommend the cases of underground communists. This had paved the way for a favourable consideration of hundreds of cases of the communists who had satisfied all the conditions imposed by the central government. This opening of the road had increased our responsibilities, both in sorting out the applications initially, weeding out the bogus applications and then to see the correct applications befit the formats prescribed by the central government. With the assistance of the district level party leadership we could discharge our duty satisfactorily. Com.Chandra Rajeswara Rao, the General Secretary of the CPI, had personally complimented on our efforts and included my name in the All India party cell for serving the freedom fighters. Govind Das Shroff committee, despite its sympathy with communists could not cope up with the gigantic task of processing thousands of applications whose number went on increasing. He had, in all, examined 21000 applications and recommended for seven thousand cases, rejecting or keeping as pending, the rest. Later on, after a lapse of over two years, when Sri I.K.Gujral was the Prime Minister and Sri Indrajeet Gupta of the CPI was the Home Minister, government of India had appointed the special screening committee under the chairmanship of late Sri Giri Prasad, M.P. The new committee consisted of the representatives of Congress, CPI(M) and the CPI on it. I was one of them. Sri Giri Prasad's untimely death had caused a lull in the functioning of the committee. The Committee was reorganized under my chairmanship. Our committee functioned seriously for over an year examining about 41,000 applications and recommended for sanction 13,500 deserving cases, rejecting all others on grounds of impropriety, under age, etc. The committee headed by me consisted of veteran freedom fighters, namely late Sri Paga Pulla Reddy the then President of the Gandhi Bhavan Trust, Sree K.V. Keshavulu President of Sri Ramananda Teertha Memorial Trust, late Sri Bheemreddy Narasimha Reddy, Ex.MP, Sri Nandyala Srinivasa Reddy, Ex.MLA, late Sri Kodati Narayana Rao, a veteran Freedom fighter and late Sri Vijaya Mohan Reddy, retired medical officer and freedom fighter. All the recommendations and other resolutions made by the committee were unanimous. With the change of the central cabinet, and the installation of the first U.P.A. government things took a different turn. On some false applications by those whose applications were rejected by our committee, the central government had ordered for the review of all the recommended cases in the light of fresh guidelines issued by the Home Ministry. Near about half of the recommended cases were sanctioned and the rest were ordered for review. Another committee under the Chairmanship of Sri Konda Laxman Bapuji was appointed to review the pending cases, the committee did not function for long. The Chairman of the committee Sri Bapuji tendered his resignation on grounds of non cooperation of the Ministry for Home, Government of India. After a lapse of some time, another committee headed by Sri B.Venkata Rama Rao, a veteran freedom

fighter was appointed. The committee is facing the same problem of non cooperation of Home Ministry. Even the cases finally recommended for sanction are not being sanctioned on some ground or other. Pending files are not being submitted to the committee. This is an absolute disinterest being shown by the central government. It is not honouring the decisions made by the empowered committee appointed by itself. It is high time the representatives of the people of Telangana take it up with all seriousness and get justice to the partisans of the great Telangana movement.



*Late Sri Indrajeet Gupta, the then Home Minister, Govt. of India and the former General Secretary of the CPI along with Sri K.V. Keshavulu, present President of the Swamy Ramananda Tirtha Memorial Trust and Member of the H.S.S.C., Garlanding the author who chaired the H.S.S.C.*

One can easily estimate that five to ten percent of the valid applications might not be hundred percent genuine. After a lapse of sixty long years, it is very difficult to determine the genuineness of each and every applicants' claim. It is agreed on all hands that thousands of Telangana heroes were subjected to inhuman suffering in all the jails of the Hyderabad state, while twenty to thirty thousand of youth were subjected to all kinds of repression inside villages on grounds of fighting against the Nizam's autocracy. In this back drop a few thousands of sufferers have every right to claim their rightful pension. Political prejudices against the communists is responsible for this callous and negative attitude of the congress led UPA government. Political fight alone can force the centre to see the truth.

Coming back to the TMMT, the board of trustees had decided to construct a memorial building to be named after late Ravi Narayana Reddy, the founder President of the trust and the top most leader of the historic Telangana armed

struggle for freedom and democracy in real terms. I was entrusted with the job of getting a suitable site for the building utilising my contact with the government and the CM in particular. I was busy neck deep with the problems of freedom fighters and as the Secretary of the Trust it was my primary responsibility to work for the construction of a building befitting the name and fame of the departed and beloved leader of Telangana.

I had succeeded in getting the land at Baghlingampally suitable for the purpose at the time when Sri Nedorumalli Janardhana Reddy was the C.M. The trust had organized a public meeting at the site where the foundation laying ceremony was conducted. Late Sri Giri Prasad had laid the foundation stone for the Martyrs' column while late Sri Krishna Kanth, the Governor of A.P. had laid the foundation stone for the Ravi Narayana Reddy Memorial Auditorium. However this satisfaction was short lived. The inhabitants of Baghlingampally brought to light the fact that the above piece of land was earmarked for a children's play ground and any construction there on would be against the will of the people of the locality. They had even gone to the court of law and obtained an injunction order preventing our construction. We contested the case and after a couple of years had decided to withdraw from the litigation in the interest of local people. The political situation was most unstable. Very soon a new party Telugu Desham under the leadership of late Sri N.T.Rama Rao came to power. I started my efforts for a site again.

Years passed by, my single handed effort continued. At long last, when NTR was replaced by Sri Nara Chandrababu Naidu, in 1995 I had succeeded in getting a positive assurance from the new C.M. He had explained his inability to take any quick decision as the government lands in the city had been encroached upon or were under litigation. He, therefore advised me to search for any place free from encroachment or litigation with the help of the city Collector. He asked the Collector to help me in my effort. Myself and the Collector searched for such a land and ultimately came to the conclusion that the necessary piece of land adjoining the Lotus Pond marshy and low level land alone was free from litigation or encroachment. We had brought the subject matter to the notice of the C.M. who readily accepted to allocate about 2000 Sq.yards in favour of T.M.M.T for the construction of the Ravi Narayana Reddy Memorial Auditorium, free of cost. Accordingly the G.O. was issued and necessary mutations in the government records were made. Over six to seven years of ceaseless efforts were required for this job. I felt that I achieved a very big thing in my life and my colleagues of the trust expressed their appreciation for my single handed efforts. I was happy with the encouragement. Activity of the trust, dormant for a long time, got picked up and we wanted to raise funds required therefor. As known to every body, the board of trustees consisted of the top ranking and senior most leaders of the CPI. The aim of the trust was to perpetuate the struggles and sacrifices made by the known and unknown martyrs for the cause of freedom and democracy, eradication of

poverty and promotion of socio-economic justice through inclusive growth. The dreams of the martyrs got materialized but partially. A lot more requires to be achieved. The struggle deserves to be continued involving all the left, democratic forces. The trust and the R.N.R. Auditorium will carry forward the aims and objects of the trust and perpetuate the memory of Telangana martyrs.

After the acquisition of the land, Trust's attention was drawn towards the construction of the memorial building complex. Trust, during the life time of Sri R.N received donations up to 15 lakh rupees. The cost of construction went on increasing. The board of trustees made an appeal for rupees fifty lakhs donations, and then again issued a call for one crore rupees. Unfortunately the calls fell on deaf ears and the expected quarters did not take them with the seriousness it deserved. However all concerned continued to encourage me to go ahead with a sense of optimism. I was already involved neck deep in the service of freedom fighters apart from my routine work on the kisan front and the front of legislature. Freedom Fighters who got their pensions sanctioned took the moral responsibility to donate at least one month's pension towards the building fund and credit the same in the bank account jointly operated by the President and Secretary. After the demise of R.N. President of the trust, it was operated by me jointly with Sri S.Sudhakara Reddy, a member of the trust and the state Secretary of the CPI. As already mentioned, my contact with the freedom fighters continued to be closer more and more. My room in Maqdoom Bhavan and my house were literally converted into freedom fighters' offices where we rendered assistance to hundreds of ignorant and illiterate freedom fighters. This assistance through party worked wonders when the freedom fighters were successful in getting pensions, who donated funds liberally towards the building fund. An instance, in this connection would gladden all the freedom fighters.

After a few years I once visited the Bank only to know the position of the bank account. I became dizzy with the happy news that the figure had mounted up from Rs. 15 lakhs to Rs. 50 lakhs. Immediately I came back to party office and requested Com. Sudhakara Reddy the then Secretary of the state party to come to the back room where Com. Dasari Nagabhushana Rao, Ex.Secretary and the Central Executive member was seated. I bolted the room from within and informed about the good will of the freedom fighters and their liberal donations. We thanked the unknown freedom fighters for their generosity. Later on our office staff tried to obtain the names of the donors for record purpose. The banker had expressed his inability to furnish the names as the amounts were deposited through drafts drawn from different banks of rural Telangana. This is a shining example of the patriotic culture promoted and nurtured by the great Telangana movement and its immortal leaders.

With Rs.50 lakhs on hand, the trust initiated to construct the building complex on its own. Sri K.Devaiah a labour contract mestree, well known to me for his sympathy towards party and me personally was employed. Late Sri

A.Guruva Reddy a member of the trust with a lot of experience about construction took charge of supervising the work. Within a year or so, the cash on had got exhausted in building the super structure. The land was a part of a tank now called Lotus Pond. The task of laying the foundations deep into the already deep tank, removing and breaking the boulders all round and then filling up with sand and hard soil took time and proved very costly. Sree Devaiah's hard work with dedication and Sri A.Guruva Reddy's tireless, strenuous work in supervising and accounting for, sitting in hot sun is ever memorable. Sri Devaiah, a professional builder, continued the construction work even after we stopped the payment, and our leader went on recording. I had to repeatedly request Sri Devaiah not to proceed any further. However he continued the work till he too got exhausted. He repeatedly expressed his faith in my capacity to raise funds and adjust. I knew my limitations and the limitation of the party when, twice our calls for funds did not materialize. Ultimately the work of construction came to a standstill with over 40 lakh rupees payable to Sri Devaiah. The construction work could not be taken up for another about two years. The board of trustees in every meeting expressed its helplessness to find any way out. Some selfish idea to sell the ground portion and complete the hall above was mooted and I took serious objection to it and succeeded in nipping it in the bud with the help of the party leaders. Some Telugu dailies had pointed their finger at the inordinate delay in the construction of such a prestigious memorial building. Board of trustees, finding no way out decided to take the assistance of some professional builders who undertake the job on the principle of B.O.T ie., build, operate, and transfer. Some gentleman came forward and we entered into an agreement with him. Two years had passed and the lessee could not even start the work. I even suggested to lessee to obtain loan from any bank by mortgaging the existing structure. Even then he could not do his duty. Waiting for two long years was too much and we terminated his contract. Again the trust board decided to search for a dependable party to deliver goods. At that stage, I personally took the job very seriously and pressurised two of my personal friends in India and three N.R.Is, all together five, to form into a society and undertake the job, based on the principle of BOT and complete the construction in a record time. Mr.Devaiah both as our sympathizer and the investor of over 40 lakhs rupees assured them of his services. The subject of entrusting the job to a society was discussed twice by the trust and it was unanimously resolved to entrust the total construction work to the new party, a firm organized with our own effort. The trust suggested to alter the name from "the freedom Fighters successors firm" to freedom fighters' sympathisers' firm". They agreed to it and the detailed agreement was signed by both the parties. The trustees had put a condition that the lessee firm should pay to Sri Devaiah all the amount due to him as a non returnable good will fund and then start working. Accordingly Sri Devaiah was cleared of his dues payable by the trust. Within a year and a half the whole work was completed. The board of trustees was more than satisfied with the speed of work which was left half way for over

five long years. In the year 2004, when I was reelected to the Assembly for the sixth term, the building was inaugurated. Sri Shiva Raj Patil, the Hon'ble Home Minister of India inaugurated the Ravi Narayana Reddy Memorial auditorium while the new Chief Minister Sri Y.S.Raja Sekhara Reddy opened the hall in the ground floor. Sri Jana Reddy the then Home Minister opened the library hall, Sri N.Chandra Babu Naidu the Ex.C.M took the honour of garlanding the portrait of Sri Ravi Narayana Reddy after whose name the auditorium was named. Thus came into existence, got materialized, our dream. According to the lease deed the portion consisting of the office room, the furnished library hall and the Martyrs' column will remain under the possession of the trust. Also the corridor of the second floor for setting up a museum commemorating the saga of the great Telangana movement, will remain with the trust.



*The Ravi Narayana Reddy Auditorium and the martyrs memorial located on Road No.12, Banjara Hills, Hyderabad*

The board of trustees could succeed in setting up a library. Trust has yet to fully utilize the hall for promoting the lofty aims of the trust. This property belongs to the Telangana Martyrs' Memorial Trust and its income, pie to pie will be spent for its maintenance and essentially for the implementation of the lofty aims of the trust. This reiteration by me is only to inform the new blood, in future, entrusted with the honourable duty to run the trust, up to the wishes of its founders. Some avoidable details have been dealt with purposefully lest the negative thinkers should twist the facts and suppress the truth to suggest any falsehood. I must be excused for this.

In my long public life covering about seven decades I have led a life of contentment, undergoing difficulties and accumulating success. I am proud of having been the member of the CPI for over five decades, happy for having served the freedom fighters and their families and happiest to have succeeded in constructing the Ravi Narayana Reddy Memorial Hall and the T.M.M.T. complex, in cooperation with my venerable members of the Trust.

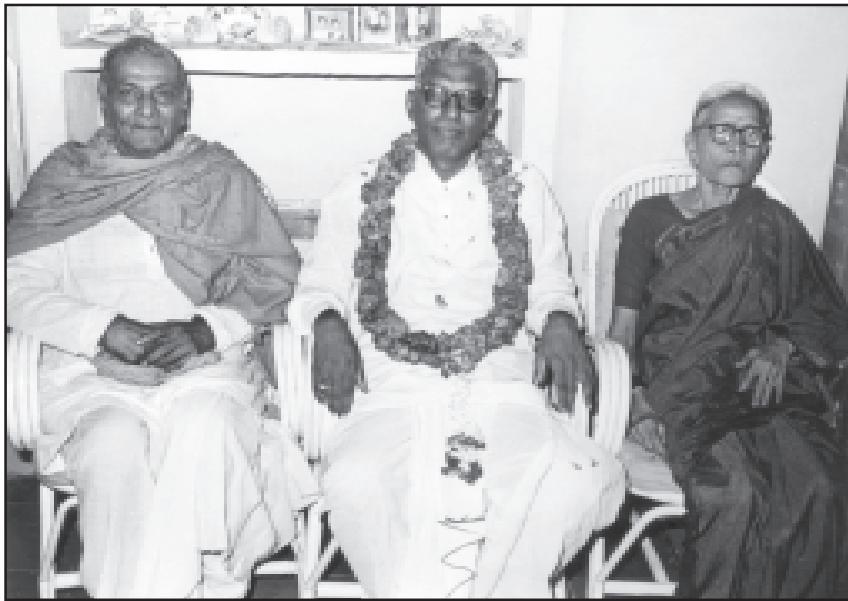
I have the pleasure of serving the A.P. Freedom Fighter's organization in the capacity of its working president for over a decade. This organization is

presently led by the seasoned freedom fighters consisting of a popular leader of the congress party, Sri M.S.Rajalingam garu, Ex.Minister, as its president along with the vice presidents Sri G.Narayana Rao, Retd.IAS, and B.Venkata Rama Rao, a veteran Gandhite and with its ever active general secretaries like Sarvasree B.Ranga Reddy, Myada Ramachandra Reddy and Y.Krishna Murthy along with other office bearers having a very long history of serving the freedom fighters and championing the cause of the people from time to time. To work with them is a proud and pleasant privilege for me. I am very sorry to record the demise of our President Sri M.S. Rajalingam garu at the age of 94 years on 23-1-2012.

I am also heading the Karimnagar District Freedom Fighters Trust for the last over a decade which was founded by my colleague late Sri K.V.Narsinga Rao along with others. The trust is running a school for mentally retarded students successfully with the assistance of the central government. The board of trustees consisting of the time tested freedom fighters and the selfless younger leaders with Sri Gotte Bhupathy, Ex.MLA and Ex.MP, as the managing trustee. An able team leader, is performing to the best satisfaction of one and all. As a humble and senior social worker I owe my hearty thanks to all my comrades in arms for their sincere cooperation.



*With late Sri Ravi Narayana Reddy, president of the  
“Telangana Martyrs’ Memorial Trust”*



*late Sri Ravi Narayana Reddy the veteran of the Telangana armed struggle with his wife late Ravi Seetadevi greet Sri Chennamaneni on the occasion of his sixtieth birth anniversary at his residence*



*With the tireless leader  
Com.Ch.Vital Reddy, Ex.MLA*



*With the most popular leader of  
backward classes and the  
renowned leader of the CPI late  
Com.Dharma Bhiksham, Ex.MP*



*With the freedom fighter, an able legislator and CPI leader  
Com. Vanka Satyanarayana, Ex,MLA*



*With late Sri M.S.Rajalingam, Ex.Minister and President of  
A.P.Freedom Fighter's Organisation.*



*late Sri Vijay Kumar Sinha, colleague of Martyr Bhagat Singh, along with his wife late Smt. Rajyam Sinha, Retired Director of Information Dept., Govt. of A.P., greet Sri Chennamaneni on the occasion of his sixtieth birth anniversary at his residence*



*Sarvasree late Arutla Ramachandra Reddy and late Y.V. Krishna Rao, veterans of Kisan moment in A.P. in greet their colleague Chennamaneni at his house on the occasion of his sixtieth birth anniversary*

## **12. COLOURFUL POLITICS (1994-2004)**

Let us look back and recollect the periods of the Prime Ministers and their parties which had impacted this colourful decade in Indian politics. Late Sri P.V.Narasimha Rao worked as Prime Minister for full term from 21-06-1991 to 16-05-1996.

Sri Atal Behari Bajpai, the leader of the BJP led the Central Government from 16-05-1996 to 01-06-1996; one month, Sri H.D.Devegauda of Janata Dal held the reins of power as Prime Minister of India for a period of ten months 01-06-1996 to 21-04-1997.

Sri Inder Kumar Gujral ruled as the P.M. of India from 21-04-1997 to 9-03-1998, for eleven months representing the left and democratic coalition.

Sri Atal Behari Bajpai wielded the Prime Ministerial power for a period of six years and two months between 19-03-1998 and 22-05-2004 and had provided a stable government at the centre.

The government of united progressive alliance(UPA) led by Sri Man Mohan Singh is ruling the country from 2004 till the date with stability. One can easily realize from the above decade of change in political power that the time of a single political party wielding power at the centre had come to a close and the era of a coalition of like minded parties had begun. National Democratic Alliance under the leadership of the Bharatiya Janata Party(NDA) and the United Progressive Alliance(UPA) led by the Indian National Congress are vying with each other for central power. Efforts for evolving a third front as an alternative have failed twice.

Inside our state of Andhra Pradesh prior to 1994, congress party had to change three Chief Ministers within five years and had to hand over power to the TDP. I had to face defeat in 1989 elections and again got elected in the year 1994 and worked as President and leader of the CPI Legislature party.

### **A) Crisis in TDP**

TDP with resounding electoral victory in 1994 unanimously elected its legendary leader N.T.R. as Chief Minister. NTR with his team of ministers had planned to run the government drawing lessons from his previous failures. But most unexpectedly, the growing personal differences inside the CM's family had cast their shadow on his political life resulting in a serious crisis inside the legislature party of the TDP in August 1995. The trouble emanating from the formation of the cabinet and the reorganization of the party, very soon developed into a serious political crisis. NTR pulling on one side and his own son-in-law

Sri N.Chandrababu Naidu on the other side, making their political differences irreconcilable. NTR, the tallest in the party, refused to patch up his differences and came to a bold decision to recommend for the dissolution of the Assembly despite having comfortable majority for his party. He wanted to avenge all those who dared to challenge his unquestioned leadership and show them the door. The CPI, as a friendly party wanted to intervene and use its good offices to patch up the differences and avoid the dissolution of the Assembly. We rang up the Chief Minister and expressed our desire to meet him before he meets the Governor to handover his papers of resignation. He responded positively and asked us to see him before 6 AM, the next day. Accordingly late Mr.Dasari Nagabhushana Rao, the party secretary and myself reached his house before the appointed time. But to our utter surprise the CM had already left for the Governor's residence and handed over papers of his Cabinet's resignation along with the resolution to dissolve the Assembly. He came back and revealed to us what had happened. We only expressed to him our party's view and came back with a sense of fait accompli. The news spread and all well-meaning citizens expressed their surprise at the way a leader commanding comfortable majority recommended for its dissolution based on family feuds. All the elected TDP members, who remained with NTR flocked to the camp of Mr.Naidu located in the hotel Viceroy. A few were sitting on the fence or very close to NTR also had shifted their loyalty to the young and able political manager Sri Chandra Babu Naidu. Babu moved fast and adopted well advised legal steps. Immediately he addressed a letter to the Governor challenging the right of the CM when a majority of his own party had disowned him as leader, and had elected him as a new leader. He also managed to physically produce the majority of MLAs before the Governor making it impossible for the Governor to act upon the so called resolution submitted by the C.M. The Governor had no alternative before him except to invite the new leader of the majority party to form his cabinet. Law took its own course and the over estimation and the conceit of an individual, however popular otherwise, had to bow before the rule of law. A few of the MLAs remaining With NTR, too, had joined the camp of Mr.Babu, leaving NTR to his fate. Sri Nara Chandra Babu Naidu was formally invited by the Governor, to constitute his cabinet and steer the government.

The hasty decision of NTR to recommend for the dissolution of the Assembly despite commanding clear majority was disliked by the public at large. A legendary leader, who for the first time emerged as an acceptable alternative to the age old congress, and who headed the government once for five years and three months and then for nine months, had to enter the house as an ordinary member and occupy his seat usually meant for the Deputy Speaker, and leave the house unnoticed. This is the power of democracy I had the rare opportunity to closely observe this phenomenon. An individual, however big in his own field is subjected to the discipline of the party of his choice and the party however strong has to be accountable to the people, its electorate.

## **B) Sri Nara Chandrababu Naidu, as the Chief Minister**

Sri N.Chandrababu Naidu assumed power as the CM of the AP state on 1-9-1995. He had the experience as Minister in the Cabinet of NTR. He also had very good experience as the general secretary of the TDP ably managing the party affairs and assisting the CM in solving the complex and technical problems arising out of the administration. As a post graduate in economics he had enough knowledge about the fast changing economics in the world and their impact on Indian economy. His sincere efforts for an all round development of the sagging rural economy attracted the attention of the common people. People expected that very soon he would succeed in translating his promises in to practice and open a new chapter in the participatory democracy by involving the people at large.

CPI and the CPI(M) two left parties with a very good back ground of fighting for the solution of peoples' problems had extended their support to the government from 1985 to 1999, for a period of 15 years. Despite ideological differences, they offered their active support in elections and in all developmental activities reserving their right to criticize or even oppose the government's anti people policies. This general tactic of "unity and struggle' proved successful all over the world in the interest of the promotion of democracy as against conservative and reactionary forces. These two left parties which conveniently worked with the TDP in spite of its alliance with the BJP till 1999, suddenly delinked their alliance with it in the year 1999 on the ground of its alliance with BJP. In the general elections held in 2004, left parties made common cause with the congress to defeat Chandrababu's TDP. Yet again in the following general elections held in the year 2009 they united with TDP and TRS to defeat Rajasekhara Reddy led congress. Such a tactical line of the left parties, according to me does not behove of the seasoned left and smacks of their political opportunism. However, Sri Nara Chandrababu Naidu elected as the Chief Minister in the year 1995, continued in this position for 8 years and 8 months in all. Such a long period of governance is enough for its assessment by any political critic. I myself had the opportunity to closely observe his government for five years as a leader of the party in opposition extending its critical support. Before an analysis of the broad items of policy, let me dwell upon the contours of any good government.

TDP's ideology as expounded by its founder late Sri N.T.R. and repeatedly reiterated in all its annual conferences known as Mahanadu, consists of the eradication of poverty in the state by ensuring socio-economic justice to all the down trodden and backward classes, through their empowerment. It guaranteed equal status to women and full security to all minorities. If we peruse the ideological and programmatic documents of the Indian National Congress and its splinter parties and groups, as also the BJP, we find no qualitative difference in making promises. Then what is the reason for their signal failure to translate their promises into practice, despite the fact of their rule for decades together,

even with the support of the left? It is simple and clear for any political analyst. In an era of political democracy parties have to attract the voters and obtain political power to rule. This single need forces them to leave no stone unturned in making promises. Once elected, all the vested interests who managed the electoral victory through money and muscle power, supported by the iron frame of bureaucracy, raise their ugly head to utilize the political power for the furtherance of their own selfish interests, even going to the extent of putting down and suppressing the resistance of the people. In a country with appalling socio-economic backwardness, the proverbial saying about the “forgetfulness of the people” works wonders. The same political parties with new promises and new faces, mislead the people making the electoral democracy a farce. It is high time political thinkers on democracy and the left join their heads, ponder over the fast decline of democratic and social values leading to moral degeneration and act in unison to restore the public life. Reorientation of the left and centrists’ parties to rediscover democracy and to use the electoral machinery to form governments committed to a systemic change without any more delay will go a long way in the achievement of an inclusive socio economic progress paving the way for socialism. Or else, the parties of right reaction, with their religious fundamentalism, cultural revivalism, pro feudal anachronism will successfully arrest the social progress for another sixty and odd years making the given parliamentary democracy ineffective for a few more decades. Let us realize the gravity of the situation indicated by the fact finding report of late Sri Arjun Sen Gupta committee appointed by the UPA government which categorically stated that about 83 percent of the country’s population consisting of 77 crores of people are today leading a miserable life with an income of Rs. 20 per head per day. The human development report of the united nations for the year 2009 states that India stands at a shameful place of 134 among 182 countries of the world. Our own neighbouring countries are climbing up a few steps while our blessed country has fallen six steps down in a year. Despite a considerable growth in the GDP for the last two decades of open economy, our failure to reduce the poverty level should mainly be attributed to our following inherent weaknesses in our system of governance. The prioritization in the distributive justice of our national income is biased in favour of the rich classes and their corporate bodies which are spreading their tentacles to all fields of public life; leaving a meagre amount for the public sector and the measures of social welfare. Secondly, the large scale evasion of taxes at the state and central levels is reducing the very income of the state. It is agreed on all hands that at least fifty percent of the tax income, is being stashed in foreign banks as black money. An estimated amount of 2.5 billion dollars ie., over Rs. 12 lakh crores of unaccounted money is lying without any productive use. This is increasing with every passing year. Thirdly the corruption from top to bottom with the connivance of bureaucrats and politicians is eating into the vitals of our progress. All this can be arrested only if the modes of governance are radically reformed on war footing. Our constitution provides for the institutions to hold impartial

elections periodically, to administer the state with all its wings to function efficiently being accountable and transparent. The quality of the personnel manning all such institutions is crucial for the successful functioning of any constitutional democracy. Political party or the coalition of political parties running the governments in states and centre hold the responsibility for good or bad governance. Ultimately the level of political and social consciousness of the electorate determines the future of any democracy. Our political democracy, despite the passage of sixty long years has not yet achieved enough maturity to face the challenges. It is up to all political parties and civil societies to cultivate the public opinion through actions infusing in it the required dynamism imbued with social and human values. My own experience for the last over half a century, has convinced me about the invincibility of the mature public opinion with its capacity to change the social order, making democracy a powerful instrumentality. Broad based, conscious, united and militant peoples movement alone, and not mere slogan mongering and sectarian actions, devoid of a strong social capital in the form of strong public opinion, will succeed in changing the social order.

**Chandrababu as the CM:** I can say with full responsibility that Sri Nara Chandrababu Naidu's government was qualitatively different when compared to all previous congress governments. The content of change was that while the previous congress governments were run in a routine manner giving upper hand to the seasoned bureaucrats, Chandrababu led government gave a changed appearance with an apparent impact of his personal imprint on each and every policy pursued by the new government. He had tried his level best firstly to change the old mind set of the bureaucrats and secondly to involve the people at large in the day to day administration. Such an effort on his part won the appreciation of one and all who were fed up with the officialdom and its authoritarianism. In the beginning he even invited public response to his new policies with a clear purpose to make democracy to function. Credit goes to him for initiating the innovative concepts like "Prajala Vaddaku Palana", "Janmabhoomi" "elected education committees" "mothers Committees" and "Raitu Seva Samithies". Above all his dedicated efforts to initiate and establish women's self help groups(DWACRA) to promote austerity and empowerment of womenhood in their day to day life independent of their men folk has opened an entirely new chapter in the rural social life. This concept of promoting women's self help groups, successfully developed in Bangladesh, was efficiently executed in Andhra Pradesh yielding wonderful results, giving freedom to womenhood as well as expounding the lofty principle of 'dignity of labour'. Self help groups' commitment to such innovative, reformative ideas and boldness to execute them despite odds earned an all round support to the young and new Chief Minister. His innovative practice of holding classes for bureaucrats of all levels and to very frequently hold teleconferences to check up their work won laurels to him, even though a section of bureaucrats accustomed to their out moded practices, did not relish this change.

Sri Chandra Babu Naidu had a strong will to tread this new path and sincerely put all his energies in this direction personally undertaking hard work. His innovative ideas in industrializing the state and the development of Hyderabad city as the hub of advanced studies in science and technology added feather to his cap. The new city known as Cyberabad with sky high buildings and wide roads as also the construction of flyovers to facilitate and regulate the heavy traffic of the city, speaks volumes about his government's plans to modernize the city. Within a limited period of five years he achieved a national and even international fame for his efforts to modernize the life in the developing state of A.P. A number of men of science men of letters and outstanding statesmen from inside and outside our country made it a point to visit Hyderabad and exchange their ideas with Mr.Naidu. With such a back drop the electorate of AP reposed full confidence in his leadership and his party TDP giving it another term to carry forward its cherished ideals. Some more reflection on his good ideals would satisfy me.

**1) DWACRA Scheme:** This scheme now named as "Indira Kranthi Pathakam" has really revolutionized traditional, conservative mind of the rural working women folk. It started with the formation of a viable group of 15 women and saving a rupee per head per day and after a month, utilize the accumulated amount by any one of the members of the group, through auction on a rate of interest payable at the end of every month adding to the principal amount. In course of time such a collective and cooperative venture inculcated in them the values of cooperation, regular saving, and productive work culture, as against idleness and slavish mentality. Such a practice of running 'chit funds' already existed in a number of villages, operated by men of a particular caste or a particular work. Women's groups on the other hand received good encouragement from the state government in the form of grants and guaranteeing loans from the banks. The so called voiceless submissive women folk learnt a number of lessons through life of collective functioning in the form of educating their children and health care apart from exercising their independent role in their family life. Hardly within a period of two decades thousands of DWACRA groups with their village level and mandal level federations have emerged as companies or firms with enough financial resources to undertake any trade or business. Women who would otherwise feel shy and suffer from inferiority complex are today in a position to independently deal with the bankers and other government officers. It is really miraculous and marvellous

However a micro level study of the subject, reveals its inherent weakness to empower women in the real sense of the word. Empowerment in essence means their active participation in the process of production of material wealth of society which means their education and employment. What is achieved is very limited when considered in the back drop of over all poverty and socio-economic backwardness. We are facing with a gigantic task of promoting manufacturing industry capable of providing employment to crores of skilled

youth. Education system at all levels requires total overhauling to ensure a variety of skills to our young boys and girls. Presentation of the success story of DWACRA beyond proportion might help populism for short sighted politicians; but is only a very good beginning, not an end in itself.

**2) Janmabhoomi:** This was a programme intended to involve the people at large in the functions of participatory democracy when people have the liberty to represent to the officials and non officials about their felt needs along with complaints if any. Mandal level officials and the elected leaders were expected to visit every village once in every quarter of a year and sit in the local Gram Sabha, give patient hearing to each and every representation of the people. They were directed to solve problems then and there if they can or else they were bound to solve them within a short time and report back to the Gram Sabha in its next visit. At a time when the government officials behaved with the common man in an authoritarian manner, a hangover of the imperialist and semi feudal days, such an innovative practice of officials themselves visiting every village periodically with accountability appeared to be novel. The very name of the scheme as “Janmabhoomi” spelt the sense of patriotism and attracted people suffering with inferiority complex and servitude.

It boosted the image of the CM. Mr.Naidu manifold. An unforgettable event from my memory is worth mentioning. C.M. Mr.Naidu decided to personally participate in the launching of his prestigious programme. He had come to Karimnagar and asked the district Collector to take him to any village where Janmabhoomi programme would be conducted under the presidentship of the local MLA. The Collector in his wisdom suggested my own village Marupaka in Siricilla constituency with full confidence that I would surely be conducting the programme. CM with his convoy proceeded to our village on the road side. I was busy with the programme in accordance with the agenda as proposed in the government order. The news of CM’s visit surprised me and within minutes he reached and came to the place of the meeting of Grama Sabha. I was conducting the meeting as planned with a gathering of over one hundred men and women. The news of Chandrababu Naidu’s arrival spread in no time and very soon the school compound was full to its brim. I had the experience of seeing the Ministers and the Chief Minister visiting villages but this was unprecedented. Public at large, ladies in particular, were fond of seeing him in their own village from close quarters. CM in his speech expressed his profound happiness to visit a village of a freedom fighter, an MLA, as an auspicious day of launching his prestigious programme of Janmabhoomi. Our villagers were happy to see him speaking. When meeting was over, we proceeded. The CM asked me to tell him about any peoples’ demand deserving immediate sanction. I asked the driver to take the route of Sircilla town. Very soon we reached the weaver’s town facing many a problem deserving quick solution. We went straight into the local government hospital which was in a dilapidated condition often visited by stray animals like pigs and asses. Doctors

were not to be seen. We took a round talking to a few inpatients. It was enough to understand the most deplorable condition of the government hospital. The news of the CM's surprise visit to hospital spread throughout the town in no time and people thronged there to see the CM of their dream. The Chief Minister spoke for a few minutes and promised to sanction a hundred beded hospital for Sircilla. The hospital was sanctioned and inaugurated by the same CM who was reelected for a second time.

However, very soon such a patriotic gesture got its glamour faded up. The movement which had received the utmost support from the government, and was regularly reviewed and monitored from the Collector to the highest level, lost its glamour when the action taken reports(ATR) exposed the inefficiency of the government machinery and the paucity of funds. The people's needs, along with the demands for white ration cards, old age pensions and pensions for the disabled, increased up to unmanageable levels. People started grilling the government officers with their angry questions. Officials had to escape their accountability on some lame excuse or the other. Gradually people's attendance to the Gram sabhas got thinned, excepting a few who awaited their ration cards and pensions. Instances of people's boycott of the meetings came to light. A programme dependent entirely on officials, without the initiative from the people and adequate funds to finance the schemes is bound to be drowned creating chaos. The CM very skilful in imagining the populist programmes was riding on a tiger not knowing how to retreat from the possible political calamity. Planning from village level to the level of state, with a clear vision about the prioritization depending on the availability of resources and under the leadership of the elected local bodies alone can be expected to succeed. That is the real meaning of a participatory democracy.

**3) Village Level education committees and mothers' committees:** It is yet another statutory measure to involve the people in the management of the local school by an elected committee. Mothers' committees were intended to encourage their children at home which will go a long way to create among students a proper mind set at their young age. The idea appeared novel and attracted the people very much in its early stage. It did work yielding good results in the form of reducing the dropouts of students at the very primary education stage and encouraged the people to supervise the functioning of the schools. As time went on, the election to the education committees got politicalised fuelling village factionalism. Such steps of involvement of people should arise out of the voluntary and free will of the parents, with the active support and even incentives from the local self governments. A government through its administrative machinery already over-burdened with other populist programmes cannot be expected to discharge such a delicate job. Experiences of a few years have proved the futility of statutory bodies and the above statute has now become defunct.

**4) Mutual Aid Cooperative Societies(MACS):** The co-operative movement in the country including our state of A.P. is very old. The law governing this movement, enacted during the British days is most unfit under conditions of freedom and democracy. The cooperative act, despite amendments, has many loopholes inviting official interventions, sapping the people's role. Almost all the cooperatives, covering different fields of life, had lost the real spirit of people's own creative contribution and became the tools in the hands of corrupt officials who made money at the expense of common working people. It had created and promoted a class of people who acted as parasites and made the societies bankrupt reducing them to mere ornaments.

We in an Assembly committee had decided to visit Anand in the Gujarat State where a mutually aided cooperative society worked very well as cooperative of dairy farms known as Vijaya dairy cooperative led by the star cooperator Dr.Kurian. This cooperative, worked wonders involving the farmers and their elected leaders without the least interference by the government. We had a rare opportunity to study this society in its details. Accordingly we had prepared a detailed note on it and submitted it to our state government. I had even a bigger opportunity to study the working of the mutually aided cooperatives societies in Germany. We could easily convince the then C.M.Sri Naidu about the utility of such a cooperative act. He moved in the matter very quickly and very soon the bill was moved in our Assembly by Sri Devender Goud the then Minister. I was allowed to speak at length supporting the bill. All the party leaders and the entire house agreed to adopt the bill into law without any more discussion. It was a rare occasion of unanimity on any bill. We expected such an act to attract the attention of one and all and thus rejuvenate the decadent cooperative movement. But to my surprise and dismay, despite the passage of over a decade's time the registration of cooperative societies under this new act (MACS) is not even one percent. The reason is not far to seek. The very registrars and the bureaucrats sitting above are discouraging the promotion of such cooperative societies. The political leadership is totally silent over such an inaction. Corrupt bureaucracy is equally responsible, along with short sighted politicians for torpedoing and sabotaging the good policies and acts of the governments. A committed bureaucracy hand in hand with politicians with a vision and will power is needed to replace the present out moded structure of administration.

**5) Committees to conserve water and protect forests:** These committees are yet another well intended brain child of the innovative CM Mr.Naidu. Age old ignorance of the life giving gifts of nature led to the indiscriminate use and irresponsible behaviour of the societies towards them. Expansion of population, development of towns and cities and the consequent pollution of air and water as also the spread of scientific knowledge are opening the eyes of societies to correct their irresponsible attitude towards nature.

It has yet to catch the imagination of all the members of society whose collective efforts alone can take effective steps to conserve water and forests. Statutory measures in this connection can at best work as warnings but to believe in their efficacy to ensure conservation is simplistic. Bureaucracy, left to itself, can never shoulder such an onerous responsibility. Population at large with civic societies, through sustained activity on awareness in this direction can succeed in arresting the further deterioration. The state government under Mr.Naidu, tried to enforce laws on Vanasamrakshana Samithies, Raitu Mitra Sanghams but such success was short lived as unhealthy competitions for capturing their leadership marred the real purpose behind such enactments. In a very short period of time government itself had to stop such venture. During the term of late Sri YSR, the movement to appoint paid Adarsha Kisan leaders for every village had become a laughing stock. The paid kisan volunteers, supposed to guide the agriculturists in modern farming operations, were filled with the political volunteers of a particular party having no knowledge about agriculture and even new to the village where they were supposed to work. Ultimately such a malpractice had to be given up under the pressure of the public at large.

**6) Adarana Scheme:** Another scheme for cheap propaganda is adarana. Its purpose was to provide the villagers of different occupations with the implements required. Providing bicycles to the school going girls ironing instruments to the Dhobees etc., appeared to be very attractive as the beneficiaries vied with each other in obtaining such free bees. Even the few educated in each village exclaimed at such cheap propaganda measures. A popular Chinese saying : to teach fishing instead of serving the cooked fish" appeared to be apt. Backwardness, both economic and social can be eradicated in a process of educating the people in all trades and making them skilled to work hard and earn their living through self help. Such a sustainable productive labour is bound to evolve into a self reliant economy of Gandhijee's dreams. Present day politicians are impatient to obtain political power by hook or crook caring a hang for the lasting development. Sree Chandrababu Naidu's good intentions behind such short cuts need not be doubted. He, with all his academic qualifications, just forgot the histories of all developed nations, and had resorted to schemes yielding quick political results.

**7) Neeru Meelu:** This is the best scheme inculcating in every citizen the importance of the conservations of water. Execution of water shed schemes, conservation of water by constantly replenishing the ground water, preventing the soil erosion and water harvesting schemes along with the desilting the reservoirs are the various forms of this ideal programme. I personally had extended my total support and had initiated a number of programmes in my Sircilla constituency. The ideal and most productive programme had very soon become unwieldy as its funding position became precarious. The role of the irrigation department with its contractor system hastened its end. Many projects undertaken had to be stopped midway because of the paucity of funds.

**8) Ethics Committee of the Assembly:** A.P. stands first in the whole country in giving a shape to the long felt need to check and control the unparliamentarily behavior of the Honourable members of the house. C.M. Mr.Naidu evinced his keen interest in the formation of such committee with strict rules. Mr.Yanamala Rama Krishnudu, the then Speaker headed this committee while myself along with other leaders of the parties had the pleasure to function on such committee. We gathered the public opinion by interviewing all concerned with particular reference to senior citizens and journalists. We succeeded in framing the rules for the effective functioning of the committee. The committee examined the honourable members who had made it their habit to misuse their privileges and perquisites. A few misdeeds deserve mention. Hon'ble member's behavior on the floor of the house should never cross the rules of the house and the established conventions there of. Members are bestowed with certain facilities and perquisites. There are a few who misuse them. I had the misfortune to handle few cases where the Honourable members had misrepresented and cheated the Assembly office to obtain money illegally. Medical reimbursement facility very often was misused by producing false certificates. Members facility to get house sites almost free of cost was shamelessly misused tarnishing the image of law makers. An instance of such a nature when the honourable member had earned the name of a realter had pained me a lot. My experience had suggested me that the committee should function with greater independence avoiding pressures on it. However with little more sharper teeth incorporated in rules it can deliver goods expected of it. The all round deterioration of values in the society is bound to reflect inside the August house. It is up to the political parties and their leaders to select the candidates possessing good character and then get them elected to adorn the house.

### **C) Chandrababu Naidu's Progressive outlook**

All said and done the then young CM Mr.Naidu;s almost two terms of stewardship was more positive, full of a number of good initiatives to change the governance and make it more democratic and popular. Politician often faces a conflict or contradiction between the short term; populist measure and the long term sustainable interest of the people and is expected to take a quick decision. A statesman politician naturally prefers a sustainable policy measure and subordinates the short term interest to long term interest irrespective of the popularity gained or lost. Such conflicts between individual and community interests bother the social workers. It would be ideal if both the conflicting interests could be harmonized, or else, a seasoned leader always prefers lasting maximum good to the maximum number of people. Mr. Naidu's decision making was mixed. He did prefer sustainability durability and a lasting good to a maximum number of beneficiaries. However he could not always stick to such principles and had to give in to the pressures. In a backward and under developed society, faced with the frequent electoral needs, political leaders have to be flexible and accommodative without sacrificing the principles. Public opinion

about a leader, positive or negative, takes a definite shape after a thorough stock taking of a leader's behaviour, his precepts and practices, promises and performances good or bad intentions. Mr.Naidu who assumed power from his powerful politician father-in-law late Sri NTR, did his best and won the following elections with comfortable majority by dint of hard work with wisdom and pragmatism. His period of Chief Ministership had impacted the public opinion with unprecedented uniqueness and a big change in governance.

He was the first CM who understood the importance of infrastructure for rural development. Protected water supply schemes, rural roads, school buildings, primary health centres were taken on a large scale. My own experience in Siricilla constituency testifies to such an understanding. Most neglected R&B roads from Sircilla to Sirikonda, Vemulawada to Korutla, Vemulawada to Jagityal and road from Vemulawada to Sirikonda, were restored and widened. Protected drinking water schemes were taken up and completed in about fifty and odd villages. School buildings in almost all villages were constructed to the extent of the local necessity. Power supply through CESS increased and the power tariff for the power looms was reduced to fifty percent giving the status of the small scale industry to the power loom industry. It is giving immense relief to the owners and workers of the industry. Such a developmental atmosphere was not confined to few selected areas. It was a general phenomenon and the people at large expressed their satisfaction.

**Political Leaders:** According to my own experience and understanding, any good political leader is one who has a social outlook and a minimum commitment for a social change. This may vary in its degree, never-the-less its possession and persuasion towards perfection is a must. The very nature of the work indicates the leader's close contact with the mass of the people and their local leaders. A political or social leader can never do the job alone; collective thinking, cooperative spirit, and uniting with ever larger number of people in action to achieve the cherished goal, immediate or distant, are his primary prerequisites. Individualism, intolerance to public opinion are alien to this job. Such recognized social or political leaders through their new and progressive ideas and their relentless actions make such ideas acceptable to the mass of people. Then the idea becomes a powerful force taking the shape of a social capital. Such an ever widening and ever growing social capital is the real capital capable of changing the old social order with their antiquated, outmoded and even reactionary implications. Creation of such a social capital and harnessing it to change the existing decadent social order is the duty of political leaders with common understanding, about collective work, and united action to resist and defeat the tottering systems of society or governance. Such a gigantic task can never be executed by a single leader, however rich with material wealth or caste and community backing. It requires an army of the committed force led by the youth and commanded by the tested leadership. Politics, in an age of democracy means generating the above social capital, polishing it with tested humane finer

values of life handed over to us as our legacy by our hoary past, culture in short and then use it to change the society for the better with a conviction to achieve the distant goal of an inclusive social justice-socialism. Ideals of achievement of political power by hook or crook, amassing of wealth by all foul means and methods never touch the contours of peoples democracy and hence require to be detested, over thrown, lock, stock and barrel.

#### **D) Self Employed Welfare Society (SEWS)**

Right from my school days, thanks to my close association with Gandhites, Aryasamaj leaders and then the selfless hard working cadres of the Andhra Mahasabha and the CPI, the ideas of self help, constructive work had impressed me, giving a shape to my mindset. With my involvement in large scale socio political activity under conditions of anti imperialist and anti feudal movements the above mindset helped me to face all kinds of problems boldly as a committed patriot. “Service before self” is the essence of patriotism.

The SEWS was registered as a non governmental organization in the year 1990 just after my return from Germany in the earlier months of the same year when the Berlin wall dividing Berlin and Germany into East and West Germanies was dismantled uniting both the Germanies. Ramesh had already settled down working as lecturer in Humboldt University with his family. On a day I had opened the subject of voluntary organizations and its necessity to develop particular areas through ceaseless work above politics. He readily agreed with me and informed me about his formal membership of an organization known as G.S.E. meaning an organization to promote cooperation for development Seeing my interest, he had arranged a visit to its central office. I had the good opportunity to discuss with its leaders who told me about their services in countries like Bangladesh and South Africa. My idea to form an NGO and promote the development of the Sircilla constituency got strengthened. Ramesh promised to extend his helping hand provided the proposed NGO works well. I assured him of that. Immediately after my arrival I got an NGO with a name “Self Employed Welfare Society” registered in Hyderabad under societies act. Mr.Prem Chand son of late freedom fighter and my good friend Sri Venkatachari of Avunur near Siricilla and my own brother Sri Ch.Venkateswara Rao’s names struck me to man the above society. They expressed their readiness and the society was formed. It took some time to get it registered with government of India under Foreign Contribution Regulation Act(FCRA). I, with my contacts with the ministers and officers of the state government had developed a desire to involve the state government with equal funds in all major projects executed with foreign funds to ensure transparency and accountability. However such a good expectation was disproved and even proved counter productive in our two decades longexperience. We could some how manage with it with minimum difficulties. People at the grass root level extended their whole hearted cooperation, even by rendering Shramadan. We succeeded in initiating and executing a number of schemes novel to the area.



*Delegations from the GSE Germany and the SEWS Sircilla meeting the dynamic Chief Minister of A.P. Sri Nara Chandrababu Naidu.*



*Dr.Ramesh Chennamaneni, MLA with the then Chief Minister,  
Mr.Chandrababu Naidu*

Briefly, following developmental schemes were executed by SEWS costing roughly 40-50 crores shared by both government of Germany and the Government of Andhra Pradesh.

- 1) Construction of a high capacity over head tank and laying the distributory system of pipe lines in Sircilla town.
- 2) Construction of over 250 school rooms in Siricilla division for promoting primary and secondary education.

- 3) Construction of OHSRs and laying the distributory pipelines for drinking water supply in about 75 villages of Sircilla division. Construction of minor irrigation tanks with the cooperation of Minor irrigation department. Joining Erra Cheruvu with Patel Cheruvu in Sanugula Village etc.,.
- 4) Arrangement of a mobile health van to take care of pregnant women, children and the aged.
- 5) Construction of a modern drainage scheme in Vemulawada, a pilgrimage centre where such a scheme was a badly felt need
- 6) Drilling about 500 bores all over Sircilla Taluq to mitigate the drinking water problem and to reduce the burden of the women folk in drought years.
- 7) To supply fresh and florid free drinking water to all the villages of the present Vemulawada constituency with peoples cooperation. Already about 50 villages have been covered.
- 8) On the request of the health department SEWS is supervising in the successful management of an urban health centre at Siricilla as an ancillary to the 100 bed government hospital.
- 9) SEWS succeeded in undertaking the identification, and prevention of AIDS with foreign funds, mainly 'ALLIANCE' of England, through running 5-6 centres in the whole district of Karimnagar.
- 10) Construction and development of water shed schemes with NABARD assistance and Indo-German funds Via NABARD. This prestigious scheme to promote ground water and prevent soil erosion is working wonders with peoples cooperation. It is progressing very well in 10 villages at present.

**E) An unforgettable experience of simplicity in a German Court:** I wanted to visit any court and see its functioning. Necessary arrangements were made. Our delegation with our guide reached the court. A lady welcomed us inside and asked us to be seated in the entrance room. She helped us by providing some more chairs from the adjacent room. We waited there till the court time. As the Court commenced, we went inside the court hall and occupied our seats in the gallery. Advocates, bench clerks, and the contestants had occupied their respective seats. There was a pin drop silence, all awaiting the arrival of the judge. A lady judge in her robes entered the hall from a special door on the back side of the rostrum and occupied a little elevated chair meant for the presiding officer.

We were astonished to realize that the lady judge is none else than the same lady who had received us, arranged for our comfortable seating, and served us with the soft drinks. It was unbelievable for all of us who had enough of experiences of courts in our country with a number of clerical staff assisted by attenders and orderlies.



*Mr. and Mrs. Chennamaneni meeting their closest friends Mr.A.Guruva Reddy, Mrs.SAtyavathi Guruva Reddy and Mr.D.S.Ramachandra Rao,  
Mrs.Late Hemalatha Ramachandra Rao*



*Mr. and Mrs. Chennamaneni with Palvai Seeta Ram Reddy and late Dr.Ravi Bharathi, daughter of late Sri Ravi Narayana Reddy*



*Felicitations by the leaders if the Singareni Collories Workers Union at Godavarikhani by Sri Gattayya and Narayana on the occasion of the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the CPI*



*Felicitating Sri Durgalal Gupta the President of Khammam District Freedom Fighters Organisation*

We observed the proceedings comprising of the arguments of the advocates from both the sides, the gentle interruptions by the judge. The subject matter of the litigation, we were told, was that an elderly man was in possession of some antiques and shining artifacts, inherited from his father and grand father. He was very keen to preserve them. His two sons, on the other hand, wanted those monumental pieces to be divided and handed over to them as they had their legal rights. The old man, father, refused to part with them till his life. Such a family dispute was dragged to the court of law for adjudication. We were least interested in the ultimate result. We were only inspired by the simplicity appearing all around. A judge's courtesy shown towards a visiting foreign delegation was beyond our comprehension. It speaks volumes about their simplicity dignity of labour and modesty. Our guide and interpreter told us that it was very common there. Despite having the richest culture behind, our country has yet to learn many lessons from the civilized west.

**F) The milestones of my chequered life:** I am fortunate to have spent major part of my public life in the kisan movement. A decade's period from 1942 to 1952 passed off in the student movement, youth movement, movement for forcing the Nizam to merge the erstwhile state of Hyderabad with Indian union, under ground and jail life, full of uncertainties and insecurity.

1952 to 1972, two decades, I devoted myself as full timer working as the Secretary of the Karimnagar district unit of the CPI, Secretary and President of district Kisan Sabha mixing with the rural population, leading their struggles and learning from them the practical lessons to solve their problems. I was elected to the A.P. State Legislative Assembly for the first time as the candidate of CPI representing Choppadandi Constituency in 1957 and again was elected from Sircilla constituency in 1967, worked as the Chief Whip and floor leader of the CPI respectively. From 1973 to 1998, 25 years, I had the golden opportunity to serve as the General Secretary, President of the A.P.Kisan Sabha and finally as the working president of the AIKS. Side by side I had the good opportunity to serve as the member of the state executive and member of the Secretariat of the A.P. unit of the CPI. I was elected to state legislature from Sircilla thrice during this period in 1978, 1985 and 1994 and discharged my duties as the floor leader of the CPI.

I was inspired by the left intellectuals like late Ravi Narayana Reddy, Maqdoom Moinuddin and Sri Dr.Raj Bahadur Gaur and by the dedicated hard work of the pioneers and founders of the Telangana kisan movement late Sarvasree Baddam Yella Reddy, Arutla Laxmi Narasimha Reddy and Arutla Ramachandra Reddy right from the days of Andhra Maha Sabha and continued in the All India Kisan Sabha, as their colleague and comrade in arms. Working in company with the All India Kisan Sabha leaders like late Z.A. Ahmed and Sri Indradeep Sinha and Y.V. Krishna Rao enriched my knowledge about the glorious peasant movements of our country. Inside A.P. I had the pleasant time to work hand in hand with the tireless kisan leaders like Alluri Venkata Rama

Raju and the late Valluri Gangadhara Rao. I had the rare occasion to share the rich experiences of the researcher cum active leader of the Kisan Sabha, Sri Kolli Nageswara Rao Garu. In the year 1999 I had taken a decision to quit the CPI purely on personal grounds, which we will discuss later. From 1999 to 2009, for the period of a decade I continued my public life as the TDP leader. My health totally cooperated to work hard. Though defeated in 1999 elections, I was elected from the same Sircilla constituency as TDP candidate and worked as the vice president of the legislature party of the TDP serving the constituency as usual. Thus, I had the opportunity to actively serve the people of the AP, with particular reference to Choppadandi and Sircilla constituencies in Karimnagar district for over 65 years in the capacity of a legislator, kisan leader the CPI leader and finally as the TDP leader keeping my socio-political outlook intact. Kisan movement in our country, passing through many ups and downs, succeeded in enlightening and uniting the most backward strata of the society into a powerful fighting force emerging as the beacon light and path finder for abolishing feudalism of all hues including the autocratic rule of the princes, the Rajas and Nawabs paving the way for a democratic system of government. Kisans today, while facing the ever new problems in producing for the growing and expanding food needs of our rising population, are facing the problem of near stagnation in the agricultural growth. The share of agriculture in the rate of growth of gross domestic production is most discouraging when compared with its greater share in the working population. It is agreed on all hands that the agricultural rate of growth cannot be on par with the rate of growth of industrial income or income through services. Never the less agricultural growth impacts the qualitative growth of the entire society by supplying its ever changing food needs.

- i). It is the kisan movement which had forced the abolition of Jagardari and Zamindari systems by the end of the fourth decade of the last century.
- ii). Fifth and Sixth decades of the last century saw the statutory abolition of the landlordism with its concentration of lands and rise of the slogan of land to the tiller thanks to the wide spread kisan movement.
- iii). Since the tenth decade of the last century up to date the kisan movement is forcing the governments of the day, central and states, to see that the toiling kisans get the remunerative price for their produce. It is also making green revolution a grand success through modernizing the agriculture. Kisans today are preparing for a second green revolution with the help of biotechnology and produce more for internal consumption and for export purposes. In the backdrop of all round capitalist globalization, which is hitting the peasantry very hard, both as producer and as consumer, a new and greater responsibility devolves on the governments to come to the rescue of the peasantry by taking every possible step to protect agriculture from the day light robbery by the middle men, the crony capitalists. Kisan sabhas are preparing themselves to face this capitalist offensive intellectually

and organizationally, and there is no doubt about their yet another great success. Kisan Sabha is conscious of facing the problems of corporatization of agriculture, a new form of capitalist landlordism, fight for “mutual aid cooperative societies (MACS)” of all small and marginal farmers to protect the farming community from being reduced to the position of agricultural labourers to work according to the beck and call of corporate bodies. As already indicated the governments of the day have to realize the qualitatively new nature of agriculture and must divert sizable funds to agriculture in the form of subsidies to enable the eligible poor producers to lead a life with social security. Kisan Sabhas are also faced with the problem of forcing the governments to desist from compulsory acquisition of agricultural lands in the name of the establishment of industries, in the public sector or for the so called special economic zones. Kisan Sabhas are realizing their crucial role in protecting and promoting the healthy climate. Agriculture in all its forms is the most nature friendly and helps reduction of global warming which has become a big challenge to the civic society of the whole world.

**G) Bright future:** I very much wish to share my vision of the unfolding golden age before us all. In the wake of scientific and technological revolution, under the inevitable globalization of human life, there is going to arise a situation when industrial production and its productivity will reach a point of saturation when its further growth requires regulation and control in the interest of promotion and protection of a healthy climate for humanity. Agriculture in all its forms, being the most nature friendly attracts the people from the fast polluting urban life to rural life with all its modernity. Major industries releasing carbon dioxide will have to be strictly regulated and made subordinate to the emerging green revolution and rural life. Present urban life expanding with an exodus from rural India, will undergo a u turn, forcing the administration to make radical change in its strategy and disciplines. Horticulture, agricultural forestry, animal husbandry and modernized small scale and cottage industries, will occupy a primary position in the new scenario. May be, it will be criticized as a day dream at present, but my own training, and study of the fast changing views of the visionaries emboldens me to stand firm on such views. It may take a long time but one should not miss the direction of change. A second green revolution which envisions a revolution is bound to herald a new era in human history with its nature friendly way of life. There is no reason for the activists of kisan sabhas and the social scientists to continue to suffer from the demoralizing ill effects of the present science and technology, and should confidently work for unfolding an ever green golden age.

**H) My unavoidable exit from the CPI. The truth and untruth behind it:** I joined the CPI as its candidate member at the age of 19 years as a high school student in Karimnagar in the year 1942. My association with late Sree Baddam Yella Reddy and his close colleagues, their rational thinking and restless service

to the poor attracted me towards the party. In the presence of Sri B.Y. I had filled up the format of party membership and the great martyrs of the heroic Telangana movement Sri A.Prabhakara Rao and Sri S.Bhoopathi Reddy signed the format as witnesses. In 1943, I continued my education as a student of intermediate in the Osmania university and also continued my work among students as an activist of the All Hyderabad students union(AHSU). In the year 1944 I was enrolled as a full member of the CPI, while Dr.Raj Bahadur Gour and late Sri Md.Jawad Razvi signed the paper as witnesses. I am ever grateful to these leaders who had put me on a right path of rationalism and humanism, the essence of Marxism. This single event had endowed me with a mindset to always be in quest for truth without fear or favour and with abundance of self confidence and sense of optimism despite odds. I had succeeded in the student movement, finally discharging my responsibilities as the General Secretary of the AHSU. The role played by the students in the great struggle for the integration of the erstwhile state of Hyderabad into Indian union was marvelous. I had to lead an underground and jail life for over five years starting from 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947 passing through 17<sup>th</sup> September 1948 when the Nizam had surrendered to Indian union and the period up to 1952 when the great Telangana peasant uprising continued and the first general elections were notified for February 1952. Continuation of armed struggle after the police action up to mid 1951 when it was officially withdrawn, though ill advised and miscalculated, tactically, was yet a peasant uprising against feudalism and its inhuman atrocities against the toiling peasantry at a heavy cost in terms of human sacrifices and sufferings. After my release from jail on parole, restricting my movement to Karimnagar district borders. I was forced to work among the peasantry in the district and had emerged as the kisan leader step by step up to the level of the general secretary and the President of AP Kisan Sabha. I was elected to the A.P. Legislative Assembly five times as the CPI candidate serving once as its Chief Whip and then four times as its floor leader up to 1999, earning the appreciation of the party and the people all over the state. Another decade thereafter, from 1999 to 2009, I had to undergo a technical change in form ie., delinking myself with the CPI and continuing my public life as the TDP leader and its MLA from 2004 to 2009 without any change in the content of my struggle and service to the people. The unexpected change in the route, we will discuss below.

I had discharged successfully all the duties entrusted to me by the party winning its appreciation and the approbation of the people of the state at large.

However I had to submit my resignation to my 55 years long membership of the CPI on 09-08-1999 voluntarily, at a mature age of 77 years. State party secretary tried his best to persuade me not to resort to such a drastic step but I pleaded my inability to honour his good gesture and went ahead with my own decision. Announcing my dissociation with the CPI with a heavy heart, I had publicly expressed my heartfelt and profound thanks to the CPI which

had provided me with rare opportunities, extended full cooperation to serve the people, to the best of my ability. I had also publicly pledged not to speak a single word against the party throughout the rest of my life.

Party colleagues, friends and admirers, people at large all over the state were taken by surprise to know about such a sudden decision. Different stories and conjectures were circulated. I had to desist from offering any explanation lest it should involve the party and its image. I continued my work without any interruption. My continued service of 12 years to the people of my area in the capacity of a recognized social worker as also an MLA for the sixth and last term(2004-2009) from the same Sircilla constituency has provided, with ample explanation to all concerned, Yet it is my duty to deal with it at some length in my autobiography, to furnish the whole truth.

There are no political and ideological reasons behind my resignation from the CPI. Hundreds of my party colleagues and thousands of party cadres know fully well about my political views. I had never concealed my views from the party and was always with open mind to be convinced. I differed with the official line of the party on some occasions ever since I joined the party in the year 1942, and never such differences detracted me from my normal work. Let me recall a few of such occasions.

- 1) CPI had denounced historic “Quit India” call given by the Indian national Congress. I vehemently opposed it even as a candidate member of the CPI in 1942 itself.
- 2) Party had refused to accept the transfer of power on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947 as political independence, and had declared that it was one of the forms of slavery. I was one of the few comrades who opposed this line and tried in vain to convince the party that political independence should not be confused with economic independence which we have yet to achieve.
- 3) The second party congress of the CPI held in Calcutta in 1948 passed unanimous resolutions giving a call for the violent over throw of the Nehru Government naming it as a lackey of Anglo-American imperialism. Within a few months, basing on the bitter experiences in the Telangana armed struggle, I had joined hands with the stalwarts of the historic Telangana movement late Sri Ravi Narayana Reddy and Baddam Yella Reddy sharply differing from the central line to over throw the Nehru government by spreading the armed struggle throughout the country and had addressed strong letters to the centre. We had again strongly differed from the changed leadership at the centre to adopt the China way of guerrilla warfare instead of the Russian way.
- 4) CPI refused to celebrate 26<sup>th</sup> January 1950 as the Republic Day and instead issued a call to observe it as a black day. While executing the wrong line I had vehemently opposed such a suicidal line of thinking.

I had repeatedly written letters to the centre strongly opposing the characterization of the Nehru Government as a government representing the feudal and big capitalist classes. In almost all the party congresses after the second congress, I tried my best to propose amendments to the sectarian formulations which were generally defeated.

- 5) I was among the few party spokesmen who condemned the Chinese aggression on India in the year 1962-64, which culminated into the vertical split of the CPI and the formation of the CPI(M).
- 6) I had criticized the blind anti-congressism of the party and its campaign through conclaves joining hands even with communal forces.
- 7) When the issue of the day light hanging of Imrenegi, the Prime Minister of Hungary, during the era of Stalinism, came for debate, I had raised my lonely voice inside the party, condemning it as an inhuman act, when the majority of comrades remained neutral or silent.

My intention behind recalling the number of occasions of my differences with the party line is not at all to belittle the image of the CPI and the left movement, on the other hand it is only to underscore, uphold, and reiterate my total commitment to the science of Marxism and its philosophy of dialectical and historical materialism. I myself do not claim to have mastered such a science or its social application. My humble submission is that a party or an individual committed to such a scientific thought is closer to reality and truth and will achieve great success in his or her public life. Petty politics of power and self are alien to such social outlook which preaches human values, selfless and dedicated social service with a spirit of sacrifice. Parties committed to scientific socialism, despite their differences are qualitatively superior to all others. Unity of all such parties at least unity on a minimum programme of action will open a new chapter in Indian politics generating hopes for a better future in the near future. Such a pragmatic approach yielding fruitful results in the near future can become a possibility only if the brotherly parties of the left agree to, not to insist upon the so called self criticism about the past as a precondition or pre requisite for future unity and united action. Or else, the future of the country's politics will be rudderless thrown to wilderness.

India today is passing through a complex stage of democratic revolution. In the wake of scientific and technological revolution and the consequent globalization, world capitalism is facing crisis after crisis in its management of finances, trade, and production of goods, and this is impacting the development of the under developed and the developing countries of Asia. India's economy is growing under the peculiar conditions where semi feudal, land lord, capitalist, small and big, even multinational capitalist classes co exist. Industrial working class has not yet grown numerically enough to socially and politically influence the society at large. Peasantry the leading work force is facing the problems of remunerative farming. Middle class is growing numerically thanks to general

growth of the economy. Export of blue collar and white collar labour force as also the policies of out sourcing adopted by the developed countries are contributing to the fast growth of middle class in India. Our road to complete the democratic stage of revolution and then take the road towards socialism appears to be long drawn demanding mature social scientists to delineate it with vision. Objectivity in taking note of the complexities in the process of social change, creativity in adaptation, and above all radicalism in building the social capital are the needs of the hour. It is a big challenge thrown by the unfolding world events and the Indian people with the help of their mature politicians have to accept it boldly. Planning Commission's emphasis on faster rate of growth of the G.D.P. crossing 9 percent, on inclusive growth with complete social justice is most welcome. But the most disheartening factor is the unbridled growth of corruption, with ever increasing scams, black money being stashed in foreign banks. The signal failure of the ruling parties in bringing about systemic changes in all wings of governance through far reaching reforms is responsible for this unfortunate state of affairs. It is up to the political parties, with special reference to the left to objectively take stock of things and build a powerful movement in a correct direction.

I was very much inspired by the way Deng Tsiao Peng of China, who undertook the socio-economic reforms to radically reorient the suicidal left sectarian path of the ruling Chinese communist party, and put it on the right track. Maotse tung's famous statement "let hundred flowers bloom and thousand thoughts flourish" was materialized by the new leader, yielding wonderful results in terms of faster rate of growth and quicker reduction of appalling poverty. India is endowed with all potentialities of growth. Modern economists can rightly envision a situation where India, China and Brazil will lead the world by the end of two decades ahead. Good governance capable of abolishing all kinds of corruption, ensuring faster rate of inclusive economic growth with social justice will definitely hasten the completion of democratic revolution and pave the way for the onward march to "Sarvajana Sukhaya, Sarvajana Hitaya" – socialism in terms of Marxism.

I earnestly hope that my optimist position is properly understood and appreciated with an open mind. As briefly referred to above, I never yielded ideologically and never stopped my work on the grounds of ideological and political differences. It is the way of thinking and working for the cherished social change and I did it with that spirit without any ambitions, prejudices, and fear or favour. In short, my problem was and is to creatively apply the science of Marxism to Indian specific socio-economic conditions under the unprecedented favourable conditions of globalization. I reiterate with full responsibility that my decision to dissociate myself organizationally from the CPI was never the product of my ideological and political differences with the party which, I reiterate had attracted me towards social and rational out look. I was never subjected to any kind of disciplinary action by the party during the course of

55 years of my membership even under suffocating conditions of inner party struggle, but was rewarded with the compliments for my tolerance and balance of mind which I owe to our rich culture and heritage.

**i) Out come of my exit from the formal membership of the party:** Hundreds politically conscious men and women cutting across their political affiliations have been expressing their desire to see Dr.Ramesh Chennamaneni elected as their legislator in the ensuing general elections of 1999. It had developed into a public opinion and representations to this effect were made to me by many friends. Ramesh too was mentally prepared to sacrifice his lucrative profession of professorship in the prestigious Humboldt University of Germany, come to mother land and join politics. He had even got constructed a spacious guest house, named Sangeeta Nilayam at Vemualwada for his residential and office purpose. Our NGO “SEWS” office is located in it.

He had to obtain German Citizenship for his promotion in his university giving up his Indian Citizenship a decade back. He seriously started his efforts to regain his Indian citizenship in the earliest possible time. His closer association with the then C.M. Sri N.Chandra Babu Naidu in the promotion of SEWS and its multifarious activities of rural development had made them good friends. He was very much attracted by the innovative ideas of Mr.Babu and his commitment to a number of reforms. He almost made up his mind to contest from Sircilla as the candidate of the TDP. The CM Mr.Naidu initiated his efforts with the central Home Minister Mr.L.K.Advani to get the Indian citizenship certificate for Ramesh in the earliest possible time and pursued it seriously in view of the fast approaching notification for elections.

I was keenly observing these developments with utmost responsibility as the sitting member representing the CPI. The growing popularity of Dr.Ramesh and the possibility of his victory with hands down if he contests as TDP candidate pleased me as the father of Dr.Ramesh who wishes to come home and serve the constituency. Following questions of propriety engaged my mind and I did apply my mind with all the seriousness it deserved. The questions were: what should be my role if he contests? What should be my political attitude as a senior leader of the CPI who had won five times on CPI ticket and successfully performed the role as its floor leader? Should I not read the writing on the wall that Dr.Ramesh's victory is a foregone conclusion? Should I, as a disciplinary, face him as a traditional CPI candidate and get defeated badly and thus put up a façade of show of discipline, and will the electorate digest it? How to reconcile the above contradictions and arrive at a rational conclusion befitting a seasoned thinker which I cherish very much? The Karimnagar D.C. of the CPI had unanimously proposed and forwarded to the state committee my candidature from Sircilla constituency despite my request to give me some time to think over the critical subject matter. I was confronted with the above questions demanding quick answers. I had no doubt in my mind that the state committee of the party would finalise my candidature as there was no alternative

worth consideration. Opposing the party decision and mechanically executing it would amount to the total blindness to reality and truth, apart from going against the public opinion deliberately. My own experience of long public life as also the teachings of the great leaders have helped me to arrive at an inescapable conclusion that when a question of choosing one equity out of two equal but conflicting equities arises, choosing that equity which satisfies the majority of people involved therein is a matter of wisdom. It subordinates the smaller truth or smaller reason to the larger truth and larger reason. Hence my irrevocable decision to tender resignation to the formal membership of the party, however painful it might be. Party Secretary, Com.S.Sudhakara Reddy himself personally tried his best to persuade me to desist from such a drastic decision. I thanked the party profusely for having made me what I am and publicly promised not to speak against my party for the rest of my life, instead serve the party as its close sympathizer. Such a categorical stand though surprising to many of my comrades in arms and friends proved rational. Some news papers, dragging Ramesh's name had attributed to me the charge of nepotism and favouralism. I stood my ground firmly without fear or favour. Peoples' support provided me with the requisite energy to face all odds.

**ii) Unexpected turn in the political situation:** Two to three weeks passed by, and the expected positive decision from the then Home Minister Sri L.K.Advani, granting Indian citizenship to Dr. Ramesh did not see the light of the day despite the repeated reminders from our C.M. Mr.Naidu, who had left no stone unturned in his sincere efforts. Political correlation of forces too changed. The friendly relations between T.D.P. and the communists, which had a salutary effect in the general elections held in 1985 and 1994 had broken down by 1999 due to TDP's continuation of its political alliance with the BJP. Elections were notified. Ramesh could not continue his efforts to obtain Indian citizenship. The C.M. Mr.Naidu expressed his helplessness. After very deep consideration he suggested to me to contest the elections as a TDP candidate. I was really in a soup. Equally confusing was the public opinion. A situation of most uncertainty prevailed all around. Meanwhile my brother Ch.Vidaysagara Rao the BJP leader rang me up to meet Mr.Naidu and obtain the B Form as the TDP candidate from Sircilla.

**iii) TDP and me: "old wine in new bottle!"** In parliamentary democracy, for a skilful and sincere politician, political power at any level enhances his capacity to serve the people four fold yielding the desired results. It works both as a shield and a sword in the hands of a social warrior. This has been my experience. Changed circumstances, though unexpected, forced the pragmatist in me, to reconcile with the new and unavoidable realities of life. I had nothing new to learn from the new party except skilful adjustment and management with it without sacrificing even an inch of space acquired by my half a century old value based public life. In that respect I was an old wine in a new bottle, surprising my old admirers and new contacts alike.

Sri Regulapati Papa Rao an experienced political leader was the congress candidate while the CPI had chosen Sri Premchand, my own follower in SEWS as its candidate to contest against me. Main contest was with the congress candidate Mr.R.Papa Rao who defeated me. The electoral disadvantages I had faced were obvious. I was quite new to the TDP and a few local leaders of the TDP were not happy with my candidature. Youth at large got disarmed when they learnt that Dr.Ramesh is no longer a candidate. CPI cadre was in total confusion and disarray. Congress candidate apart from cashing in on congress vote bank, had earned the sympathy of the voters for having twice suffered defeat from the same constituency. Over and above, he served well as the Sarpanch of his village and as the Samiti President of Vemulawada Panchayat Samithi which went in his favour. Ramesh, as the Chief Election campaigner put his heart and soul, only to realize the voters' desire to have some change despite their admiration towards me.

Gradually I developed a desire to keep away from the active politics. My good health and the activities of the SEWS headed by me did not permit me to do so. On the other hand I was able to pay my undivided attention towards the constructive work on hand. Ramesh's encouragement and assurance to continue to help development provided me with an added strength. Over and above, the unprecedented and consecutive droughts and the consequent shortage of even drinking water in the constituency made me restless. The credit goes to Smt.Sumita Dawra, the then Collector of Karimnagar District, who rendered yeoman service to rescue the suffering people. Funds were never a problem. SEWS could add another feather to its cap thanks to the timely help from Ramesh who was heading the NGO in Germany, namely the GSE(cooperation for development). I was happy I could devote more time rendering better services to the people in need. Five years passed off with utmost satisfaction. General elections of 2004 were notified and I was the natural choice of the TDP for Sircilla. Ramesh had no desire to come into the electoral fray despite repeated requests from his admirers. I had to face the same congress candidate Mr.R.Papa Rao, thank God, the CPI extended its support to me, I was elected for the sixth term with about 18000 voters majority over the congress candidate. TDP headed by Sri N.Chandra Babu Naidu lost its power to congress party led by late Sri Y.S.Raja Sekhara Reddy. Sri Naidu took the reins as the leader of opposition and started his innings with equal ability and efficiency. I was elected as the vice president of the TDP legislature party and had rendered my services in the Assembly as an elderly and senior most member, winning the appreciation from all quarters.

**iv) Reasons behind the unexpected loss of power of TDP in 2004:** TDP had won twice in the year 1994 and 1999 and Mr.Naidu's performance as CM had won laurels for him as a reformer with a sense of innovation and action. It could be easier to predict the electoral results when anti incumbency or pro charismatic leader waves sweep. This time it was normal, TDP and INC both had experienced

the retention of power in the very recent past. Political parties or political leaders gifted with the capacity to study the voters' psychology and the election management arrive at more or less correct evaluation and conclusion. Guess work is slippery, and the result may appear most unexpected thanks to a very marginal shifting of votes from one party to another. The same had happened in 2004 and INC under the leadership of late Y.S.R. could unseat TDP from power by winning over marginal votes. With the given level of political consciousness of the electorate and the given electoral system, fool proof guess work is impossible. Serious and seasoned political analysts would do well to study the political policies and their grass root level application and draw appropriate conclusions. Instead of trying to apportion the causes for success or defeat with their peripheral, power centred study of electoral management, manipulations and maneuvers. Gaining or retaining political power should never be the be all and end all for any political party. Political power must be used to execute the short term and long term policies and programmes based on an integrated road map charted out by the visionaries. My intention here is not to undermine or question the capacities of the persons at the helm of affairs, including the learned economist Prime Minister. Economic theories of development are undergoing changes very fast thanks to globalization and the very conceptual changes in socio-economic and human development, political changes in the correlation of forces and the stories of successes or defeats are impacting very much the developing world. Hence creativity, objectivity and not conservativity or dogmatism are the needs of the hour. Our country today badly needs such planners and planning for the speedy and inclusive growth and not power mongers to waste our national wealth. Going back to broadly identify the reasons behind the defeat of the TDP in 2004, let me review the following.

- 1) According to 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> amendments to Article 243(G) and schedule 11 of the constitution of India, made during the Prime Ministership of the late Sri Rajeev Gandhi 29 important powers were devolved to the Panchayat Raj institutions. In the year 1999 the TDP Government headed by Sri N.Chandrababu Naidu transferred 19 powers, not very important, to the local bodies with a budgetary allocations of Rs. 1200 crores, by virtue of G.O.No.105, This G.O. was not seriously implemented. The elected bodies remained almost idle. Had it been implemented and the rest of 10 powers with funds been devolved, the real purpose of the amendments would have been achieved. Despite the repeated representations and the agitations by the elected leaders of all the local bodies, the state government refused to act. Late Sri Y.S.R, who, before election, had promised to affix his first signature as CM on this file, withdrew 54 out of the 64 petty powers transferred by Mr.Naidu's government. Such was the fate of the solemn promises made by both the CMs. Power to the people is an alien concept for the exploiting class and its leaders. That is the secret behind the present failure of the Panchayat Raj system.

- 2) The prestigious document ‘vision 2020’ much published by Sri Naidu, which was prepared by the team of experts of ‘Mackancy’ a well known foreign institution to prepare project reports or plans still remains on paper. Planning for a speedy development, embracing the modern concept of ‘human development’ must essentially start from a micro level study of the infrastructural needs of the people. Construction of modern airports, shipyards, four lane roads, flyovers and top class hotels etc., a macro level infrastructure, of course needed very much, but deserves the least priority in a developing country where 70 percent of its population leads a life of hand to mouth with a meagre income of Rs. 20 per head per day and where the micro level infrastructure, covering school education, health care, minor irrigation, rural roads and above all food needs suffer very badly for want of funds and reforms in their out dated systems. TDP government which did well its first half, suffered from the operation of the law of diminishing returns in its second half.
- 3) Increase in the annual rate of growth in the gross domestic production(GDP) though welcome, does not necessarily reflect the growth in the standard of life of teaming millions languishing under deplorable socio-economic conditions of rural and urban life. Empowerment of people does not merely mean to enable them to participate in elections and to elect their leaders believing in their false promises. It means, in terms of modern socio-economic science, providing them with every opportunity to participate in the process of production as rightful owners of means of production, agricultural land, cottage industry or as partner in a manufacturing industry and then alone as an industrial worker. Self reliance, self employment with self help are the crying needs of working people. Social scientists including the political leaders do well to understand and appreciate this road map of development.
- 4) The political democracy of over half a century connoting winning of votes, has left behind a very bad culture of subsidies. It means the state to bear the difference of the price of goods in the open market with the lower level price the goods are supplied to the actually deserving poor population. The power crazy rich in collusion with the corrupt bureaucracy is busy in boosting up the number of beneficiaries, disproportionately increasing the burden of subsidy payable by any state or central government; so much so that this item now occupies the second biggest budgeted expenditure only after the payment of debts and interests thereon. The rising inflation created by the same rich, through artificial short supply of essential commodities and hoarding them is adding fuel to the fire, ultimately creating a situation of paucity of funds to execute the promised welfare schemes and reforms. This phenomenon was the high light of the second half period of Mr.Naidu’s government. I do not think it was a small lapse or accidental. An outmoded

concept of “development,” misadventure with populism are mainly responsible for missing the bus in 2004.

- 5) Administrative reforms pending for decades together, were not touched during this period. Reiterating or refreshing the absolute teachings in training classes hardened the attitudes of officialdom. The hated anti people behavior of the police towards the common man, let alone reformed for the better, got worsened and became counter productive.
- 6) Reforms in the system of education, from primary to higher level, still remains in cold storage. Our system of education is proving counter productive adding to the army of unemployed. More than illiterate unemployment, unemployability of educated has become a hard nut to crack. Our dynamic C.M with all his school committees and mothers' committees could not bring about any visible change in it.
- 7) The consecutive droughts for three years in the second half of the TDP rule of nine years had shaken the confidence for a secure life when procurement of drinking water had become a herculean task and the irrigation sources got dried up, apart from the power supply to agriculture becoming a big political problem. Under such critical conditions the “food for work” schemes had generated bad blood when the selfish social and political workers made hay while the sun shines. This was exploited most by the congress adversaries who were waiting in wings for seizing political power by hook or crook. These were “the bad days” when power tilted with marginal votes.
- 8) In spite of the above drawbacks intended or unintended, the overall public opinion about the TDP, its charismatic founder leader NTR and its skilled and able manager Nara Chandra Babu Naidu stood at a higher rate. But for the late YSR’s competitive upper hand in snatching every opportunity to cash in politically on each and every lapse, the congress victory would have been an impossibility. Backward classes, more than the scheduled castes refused to believe in the good conduct certificate produced by Sri Y.S.R. and his congress. YSR’s ‘Pada yatra’, his promise of free current and promise of full powers to Panchayat Raj institutions worked as the proverbial last straw on the camel’s back and enthroned him.
- 9) It is most unfortunate that Sri Chandra Babu Naidu who appeared on the political stage with a lot of newness in governance, in ideology and in public support could not be in power for more than nine years. His successor, his own old and good friend in his youth congress days, had totally changed the very meaning of a political leader and proved to be a big liability to the congress party itself. It would be politically unethical on my part to dilate at length about a friend who is no more now.

**Sri Nara Chandra Babu Naidu: a modern political craftsman:** I relish my memory when Sri Naidu hand in hand with his friend late Sri YSR, both

grafted in to the proverbial 60 member Jumbo cabinet of late Sri T.Anjaiah in 1978 had called on me and late P.Sundaraiah and Gautu Lachanna as their courtesy call. Both of them, Ministers for the first time appeared to be quite promising and I wished them every success. I have been watching Mr.Naidu closely and from distance for the last over thirty years. He had a rare opportunity to build his political personality by being the closest adviser to late NTR, the most popular Chief Minister, the state ever had. For the first time NTR had placed the Telugu language and culture on the political map of India erasing the unhappy position of being “Madrasis”, thus elevating the self respect of telugu speaking people. He had entered politics with an immense popularity as a cine idol only to fill the political vacuum created by the misrule of the congress party, and provide a sustainable alternative to it. Mr.Naidu, as the closest adviser to NTR had mastered the craft of building the party organization giving it flesh and blood attracting towards it the inexhaustible fund of support of the backward classes and down trodden people. But for his tireless work, the TDP would not have taken its roots, so deep.

Politics, in democracy is the management of power, reflecting the good or bad socio-economic processes emanating from the life conditions of the people concerned. Mr.Naidu who succeeded NTR under not so happy circumstances, did skilfully use the ready made legacy of social capital left by his late father-in-law. But as already noted there arise stages of rise and fall depending upon the good or bad socio economic processes. The first half of nine years of his Chief Ministership went off very well thanks to the grounding of the promised reforms affecting the life of the people. The second half commencing from 2004 was a testing time for the execution of all the promises made. I vividly recollect the instances when the common voters themselves who openly talked about the extension of power to him for an another term. His promises and his efforts at their execution paid him good dividends. The real life experiences in the process of their real execution proved negative one after the other. ‘Janmabhoomi,’ education committee, mothers committees, water committees, forest protection committees and what not proved to be counter productive . Most of his time was wasted in pulling up the errant bureaucracy which itself added fuel to fire by its negative role.

Mr.Naidu a modest and simple man, was also honest and hardworking. I can recollect with a sense of satisfaction, an incident of gross injustice done to the Telangana engineers in the irrigation department where over a dozen of them rightly claiming their seniority were intentionally sidelined and were refused their legitimate promotions. He took my representation about such an injustice very seriously and got it thoroughly enquired into. Realising the mistakes committed by the persons incharge, he had the courage enough to set it right by undoing what should not have been done. This correction of the mistakes while restoring confidence in his impartiality, had given rise to immense good will among the Telangana services. Promotion of computer technology, creation

of thousands of employment opportunities to the educated by making good use of outsourcing policies of the developed countries, especially the USA had won him very good name as a modern political engineer. The leader of the opposition late Sri Y.S.R had picked up every lapse on the part of the TDP governance and had magnified it beyond proportion ultimately tilting the scales in favour of his party rule in the year 2004. Tilting of marginal votes is easier than sustaining power facing the odds. I was elected for the sixth and last term when Mr.Naidu lost his power. We had a very good time to play our roles as the leaders in opposition. His performance as the leader of the opposition since 2004 which continued upto the year 2009 is really appreciable. But for his miscalculations on the question of separate Telangana state, despite the positive resolution of TDP on separate Telangana which he bungled, his track record of innovative service before self would have won for him a unique place in Indian politics. A shrewd Politician, Mr. Naidu, in power, proved positive as an agent of social change which is laudable, but out of power he is proving negative as a power seeking manipulator. I wish he acquires the statesmanship.

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*On the occasion of the 17th September, the liberation day of the erstwhile state of Hyderabad (17-9-2011)*

(left to right) Smt. Mallu Swarajyam, freedom fighter; Sri Konda Laxman Bapuji, freedom fighter; Ch. Rajeshwara Rao, freedom fighter & President of TMM Trust; Sri Omkar Prasad, a founder leader of AHSU and freedom fighter; B. Venkata Ramarao, freedom fighter and Chairman HSSC

## **13. PLUNDER OF PUBLIC PROPERTY (2004-2010)**

This short period has witnessed many significant events, both at the state and central level, unprecedented since freedom.

The Government of UPA(United Progressive Alliance) with Smt. Sonia Gandhi as UPA's Chair Person came to power at the centre in the year 2004 and continued after 2009. Congress party with its numerical strength proposed the candidature of Smt. Sonia Gandhi for the Prime Ministership but she declined to accept it in the wake of criticism by the national parties in opposition questioning the propriety of a foreign born citizen accepting the political post of Prime Minister. Instead, she proposed the name of veteran economist Sri Manmohan Singh who is a centrist ideologically and a shrewd political manager. It is significant that four leftist parties had extended their support to UPA in 2004 and then had withdrawn it for the second term in 2009.

- I). Andhra Pradesh witnessed the Congress party back in power in the year 2004, with late Sri Y.S.Rajasekhara Reddy as its Chief Minister. His historic 'Pada Yatra' with innumerable populist promises in the back drop of TDP's failure to implement its promises helped to stage a come back for the congress party. It was more a personal victory for YSR who continued in power after 2009 elections. He had very skilfully managed his electoral victory in 2004 through his alliance with the left parties and the TRS. This alliance was also short lived and he succeeded in 2009 by dint of his personal glamour. As the saying goes "power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely". Y.S.R. exercised his absolute power fully reaping its fruits.

Telugu Desam Party which expected to secure power for the third consecutive term in 2004, lost it with a margin of 5 percent votes winning only 45 seats. This term of five years of YSR's rule, had witnessed the height of populism coupled with the worst governance followed by the fiscal bankruptcy and the worst forms of corruption.

I was elected from Siricilla and had witnessed the above deterioration of democracy and its values from very close quarters.

- II). Before I deal with a few populist schemes to substantiate the above, let me remember the sanction of a 36 crores drinking water supply scheme to Siricilla town. Last three years of the TDP government headed by Sri N.Chandrababu Naidu the state had faced an unprecedented consecutive droughts causing severe shortage of irrigation and drinking water. I had called for an all party meeting at Markandeya Bhavan in Siricilla to discuss about the solution of the worst ever problem of drinking water for Siricilla town. As usual, the leaders and workers of political parties attended it.

Most of the speeches revolved round their criticism of the ruling party or its representatives. I was attracted towards the speech of the BJP municipal councilor Sri Erram Venkata Rajam, who made a categorical statement on the correct solution of the problem. He very much emphasized on my personal intervention and interest in this respect. He made a concrete suggestion that drawing drinking water from the Manair Dam to Siricilla through laying a pacca pipe line would alone provide a lasting and durable solution to this vital problem.

I took it as a serious and responsible practical solution. Next day, I took the appointment with the then C.M Mr.Naidu and presented a detailed memorandum. He made the endorsement directing the department to examine the proposal in detail and submit for sanction. I was after it.

Mean while general elections for the 12<sup>th</sup> Assembly took place and Sri Y.S.R took over as the CM. The very first opportunity of central funds for the drinking water supply was utilized for this purpose by the then ENC who knew me and my constituency very well. The central guidelines had positively directed the state government to see that at least one major drinking water project be started and completed with the funds. The 36 crore scheme for Siricilla was ready and the ENC made it a point to circulate the file to C.M. Incidentally the C.M. had called for a meeting of all newly elected chair persons of municipalities in the state. The Chair person of Siricilla Smt. G. Manjula made a strong representation to the C.M. demanding the sanction of a durable drinking water supply scheme. On the advice of the ENC, the CM had made a positive assurance and the scheme got his approval within no time. Then started the work of a detailed survey and it took years for completion. However the very burning problem faced by the growing town was solved.

Another burning problem of a lift irrigation for the entire upland area of Siricilla and Vemulawada constituencies, my old dream since 1967, got the approval of the state government. CM YSR's prestigious "Jalayagnam" includes the two major projects, namely the Pranahita-Chevella and Yellampalli projects. These two, start from the upland area of Siricilla division and end in lower level areas below, covering all the drought prone areas of Telangana. I had the pleasure to publicly thank Sri YSR in his inaugural public meeting held at Malyala village in Chandurty Mandal, for having materialized my four decades old dream for a lasting lift irrigation scheme. This was misunderstood by a section of the TDP leadership whose misconception was that the duty of an opposition party is to oppose the ruling party and its Chief Minister in season and out of season.

#### **(A) "Jalayagnam"- a Critical View**

Within a few months of his coming to power late Sri YSR had announced his bold decision to take up and complete within 5 to 10 years 88 irrigation projects as "jalayagnam" covering 44 major, 38 medium, 4 anicuts and 8

modernisation schemes, all over the state, at a cost of Rs. One lack crores with an irrigating potential of one crore acres.

This was most unexpected, unheard of in the post independence period in any state of India. AP state could not complete its four major irrigation projects since independence. However irrigation being the life line of any civilized society every body took the pronouncement of “Jalayagnam” as the most pleasant surprise while some critics smelt a rat behind such an impractical proposition. AP with its 40 lively rivers including Godavari, Krishna, Penna, Vamsadhara, Nagavali and Manjeera, was allocated 2764 TMC of water by the Bachavat Award and it could utilize only 1703 TMC of water since independence, with 1061 TMC of water yet to be utilized. India is following the world wide accepted rules of water distribution among all the riparian states and Bachawat Committee followed the same rules in India. This award is binding on all states irrespective of the parties and personalities at the helm of affairs. A bird's eye view of a few such rules are relevant in this connection.

- 1) 80 percent of the water flowing in a particular valley must be utilized in the same valley. It should not be diverted to another valley. If diverted, 45 percent of the diverted water will be cut from its own allocated quota at a level upstream. (2) If any state, after fully utilizing its allotted water, wants the sanction of a new project out of the surplus water flowing in that river, the centre can do so but then 30 percent of the demanded surplus water would be added to the upper riparian state in its already allocated quota. To this extent, the lower riparian states quota of allotted water would be reduced. (3) If water allotment within the river valley is required it should be done proportionate to the watershed areas within the river valley concerned. (4) In computing the water flow at a particular point the water flow of 75 years out of 100 years will be taken as the availability of water at that point for allocation, water available over and above that will be treated as surplus water and the water flowing above all, thanks to floods in a particular year or two will be treated as flood water.

AP state happens to be the last area where Krishna and Godavari rivers join the sea. As such the surplus water available here due to non utilization of the allocated water by the upper riparian state or states, it is entitled to use such water. The quantity of water, allotted, surplus and flood, water available at each point is always readily available.

The present status of the “jalayagnam” can be assessed by following the review report prepared on 18-11-2009, after a review meeting held by the succeeding CM K.Rosaiah, after the sad demise of Sri Y.S.R. By 2013-2014 end, all the 88 projects contemplated under ‘jalayagnam’ can be completed at a cost of Rs. 1,26,112.27 crores, irrigating 82,42,108 acres of new lands, and the stabilization of 16,75,331 acres already under cultivation. According to this report top priority was given to Polavaram, Totapalli, Vamshadhara, Pranahita-

Chevella, Kantalapalli, Galeru-Nagari, Handri-Neeva, and Velugonda projects. 4 projects can be completed by 2011-12 irrigating 15-20 lakh acres of new ayacut, if central aid, adequate funds are provided, 18 more projects can be completed by mid 2013-2014. In the current year of 2010-11, with an allocation of funds to the tune of Rs. 13691.20 crores, Gundlakamma Palavagu, Mattadivagu, Chintapalli Hanumantha Reddy projects, Bheema Stage 1, Devadula Phase 1 can be completed. Funds required must be provided in time. This report is based on paper work. Examination of ground realities are presenting rather a demoralizing picture.

**Inherent infirmities in Jalayagnam:** Any state government must and should obtain the prior permission of the central environment, forest, planning departments and central water power commission. Only then the state government is expected to give administrative sanction. Since 2004, government did not follow the above basics and it was sharply criticized in the state Assembly. Most important projects intended to divert water from Godavari Valley to Krishna valley did not get the approval of the above central departments and the works were hastily started. Diversion of 281 TMC of water from Godavari river to Krishna Delta and Nagarjuna Sagar cause immense loss to the projects proposed in Godavari valley.

**Dummagudem Project:** Construction of 700 feet high anicut across Godavari river at Dummagudem point, diversion of 140 TMC of water, through 7 lifts up to a height of 860 feet, utilizing 1400 MW of power, and take water to Nagarjuna Sagar Dam via a tail pond is the aim of this mega project, now named “Indira Sagar” project. Such a huge project is sought to be constructed depending upon the surplus water in Godavari river. It means reduction of 45 percent of our allotted quota in Godavari to the tune of 95 TMC meant for irrigation in Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar and Warangal districts. This is an intentional betrayal of Telangana, sacrificing 95 TMC of assured, allotted and dependable water meant for the development of backward area in lieu of 140 TMC of un assured and surplus water, only to assure the irrigation of second crop under Krishna Delta and the ayacut under Nagarjuna Sagar, at the heaviest cost to the exchequer. This project, already started, has yet to obtain the above crucial permissions. Nobody knows how, when and with how much expenditure it will see the light of the day. Almost all major irrigation projects under “Jalayagnam” suffer from such infirmities. The ugly design behind this haste is to divert water from Godavari valley to Krishna valley with a calculated purpose to utilize maximum of water from the modified Sreesailam reservoir for irrigation in Rayalaseema, an area falling in Penna valley. This evil design will also cause untold hardship to the Krishna delta and Nagarjuna Sagar ayacut. The remodeling of the Sreesailam sluices is going on a war footing. Already over 80 percent of the work is complete. The capacity of the head regulator in Potireddypadu is increased to 44,000 cusecs with 10 gates from the present 11,000 cusecs with 4 gates. The canals and channels are being

widened. The government says that it wants to increase the intake into reservoir from the present 30 days flood flow to 90 days. The same logic is not followed in other reservoirs. Truth cannot be suppressed forever.

The second part of this evil design is the day light robbery of the state treasury. Almost all the major projects contemplated in ‘Jalayagnam’, were let out to nine top contractors named as ‘Navaratnas’ adopting all kinds of manipulations and manoeuvres. A sizable percentage of the estimated cost was paid to the contractors in advance as mobilization fund, a rarely practised method. Here it has become a general phenomenon and the ruling party, leaders collected a lions share out of it as their graft(bribe). The method adopted to arrive at the project estimate is queer and most uncommon. It is called E.P.C. method denoting engineering, procurement, and construction. The contractor himself is responsible to arrive at an estimated cost of any project. Government will only broadly compare it with a bench mark fixed by it. This cost will increase every year based on the increase of the cost of material.

Opposition had fought tooth and nail against all such improper and illegal practices on the floor of the house, but invain. Ruling party members enmasse blindly followed the bankrupt irrigation policy pursued by the then C.M. Opposition wanted a thorough going discussion in an all party meeting to evolve a consensus and then formulate the irrigation policy acceptable to all regions. Its voice was throttled.

Modern science exhorts the priority of irrigation all over the world with the construction of watershed schemes followed by minor irrigation schemes and then alone followed by major irrigation schemes. This method, unique in Indian history, will go a long way in preventing soil erosion, conserving ground water level and economical use of water for agriculture. It is nature friendly, apart from being most economical. Assertion of all such valuable principles fell only on the deaf ears of an unscrupulous C.M.

Thousands of irrigation tanks in Telangana have become dilapidated and out of use. The department of minor irrigation always suffers for want of funds. The total irrigated land in Telangana today is 25% less than what it was before the formation of A.P. It is a matter of shame. Major part of the dry belt in A.P. received rain water on an average of 700 MM to 800 MM. This is sufficient for conserving in tanks and lakes and to undertake dry farming successfully, solving the age old problem of scarcity of pulses and oil seeds, so badly needed for any nutritious food.

This purposeless ‘jalayagnam’, rightfully criticized as “Dhanayagnam” is technically most unscientific, economically most impracticable and politically most ill advised and biased.

Adding insult to injury, the state government had totally surrendered to the government of Maharashtra, which has flouted the directives of the Bachawat

Award and even Supreme Court and went ahead in constructing the Babli anicut across the river Godavari with eleven more anicuts behind it, totally arresting the normal inflows into Sreeram Sagar Project, the life line of Telangana. TDP and other opposition parties did their best to highlight this blatant illegality with no avail. Sreeram Sagar Reservoir and the very lively river Godavari might go dry in future, causing incalculable loss to the existing, on going and future irrigation projects in A.P. It is high time, all the political parties in A.P force the centre to see the truth and effectively intervene to at least mitigate the irreparable loss.

### **(B) “Rajeev Arogyasree” scheme – a critical appraisal**

Populism of any government takes advantage of the immediate and burning problems of the hapless poor and rescues a few of them out of the impending danger making political capital out of it as the savior of the have-nots. Ruling classes have realized this political benefit and have made it a big electoral strategy. “Rajeev Arogyasree” is a typical project of this nature. It is agreed on all hands, that patients suffering from deadly diseases should be helped as emergency cases and their precious lives saved admitting them in the top class hospitals, corporate or government, at the cost of the state. This is a very good gesture by any government. But the tall claims of government, which practically have no sound futuristic policy on public health, preventive and curative, which fail to provide the existing primary health centres and bigger hospitals with adequate number of doctors, ladies and gents, and the requisite quantity and quality medicines, putting up a big show of helping a few patients through arranging free treatment is only a farce. It is abjuring the primary responsibility and instead making much out of a few symbolic cases under ‘Rajeev Arogyasree’ scheme.

Even this good scheme is being exploited by the unscrupulous middlemen corporate hospitals, quacks and the so called ‘sufferers’ to cheat the government and mint money, thus diluting the very purpose of the project. The schemes like 104-108 roaming hospitals are rendering commendable services through first aid and transporting the patient to a nearby hospital for quick treatment.

A sound health policy demands a qualitative change in the very perception of public health. Top most priority must be given to all kinds of preventive steps. The number of primary health centres have to be doubled at least with qualified doctors both ladies and gents in a planned manner. All the taluk and district level hospitals, 100 bedded and above, must be provided with all specialist doctors with the most modern equipment and sufficient quantity of quality medicines. State and central governments must double their budgetary allotments treating this expenditure with the top most priority followed by education. Such a comprehensive holistic, futuristic, qualitatively most modern health policy will contribute to the human resource development so badly needed.

### C) ‘Democracy’ being stripped off its humane content

Democracy is not only a means to organize and run the political seats of power at all levels, it is also an accepted means of equitable distribution of economic power to change the quality and the way of life of all working people with particular reference to the deprived and excluded castes in India, in particular; for the better. Sri Rajasekhara Reddy’s policies on all fronts, while rendering lip service through economic assistance to a few of the poor, opened the flood gates for the rich contractors, capitalists and crony capitalists whose modus operandi is to amass wealth over night without any capital investment. Political leaders belonging to the ruling party with particular reference to the elected leaders at all levels became the richest with in no time acting as political brokers, with only a few exceptions.

Institutions like APIIC (Andhra Pradesh Industrial Infrastructure Corporation), HUDA (Hyderabad Urban Development Authority) and A.P. Housing Board, etc., institutions aimed at an all round growth and development of the state, were de facto converted into agencies for looting the public property during these dark years. High ranking officials manning such institutions virtually became tools in the hands of the most selfish political leaders. The ongoing CBI enquiry is unearthing all such misdeeds and is exposing the corruption at the high levels. It is now estimated on all hands that over a lakh crore rupees must have been garnered by the ruling cliche using its political power. Details are being brought to light with every passing day. Suffice it to say that this short period has witnessed an unprecedented scale of corruption with a variety of innovations in this art of loot.

Almost two third time of the 12<sup>th</sup> legislative Assembly was spent on the exposure of land grabbing, theft of water and loot of the mineral wealth of the state. The C.M. in power had provided with lame excuses and false evidence in defence. Present CBI enquiry is bound to lay bare the worst designs of the late CM and his family aided and abetted by the corrupt bureaucracy. It was the height of day light robbery of public properties, driving even the senior social workers like me to frustration and demoralization about the shape of things to come. Nevertheless one can confidently pin his hope in the omnipotent power of the public opinion which is asserting itself all around the world, making the enemies of the people bite the dust and raising the banner of socio economic justice high. Let us be optimistic about the bright future and do our bit in unfolding such future. Team Anna’s victory in forcing the central government to place a strong anti corruption bill in Parliament is a pointer in this direction. Wide spread, but scattered public opinion against the growing social evils and in favour of a radical change in the direction of maximum good to the maximum number of people, when organised by a team of dedicated citizens becomes a powerful social capital capable of overthrowing the socio political maladies lock stock and barrel.

## **D) Political Immorality**

At a time when the country as a whole is getting astonished to know to what depths politicians can stoop to, my reference to a few political immoralities in earlier years will appear as small things, yet I prefer to note in brief, only a few, for public consumption.

In seventies, I was working in my room in the A.P. Assembly. I found a gentleman approaching me with utmost humility to make a representation. My close observation revealed that he was none else than a Cabinet Minister handling the port folio of social welfare. I was surprised and politely asked his purpose of his visit to me. Very modestly he made a request to contact the Director, Social Welfare on phone and tell him to kindly arrange for the transfer of his own daughter to a place requested for. I did this job and the Director agreed to do the needful. A thankful Minister left the place. Next day, to my surprise I found the Director of Social Welfare himself asking for my permission to say a few things about the Minister concerned. He told me that the gentleman who today appeared in the avtar of a Minister for Social Welfare was a man whom the state government had allotted two to three girls hostels and he had managed them very badly so much so that as the then Dy.Director he had to submit to government a report highlighting his misdeeds and his allotment was cancelled apart from being blacklisted. Such a man with a black record was not only elected but was also entrusted with a prestigious portfolio.

Another political immorality I had come across is note worthy that happened in eighties. My good friends late Sri Indra Reddy and late Sri Madhava Reddy were the Ministers for Home at different times. I was shocked to find the hectic movement of Police Officers from S.I. level to D.I.G level in uniforms, in and around the rooms of the leaders of political parties including the opposition parties, doing their “Pairavi” for transfers or promotions. The rates for different jobs were different and unimaginable. I thought it fit to see the ministers themselves and appeal to them to discourage from such a naked corrupt practice, at least in the precincts of the August house. Their replies to my request though at different times were one and the same. “The honourable leaders of political parties, even ministers very often come with the requests to do or not to do some thing which is patently improper and even illegal and we have no alternative but to promise positively. Later on we have our own ways to wriggle out of them”, they said, they made it a point to request me to approach all the leaders and persuade them to restrain themselves from such unhealthy practices. I had no power except to control my own office which I did causing some displeasure to my own colleagues.

## **E) Socio-Economic and political significance of “land grabbing”**

**a) Government lands:** House committees of the Assembly appointed for an in-depth study of the complicated problems arising out of debates in the house will render justice to solve such complex problems, apart from saving the time

of the house. I had the good opportunity to serve on such committees and propose necessary amendments to the rules and the laws concerned. Land problem is my subject of interest and I was often included in such committees. Land, apart from being a means of production, its ownership symbolizes socio-economic empowerment and provides a status in the society. Lands in and around the growing towns and cities, very much needed for housing and industrial purposes assumed a rare commodity nature with disproportionate increase in their value in a developing area. As a result cases of grabbing private and government lands increased manifold during the past half a century in and around Hyderabad city including the adjoining districts of Ranga Reddy, Medak and Nalgonda. Each encroachment was supported by fake ‘official’ and ‘legal’ documents. Most of such ‘documents’ were either concocted or were based on the tampering with the basic revenue records. Land grabbers, hand in glove with the corrupt revenue officers successfully managed to forge documents. For years I had worked on the land committees and got acquainted with all foul methods adopted by the unscrupulous land grabbers. My colleague Sri Ch.Vithal Reddy, Ex.MLA representing Narsapur in Medak, a past master in catching hold of the land grabbers, proved his mettle and with his able assistance I was able to identify the actual culprits. We made a special study of all the revenue acts and rules and their operation to do our job successfully. To our surprise, we had to see the government revenue officials, some times including the Collectors, defending the land grabbers cases. We had to unearth the history of the lands by digging out the originals from the record rooms, to prove the malpractices. Our house committee had to pressurise the bureaucracy to issue fresh GOs declaring all such lands as government lands.

There are hundreds of cases when the innocent people purchased lands from the brokers and grabbers for their housing purposes. We made recommendations to the government to take steps to regularise all such bonafide transactions of land and the government acted upon it. There were very big movements in our state in late forties and fifties of the last century when the state government had to adopt the Zamindari and Jagirdari abolition acts. The movements like the Telangana armed struggle had started and ended for land reforms mainly. Lakhs of acres of private and government lands were occupied by the working peasantry. Government lands with different denominations were also occupied by the dalits and other landless poor. All such so called ‘illegal occupations’ were legalised by virtue of acts and G.Os by the government from time to time thanks to the sustained kisan movements.

The movement of late sixties in Sreekakulam district was and still is the movement against the big landlords who had the audacity to drag the poor peasants to courts of law. I was astonished to realize that hundreds of poor peasants were forced to go round high courts and Supreme Courts simply because the state government, instead of implementing the statutes already existing in favour of the peasants in possession of lands supported the litigant

landlords out of the way. The state government went to the extent of naming the fighting peasantry as “Naxalites” with a calculated design to call a dog a mad one and kill it. I had the opportunity to visit tens of such villages in Sreekakulam district where the problem invariably was land problem, and the landlords resorted to evict the peasants with the help of the local police supported by the government. It is a socio-economic movement for empowerment of the poor, and never a problem of law and order as claimed by the state government.

Presently, such a movement for empowerment is getting concentrated in the forest belt of Chattisghad, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh states. It is mainly a defensive battle of the Girijans. Hit and hide is their modus operendi. State governments aided by the central government are leaving no stone unturned to crush this movement of these sons of the soil. Government is resorting to divide the people by using a time worn method of raising an armed force from out of the Girijan families naming it as “salvajudum” meaning volunteers paying them a paltry sum, and placing them as a front line in its offensive war against people. It is an inhuman method of killing, enmasse, innocent tribal youth. Prime Minister and the Home Minister of India have the cheek to declare such a problem as “internal security problem on par with external terrorism”. This “internal security problem” could best be solved by sincerely implementing the partly amended enactments already on the statute book on land in plains and forests and other social and tribal welfare. It is worth while to remember the “Gondvana Jungle Satyagraha” movements personally led by no less a leader than Mahatma Gandhi himself up upholding the rights of Girijans on their lands and mines. He had condemned the forest acts promulgated by the British imperialists in the year 1927. Over half a century passed by, and the government of free India are not replacing them with new acts to solve the problems once and for all. Present forest acts and land acquisition acts are refusing to recognize the inherent rights of girijans on their own lands and mines. It is up to the civic society and the political parties to force the governments to see the truth.

**b) Rural Development – Key for national development:** Late Sri Rajeev Gandhi’s dream to empower the Panchayat Raj bodies through 73-74<sup>th</sup> amendments in the constitution still remains on paper, not followed up in almost all the states in the country. It is not accidental. All the ruling parties excepting the governments led by the leftist parties in West Bengal and Kerala, are intentionally refusing to share power with the local bodies. Central government too is sleeping over the matter. Scheduled areas are still being deprived of even nominal powers. Sharing the income from forests and the mines is the birth right of girijans. It is a matter of shame that the scheduled areas are still suffering for want of roads, minimum facilities for education and health, potable and clean drinking water and rural electrification. As a result the abundantly available human resources are being kept away from their participatory and creative role in the nation building process. The industrial growth, development

of urban areas with modern infrastructural facilities have no meaning in the backdrop of 70 percent of the country side, the rural India, the real Bharat remaining, far away from the modern civilization. Old models of development are no more valid. The real development without any discrimination between urban and rural areas is the crying need of the time and is quite possible in the wake of scientific and technological revolution underway. The stinking semi feudal system, the impotent capitalism, colluding with the crony capitalism are polluting the political atmosphere in the country beyond repair and restoration to normalcy. The quick succession of shameless scams under the UPA II government and the spontaneous rise of the resistance movements led by the civic societies, teem Anna for example, are only the symptoms of the impending political crisis. The situation underscores the need for the emergence of a broad based organized leadership to deliver goods.

The ideologies of “national democracy” “peoples democracy” “new democracy” and “social democracy” etc which took their birth under qualitatively different historic circumstances, will not work as dependable tools for socio-economic change, commensurate with the modern thinking processes unless and until the rigidities of such old ideologies are done away with and their doors are kept wide open for flexibility and creativity to absorb and digest new ideas heralding a new age. Such a change, if consciously brought about will pave the way for speedy transformation from old to new thought, or else, history will not excuse any leader or his party and will march ahead attracting the new blood facing all odds. Old establishments are already getting stagnated getting distanced from the fast moving political mainstream. It is high time the democratic forces of the left and the centre come together, without losing time any more, and provide correct leadership with proper direction and action to the agitated youth. This will bring together the common spirit behind all ideologies and give shape to a common vision capable of driving the new social capital thirsty of marching ahead to achieve its cherished social justice, inclusive growth, peacefully but speedily.

I am sure, the Indian think tanks are well aware of the modern thought emanating from the renowned social scientists of the world including the seasoned Marxists which categorically declares that the capitalist road of development, which looks to capital alone, at the cost of neglecting the human beings behind it, is fast approaching its dead end, capitalism is exhausting all its potentialities. Mr. Stigliz, a nobel laureate from USA and our own nobel laureate Sri Amartya Sen among others are the pioneers of this modern thought the underlying ideas of the new thought process according to me, are as follows.

- 1) Annual growth rate in the (GDP) gross domestic production is not a scientific indicator of the real increase in the national development. Development should reflect in the increase of the educational, health, employment and other standards of life of a common man.

- 2) The fruits of growth in the GDP will not automatically reach the down trodden and poor below. It does not sink. Society should see that the governments, central and state, take adequate steps, legal and practical, to ensure that the fruits of growth improve the infrastructural facilities for the people atlarge. This is the national responsibility.
- 3) National wealth should be spent on human development, education, health and basic needs of the people at large to build qualitatively superior human resources, capable of building a self reliant economy based on work culture. It need not be frittered away on “populist” policies except to directly support the targeted groups of people below poverty line until they are able to stand on their own legs. Let us not forget that the state has to spend one and a half rupee to ensure the supply of one rupee as subsidy. National wealth should be sparingly spent to increase the production and the productivity of labour.
- 4) The fiscal deficits in the state and central annual budgets should gradually be reduced and surplus budgets with increased tax incomes, be the targets. State should give top priority to agriculture and manufacturing industry which alone can provide employment to the army of unemployed at the same time increasing the quantity and quality of the needed goods for marketing.
- 5) Globalisation, liberalization and privatization should not be treated as unwarranted and totally undesirable. They are the products of the scientific and technological revolution converting the wide world into a tiny village. Let not the multinational sharks exploit it for their narrow selfish ends. Let the common man awake arise and unite by taking the best advantage of the information revolution and build an impregnable human wall, unshakable national will to hasten the end of the decadent capital. Recent developments in India and the world over are a pointer in this direction.

Latest information testifies to the truth that the flight of our labour, both intellectual and manual, is a blessing in disguise under modern conditions when science, capital and human resources have become international, and our men and women are transmitting billions of foreign exchange to their mother land. It has become a boon for both the, native and host countries. Government of India by using its power should regulate this ongoing process facilitating the smooth transport, security, and safe return, of our precious labour force. Progressive democratic forces all over the world are seriously reviewing their old political strategies in the context of new opportunities unfolding, for a speedy growth of their movements for inclusive socio-economic growth with social justice. They are demanding for restructuring the UNO, World Bank, IMF and WTO on democratic lines to ensure equal status to all member states for promoting a cooperative common wealth of nations based on the principles of equality and equity in trade and commerce. Principles of pancha sheel

propounded by the great leaders like Pandit Nehru, Colonel Nasser and Martial Tito after the end of the second world war require to be resurrected, executed, bidding farewell to ‘cold war’.

The rich experiences for a radical socio-economic advance, generated by the historic movements for freedom, peace and progress all over the world in the last century, the bitter but useful experiences of the rise and fall of the socialist states of USSR and East European countries, above all the latest but typical experience of faster rate of growth of China offer invaluable lessons for the think tanks. They are offering new ideas for framing the country’s specific strategies and tactics to advance the people’s movements. The need of the hour is to first unlearn the age old, time worn “classical” “universal” dogmas which have lost their potentiality and utility under the present dynamic globalised conditions. New challenges and newer opportunities to face the challenges successfully are demanding open mindedness on the part of all leaders on all fronts. Socio-political awareness for a radical change over for a better life with self respect is the fertile soil to sow the seeds of wider movements against the native and foreign reaction. The present fiscal and economic crisis engulfing the world capitalist system is its self goal and the progressive forces are able to achieve the maximum successes with a minimum of sacrifices. One can only hope for better counsels on the political leadership. 77 crore of Indians out of 120 crore population are living with a bare income of Rs. 20 per head per day. At this rate another half a century will not be sufficient to make the people realize that they are living in free India. Political parties of the left and centre will not be excused by the posterity if the present deterioration of all values, scams, and insecurity of human lives continues any longer. Unity of all progressive and democratic forces on a war footing declaring a war against the enemies of the people brooks no delay.

It is worth while to take note of the psyche that is driving the thinking process of modern youth which is dominating the civic society of our country. Growing hatred towards all forms of corruption, desire for restoration of values in public life, assertion of social equality, and recognition of caste, community and regional identity, are the symptoms of growing social and political awareness. They are the results of the heroic struggles for freedom and democracy in the last century. While the need of capital for growth is being felt, the feeling that capitalism has inbuilt seeds of inequality, alienation and exploitation is also being realized. Recent crisis of liquidity and economic instability affecting the lives of common man in American and other European countries, and its continuation in different forms has even stirred Vatican a religious head quarter, when pope paul publicly condemned the unbridled capitalist system and its consumerism, and ostentatious life styles. Under such circumstances, any expectation that the multinational corporations of the west will get revitalized to resort to the economic and political expansionism and political imperialism even leading to world war are out of place. The awakened intelligentia and the

conscious youth all over the world can confidently ward off any such adventure and herald a new era of world peace and democracy, restructuring the world organizations on the basis of equality with special concern for the under developed countries. We are at a historic turning point on the cross roads. The renowned sociologists and economists of east and west are echoing and reechoing the dawn of a new era where the world's economic centre of gravity will shift from the west to east, China and India playing their leading role.

Despite their imperialist assertions and misadventures in middle east on the part of Anglo American tottering imperialism, the resurgent world is realizing fast the emergence of a new correlation of political forces with new alignments under renewed world organizations. The days of imperialism are numbered and the ways of capitalism are being detested and disliked by wider strata of people.

India with its rich experiences of the struggles of the past century, having the legacy of a hoary past is poised to face every challenge with self confidence. The bulging middle class led by the awakened youth force is the best guarantee for a brighter future.

## F) My Philosophical Schooling

I am duty bound to draw the attention of the readers towards my limited philosophical schooling which sowed the seeds of envisioning the future, immediate and distant. As a teenaged high school student in Karimnagar, Andhra Maha Sabha taught me practicals while Arya Samaj provided me with theory of humanism. I was specially attracted towards its rationalist thought which opposed idol worship and blind faith. Its idealist philosophy was aimed at dispelling the dark clouds of untruths and half truths which had blinded the Indian people and opened their eyes to the shining legacy of Indian culture and tradition. I had the proud privilege of undergoing such an elementary schooling, Swamy Dayanand Sarswati's Satyarthi Prakash had tilled the fertile soil of my mind; how deep, is being displayed by my autobiography. Truth, truthfulness, love and affection, patience and tolerance, honesty and modest humility and sincerity, are the values which impacted my thought process, how much, is left to the public opinion about my successes and failures.

In my college days, I had developed an innate desire to study Bhagavat Geeta, Geetanjali and Marxism and I had succeeded in grasping their outlines which helped me to be positive and optimistic throughout my life facing odds. Despite their diametrical difference of idealism and materialism, according to my humble life long experience, their application to change the social order teaches a common lesson of hard work to unearth the truth of life and unleash a truthful campaign to demolish the walls of selfishness and self righteousness on the road to social progress. I have the mental satisfaction to have spared enough time to learn the rudiments of Vedas, Upanishads and such other classics from my busy schedule and I make bold to submit my conviction that man and man alone is the architect of the society and its good or bad, past, present and

future. Changing man and society to achieve the time tested, eternal values with collective life is the solemn and sacred duty of all men and women cutting across the religion, caste, creed and geographic distances. Comparatively, the fundamentals enshrined in the ancient classics got elucidated interpreted in a practical manner by the writings and speeches of Swami Vivekananda and Dayananda Saraswati, further applied to the changing society by the philosophers like late lamented Swami Ranganathananda of Rama Krishna Math fame. We will realize the commonality of purpose and unity in diversity, which will go a long way in illuminating our road map ahead. Human beings occupy the highest place in the evolution of the creatures of nature, gifted with intelligence. This is the essence of Darwin's theory of evolution. Age old quantitative changes gave rise to the qualitative change, contributing to evolution. Human beings had to struggle for their existence through ages as against nature for the security and safety of life. At the same time they had to fight bitterly against their own fellow human beings for a better life. This endless struggle for existence against nature as also against fellow human beings provided them with rich experiences making them the tallest of all with maturity of mind.

Their acquired invaluable experiences during the billions of years of their bitter struggles for existence were sifted into good and bad for their social life. They had carefully nourished and consolidated the socially useful values and passed on from generation to generation adding value at every stage, which assumed the nature of eternity. Thus emerged the eternal values like truth, compassion, love and affection, Dharma etc which act as the torch bearers for individual and social advance. It is proved beyond doubt that man is the creator, promoter and even destroyer of the values.

Every human society is interested in understanding such values, promote them for its own promotion and protection. Unity, integrity, humane mutual relations social peace and progress, all depend upon how far and how deep the society appreciates and adopts the lofty values in its day to day life. The values generate and strengthen further the bonds of unity and united actions to defeat all kinds of anti social forces and raise the stature of the society, family, or individual concerned to an exalted position, themselves remaining as time tested and eternal values.

Above presentations in brief, by natural scientists who subscribe to Darwinian Theory of evolution of human society and its social values, were accepted by the renowned Indian philosophers as logical and rational. But there is a strong idealist philosophical view which does not satisfy the rational argumentative Indian mind, that a man with his concentration of mind on God, the Almighty, through Dhyana, keeping away from family and social life can skip over the laborious process of struggle for existence and attain the "eternal bliss" of joining God himself ie 'paramatma' that God in the form of Atma exists in every human being to always guide him in his doings. It is an idealist approach, accepted and followed by the overwhelming majority of believers but

does not convince the rationalist section of people. My personal view is to let the time alone clear the confusion. Meanwhile the bounden duty of all humanists is to build bridges between the believers and rationalists on the basis of the lofty and hoary cultural legacy of our mother land, to build strong humane nationalism and a harmonious internationalism. Every philosophical discourse, with or without conflicts and contradiction must aim at the promotion of material and spiritual wellbeing of mankind. Indian philosophy is rich enough to accommodate the coexistence of idealism and materialism with its singleness of mind to promote humanism. Budhism which took its birth essentially as a rational or materialist philosophy successfully coexisted with all shades of idealism and had spread to the entire east acting as the powerful religion followed by crores of people. Indian philosophers of all shades now agree with Swamy Vivekananda that the purpose of every philosophy must be the material and spiritual wellbeing of humanity. He has also advised the philosophers to apply it to the changing social life and make it "Anushtana Vedanta" and promote the valid and living ideas and leave aside those which fail to advance the society to higher levels. It will be apt to remember the teachings of Karl Marx who wanted the philosophers not to be contented with the interpretation of the world but emphasized the need to change the world to higher and higher levels.

Swamy Ranganathananda, an authority on Indian philosophy in his various lectures delivered inside and outside India which were collected and published as "the eternal values of a changing society" has vividly presented the exceptional role of values in the promotion of an ideal society.

Indian philosophy, most ancient when compared with other philosophies of the world is rightly described by many thinkers as a way of life ever changing with the evolution of civilization. Unlike other philosophies, it is not the outcome of a single prophets' preachings spoken or written. It is an instrument of spiritual change in tune with the changes in material life eternally imbibing in it the time tested and modified values capable of furthering the change in the quality of life. Therefore, it is rational, an ever changing one keeping intact the content of the eternal values of humanism.

All other philosophies of the world, though differ in their origin are also the out comes of the age old human struggle for existence capsule in the form of gospels spelt out by visionaries with the richest knowledge and experiences. They acted and continue to act as the guide to a successful individual and social life, despite the geographic, distances, the linguistic differences and the bitter experiences of sufferings and sacrifices in the onward march, of the people concerned. The spirit behind all religious teachings is one and the same, ie., to make human being and society humane to spread the truth of the existence of God the divine power Almighty, guiding the humanity with dos and don'ts. There are absolutely no differences in the teachings of different religions. Scientific and technological revolution under way, with ever new discoveries



*Philosophical discussion with Sri Pranava Pande of  
Shanti Kunj, Haridwar*

and innovations promoting one world will soon establish the spiritual unity of the entire humanity cutting across the so called religious barriers.

Coming back to my own experiences as a social and political worker as also a legislator with sufficient seniority, I feel duty bound to present a birds eye view of the way the above discussed social and religious values are honoured and executed to further the moral and ethical standards in public life. Since the early forties of the last century covering a long period of over six decades my experiences have convinced me that for the sustenance of the people's movement time tested leadership of the political parties and social and civic groups following the moral and ethical values is an essential pre-requisite. Superiority in social life and educational qualifications do not make a good political and social leader. At the most they assist one provided they are properly utilized. The real schooling of a leader is his total identification with the common man and woman with special reference to the havenots and downtrodden generally found in different social groups called SCs and BCs in Indian context. Their sufferings starting with economic poverty and culminating in the worst form of social oppression and mental tortures make a hell of their lives. A person with social out look, not individualist out look, alone can assist the above unfortunate majority of the people in different forms to liberate them from their present woes and rescue them from out of their inextricable problems of hapless lives through uniting them and organizing their struggles against their social and political enemies. Once attracted, the social or political worker will achieve a spiritual satisfaction which gives him a place of pride in the society which will recognize him as a dedicated servant of society, a qualification which no academic

institution on earth can offer. This love of people changes his or her heart and mind qualitatively changing their life styles. Such a leadership with social and political recognition will successfully face every problem, however difficult it may appear to be, with the will power and will emerge as a tested one to be trusted.

Since the dawn of freedom in 1947 and the advent of democracy from 1950, for about a quarter century, elected representatives of the people and the political leadership did not require a code of conduct containing the ethical and moral values to be followed as they themselves voluntarily had adopted their life styles following the foot prints of the freedom fighters. Most of them were themselves freedom fighters. Since the seventies, the problems of disregarding the values started. Securing and sustaining the political power by stooping to the undemocratic and selfish practices entered the public life. Most unfortunate and unpardonable phenomena is that it commenced at the top and sank below, giving licenses to all such undesirable and socially harmful methods of hankering after political power. This malady spread to all spheres of public life in a systematic manner with open or tacit approval of men at the helm of affairs. Slowly but steadily a nexus has been established between the corrupt politicians and bureaucrats which has today become incorrigible. It has become a hell of the task even to reduce it, let alone its total eradication. Chief Ministers of states, Judges of High Courts, not to speak of their subordinates are being caught red handed and are facing their trials in courts of law bringing shame to the public life and all its fronts. It is now being recognized on all hands that the fast deterioration of moral and ethical values cannot be arrested until and unless serious systemic reforms of executive, legislature and even judiciary are undertaken to make their activities transparent and work accountable. Recent up surge all over the country in support of the fast unto death undertaken by the veteran Gandhian Anna Hazare for the adoption of the Jan Lokpal bill by Indian Parliament is a pointer in this direction. It is high time that all political parties and civic groups join heads, cutting across all political and ideological barriers, unitedly and boldly adopt the necessary reforms to call a halt to such a national shame, and restore value based democracy.

The need to appoint a separate legislature committee was not felt till a period of two decades when the majority of the elected members were themselves either freedom fighters with a sense of patriotism or their close followers, but by the seventies of the last century the elected members of both state legislatures and central parliament were found guilty of their undue interference with the day to day administration. Political corruption raised its head at all levels and developed into a political culture, as a system. Corrupt bureaucrats in collusion with the corrupt politicians discovered innovative methods of misappropriation of public property. It assumed new dimensions and higher levels from the traditional mode of accepting money for doing small favours. Systematic evasion of taxes payable to the state and central government, under invoicing and over

invoicing imports and exports, sanctioning contracts of all government constructions at rates disproportionate to the estimated cost of construction, lease or sale of government lands at throw away prices and lease of precious mines allowing all illegalities improprieties, have become the order of the day causing incalculable loss to the state exchequers. This unaccounted black money has crossed all limits and is being laundered and stashed in foreign banks like Swiss banks. On a rough estimate, the black money from India alone for the last few decades is equal to or more than its annual revenue income. No government worth its salt can manage its budgets allowing such a drain of its national wealth. India today has fallen to such a moral ebb. No wonder the public opinion and its civic groups and democrats are getting restive with such a great fall in the quality of governance. It is high time all democrats unite to change the present system of misgovernance and launch a movement for eradicating corruption lock stock and barrel with a sense of urgency.

I had the opportunity to work on the committee on ethics of the Assembly to frame its rules of functioning. Our committee visited a number of states including the meetings with central parliamentary committee and study the corrupt practices resorted to by the honourable elected representatives of people. The recent scam of cash for votes inside the four walls of Parliament is only a tip in the ice burg when compared with the whole sale corruption before the nose of ministers themselves. Hence nothing short of tightening the existing anti corruption laws and legislating new laws to trap the so called people's representatives, however high their position might be, is the immediate requirements. Passage of a mere Lok Pal bill, without simultaneously undertaking the structural reforms of different wings of governance, will remain as an exercise in futility. Radical reforms of the rules of functioning inside the houses brooks no delay and the honourable members must and should be subjected to deterrent punishments for trespassing the ethical rules.

I deem it my duty to draw the attention of my esteemed readership towards a few outstanding quotations from the writings of the great path finders of our country, which I relished since the commencement of my public life. These leaders along with few others had impacted my life style and character.

1. *"Where the mind is without fear  
and the head is held high  
where knowledge is free  
where the world  
has not been broken up into fragments  
by narrow domestic walls  
-where the words come out  
From the depth of truth  
Where the tireless striving  
Stretches its arms towards perfection  
-where the clear stream of reason*

*Has not lost its way  
Into the dreary desert sand of dead habit  
-where the mind is led forward by thee  
Into ever widening thought and action  
Into the heaven of freedom, my father  
Let my country awake”*

**- Rabindranath Tagore – Geetanjali**

2. “My life is my message” – **Mahatma Gandhi.**
3. Karl Marx who with his colleague Frederich Engels, had influenced the world politics for over a century had to offer the following answers to the six questions put to him by his three daughters.
  - A) Q: What is your life style?  
A: Modesty
  - B) Q: What is the significant element in your personality?  
A: “Devotion to the cherished Goal”
  - C) Q: What makes you feel happy?  
A: “Struggle for a right cause”.
  - D) Q: What is the most intolerable weakness in you?  
A: “Selfishness”
  - E) Q: What is that you like most?  
A: “I am a human being. Problems connected with human beings are my primary concern”
  - F) Q: What is your nature?  
A: “I start with doubting. I am a sceptic”
- 4) “Selfish actions are highly detestable, when compared with selfless actions. Selfish people are petty humans. O! Arjuna! Realize wisdom and the purity of heart”

**- Bhagavat Geeta 11-49**

#### **G) A.P. Legislators their functioning: A look back:**

The success or failure of the constitutional parliamentary democratic system depends upon the key roles played by the Chief Minister, the leader of the house, his cabinet colleagues, leader of the opposition and other leaders of political parties, the nature of the speeches of the honourable members of the house, and above all the stature of the Speaker of the house whose duty is to conduct the business of the house strictly in conformity with the rules and procedure the house and the spirit of our constitution. CM, though elected by the majority party, is duty bound to be accountable to the whole house as the leader of the house. The relationship between the CM and his cabinet colleagues

is based on the principle of collective responsibility of the cabinet. CM is number one among all his cabinet colleagues sharing the responsibilities equally. Members' performance on the floor of the house through their speeches and behaviours is expected to reflect the spirit of democracy. Members are supposed to deliver their speeches based on facts and figures, in a language befitting the exalted position of the august house and with a purpose to illuminate the public opinion at large. Speaker of the house, being the tallest by virtue of his knowledge on the subject under discussion, well versed with the parameters of the constitution and the rules of the house relevant in the specific context, will have to act as an umpire, judiciously giving his rulings for conducting business of the house in a balanced way. Such a happy combination of different roles assigned to different players presents the superiority of the system of democracy.

Parliamentary democracy has an inbuilt system of committees comprising of the senior and able members of the house assisted by the tested and talented bureaucrats for an in-depth study of the problems connected with development and the resources required therefor. Committees on Public accounts, Estimates, public under takings are statutory bodies supposed to periodically present their reports with necessary recommendations to the house to act as checks and balances on the executive bodies. The regular, harmonious and purposeful functioning of all the wings of the house will enhance quality of governance from time to time and thus consolidate democracy.

As referred to earlier, this ideal system of democracy, since its inception in India in 1952, both at centre and state levels, has been diluted and devalued decade after decade, finally arriving at a stage when the people of the country at large have developed a sense of aversion towards the very democratic system and its elected representatives. A stage has come when the civic society and the socially conscious public is being forced to undertake serious steps to radically reorient all the wings of democracy, legislature, executive and the judiciary for their its rejuvenation and revitalization.

The working of the 12<sup>th</sup> A.P. Assembly with the performance pattern of the late lamented Sri Y.S.R. as Chief Minister provides with an irrefutable evidence for such a fast deterioration of values of democracy, and public life. First and foremost the golden principle of cabinet and collective responsibility was given a goby yielding its place to a clic of three persons, himself, his son and his chosen adviser. Entire administration was run by this clic with the assistance of the most corrupt bureaucrats. In a word, his own colleagues of the cabinet, his own party were reduced to zeros. His only son, now the President of a new party floated in the name of his father had once declared with a sense of pride that an idea dreamt of by his father last night would take the shape of a full-fledged rule or regulation by the next morning time.

One need not dwell at length on the modus operendi of such a large scale loot of public wealth by the above clic which has, on a rough and conservative

estimate, amassed over ten thousand crores of rupees. The ongoing CBI enquiries are bringing to light the novel methods of corruption unheard of in the annals of any constitutional democracy. Land acquisitions in the name of establishing big industries by the corporate bodies, national and international, special economic zones; Construction of major irrigation projects, letting out mines to the chosen contractors – all illegalities and improprieties managed with the active assistance of his tested and corrupt bureaucracy in short, is the modus operendi. To cover all such immoral and unethical practices he had adopted the policy of populism, giving it a good name of reaching the saturation point in supplying with cards to each and every applicant. The fiscal deficit, the state is facing today, is unprecedented and it is impossible to obtain normalcy in the foreseeable future.

#### **H) My Personal experiences in the XII Assembly(2004-2009):**

In the wake of the unbridled, unheard of and unscrupulous government, one can imagine the herculean task faced by the leading party in opposition, the TDP. Congress party had cleverly managed to rope in both the communist parties, the TRS party and the MIM to defeat the TDP and wrest power from it. Once enthroned, Sri YSR forgot all his promises made to his partners who could manage to defeat the TDP and its leader Sri Chandrababu Naidu with a slender majority. TRS had to retrace its mistake by coming out of the congress led cabinet when Sri YSR had resorted to each and every method to defeat the demand for a separate state of Telangana. Both the Communist parties realized their mistake in helping congress bouncing back to power when they saw the ‘Dhanayagnam’ under the garb of “jalayagnam” and other foul methods of governance. It took over two and a half years for the friendly parties to part with their senior partner. This had given enough of breathing time to the government to settle down and plan for their misrule. However, better late than never, all the opposition parties came round and faced the ruling clic with one voice effectively during the last two years. TDP, right from the day one did its best in leaving no stone unturned to expose the party in power with special reference to the innumerable misdeeds of its leader. I had played my role as the vice president of the legislature party of the TDP with Sri Nara Chandrababu Naidu as its president and the leader of the opposition. I had a very good time to function with Sri Nagam Janardhana Reddy and Sri Devender Goud as the Dy.leaders of the party. Befitting my age and experience, I had a number of opportunities to intervene whenever the discussions in the house went out of order and place my considered view point. I am happy my interventions had positive effects and the leaders and members of my party appreciated them. I must go on record and express my utmost displeasure at the way the XII Assembly conducted itself under the leadership of a C.M corrupt to the core. I deem it as the worst day in my parliamentary life when I had to hear a leader of the house abusing the leader of the opposition in the filthiest language and my intervention to correct him with the best of my persuasive power fell on

his deaf ears. Such a phenomenon will arise only under conditions of all round deterioration of moral and ethical values. It only underscores the need for restoring values on a war footing. I am only sorry all this has happened in a country with the most ancient cultural legacy while the western countries with civilization of a few centuries are able to set the examples of many values.

**Golden jubilee celebrations of Indian independence and formation of Andhra Pradesh:** The country as a whole had celebrated the Golden Jubilee of the dawn of freedom to our motherland on August 15<sup>th</sup> in the year 1947, with the gaiety it deserved. Sri Nara Chandra Babu Naidu as the Chief Minister had arranged for such celebration by the A.P. Legislative Assembly in a befitting manner. Along with other freedom fighters and the dignitaries. I was honoured as a freedom fighter and senior sitting legislator at the hands of the then Governor of A.P Sri Ranga Rajan, the Chief Justice of AP, and the Speaker of the time and my good friend Sri Yanamala Ramakrishnudu. A few years, after when late Sri Y.S.R. was the CM, the Golden Jubilee of the formation of AP was also celebrated by our Assembly. Along with other seniors of the house, I had the special privilege of being honoured as a freedom fighter and a sitting member of the house on both the occasions of formation and the present celebrations, by the speaker of the Lok Sabha, and a veteran Parliamentarian Sri Somnath Chatterjee and the then Speaker of the A.P. Assembly Sri K.R.Suresh Reddy.

I deem it my proud privilege when, I along with late Kodati Narayana Rao were specially honoured by the freedom fighters of PARITALA, now in Krishna district. Paritala, a part of the then Nizam's state was liberated from the clutches of the Nizam's autocratic rule and was declared as an independent republic. To be honoured by the then president of the republic now no more is memorable. The whole credit for such honours goes to hundreds of freedom fighter colleagues and martyrs who, as students and youth had created glorious history.

**i) My Bharat Darshan as a member of Assembly Committee on Estimates:** The purpose of the estimates committee, in essence, is to know the actual level of growth of any state or its districts with the given resources and to arrive at a total estimation of the policies responsible for positive or negative developments. I am happy I could have Bharat Darshan covering all the states at different times. Let me share with the readership a few experiences of some important states in the country as also a few districts of our own state.

Kashmir, Sikkim and the hilly areas of Dargiling in West Bengal are the places I have visited during my last term. Keeping in view my age of over 82 years, I had asked my youngest grand son G.Sushant to accompany me in this programme. He readily agreed and followed me like my own shadow. Sushant now a post graduate software engineer, well settled in USA with his family, is my most lovable.

Kashmir, the most beautiful state in our country was one of over 500 native states in India geographically the largest one, while the erstwhile state

of Hyderabad was the biggest from the point of view of population. With India achieving its independence in 1947 August 15<sup>th</sup>, all the 500 and odd states joined the Indian union except the largest states of Kashmir and Hyderabad and the smallest state of Junagadh. Kashmir with its majority of Muslim population too joined Indian union when its Hindu Maharaja Harisingh declared its accession to India. The young state's King fled away from the country while the civic societies declared their unequivocal decision to accede to Indian Union. The King of Hyderabad state known as the Seventh Nizam of Hyderabad; Mir Osman Alikhan had refused to join Indian union and had declared his state as Azad Hyderabad, a separate country by itself in the heart land of India. People of the state's three distinct regions of Telangana, Marathwada and Karnataka having roughly 85 percent Hindus and 15 percent Muslim population raised their full throated demand to join the Indian Union. But the Nizam, under the influence of Majlis-e-ittehadul Musalmeen led by its rank communalist leader Syed Kasim Razvi and its voluntary force, the hated Razakars had decided to crush the liberation movement of the people. People of the state, consisting of 8 districts in Telangana 5 districts in Marathwada and 3 district in Karnataka rose in revolt and had boldly built a big resistance movement demanding the forcible occupation of the state by the union government. Finally after a big civil war with thousands of casualties on both sides government of India was forced to conduct police action from different corners of the state and liberate the state, thirteen months after Indian freedom and the state people's unparalleled liberation movement. The Nizam of Hyderabad had to surrender to Indian union on 17<sup>th</sup> of September, 1948.

Even though the state of Kashmir had joined Indian union very peacefully, Kashmir remained a big political problem for India for the last 64 years. Pakistan wanted Kashmir state to accede to it on the basis of two nation theory propounded by late Mohammed Ali Jinnah who ultimately succeeded in dividing India, Pakistan's claim on Kashmir was based on the muslim majority population of Kashmir state as a whole. Thence started Pakistan's aggression on India and its illegal occupation of a part of Kashmir known as Pakistan occupied Kashmir (POK). Kashmir problem already 64 years old has become a big problem for India's external and internal security, causing a drain on India's financial resources deserves to be solved once and for all in the interest of the people of the state and the people of India, in general with a sense of pragmatism. A few facts about Kashmir state deserve consideration.

Kashmir state consists of three distinct geographical areas known as Jammu, Kashmir valley and Ladakh. Jammu a Hindu majority area is geographically contiguous with India proper. Adjoining Jammu but across big hills, their vallies, lakes and tanks with thick forest cover is situated Kashmir proper known also as Kashmir valley having 80 percent Muslim population. Third a small part is known as Ladakh situated at a very high altitude, as part of Himalayan hills, snow laden and climatically peculiar inhabited by people following different faiths and languages.

The total strength of the Kashmir state Assembly is 87, consisting of 46 members representing the Muslim majority Kashmir valley 36 members representing the Hindu majority areas known as Jammu while the rest 3 members represent the hilly area known as Ladhak, Indian National Congress(INC) Nationalist Conference Party(NCP) People's Democratic Party(PDP) and Bharatiya Janata Party(BJP) are the main political parties, while CPI and CPI(M) are the smaller political parties working in the state. PDP and NCP are comparatively strong in Kashmir valley, the former being stronger than the latter. Any reference to Kashmir state is inextricably connected with the name of late Sheik Mohammed Abdulla. One of the tallest freedom fighters of India, next only to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who hailed from Kashmir state and had led the biggest battles against Kashmir Maha Raja for radical socio-economic reforms in Kashmir, earning the title of share-e-Kashmir(the lion of Kashmir). He was a perfect nationalist, secular and pro-poor to the core. He had built the All India State People's Conference parallel to the All India National Congress and led it to the end as its President. I had the rare privilege to meet and talk to such a legendary figure at a time when the share-e-Kashmir had visited Hyderabad state in early forties of the last century. Sri Ravi Narayana Reddy being the general Secretary of All India State People's Conference had introduced the student leaders to him. I was very much inspired by his patriotic and socialist outlook. Sheik Abdulla's son Farooq Abdulla the present MP was the CM of Kashmir state. The present CM, Omer Abdulla is his son. Sheikh Abdulla, though one of the tallest leaders of the Indian National Congress, had to form a separate party in Kashmir with the name of "national conference". Present government headed by Omer Abdulla represents a coalition of 'National Conference' and Indian National Congress.

Muslim League, headed by Mohammed Ali Jinna demanded, right from the days of freedom struggle, to have Kashmir state as part and parcel of Pakistan. At the time of partition of India, Muslim league strongly demanded the partition of Kashmir on the basis of Hindu and Muslim majority areas to facilitate their joining with India and Pakistan on the principle of contiguity. Such a proposal of partition of Kashmir was strongly opposed by the people led by their unquestioned leader Sheikh Abdulla. Maharaja Harisingh the head of the state, declared the accession of the entire state to India. The problem was solved technically but the communal forces of the state aided and abetted by Pakistan started their nefarious game of communal disturbance of some kind or the other to see that Kashmir becomes a part of Pakistan.

My visit and close discussion with the leaders of different parties and civic groups in Kashmir, as also my own interaction with common man on the street, strengthened in me my idea to get the vexed problem of Kashmir solved once and for all. These experiences made me to recapitulate a way out suggested by some social group 64 years back at the time of partition of India. According to this formula, River Chanab which flows from north to south

should be The dividing line since the eastern part of Kashmir valley broadly happens to be the Hindu majority area while the western part has the Muslim majority. Such a communal division of states was totally opposed, and rejected ab-initio. However a special article number 370 was created in our constitution only to assuage the feelings of alienation from the minds of Kashmiri people, as a special case.

Now, one can easily notice the linguistic, historic, cultural and social distinctiveness of the people of the valley which presents their peculiar identity. Almost seven decades of sincere execution of such an accommodative constitutional guarantee could not satisfy the arch communal mind and the problem remains much more acute costing heavily in terms of human lives and drain on state and central budgets. The common man, most unsatisfied with a kind of military rule, never wants to join with Pakistan. India is far better than Pakistan, they say and argue. Then what is to be done? Their innate feeling I could notice is to have "Azad Kashmir" a separate country independent of both India and Pakistan.

The ground realities present an unhappy, rather a demoralizing picture. Pakistn has already occupied a sizable area known as Pakistan Occupied Kashmir(P.O.K) which is having a separate machinery for its administration, under the government of Pakistan. The Pak army is openly aiding and abetting the establishment and maintenance of an infrastructure to train the terrorist groups all along the border line of P.O.K. Such an illegal, defacto occupation of Indian area, with the passage of time and the postponement of any final solution is not only giving a breathing time to Pakistan but is also helping the dejure recognition to its aggression on India. The situation is drifting from bad to worse. People at large are leading a life of utter insecurity while our forces are facing a hell of life in the vallies without any sight of an end to it. The statesmanship of the Indian leadership, particularly the ruling UPA government demands the quick solution of the Kashmir problem within the broad parameters of article 370 of our constitution.

The recent meeting of our Prime Minister with the President and premier of Pakistan had made some advance from the old rigid position: Following four items of some understanding emerged out of this meeting. They are as follows:

- 1) Areas on both the sides of line of control should be given the powers and resources for self government.
- 2) The army units of both the countries should be withdrawn keeping the imaginary actual line of control as it is.
- 3) Both areas across the so called line of control should be helped to strengthen their unity by restoring and rebuilding the communication system.
- 4) The machinery and its working for the self rule on both the sides should be supervised jointly by both the countries.

The above four items if concretized and elaborated, will go a long way in meeting the demand of self determination by the people of the valley. It will also fit in with the broad out look proposed specially by article 370 of our constitution. Such a process of unification of both the east and western areas of the line of actual control will help the weakening and then slowly eradicating the terrorist trouble in Kashmir. Such a broad minded agreement between India and Pakistan while satisfying the sentiment of a separate state hood for Kashmiries will also help to strengthen the spirit of national unity with communal amity. Kashmir is a very big centre of tourism nationally and internationally. Tourism along with forest income is the major source of income for the skilled labour force there.

Our visit to the Vaishnavi Devi Temple located on high hills in jammu is unforgettable. I very much doubted about my capacity to undertake such a gigantic up hill task at the age of 82 years. All the colleagues picked up their courage and made bold to have the Darshan of Vaishnavi Devi, the protector of life on earth. My helper Shshanth emboldened me to undertake the journey without any fear. We walked up to some length and took the service of a helicopter to reach the second stage. We then covered another length on horse back readily available. The horse which I rode had stopped at the usual place along with others, and moved aside before I could safely get down, making me to tilt my balance. Sushant, from a different horse back following me came to my rescue providing me a firm support. Then again we had to walk up hill for two more Kms to reach our destination. With the help of Tillu(Sushanth) and other colleagues we completed our herculean task. Luckily we found a senior temple employee who hailed from Sircilla. But for his timely help our Darshan would have been much delayed. Coming back down hills was a problem, but I could succeed with the help of Sushanth and other young colleagues as also the helicopter. Our country, famous for its temples on hills and river banks unites our people with the most powerful cultural bonds.

**Our visit to Sikkim State:** We proceeded to visit the small but the most beautiful state of Sikkim with a fond hope to enjoy nature's creative beauty as also the interesting aspects of human development and the way of functioning of democracy, through its elected representatives of people.

The then Governor of Sikkim Mr.Rama Rao was my close personal friend and the BJP Leader of A.P elected to the legislative council of AP three times from the graduates constituency. Presently he has settled down in Hyderabad city and we often meet and spend our time pleasantly.

Sikkim state with its un ending line of mountains, vast greeneries more particularly the shining water falls punctuated with fountains of water presents like Kashmir valley the imaginary heaven on earth. Hundreds of power generating centres attract the attention of thousands of tourists. A number of small industries have come up thanks to the availability of cheap power. If only infrastructure

for the transmission of power is built, Sikkim state can generate Hydel power required for the whole country, the people say. Industries and the forests are the main resources of the state budget. We were happy to know about the efficient functioning of the state legislature and its committees.

**Visit to West Bengal State:** I had visited the state and its capital Calcutta a number of occasions personally and as part of delegations. Visit to Darjeeling district is for the first time. One will enjoy the special form of nature's beauty when we see hundreds of ladies working in the tea gardens spread over far and wide. Nature added with the work culture of women hood gives a new dimension to the dignity of labour. I was particularly interested to know the peculiarity and the specialty of the life conditions of the people inhabiting in this far fetched hilly area. I could appreciate the socio-political demands of such hard working people. We had discussed about all the problems with our counter parts at Calcutta.

Estimates committee's visit to a few important districts in our own state of AP throws some light on the governance at district and grass root level. Committees elected by the larger body as Assembly are clothed with all the powers of its parent body. The district collectors are expected to convene a larger meeting of the heads of all the departments. They are expected to submit briefs to the committee showing their performance pointing out their problems if any. They are also supposed to provide adequate answers to the question asked by the visiting members. The committee with full responsibility will present the essence of all reports with their own comments to the larger body., ie., the Assembly. The house in turn will take necessary action required. This is how our constitution has crafted the system of democratic governance with an inbuilt mechanism of transparency and accountability along with checks and balances.

My personal experience since the beginning of the parliamentary democracy in the early fifties of the last century up to date is rather discouraging if not demoralizing. The spirit of the constitutional mandate is getting undermined year after year reducing the lofty guidelines to a mere formality. Our country has reached a stage when the people's representatives have to realize the gravity of the situation and undertake radical reforms in the systems and mechanisms in the fields of legislature, executive and even the judiciary to resurrect the quality of Governance to the normal standards. A few experiences of our tour to districts will substantiate the above contention.

The high light of our tour to Prakasam district is our visit and inspection of a recently constructed hostel building for girls with an estimated cost of Rs. 24 lakh rupees. It was yet to be inaugurated. Almost the entire building appeared with visible cracks. Flooring presented a show of shame when the sand rich cement had already given way, leaving the raw stones to their fate. The district Collector and the engineer concerned were there to answer our questions. I

asked the executive engineer concerned about the dilapidated condition of the building and his explanation about it. His quick answer was that he was not at all responsible for such a state of affair as he had joined the duty very recently. I again put the question as to how could he pay the last bill to the contractor without inspecting the building. His answer was that he did inspect the building and had paid the bill as a routine job to make the payment of the balance amount of only four lakhs out of the total cost of 24 lakhs. I turned to the Collector and asked him about the state of affairs. He pleaded his total ignorance and that it was the first time he was seeing the building. No comment on the irresponsibility of the district administration and the Collector is required.

Our visit to Nellore district will present another fact of deterioration in our governance. We had assembled in a meeting consisting of all the heads of departments presided over by the district Collector himself. Reviewing the subject of district planning I had addressed the district planning officer to let the house know as to which plan our country was executing and the outlines of district plan of Nellore district if any. The planning officer started thinking about the ongoing plan year and looked to collector who kept quiet displaying the bankruptcy of the government. I had to prompt them stating that the country was passing through the eleventh plan and that preparations for twelfth plan were underway. The Collector and the planning officer had revealed that their only duty was to spend the money coming from the state government under the head of “plan expenditure” and they had no involvement in the preparation or supervision of any plan or plan funds. As such they had no separate plan for their district to answer our question. No more comment on the so called “planned development” of our country and state is needed.

Another experience from our review meeting of Warangal district will unveil a different truth of our governance. I had asked the women and child welfare officer to enlighten the house by giving the progress report about the rate of deliveries inside hospitals. She promptly replied as “hundred percent”. When I wanted to congratulate her on such an achievement her own senior officer intervened to say that “hundred percent” is a little exaggerated figure and as a matter of fact deliveries inside their houses got reduced and deliveries in private or government hospitals increased. No more elucidation is required when her answer was just a common sense. Our experience of the review meeting of Karimnagar district will help close this chapter. I had asked the social welfare officer of the district to explain the progress achieved during the ongoing 11<sup>th</sup> plan period in the fields of SC and ST development and the further requirement of funds. His frank reply was that no plan funds were given to the district for this purpose except the routine allotments. Even this allotment was reduced in the name of paucity of funds. Hence they have kept in abeyance all the files requiring fresh sanctions. It is a very sad commentary on the much advertised development in the fields of SC and STs. I brought to his notice, a case where an SC applicant from my own village Nagaram in Konaraopet

Mandal, who wanted funds sanctioned for sinking a bore well and the installation of a pump set to irrigate his two acres piece of land about three years back. The officer reiterated his inability to advance such loans for want of funds, plan or non plan. To cut short such a demoralizing picture, suffice it to state that in a district the rural development officer exclaimed and pleaded his ignorance of "watershed schemes". In another place when confronted with my question of the teachers shortage in the school, the officer confidently stated that he has no information about the dearth of teachers. Immediately his Collector intervened to correct his officer and stated that this dearth had been found and it will be solved a few months after the fresh recruitment.

This is how our review meetings have proved the total absence of any developmental planning on all fronts. At the state level meetings, where the stalwarts of administration participate, the unanimous conclusion arrived at was that there is no plan from village level to the state level and the funds flowing from centre, as plan funds, are apportioned to the districts on the basis of the demand and commitments. Honourable members and the Ministers having influence can manage to attract funds to their constituencies. This is the practice in vogue for the last few decades not with standing which party rules the state.

I had seized every opportunity available in the house to highlight the question of planning from below and its execution with the help of local bodies but in vain. House's time was wasted on things most irrelevant. Discussion on the budget was reduced to a mere formality and the demands got guillotined.

Parliamentary democracy an instrumentality to formulate the public opinion and to execute the development policies in a transparent manner with full accountability should not be allowed to degenerate into a cockpit for power brokers and a den for money swindlers. The fiscal resources of states and the centre are increasing with every passing year and the governments have enough funds at their disposal for a planned and inclusive growth, only if the loop holes in governance are plugged effectively. Administrative reforms coupled with the radical reforms in the electoral laws are the only remedy to change the governance and give it a new popular look and transform the present political, but capitalist democracy into the economic and social democracy.

**Reception at Rashtrapathi Bhavan:** Sri Abdul Kalam, the Ex. President of India, is credited with the establishment of a lofty and patriotic convention of honouring the freedom fighters of the country on 9<sup>th</sup> August of every year, the day when the country gave a call of "Quit India" to the British imperialists. Freedom fighters not more than five from each state are invited to the Rashtrapathi Bhavan, to participate in the ceremonial reception and receive the momentos from the President of India. Accordingly five freedom fighters including myself had received the invitation to participate in the celebration of 9<sup>th</sup> August 2007. The protocol observed included the Presidents' formal conversation with the leader of the delegation from each state. Present Rashtrapathi, Sreemati Prathibha

Devi Singh Patil had approached our delegation and occupied the seat by my side kept vacant for her. I congratulated her on having spoken very positively about the Indian peasant problem and its solution, immediately after her assumption of power. She thanked me and exchanged pleasantries with the members of our delegation. Observance of such a convention every year will spread the message of freedom and the pride of nationalism. Personally, 9<sup>th</sup> August 1942 is memorable for me specially since I had formally commenced my active political life by participating in the hunger strike in sympathy with the hunger strike undertaken by Gandhiji after his arrest on 9<sup>th</sup> August 1942.

**Celebration of my 86<sup>th</sup> Birth day:** Ramesh took special interest in the day's celebration on a bigger scale in the Ravi Narayana Reddy Auditorium one of my personal achievements. My 61<sup>st</sup> birth day, the Sastipoorthy was observed at the residence of my elder daughter where the state leaders of the CPI had shared our celebration. 76<sup>th</sup> birth day was celebrated publicly when the different political parties, along with a large circle of my friends and admirers including the cadres of the CPI participated and made it a success. My articles published in differed papers were compiled into a book form and released on the occasion.

**Boat Accident:** "Boats should swim in water, not water to gush into the boats" is a philosophical statement of Upanishads. It may be interesting subject for a debate on logics. I had twice witnessed the situation when the boats carrying a number of people's representatives of the Assembly committee were about to capsize. I had already mentioned about the first instance when the first BC commission headed by late Sri Ananta Raman had this experience in Indian ocean, near Kanyakumari. This time, the committee on estimates in its tour programme had included a travel by boat in river Godavari from Polavaram to Rajamundry on 30<sup>th</sup> June 2008. It was a pleasant trip. The youngsters in the boat went upstairs to enjoy the nature's beauty. Mr.Basava Punnaiah an MLC and senior congress leader and myself preferred to sit in the ground floor on plastic chairs. It was lunch time. Some body in the upstairs suggested to have lunch at some place on the river shore. All agreed with the idea and asked the driver to take the boat to the shore. It was further explained that after lunch they can have a look at Papikondalu where the martyr Alluri Seetarama Raju had heroically fought against the British imperialists. We, sitting inside, had no information about it. The driver of the boat had taken a decision to turn the boat back and then harbour it on the left side wherefrom Papikondalu could be seen. The driver tried to turn the boat which had already picked up some speed and lost his control on the steering. The shaky boat lost its balance. Adding fuel to fire, the panic stricken members rushed to come back to the ground floor. This sudden imbalance made the efforts of the driver more risky. The boat was about to turn turtle and sink. We two inside did not know the reasons for such a trouble, and fell down in the boat. Within a minute the driver regained his lost control and the shaky boat appeared to have cooled down. Mr.Basava Punnaiah stood up unhurt. I could not stir B.Sreenivas my personal

assistant came to me running and lifted me up and helped me to be seated. I had fallen on my right arm, which got fractured.

The boat had almost reached the shore and the members, though panic stricken, picked up some courage and had their lunch on the sprawling lawns at the foot of the hill. I could not step out of the boat. Within minutes my right arm swelled abnormally giving a lot of pain. Immediately some friend gave me strong pain killer tablet. Sreenivas helped me to have some semblance of lunch. The information about my problem was given to the Collector, East Godavari who along with the doctor waited for us. Another three to four hours of journey and we reached Rajamundry. The kind Collector and doctor with their staff had made all arrangements for first aid as well as detailed examination. Next day morning myself, with Sreenivas took the early plane to Hyderabad. The news of my sustaining an injury was already flashed. My wife Lalita and other members of my family were anxiously waiting for our arrival. When they saw me reaching upstairs of our house alone, they heaved a sigh of relief. The lesson to be drawn is that in any tour the single leader should guide and not the crowd. The driver of the boat should never follow the direction given by the non technocrats. The truth known later was that the shore was not fit for harbouring any boat as there were big boulders inside to hit even a slow moving boat, let alone the fast running one with a purpose to take about turn.

**My role in the twelfth Assembly:** I was rather disappointed to see for the last two decades the fast deterioration of the standards of discussion in the house, the style of argumentation the unwanted speed and sharpness in it, the abusive language, the uncivilized postures of the few honourable members. The responsibility for such an unfortunate situation lies on the shoulders of the leaders of the political parties who overtly or covertly engineer it for their selfish ends. The principle players in parliamentary democracy, the leader of the house(the CM) the leader of the opposition, the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs and other leaders should make self criticism and correct their unruly members, educate their party members about the sanctity of the house. The Speaker as the custodian of the house is expected to rise to the occasion and arrest the further deterioration and resurrect the lofty values of parliamentary democracy. The solemnity and sanctity of elected bodies lies in the fact that they are elected by the people concerned who are the sovereigns in any democracy. The mandate given to the elected leaders by their electors is to act as watch dogs for an all round development, maintenance of law and order, peace and tranquillity in the state and the country.

#### **I). Self Employed Welfare Society(SEWS) and Dr. Ramesh Chennamaneni:**

I have already given some outlines about the N.G.O. started in the year 1991, some more light has to be thrown on its work with the active assistance of Dr. Ramesh. I, as its founder president in my wisdom thought it best to

involve the state governments contributing equal share of funds with the funds flowing from the GSE in Germany to ensure transparency and accountability. For this purpose, we had obtained the necessary certificate from the government of India under FCRA ie., Foreign Contribution Regulation Act. Though started in the year 1991, its actual work got speeded up from the year 1994. Dr.Ramesh, used his good offices as one of the leaders of the GSE(an Institution for Co-operative Development) initially and then as its elected President consecutively for over five terms and rendered yeoman services for the rural development of the old Siricilla taluq in Karimnagar district. Sri Ch.Venkateswara Rao, my own brother and Sri Prem Chand an active young man, the son of late Sri Venkata Chari my good old friend and a valiant freedom fighter, had initially acted as President and General Secretary of SEWS respectively. Dr.Ramesh had built up his own official and non official circle of friends cutting across their political affiliations. Rural population which had only heard his name had now started appreciating him and his work personally. No social worker much less a political worker could afford to ignore the thirst of the rural population, women folk in particular, for the infrastructural development of their village like potable drinking water, drainage and sanitation, school buildings and the requisite number of teachers, minor irrigation facilities and the rural roads etc., The people not only like but love any person capable of delivering the above goods, I tried my best to combine my legislative work with the work of SEWS. Sri Agina Murali my old friend and well-known social activist of Vemulawada who is running the “Arya Vaisya Nityanna Satram” to the best satisfaction of its donors has taken over as the general secretary. Sri K.Madhusudhana Rao another family friend of mine is ably discharging his responsibility as the Chief Executive Officer of the watershed schemes supervised by the rural development department. The service of Mr.Jindam Ramesh as an accountant is an asset to the society. The services of Mr.Vijay Chander in managing over 50 purified water schemes in the villages of Vemulawada constituency, their maintenance with the help of a big staff are laudable. Within the last two years of his election as Vemulawada MLA, Dr.Ramesh has succeeded in providing purified water to 50 villages. It is a unique achievement in deed. I only wish that the organisers will continue their service and build up its capacities for a sustained work for the rural development.

The following noted achievements of SEWS are worth mentioning.

- 1) Over 500 bore wells with adequate arrangements to lift water were drilled in over 100 villages.
- 2) Construction of protected water supply schemes in 75 villages consisting of a source, an over head tank(OHSR) and supply of water to every street in the village, then to every house in the village by laying pipelines is the prestigious achievement.
- 3) Repairs to minor irrigation schemes linkage of tanks, desilting the tanks under Neeru Meelu scheme, etc., have helped to conserve water.

- 4) Construction of over 250 spacious school rooms to meet the demand and providing the furniture for the students was another felt need solved with the assistance of SEWS. Construction, and managing two junior colleges privately in Rudrangi village in Chandurty mandal and Boinapalli village in Boinapalli mandal, now taken over by the state government is a signal achievement.
- 5) Construction of a 26 KM length modern drainage scheme to cover the entire temple town of Vemulawada goes a long way in improving the sanitation and public health. This pilgrimage centre where lakhs of devotees visit every day now gives a new look with protected water supply scheme, modern drainage scheme, now added by a number of purified drinking water plants.
- 6) The demand for the supply of purified drinking water plants without the excess fluoride content and other unhealthy minerals, has become a burning demand and the SEWS is attending to it.

SEWS has acquired rich experiences from its work, both positive and negative during the last two decades. The very idea of non-governmental organization undertaking social services with the assistance of public and private sector is novel. As of now state and central governments alone are supposed to discharge the social welfare activities with the assistance of bureaucracy. More over the rules framed for promoting the NGOs are so complicated and complex that the governments of the day can easily interfere with the activities undertaken by the NGOs for no reason. Cooperation and partnership with the government becomes almost impossible under the given procedural problems and self defeating rules and regulations. Bureaucratic delays and the rampant corruption defeat the very sense of voluntary service and people's participation in their own developmental activities.

The experience from the developed countries provides with inspiring stories of self reliance and self help. No amount of our efforts to correct the parasitic and authoritarian mindset of the officers will yield any useful results unless and until far reaching reforms for promoting the cooperative movement healthy self help movements are undertaken. Gandhiji's philosophy of "self rule", though reflects the ancient Indian rural administration, is still valid and will remain so for ever, with proper modifications under the conditions of scientific and technological revolution. Political parties have to be reorganised and reformed to strengthen their unity in promoting the social capital, so crucial in ensuring the participatory democracy with transparency and accountability. Political and ideological difference will not hinder furthering the inclusive growth unless they are engineered by power brokers and self centred petty politicians. A broad based patriotic, national movement is the burning necessity to fight against all kinds of corruption and ensure equitable human development under a nature friendly environment and healthy climate. An awareness of such a prerequisite

mindset will alone lay the firm foundation for the real development. Cooperative and non governmental voluntary organizations can set such examples through their tireless, self sacrificing work and achievements. The recent initiative taken by the team Anna Hazare for a strong Lok Pal Bill and the country wide support it attracted is a pointer in this direction. Present capitalist or neo capitalist styles of life with conspicuous consumerism as their cherished goal are posing a very big challenge before the present generation. Only a committed youth force arising out of a mature social capital can successfully face it. Democracy, political, social and economic will emerge as the common goal for all shades of progressive politics now divided under different banners of social democracy national democracy, people's democracy and new democracy et-al. It is high time an all embracing front of all such parties, civic groups, with minimum programme emerges as an alternative and builds a new India.

#### **J). Dr. Ramesh Chennamaneni's entry into state politics:**

Dr.Ramesh, whom the electorate of Sircilla constituency had very much desired to see as their elected representative since 1999, expressed his preparedness to enter the electoral fray in 2009 from the reorganized Vemulawada constituency. Voters who knew him and heard about him and his work for more than a decade welcomed his decision to contest as a candidate of the Telugu Desam Party(TDP). Sri Chandrababu Naidu, the head of the TDP was happy to promote him in politics. He won the seat with comfortable majority of votes and toured the entire constituency to know the peoples' problems. Out of a number of different local minimum needs, the common need and demand for the supply of fluoride free fresh water attracted his attention and he had made a promise to under take this project with or without the support of the government. State government has no such programme on hand and the political turmoil that ensued for a separate state of Telangana after the demise of CM, came in handy for it to postpone all rural development programmes. Ramesh stuck to his promise and has already established purified drinking water schemes in 50 villages covering all the mandals. Self Employed Welfare Society(SEWS), with the active cooperation of the beneficiaries who constructed the rooms to locate the plant, installed the purification plants. The agreement between SEWS and the Gram Panchayat concerned stipulates that SEWS will run, maintain, the project for three years selling the purified water at the rate of only two rupees per a can of twenty liters capacity and then handover the plant to the Gram Panchayat. It is worth noting that the present market rate for such drinking water is minimum Rs.22 per can of twenty litres, the difference is obvious. It is an ideal scheme high lighting the principles of self help and self rule. Government will do well to encourage the NGO's to organize and execute all such rural development programmes devoid of contractors and middle men. It is most unfortunate that the state and central government, at present, are giving top priority to the big contractor oriented projects and are neglecting

the small projects which will build the micro level infrastructure for rural development, attending to the minimum needs with the help of voluntary organizations and people's own contribution. Such an understanding deserves immediate correction in our participatory democratic system. What has already been done is only a good beginning.

I very much hope and desire that Dr.Ramesh, born and brought up in a liberal and political family of freedom fighters will keep up such patriotic tradition and add new dimension to the rural development.

#### **K). The sad demise of a rising CM YSR:**

Y.S.Rajasekhara Reddy, whom I know since 1978 when he was first elected to the state Assembly and had become a minister. He was a dynamic leader with his own ideology and perception of politics. He had become the CM in his young age in the year 2004 and was reelected as the CM in the year 2009 to serve for the second term. Very soon after his reelection as CM, on September 2<sup>nd</sup> he was destined to close his chapter when his helicopter met with a fatal accident on a rainy day at "Pavuralagutta" in Kurnool district. I was in Karimnagar to attend the 88<sup>th</sup> birth day of a renowned freedom fighter Sri B.Venkata Rama Rao, my old colleague. The news of CM's helicopter not reaching its destination on time and its missing in a cloudy atmosphere spread like a wild fire. I had requested the organizers of my friend's birth day to postpone the function and came back to city which was surcharged with anxiety all around. It was only in the mid night of that day that the crash of the helicopter was confirmed. Within hours, the searching team identified the dead bodies of the CM and his colleagues along with pilots. It was a big shock to me personally. Despite my sharp differences with his politics and his style of governance, I found in him a dynamic human being bold enough to execute his chosen path. To be frank, even his worst adversaries wanted to defeat him in his own game of politics and not his untimely accidental death. His own decision to travel in a helicopter on a cloudy morning despite the warnings of an unfavourable weather speaks volumes about his spirit of daring action. However, his sudden demise has created instability if not a vacuum in the public life of our state.

I cannot conceal or excuse his only son Sri Y.S.Jaganmohan Reddy's most unethical efforts to occupy the seat of his father even before his last rites were performed. The way he and his followers conducted the signature campaign towards this end exhibits madness for political power. Thank god the high command of the congress party expressed its displeasure at such an attempt and decided to nominate an experienced and senior congress leader Sri K.Rosaiah to step in to the shoe of the late Y.S.R as a stop gap arrangement which was regularized later.

Democracy is never only the counting of heads. It is an art of politics which teaches the humane values of individual life styles, collective efforts to carry forward the legacy of our hoary culture and tradition. Arch feudals and aristocrats seize every opportunity to exploit the democratic institutions to further their nefarious designs to satisfy their greed for power. In his death, late Sri Y.S.R. has taught yet another lesson to the world as to what lengths the mad lust for power can take a persons to. It is a challenge to all democrats. I am sure the awakened masses of our people will boldly face every such challenge, and arrest the fast deterioration of moral, social and democratic values. It is a task, which requires to be undertaken on a war footing for the nation building. It is not the mere material richness of a country or nation that gives real happiness to its people, but material happiness coupled with social equality and moral uprightness contribute to the spiritual satisfaction, ie., real happiness.

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*Felicitations to Sri Yetukuri Krishnamurthy, General Secretary of A.P. Freedom Fighters Organisation on his 88th Birth anniversary, and release of his book. Sri K. Narayana, CPI Secretary of A.P. is seen*



*Sri Chennamaneni unveils the Statue of Mahatma Gandhi at Gouraram village in Nalgonda District. Freedom Fighter Sri Yadagiri Reddy and others are seen*



*Sri Chennamaneni speaks at Gouraram village in Nalgonda District after unveiling the statue of Mahatma Gandhi, Freedom Fighter Sri Yadagiri Reddy and the then Home Minister Sri K. Janareddy are seen*

## **14. AN ASSESSMENT AND EVALUATION OF A FEW IMPORTANT FIELDS OF SOCIAL LIFE**

### **A) Human Resource development(HRD) an essential need:**

Quality education and the increase of the number of scientists, technicians and men and women with skills is the crying need of the hour. Equally important is the need of graduates in humanities who will man the social services, private and public, with a sense of transparency, accountability and credibility.

As a professional politician, I look back with a sense of anxiety, if not frustration, to find that only a precious little has been done in this crucial field of national advance. Apart from my own interest on agriculture and the peasant movement, I have an aptitude for H.R.D. Nothing tangible has been done to reform the outdated imperialist system of education. The subjects and methodology of teaching remain the same, despite the valuable recommendations made in the voluminous reports of the commissions headed by the eminent educationists. The sum and substance of the recommendations is to aim at compulsory and free primary education with total literacy; achievement of skills during and after high school stages to make the educated youth employable; and to achieve the heights of modern science and technology, always keeping an eye on the inculcation and promotion of our rich moral and cultural values. Such a reformed education system alone can provide for the basic human capital so badly needed for the HRD.

Health is an invaluable part of HRD. Performance of the central and state governments in this field is equally deplorable. But for the increasing role of the private sector in these fields, the situation would have been far worse. Let us see our ranking in the world. There are 3.6 scientists for every 1000 population in India while there are 8.1 in China, 46 in Korea, 110 in Japan, 86 in Germany and 55 in USA. Also see the position of India in the context of skilled population. It is 0.3 persons for every 1000 population while it is marginally better in China with 0.6 persons, Korea is far better with 2.9 persons and USA with 4 and Japan with 7.1. The increase in growth rate in higher education is most disappointing. Out of the Indian population of 110 crores and above the number of post graduates is hardly 2 crores, equal to Russia having 14.5 crores of population. US having 30 percent of our population has more than three times our number in tertiary education.

The problems of educational reforms requiring policy decisions and action according to my experience, are as under:

- i) Central and the state governments should give the top most priority to reform the present systems of education from primary to post graduation levels to improve the quality and quantity and to allot the requisite funds therefor.

- (ii). Private sector should be encouraged to share the responsibility strictly following the guidelines and regulations framed by the state.
- (iii). Social audit through eminent educationists must be undertaken periodically and its findings must be honoured and must be reviewed by the elected local bodies and the state legislatures. The members of the legislative councils representing the teachers' constituencies should work as the ex officio members of the above audit committees.
- (iv). Central government must allocate sizable funds for research and development in this field to discover ever new subjects of knowledge and their concrete application to the Indian realities for a faster rate of growth in its quality and quantity.
- (v). Government of India should leave no stone unturned in taking the historic demographic advantage opened before it.

Health, public health, an inseparable part of the HRD deserves immediate attention equal to education. Developed countries are on an average, spending 80 percent of their annual income on human resource development and 80 percent of their growth rate is attributed to the HRD. Hence the lesson for all the under developed countries is to enhance investment on human resource development, ie education and health.

Protected and pure drinking water supply with drainage system, provision of nutritive food for children and primary health centres manned by trained personnel are the essentials for preventing diseases as prevention is better than cure. Equal attention on the promotion of the traditional Indian medical systems including the Homeopathic system, be bestowed for wider coverage and durable treatment. Present costly practice of "Arogya Sree" which enriches the corporate hospitals requires to be reviewed and restricted to the exceptional cases.

## **B) Social Welfare:**

The very concept of social welfare today, according to my perception, suffers from an inherent weakness when the overwhelming majority of the people, consisting of dalits, Girijans, minorities, disabled persons and women folk with children are at the mercy of the state, at the receiving end. It is an obsolete feudal concept when the civilized modern society is fighting for socio-economic empowerment of the poor. Self respect and dignity of labour demands self reliance and self help. My decades long public life convinces me that the ruling political parties with the help of the obedient and corrupt bureaucracy have made use of the so called 'social welfare' department as a means of their political propaganda. Hardly five percent of the total state budget was allotted to this department, supposed to serve the majority of the people. Hardly fifty percent of the allotted budget is spent to ground the productive schemes. With rampant corruption, paucity of funds and political interference this department has lost its credibility. It will be in the fitness of things to dwell on the

prestigious central government funded Mahatma Gandhi National Employment Guarantee Scheme. It is no exaggeration to say that this scheme is hundred percent populist and unproductive. Linking it with the name of Mahatma Gandhi, the symbol for self reliance and empowerment is reprehensible if not atrocious. Systemic changes guaranteeing the real economic and social empowerment of all such sections of the society alone will pave the way for the real socio economic development with self respect.

Spending the really needed percentage of the budgets for the poorest of the poor as determined by the gram sabhas through cash transfer or food coupons, interest free or subsidized loans for the poor and marginal farmers and artisans also as determined by the local bodies, extension of the same facility to the self help groups of women for productive purposes supervised by impartial agencies will be a permissible as a good policy for a limited period of time. The real solution for poverty alleviation and eradication and empowerment of the people lies in the construction and development of micro level rural infrastructure consisting of restoration and renovation of irrigation resources, rural roads with culverts or bridges, watershed development to conserve land and ground water etc., where thousands, not hundreds of present unemployed men and women will get full productive employment. The local bodies concerned clothed with constitutional power will spend the money fruitfully, paying adequate wages to the workers. Creation of an army of skilled labour force from out of matriculates with different aptitudes for different crafts to be employed in small scale and cottage industries promoted in private, joint and public sectors will go a long way in providing employment, inside and outside the country. This philosophy and not the blind alay of endless subsidies without creation of durable assets is the right royal way of a development based on self respect and dignity of labour, reflected in the creation of the needed rural infrastructure.

### **C) Budget (Statement of Income and Expenditure)**

“Development” which was construed as the development of industries, irrigation projects and other recreational places like hotels, and cinemas does not really reflect the socio economic advance of a common man. The historic struggles conducted by the working classes and working people all over the world including the socio political post revolution experiences of Russia, China and other countries have opened the eyes of the social thinkers to radically reorient the perception of development to mean “human development”. Development should reflect in the sustained growth of the standard of life of a man in the street, his education, health, the life, style and the growth of his income. The over all income of ‘the state’ reflected in the G.D.P. making the poor poorer, rich richer should not be construed as real development. Credit, according to me, goes to the noble laureate Amartya Sen of India and Maqbool-ul-Haq of Pakistan who developed the concept of “human development” and successfully persuaded the UNO and other world organizations to accept it.

“Budget” means the annual statement of income and expenditure of the state or central government. Its purpose is not to merely present the accounts to the Assembly or Parliament. The governments concerned have to prepare the budget statements with their vision about human development, aimed for the year concerned as part of the five year plan. It has to show the income of the state with particular reference to the additional income through increase in the production and the consequent tax income. It has to present the statement of income and expenditure and its priorities therein. The house will deliberate on it for a full month and adopt it.

We are today at the fag end of our country’s eleventh five year plan. The rate of growth in our gross domestic production up to the end of the sixth five year plan was hardly two to three percent of our GDP. The central and the state governments ruled by the congress party had adopted the economic policies of the so called “socialistic pattern” under the influence of the then USSR, totally discouraging the growth of private sector and promoting public sector with its limited resources, causing a very small rate of growth nick named as Hindu rate of growth. Since the mid eighties of the last century when late Sri Rajeev Gandhi headed the central government the importance of faster rate of growth impacted by the scientific and technological revolution was realized. After his sad demise, the government headed by late Sri P.V. Narasimha Rao with Sri Manmohan Singh as his Finance Minister had embarked on a line of liberalization and privatization aimed at a faster rate of growth. Today our country is experiencing 7 to 8 percent growth rate, comfortable under the present conditions in the world economy. I do not mean that such an enhanced rate of growth is reflecting in the human development index. Definitely not. But the growth of private capitalist sector is most welcome both for the spread of economic activity, providing employment to a large section of our population and for the sizable increase of tax income for the state and central governments which in turn, will be spent for the capital development consisting of macro and micro level infrastructure. Our national leadership has to be on guard against the danger of the multinational and corporate capitalist sector taking undue advantage of our open door policy of liberalization and privatization. However, capitalism perse is not anti social. It is a tested and dependable agency to generate wealth and provide employment. History has recorded its negative and dangerous role when it took the shape of imperialism and resorted to wars and destruction thereof. The present conscious and peace loving democratic public opinion will not allow the history to repeat itself.

“Budget” as we have noted consists of income and expenditure. Income known as “revenue” income consists of the following items.

- I) States own tax income as determined by the constitution of India.
- II) Central grant as determined by the All India Finance Commission for

every five years, annually transferred to the state by the centre based on certain parameters followed by the state.

- III) Central funds transferred to the state every year towards the execution of the centrally sponsored schemes in the state.
- IV) Income from the institutions run by the state.
- V) Income through internal or external loans contracted by the state with central permission.

‘Expenditure’ broadly consists of revenue and capital expenditures. Capital expenditure is mainly met from out of the central grant of funds for the centrally sponsored schemes, and the revenue surpluses if any, and also from the loans contracted for the purpose. Expenditure made for the payment of the salaries of the employees of the government and services, is called “Revenue Expenditure” which increases every year with the increase of development. If the revenue income exceeds the revenue expenditure, such position is called budget with revenue surplus, otherwise it is called budget with revenue deficit. Likewise, capital surplus or capital deficit may occur depending on the capital expenditure, more or less than capital income. Total state budget becomes surplus or deficit when we add up and calculate them together. Deficit budgets are common for states and centre, main reasons being the extra ordinary growth in the revenue expenditures when compared with the revenue incomes. The deficits are made good by contracting huge loans internally and externally, paying interests there on. This has been the position with almost all the states and centre. Payment of loans and interests is the second biggest item after defence in the central budget, and second biggest item after the payment of salaries in the states.

Our own experiences after liberalization in 1991 and the Chinese experiences after liberalization of its economy since 1978 convince us, that along with liberalization of economy with overall social control our governments are obliged to follow certain financial disciplines, as periodically suggested by the finance commissions. The political parties in power must always keep in view their responsibility to maintain the balance of the budget. The present position of India’s indebtedness(state and centre) is far above its annual gross domestic production and it must be brought down to 68 percent of the GDP to be comparable with the developing countries. Fiscal deficit in any annual budget of the state or centre, should not increase 3 to 4 percent of the GDP. This can be made possible only when the politicians change their populist out look radically and stick to fiscal disciplines. Building a self reliant economy, with surplus budgets is a good political policy. Under the conditions of faster rate of growth in the developing countries in the wake of diminishing rate of growth in the developed countries because of the enveloping economic crisis, increase in India’s rate of growth is possible and necessary.

Without adequate resources no development is possible. Eradication of poverty through rural and urban development is just impossible. China today shares 8 percent of the world GDP while India's share was only 0.8 percent till recently. Latest increased figure of 1.2 percent provides some solace. More attention on agriculture and manufacturing industry, immediate and stern action against the evasion of taxes, black money and corruption will help the enhancement of the GDP to a minimum level of 9 percent. India's own GDP, a decade back was 50,000 crore dollars. Today it has crossed one lakh crore dollars(1.25 trillion dollars) equal to 50 lakh crore rupees. Free India, with an imaginative, creative and flexible economic policies of more and more internal production, positive and balanced Exim policies with bilateral and multilateral trade policies can achieve and sustain its target of 9-10 percent growth rate and put its economy on proper rails. All the patriots of the country, cutting across their ideological differences are called upon to enlarge their vision about the bright future of our mother land and march ahead hand in hand. We shall win the race.

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*Dr. Ramesh Chennamaneni, now MLA from Vemulawada is seen, being honoured by the local police officers at Sircilla, local MLA Chennamaneni participated in the function*

## **15. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS – GOOD GOVERNANCE:**

Yet another subject of my interest for which I had to fight from different fora, for decades on, and still is the establishment of good governance through a number of far reaching reforms in the three pillar democracy, namely, electoral reforms, administrative reforms and reforms in the judiciary including jurisprudence. Such structural reforms, befitting a democratic system alone can pave the way for a good governance. Existing practices are acting as stumbling blocs in the way of translating freedom and democracy in the day to day life of the common people who had been groaning under the absolute exploitative and oppressive laws, rules and practices for ages on.

It is apt to dwell, in brief, on the basic law of social change which is responsible for the creation of various systems in any society including the system of administration and governance. History all over the world has proved that the dominant social class of any country creates and promotes various systems to sustain its own class interest. The British imperialism which ruled our country for nearly two centuries, had created the system of administration and fixed it within an iron frame for its sustenance. Independent India's democratically elected governments, both state and centre, have been setting up a number of commissions for suggesting the systemic administrative reforms befitting the social system of democracy and the commissions have been submitting their voluminous, reports suggesting reforms in all the fields of social life including the administration of governments. Such valuable reports are gathering dust in the government offices. No political party in power nor the bureaucrats at the higher echelons of power took the trouble of studying and executing them. As such all the departments including education health, etc., are following the same old out moded practices. Irony of the state of affairs is that a number of laws passed after freedom, both at state and central levels, and the rules framed there under are being executed with the spirit of old practices. For a paper, from the mandal office supposed to get the approval of the government has to pass through twenty five tables in the same department before it reaches the decision making officer, and there is none to account for the result unless the interested party follows it up. Usual methods adopted by almost all the officers is to ask their subordinates to put up the papers with necessary notes. Even the drafts for the decision are supposed to be prepared by the subordinate officers who prepare them and place before the boss to check up and correct the technical mistakes if any and then re-submit for final approval. This process consumes a lot of avoidable time. Under the circumstances when the ministers or higher officers themselves are interested, files move very fast and the government orders are issued within no time. Ninty percent of ordinary cases take abnormal time for disposal which cause

immense hardship to the petitioners. Lord Mechalay had once boasted in British parliament that the systems of governance in India are so complicated that, for about hundred years after freedom, India will continue to remain slavish not knowing how to wriggle out of the jungle of rules.

Information revolution, caused by modern science and technology has totally changed the face of the whole world and has opened up every facility to update the knowledge and hasten the process of change. In India we have yet to know about it, let alone adopt it, to get rid of stagnation, rigidity and the delays caused by the out moded rules.

Free, and democratic India's utmost priority is to make democracy the best instrumentality of change in the country's socio economic order where by the people at large will be enabled to lead a comfortable life. Towards this end, all the systemic changes require to be directed. The first and the foremost systemic change would be the democratic decentralization covering all the major fields of social life. Late Prime Minister Sri Rajeev Gandhi with his commitment to modernity and democracy had the guts to change our constitution by virtue of the amendments number 73 and 74 which had devolved powers and funds to all the elected local bodies. Two decades have passed by and no state in India has fully executed this constitutional mandate fully. Existing acts on Panchayat Raj are only an eyewash devolving nominal powers and funds to the local bodies. Existing acts are toothless and are helping to promote political leadership to enjoy power. Governments of West Bengal and Kerala, under the influence of the left parties made commendable advance in this field which yielded good results. West Bengal, where the left parties tried to establish their hegemony in panchayat bodies suffered and did not achieve the success it could achieve. Rest of the country, the position of decentralization of power remains hopelessly bad. In A.P. even the powers devolved are either taken back or made ineffective in the recent period. Implementation of the constitutional amendments, by the states must be treated as an immediate duty if at all our formal democracy should become a real democracy.

Two other pillars of democracy. Legislature and judiciary too require restructuring and reorientation. My own bitter experience convinces me that unless far reaching reforms are undertaken with a sense of urgency, people will soon lose their confidence in the democratic system itself. Present system of education from primary to tertiary is helping the continuity of obscurity on one hand and unemployment on the other. Despite some quantitative progress during the last three decades, quality wise it has proved counter productive. It is a crucial fact of general administration impacting all other departments.

A word about the reforms in the administration of police and law and order departments is necessary. Firstly the police ideology deserves to be radically reoriented from being an oppressive machinery to a department to serve the people at large in protecting their lives and properties from the anti

social elements of all hues. Secondly it deserves to be trained enough in the art of maintaining law and order and social peace at all costs and finally its number has to be increased enormously to be capable of discharging its crucial duties. Police personnel who work day in and day out risking their lives deserve to be paid handsome salaries and perquisites giving top priority in the budgets.

Legislators, the less we speak about them the better. An institution which should work as the fountain of democracy, has got deteriorated and reached a stage beyond repair. Short of major operation right from the electoral reforms up to the functioning inside the house and the function of house committees nothing will cure the present maladies. I need not repeat my experiences already touched upon. Cabinet functioning, the division of jobs among the respective Ministers, executive's accountability to the legislatures deserve micro level reviews to revitalize the holy institution of democracy.

Judiciary the watch dog of the constitution and the head and shoulders of democracy is no more an exception to reforms. I had no direct experience about it yet, as an old social worker, I cannot refrain from penning a few words about it. Immediate steps being taken by the government of India to cut short the delayed justice, are most welcome. The steps contemplated must be comprehensive and time bound to impact the public and enhance its credibility. Jurisprudence, both civil and criminal deserves overhaul and reform according to the legal luminaries, if it has to translate the real spirit of our constitution and promote a just society. Laws of evidence, civil and penal codes, including procedures there of need reforms befitting democracy with socialist ideal. There are enough reports presented by the commissions to throw light on such technical and sensitive subjects. Indian history, from ancient up to date is rich with the legal thought and action and its evolution. Much requires to be done as reform in the present legal system and practice if we are to meaningfully interpret and execute our secular, democratic and socialist constitution.

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*Sri Chennamaneni and the Principal amidst the mentally retarded students at Nuziveedu in Krishna District in their school*



*Sri Chennamaneni, receiving the late Dr. M.R. Appa Rao Memorial Memento from Mr. Appa Rao, MLA, Nuzivedu after delivering the Memorial Lecture. Veteran Journalist Mr. A.S.R. Krishna is seen welcoming the Chief Guest*

## **16. PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL ECONOMY NEEDED**

As a teenager I had come into contact with Aryasamaj and Andhra Maha Sabha district branch offices at Karimnagar. The literature and the illuminating speeches of the leaders of Aryasamaj, Pandit Narendraji in particular, had impacted my mind and laid the firm foundation for my attraction towards the ancient Indian culture, moral and ethical behaviours, rationalism and search for truth. My very frequent visits to the district office of Andrha Mahasabha as also my close observation of the social services and political activities of the leaders and cadres of Andhra Maha Sabha inculcated in me the spirit of social service, struggle for the cause of freedom and socio-economic justice. I must remember late Sri Alwarswamy of Hyderabad who would visit the Telangana districts and approach the social workers and distribute literature on social and political problems. “Anagrandhamala”, a publishing institution published a number of booklets costing only one ana each, rendered commendable social service. I had acquired my elementary knowledge about capitalism, socialism and communism etc through such pamphlets. Later as a student of intermediate in Osmania university I had the rare benefit of reading a good number of cheap pamphlets in Urdu written by late Sri Iqbal Ahmed, the then head of the economics Department on the complicated and hard subjects like “Inflation” “Capital” “Market” etc., Those were the early forties of the last century when the second world war was on and the political atmosphere was hotting up. My aptitude for politics and economics, two faces of the same coin, “political economy”, helped me most in emerging as a knowledgeable social worker.

Twentieth century will go down in history as a period of significant political movements sponsored by ideological visionaries for new social orders. It was an era of anti imperialist movements and their victories. Our country made rich contribution to this crusade and shared its rich dividend. We are only sorry we could not utilize the opportunities opened up before us for our country’s socio-economic advance, for long because of our political and ideological disunity and inaction. However our people today are rising up to complete the incomplete democratic revolution. Indian national Congress, the major political party of the country had declared “secularism, democracy, socialism’ as its goal immediately after the achievement of our freedom in the year 1947. Communist party of India, a major left force, had, in the beginning declared “revolutionary socialism” as its immediate goal, but made amends and modified into “National Democracy” as its immediate goal, and socialism as its ultimate aim. Then followed a very long spell of ideological and political argumentation giving rise to a number of nationalist, leftist and rightist parties. More than unity, divisive policies dominated the Indian political scene. Even the divided political parties got further divided on the basis of religion, region and caste. Exposure of such a political confusion and bringing into focus an alternative scenario is the broad purpose of this chapter.

“Indian National Congress” the party which ruled the centre and majority of states for greater part of time since independence repeatedly declared ‘secularism, democratic socialism’ as its ideology. Bharatiya Janata Party(BJP), without referring to ‘socialism’ and without openly identifying with ‘Hindutva’ repeatedly declared that the lofty Indian culture and tradition, if revived will work as the best social order. In essence it stands for revivalism, often called ‘Ramarajya’ or ‘cultural socialism’ etc., Its close links with Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh(RSS) speaks volumes about its non secular Hindu bent of Mind. This reality does not cloud its bona fides about its patriotism as long as its pro Hindu mentality is positive, and tolerant. Left parties, CPI, CPI(M) and other extremist parties with ‘national democracy’ ‘peoples democracy and revolutionary socialism’ as their ideologies respectively declared socialism as their goal. They are recognized as totally dedicated to the cause of the poor and socio-economic justice. Caste based parties like DMK, AIADMK, BSP etc., capitalize on scheduled castes and other backward classes as distinguished from forward castes. However, they all declare democracy and social justice as their goals. Communal parties like MIM and RSS make no secret about their goals but assure their adherence to the secular and democratic constitution of our country. Almost all of them have shared power in states and in the centre, professing democracy and socio-economic justice, “growth with justice” and now “inclusive growth”.

I would like to ask the leaders of all political formations as to where are we today? What is the cause for the abject poverty, illiteracy and ill health of our teeming millions despite 8-9 percent growth rate of our economy. Out of 120 crore population, 90 crore people consisting of below poverty line and middle classes those on the verge of poverty line are leading a life of hand to mouth, not able to make both ends meet. Out of the rest of 30 crores 25 crores consist of upper middle classes while 5 crores are the fortunate few who are enjoying the conspicuous life style comparable with the richest of the world. Such an iniquitous distribution of wealth is neither natural nor accidental. It is the out come of the conscious liberal and pro-capitalist socio-economic politics pursued by the political parties which have been ruling our country. Their practice totally belied their professions. The fruits of labour of the overwhelming majority of our work force, peasantry and working class, are being robbed way by the native and foreign sharks known as monopoly capitalists, multinational capitalists and a new class known as crony capitalists which needs no capital to invest. Its only occupation is brokerage. Traditional capitalism of capital investment, paying reasonable wages to workers, innovating and modernizing the industry or trade will contribute to more and more production. Private, public and private sectors have to play a very big role for enhancing gross domestic production(GDP) which can be equitably distributed among working classes. Perverted growth of capitalism into various forms of exploitation of labour has emerged as the single biggest obstacle to social justice. Monopoly and multinational capitalism, taking every advantage of globalization is acting

as an octopus sucking the blood of the working people all over the world and India is no exception. Adding insult to injury political corruption, money laundering and stashing of valuable national wealth in foreign banks are accelerating the disparities and inequalities of incomes and assets of working people. More than half of the total budgets of states and centre estimated to cross Rs. 25 to 30 lakhs crores, a lions share, is being spent on the salaries of government employees, defence, payments of debts and interests, payments of subsidies leaving a paltry sum for the development of infrastructure, education, health, employment etc., so badly needed for the human development. Economy's growth rising up to 8-9 percent of GDP, is reducing the appalling poverty by only 0.5 percent per year. At this rate it will take another 60 years for its eradication. Meanwhile the gap between the rich and the poor will increase hundred fold, as in US.

The political leadership is not unaware of such a state of affairs. Barring the left core of the mainstream parties is madly after power and pelf, competing with each other, in amassing wealth.

Political democracy in elections from grampanchayat to Parliament on the basis of adult franchise has come to stay. There is no question of going back on it. Electoral reforms, compelling political parties to select candidates of proven character, amending the representation of people act to ensure that a candidate obtaining the support of the majority of voters voting, or making voter's participation in elections mandatory with certain exceptions, right to recall, state funding of elections and proportional representation will go a long way in strengthening political democracy plugging loopholes which are causing the electoral malpractices. The subject is already under discussion and one only hopes that political parties will cooperate with each other and do not politicize such a crucial reform.

Political democracy is only the best means to achieve socio-economic democracy, and this can be achieved through strong and vibrant movement of the people generating social capital. Inclusive growth can be made possible by conscious working people's powerful intervention, and their united action both on constructive and agitational issues. Conservative and reactionary forces consisting of feudal, semi feudal, and crony capital will create all obstructions in the way of building a broad based progressive people's movement. Political parties can succeed in building such a necessary social capital only when they themselves undergo ideological reforms which enable them to make common cause with other parties, groups and individuals on minimum programme. Open mindedness is the need of the hour. Sectarianism, isolation from the mainstream socio-political thought is responsible for the unfortunate division in the patriotic and democratic forces. Acceptability of a party is main in parliamentary democracy, but the popularity of individuals who constitute the leadership of a party is more important. People at large accept any party through their experience of the services rendered by the leaders and cadres of parties. It is up to the

parties to have self criticism and change their political and organizational lines.

One need not dwell here at length on the crisis ridden capitalism of the west that is struggling hard to restore normalcy which appears an impossibility. How can unemployed labour generate capital goods and services? Growing inequalities, amassing of sixty percent of national wealth by only one percent of the whole population of the country is most inhuman, anti social and immoral. Decadence and end of such an unnatural system is the writing on the wall. Greed, ostentatious life styles are responsible for such a state of affairs. An ancient Indian Upanishad's statement correctly visualized this shape of things where it said that "man with the help of his knowledge may roll back the entire sky, but cannot get rid of problems of his life and live with peace without lighting the 'Atmagnana' lamp in his heart". We are fortunate enough to have a mature public opinion, imbued with humane Indian culture, steeled in struggles and sacrifices against imperialism and feudalism; tempered in rich experiences of day to day struggles to build social capital cutting across communalism and casteism: It will tread its own chosen path of 'Sarvajana Hitaya', 'Sarvajana Sukhaya' or inclusive growth with social justice to achieve socialism. Reformed system of political democracy having abundant skilled human resource with the active roles played by public sector, private sector, and more with public and private partnership(PPP) will produce sufficient wealth needed for our population to lead a modern life without any greed and acquisitive mentality. Let us earnestly do our precious little towards this patriotic goal.

### A) Social Reforms

Political and economic reforms are the back bone for social reforms. We have succeeded in achieving very little after a very long period of over six decades since independence. Present snails pace of development must very soon give place to speedy inclusive growth to achieve the targets at least by the end of thirteenth five year plan, ie., 2021 AD. Social barriers of communalism, casteism and regionalism are obstructing socio economic growth and require radical reforms. We take pride in our social diversity and our unity in diversity. Let us not forget that our national unity , nationalism is not yet as matured as we proclaim to be. Our ancient culture, tradition are rich with idealism and humanism. But it was disturbed and disrupted a number of times by foreign invasions and cultural dominations. Renaissance, and restoration of national unity is yet to be achieved. Our historic movement for freedom did make a dent into it and achieved the spirit of nationalism to some extent. Religious dogmatism, impregnable iron walls of casteism, geographic distances still divide our country very badly. Modern technology, its impact on information and communication systems, coupled with the united movements of people for all round reforms will surely strengthen our unity and consolidate our nationalism. Revivalism, blind and blunt negative attitudes towards religious and castist beliefs both will prove counter productive.

As we know our society is broadly divided into Dalits, SC and STs (20 percent) other backward classes (40 percent) minorities (10 percent) and forward castes(30 percent). Our constitution has provided for political reservation for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and this has helped the most downtrodden section of our society to achieve their self respect. Other backward classes and minorities are also strongly demanding reservations proportionate to their population. Women in general deserve one third reservations, and the bill is still pending with parliament. Regional imbalances caused by history deserve to be corrected in course of time and this can best be done by administrative re division into small states based on the local sentiments and levels of development. Such political reservations and geographic divisions, more than industrialization and technological revolutions, will go a long way in satisfying demand for the recognition of identity, unity with self confidence to work hard for development. Existing divisive forces can be over come soon by the above reforms followed by a number of reforms already discussed. Social stagnation can be broken only by social reforms. No economic reform or material richness of the state will succeed in leveling up an uneven society. Social inequality and social development are self contradictory. Leveling up any society politically, socially and economically must take precedence to any kind of other reforms for their success. The old capitalist theory of percolation of national wealth down to grass root level to level up the inequalities in society is proved absolutely wrong long back. On the other hand in the absence of level playing ground it will enlarge the gulf between the rich and poor and the social inequalities. Equality of opportunities for development is the proven alternative. The great thinker Karl Marx's ideology of historic materialism is the powerful instrumentality to analyze the class relationships in a given society. According to this philosophy classes are formed with their relationships with the mode of production. It is true. But in Indian context it will hold good only when the caste factor, its harmful role in social division is taken into consideration. Social scientists in their wisdom will take care of such national peculiarities and evolve suitable strategies applicable to our condition.

Let me call the attention of our politicians to a typical instance of gross injustice in caste ridden politics of our country. Andhra state was formed on 1-10-1953 and Andhra Pradesh was formed on 1-11-1956. 56 years have passed. During this long period more than 25 ministries led by the respective Chief Ministers ruled the state. Only one persons from SC and STs, was selected for Chief Minister ship and that was late Sri Damodaram Sanjeevaiah who headed the congress government of the state between 11-1-1960 and 11-3-1962, just for two years and two months as a stop gap arrangement. Could one imagine that no one from weaker sections was found fit to occupy the chair of Chief Minister ship since then? It is just the mischief of hated casteism. Political reservations, however difficult in its execution is a powerful weapon to undo the most undemocratic behaviours and practices in a constitutional democracy, wedded to the creation of secular, democratic and socialist social order.

I had the privilege to work as a member of the first B.C. Commission of AP when late Sri K.Brahmananda Reddy was the Chief Minister. Since then my interest in the subject of reservations for BCs and minorities got deepened. The patent arguments against political reservations are firstly, such an amendment to the constitution requires two third majority for adoption, secondly that the Supreme Court of India has ruled that not more than fifty percent of seats be reserved. The two lame excuses can be over come once the constitution is amended. Such an amendment does not disturb the basic features or the structure of the constitution, on the other hand it enables the states to successfully execute the directive principles enshrined in our constitution. Our rulers are shouting from house tops about the economic empowerment of our weaker sections including women. Reservations will act as a sure guarantee for smooth development of our composite society without caste and class conflicts and contradictions. It will act as yet another social reform to strengthen the unity of toiling people. It tests the political will power of our political parties which alone will provide the required two third majority in parliament. Vested interests in all parties will do their utmost to defeat such a reform measure. Democracy and empowerment of weaker sections demands a powerful movement of the weaker sections capable of defeating the game plan of all such reactionary forces.

I must reflect upon the public sector corporations and industries. The annual reports of such units present utmost demoralizing picture. A number of public sector institutions were created to provide employment to politicians. Hundreds of crores were spent on most unproductive institutions. After repeated exposures, the number of such corporations was reduced either by disbanding them or by merging them with other institutions. No businessman with a modicum of experience will justify the budgets of such organizations. Hardly 5 to 10 percent of them are running with nominal profits, the rest are making huge losses. According to a rough estimate, out of about 400 public sector industries and corporations working under the central government hardly 200 are making marginal profits while the rest of 200 are making huge losses. Government of India is investing thousands of crores of rupees to run the show. Despite the scathing remarks made by the comptroller and auditor general of India, an independent body under the constitution, no tangible action is taken by the central and state governments to retrieve, privatize or close down such loss making corporations. Even the few profit making institutions are making only nominal profits when compared with the like units in the private sector. Such a drain of public funds should be arrested forth with and the money saved should be fruitfully diverted for human resource development. Politicians and seasoned administrators should find a way out for the strict execution of the findings of CAG recommendations with in a time frame. Present practice of mere reading out the concerned paras and then forgiving and forgetting them and shelving them amounts to rejection of the accountability of the executive.

My keen interest in the cooperative movements prompts me to record the signal failure of the central and state governments in efficiently supervising the cooperative movement and make it a voluntary, independent movement to solve the problems of the people. It is a matter of shame that the cooperative Act, framed by the British rulers, with small amendments is still in vogue. This act instead of promoting the lofty ideal of self help and self reliance is helping all kinds of vested interests and corrupt administration to loot the public exchequer and leave the innocent primary members to their fate. World has made a very good advance in restructuring the cooperative acts and an active involvement of the primary members. Our state government during the tenure of Sri Naidu had adopted the mutual aid cooperative act which is purposefully kept in cold storage by the wooden headed bureaucracy. I can proudly refer to the most successful cooperative societies in Karimnagar district. One is the MPCS of Mulkanur which was founded and promoted by my good friend late Aligireddi Vishwanatha Reddy, presently headed by his son and local MLA Mr.A.Praveen Reddy and the second one is the Cooperative Electric Supply Society (CESS) of Siricilla with which I am connected emotionally. The district cooperative milk society is the third one, which is headed by Sri Chalimeda Rajeshwara Rao. These cooperatives first of its kind in the whole country are serving as examples. But, un-fortunately, under the impact of malpractices by greedy politicians they too may face problems. This is my fear. The state government is duty bound to protect them and reorganize the entire cooperative movement by executing the new MACS act and repeal the old, out dated one.

Other experience of running the voluntary organization is worth recording. As already discussed earlier voluntary organizations require the close cooperation of the state and central governments without bureaucratic interventions. Services of the experts in different fields should be utilized to encourage and promote such voluntary organizations which will act as the best fora for self help and self rule in tandem with elected local self government institutions. Developed countries' rich experiences testify that the policies framed by the governments can be fruitfully executed by the elected bodies assisted by the mutually aided cooperatives and the voluntary organizations manned by the people with commitment to selfless service and outstanding personal character. This is the spirit of democracy.

### **Crony capitalism or democratic socialism?**

We have framed and executed eleven five year plans. We are about to commence the 12<sup>th</sup> five year plan from April 2012. I had the good opportunity to participate in debates on the execution at the grass root level all these plans as a people's elected representative. As such I must reflect my experience and answer the questions as to where are we today?, and where are we heading to tomorrow? I am at a loss to state that our political economy has lost its direction enshrined in our constitution, which elaborated the direction but did not lay down the road maps. Let us objectively study where we stand today,

at the end of 11<sup>th</sup> five year plan. Our population has increased from 30 crores to over 110 crores, ie 300 percent. According to different dependable agencies the gross domestic production of our country increased to five thousand percent from Rs. 100 crores to fifty lakh crores at present. The number of billionaires has increased by 1000 percent. There are 2 to 3 Indians out of the first ten richest of the world. Poverty has come down from 60 percent to 30 percent in sixty years at the rate of 0.5 percent per year. Lower and upper middle classes have grown from 15 percent to a considerable 60 percent. The number of poor and middle classes together has reached 75 crores out of 110 and odd crores of our population. The reduction rate of poverty only by half percent when compared with the growth rate of billionaires and millionaires is very deplorable. This state of affairs of our economy vividly mirrors the lot of the 75 crore poor and lower middle classes out of whom at least 30 crores are the poorest of the poor.. Our country's growth rate of 8 to 9 percent is reflecting the incomes of state and central revenues despite an equal unaccounted black money. The lion's share out of it is either wasted in unproductive expenditures or spent for the benefit of the rich classes leaving a paltry sum for the rural and agricultural development and the development of lakhs of slums spread over in urban India.

According to a study by US banking group citi, Indian's will be the world's largest economy within 39 years. Indian GDP in 2050 measured by purchasing power parity (P.P.P) will be 85-97 trillion dollars (roughly trillion dollar is equal to one lakh rupees). China in second place will have a GDP of 80.02 trillion dollars and US 39.07 trillion dollars. Such a qualitative change will take place only if India undertakes second generation reforms, builds modernized infrastructure taking advantage of its demographic dividend which will remain upto twenty years more and then tapers off. By reforms it means more and more capital investment including foreign direct investment subject to Indian regulation, land reforms and usage of hybrid seed while adopting modern agricultural practices for doubling the agricultural production within the coming decade. It emphasizes on the establishment of small and medium modernized manufacturing industries which will be the backbone of developed India. It gives top most priority for educational reforms to make the best use of our present demographic dividend. It pay's special attention on police, judicial and administrative reforms for a good governance, which alone will facilitate the success of other reforms.

Dealing with the present day economic realities it presents an objective picture. Out of the present 120 crores population the number of poor and relatively poor are 86 crores, the number of middle classes is 28 crores and the number of reasonably well off is 7 crores. Roughly it tallies with the report of late Mr. Arjun Sen Gupta Commission. Detailed discussion here about the growing disparities and inequalities between urban and rural, rich and the poor, forward and backward areas etc is out of place. Suffice it to confidently say

that there are enough resources to drastically reduce poverty and lift the country up to a really welfare society if not to a socialist pattern capable of standing in the comity of nations, holding head high. The crucial condition is the implementation of all round reforms in a time bound frame.

Even though it is very much belated yet Indian situation warrants all patriots, political leaders to join their heads together and carve out our own road map to achieve the common goal. Asian countries have had enough of bitter experiences accrued as a result of following the right or left extremism. The notorious "Washington consensus" had landed some Asian countries into virtual economic slavery. Our own plans prepared under the guidance of world bank's trained and talented economists have failed us in giving correct priorities and allocation of adequate budget for human resource development and other crucial reforms. The spotless freedom fighter and the architect of modern India Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, with utmost sincerity followed the Russian path of giving top most priority for public sector and total denial of any role for the private sector. Such a line, though helped in equalizing the uneven society, arrested the economic growth very badly. Madam Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister, gave top most priority to seizing and safeguarding her political power at the cost of economy. Her slogan of "Gareebi Hatao" was more political than real. Her successor Rajiv Gandhi initiated good reforms towards modernization and local self governments, but his precious life was cut short thanks to ill advised adventurism. Then came into picture P.V. and Manmohan combine which led our economy out of closed doorism and made it an open one. Their contribution towards the enhancement of growth rate is appreciable but their attention towards distributive justice is most ill advised. They interpreted populism as 'development'. BJP and NDA rule cared only for the sustenance of power, keeping the economy where it was. Then came a new coalition era UPA-1 and UPA-2. To be honest and objective this central government has no new direction at all, and no clear cut agenda of reforms when far reaching reforms in the system of education, health, industry, legal system and police system etc., are the crying needs for a single step forward in socio-economic progress and good governance. However, learning from all kinds of experiments, our political leadership steeled and tempered in the people's movements can be bold enough to face the challenges and take the country forward to make it number one in GDP in the whole world and also in an inclusive growth. Rejuvenation of political economy, realignment of all progressive political forces is the condition precedent. I for one, am proud of having been trained and served my people under the red banner for over 55 years of my active life, would sincerely and self critically desire certain fundamental and structural changes in the ideology of the left parties which have more or less a scientific vision of a free, democratic and socialist India in the earliest possible time frame. Even then however much and strong lefts' ideological and political unity may be, unity and united struggles of the people at large capable of delivering goods in the form of quantum jump requires a broad based social capital, consisting of all patriots barring a few

incorrigible rightists, which can be engineered by a core of committed leaders including the leaders of the left. Parties and groups of the left can play the role of a catalic agent in creating, activating and accelerating the change aimed at. We had such shining examples like Telangana movement, Tebhage movement from all the states in our country. Let me now humbly suggest the constitutional changes of the left I plead for.

- 1) In almost all the constitutions of the left parties we find that “this is the party of the working class” meaning the industrial working class as the great thinker Karl Marx had visualized. According to classical theory, industrial working class or its political party alone is capable of bringing about social revolution. All other social classes will follow the industrial working class. Mar’x theory was based on the correlation of classes in the developed west. With the industrial working class not even two to three percent of the population, India or any Asiatic country cannot mechanically follow the above prescription. It has to be amended as “the party of all working people”. This wider concept will reflect the reality. Crores and crores of working people engaged in manual and intellectual labour, belonging to all castes and communities will consider the party as their own. Ideologically too such a broader out look alone generate the requisite strength and energy to isolate the class of people who are the real exploiters either as landlords or as exploiting capitalists. Exploitation means undue appropriation of the fruits of labour disregarding the laws of the land.
- 2) In the context of India, caste system is a peculiar phenomenon. Originated for division of labour in human settlements spread over far and wide, such a division got further divided to serve the growing needs of the people and then stabilized itself as a divine division for distribution of labour, un alterable and unchangeable. Such an unfortunate naturalized caste system could not be disturbed despite the best efforts made by the biggest social reformers and visionaries like Mahatma Gautam Buddha Mahaveer and a host of reformers there after. Such an ancient and historic division can be erased in the course of modern history under the impact of science and technology when the old model of division of labour becomes totally out dated and antiquated giving place to freedom in the choice of profession in a climate of political democracy and knowledge based new social order. Politics in India today cannot advance either by derecognizing the caste system or by worshiping such a divisive system. Political parties through political movements cutting across caste and creed alone can unify people to evolve a civic society strong enough to reform and facilitate the creation of new and modern India. This unity can be built through working for, and fighting for socio-economic and political empowerment of dalits and other socially and educationally backward classes, as enshrined in our constitution. Without undergoing such a complex

and complicated task unity of working people will remain a day dream, and society stagnant. Negligence of caste based organizations tantamount to the negligence of the very working people who are the back bone for the social capital required for social change. Mixing of all castes in active movements on demands of empowerment will generate the required social consciousness which will slowly but steadily dismantle the walls of division. Left in particular has to correct its present stand of ambiguity on caste system.

- 3) Present ideological positions taken by the left parties, dejure if not defacto, that the political movements should be built under the hegemony of their parties is again a distortion of Marxism. True, Marx and Marxist leaders taught such a lesson. But Marxism when applied to our present conditions which call upon us to leave no stone unturned in building a broad based political alternative of national democracy for national advance the insistence on or the efforts for such a leadership will prove counter productive doing more harm than good to the cherished cause
- 4) Left unity is desirable. But it cannot be made a precondition for building a broad based front with minimum programme. This can be done by our tireless efforts to attract the mass organizations led by all eligible political parties, to the new platform of unity. No “touch me not” attitude be entertained. Political unity even with communal or caste based parties and their mass organisations, as long as they lend, their full support to the minimum programme, be made permissible. It can be utilised to protect the front as against the known political enemies or their agents.

As already under scored today's Indian political economy deserves to be effectively planned and directed to defeat crony capitalism's every efforts to make “Washington Consensus” acceptable to the elite of our country. Instead broad based democratic alternative with a progressive programme of economic independence and economic democracy be made popular, lest we should miss the bus again.

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## 17. LEFT WING EXTREMISM

We are now in the second decade of the twenty-first century. The outgoing twentieth century will go down in history as an eventful one when two great world wars launched by the hated imperialism had caused the death of millions of innocent human beings all over the world, when India and Pakistan followed by over forty countries, successfully raised their banners of freedom from the yoke of imperialism, when the world witnessed the most insecure conditions to human life for over the second half of the century, thanks to cold war, and when the world saw the demise of the leader of the socialist world the great USSR. And now we are happy to see the downfall of the so called leader of the unipolar world, the USA, both economically and politically and the economic centre of gravity shifting from Europe to Asian continent. Very soon the world can arrive at a stage when the ghost of a probable third world war will no more haunt the humanity and the countries of the world under the umbrella of UNO will settle their problems most peacefully in a spirit of give and take.

Such a big change, visualized by the great thinkers and freedom fighters, was made possible by the march of history driven by the hard work, struggles and sacrifices of the people at large. Advance of science and technology modernizing the means of production, increasing the production of goods and productivity accelerated the spread of social consciousness and urge for freedom. Western capitalist countries which had already divided the world into rich imperialist and poor slave countries, in their mad race for maximum profits, and lust for power, had caused two world wars resulting in the massacre of millions of human lives. Such an advance of reaction gave strong impetus to the growing movements for complete freedom and self determination. They asserted their independence and sovereignty despite all kinds of intrigues and interventions resorted to by the rich west, US in particular. Today they are self reliant and politically and morally strong enough to challenge the unipolarity of the US and build a multipolar world. They are united on the cause of freedom, peace and progress. Internal contradictions of the erstwhile rich countries thanks to their conspicuous life styles and growing socio-economic inequalities within are heading fast towards an unprecedented economic crises, impossible to overcome without a radical reorientation of their foreign and native policies and the life styles. The richest country as U.S. has become the biggest indebter one unable to restore its economy to normalcy inspite of being number one in the world gross domestic production(GDP). Its economic crisis surfaced in 2008 as liquidity crisis is getting deepened resulting in the increase of unemployment and the closure of industries. Even the borrowed wealth running into hundreds of billions of dollars, advanced to the banks as stimulus, is not helping the restoration of the economy. The greedy bankers are even utilizing such scarce resource not for improving their economic activity to promote production and employment but are using it to buy the same government's security bonds on

cheaper rates of interest! And this phenomenon is spreading to Europe, like a contagion beyond control. The GDP of all the capitalist countries put together had sunk to minus points and again limped back to, one or 1.5 percent in 2009-10. This is the result of centuries' old greed and conspicuous life style, dividing the society into over rich and miserably poor. Imagine about the state of affairs in US where only one percent of the top rich, population is appropriating the country's wealth equal to the wealth appropriated by 60 percent of its population. Such disparities in income are bound to give rise to social and political tensions which do require major operation like sweeping reforms or face the irreconcilable conflicts and contradictions. Symptoms of such a crisis embracing the whole capitalist countries are clearly appearing.

Under such conditions of demoralization of world imperialism and crisis ridden capitalism, developing countries like India, their political parties left, centre and right have to reorientate their political strategies to get rid of all the remnants of semi feudalism and resurgence of capitalism in the perverted unproductive corruption generating ugly form of crony capitalism. I am sure the objective conditions internationally and nationally are quite favourable for the unification of all progressive forces to intensify their all out assault on the reaction and formation of progressive governments to steer clear on the path of reforms and inclusive growth, leading to a really welfare state. The neoliberal policies of opening wide the doors of our economy for FDI and privatisation indiscriminately must be fought against tooth and nail and instead an alternate policy of discriminative use of FDI, selective privatization coupled with total promotion of indigenous capital and public private partnership(PPP) will form the basis for framing the minimum programme for a national democratic alternative.

I very much wish and appeal to the left and left extremists in India, Maoists in particular to fall in line with the national main stream and render their valuable services. Singularity of purpose, broad mindedness in the creation and promotion of powerful social capital to build mass movement capable of defeating the decadent forces in our country is certainly possible though difficult. Situation is ripe when the national democratic progressive alternative can reach a winning position reaping maximum benefits with a minimum of sacrifices. It is my modest assessment and humble suggestion. I only reiterate the crying need to carve out a road map and demonstrate their political craftsmanship before it is too late.

Terrorism, national and international is qualitatively different from left extremism. It is most unfortunate that the Prime Minister and Home Minister of India are clubbing them together and declaring them as the biggest threat to our country's internal security. Terrorism arises out of religious, racial fundamentalism and fanaticism having no relationship with socio-economic reforms while left extremism is the off shoot of the socio-economic crisis. However, the commonality of terror and violence among the two creates chaos

and confusion and gives a handle to the ruling classes to justify the state violence. Despite odds, the state and central governments should implement all kinds of reforms to win over the landless rural poor, the tribals fighting for their legitimate rights on the forest produce and the minerals therein. Land acquisition law must be recast to protect the rights of all sufferers by making them the stake holders, ensuring them complete rehabilitation and resettlement apart from reemployment. The absence of such statutory guarantees coupled with the non implementation of land laws and the minimum wages as also the step motherly treatment in undertaking the construction of micro level infrastructures both in urban and rural areas is adding fuel to the fire of anger and anguish of the toiling millions. The governments of the states and centre are consciously ignoring such a social responsibility to the detriment of social peace and law and order. Once the job of solution of the above problems is taken up in real earnest, the people themselves will withdraw their sympathies with extremism and attract the extremists to the mainstream movements for social progress. Terrorism, on the other hand, is born out of religious racial bigotry requiring putting down with iron hand. Left extremists too are called upon to come out of certain dogmas arising out of blind subjectivism and hatered towards the establishment. Dawn of political democracy has facilitated the growth of a broad based peoples' movement which can turn the tables of political power and ensure the solution of socio-economic problems. A nucleus of committed left and centrist parties, groups and individuals will soon grow in to a powerful force to reckon with only if such a nucleus has a definite plan of action.

We need not dive deep in to the origin and explosion of left extremism in India. Started with the second party congress of the CPI in 1948, it grew continuously breeding on the discontentment of the people at large created by the semi feudal and undemocratic policies pursued by the governments in states and the centre. Governments' strategies of crushing the movement with force became counter productive and the extremists retaliated every repressive measure with counter violence. Such a madness on both the sides can and should be put an end to. This should top the agenda of an emerging democratic alternative. Terrorism of the right extreme has really emerged as the single biggest source of trouble for law and order. It requires a double edged weapon of negotiations and state violence to be humbled. Imperialism, American imperialism in particular had been using such terrorism to divide the countries and rule them for its own ends. It sowed the wind and is now reaping the whirlwind. However all the democratic and peace loving forces are condeming the barbarism let loose by such terrorist gangs. I am sure the united efforts of all the countries concerned will succeed in making terrorism bite the dust very soon.

I am at a loss to appreciate the logic that left extremism is the product of Marxism. The ideology of Marxism itself deals with the eternal social laws of change and has an inbuilt mechanism to guage the levels of social consciousness

of a given people under the impact of science and technology, and its onward march. Misapplication of science by the half baked Marxists and the ghastly results emerging out of it should not blind the rational thinkers to rush to hasty conclusions. Marxism, a modern social science to detect the law of social evolution's operation in a given society and suggest the concrete measures to accelerate the particular progress of social evolution is dynamic. There can be no uniform and universal procedure to be followed. One earnestly hopes that Marxism's vibrant creativity is grasped correctly and is used as the brightest torch light to unearth the truth, the whole truth, for furthering social progress. I am duty bound to record the names of my comrades in Karimnagar district who fell victims to the mindless and adventurist killing spree of various extremist groups. All of them were committed social workers wedded to the cause of building peoples' movement. I was shocked to learn about their gruesome murders and had rushed to the scene of offence only to pay my heartfelt homage to the tested social activists. On every such occasion I had made repeated appeals to the left extremists to be reasonable and save the valuable lives of the selfless sons of the soil. I now remember them with a heavy heart.

- 1) Police had murdered Sri Japa Laxma Reddy of Alugunur village near by Karimnagar town, in the day light on the plea that left extremists had committed the day light murder of the DSP of Peddapalli the earlier day. He was an active kisan leader of the district and my colleague. He was also the leader of the district movement for civil liberties.
- 2) Sri M.Bhaskara Rao, a recognized leader of the workers of Singareni Collaries at Godavarikhani was done to death by the extremists who openly indulged in the trade union rivalries. Com.Bhaskara Rao rose to state level leadership by dint of his tireless service to the coal miners. Working class and the CPI had lost an able leader with very good manners.
- 3) Sri Musuku Raja Reddy, a popular kisan leader and the Sarpanch of Indurthy village in Karimnagar taluq was murdered by the extremists at the instance of his enemies simply because he was a disciplined sarpanch who had refused to do an illegal act. What prompted the extremists to kill him is a matter for conjecture. He was my close friend and admirer.
- 4) Koona Mutyalu, the Sarpanch of the same village Indurthy was gunned down by the mindless extremists for no fault of his. He was responsible for the development of the village, and was a popular leader of the area.
- 5) Sri Janardhana Reddy of Gunukula village was murdered by the extremists for the fault of his being an activist of kisan sabha. I liked his hard work with commitment.
- 6) Sri Anne Boina Mallayya the Sarpanch of Janagama village of the same area was dastardly murdered by the extremists. He was the tested leader of CPI and my close colleague for over two decades. His only crime was

to educate the people against extremism of a few anti social elements.

- 7) Sri Pittala Venkatayya of Mandapur village of the same area was subjected to gruesome murder by the extremists for his involvement in settling the scores among the extremists. A lovable and hard working comrades loss is irreparable.
- 8) Rangu Rajayya, a young and energetic comrade of Chengerla village in Karimnagar area was murdered by the extremists to help the factionists of the village. His untimely death had caused a vacuum in the political movement of that area.
- 9) Kattula Komarayya of Godavarikhani a bold and dynamic comrade was done to death by the mindless extremists who acted at the instance of his trade union rivals.
- 10) Chanda Durgaiah another coal mine leader working in 2 incline was murdered by the extremists for his hard work in keeping the union united.
- 11) Sri Ippa Ganga Reddy of Rudrangi village in Chandurthy mandal was cruelly murdered by the extremists. He had rendered his services as the president of Chandurty mandal praja parishat. I know with utmost pain the sufferings undergone by his dependednts.
- 12) Sri Ganga Rajayya, Sarpanch of Rudrangi village in Siricilla constituency had to sacrifice his precious life for the fault of his services in developing the village. He was my old admirer and tested local leader.
- 13) Sri Goburi Ganga Reddy of Nizamabad village in Konaraopet mandal was killed by the extremists for no fault of his. He ws an innocent man, who worked as the vice chairman of Vemulawada market committee rendering selfless service.
- 14) Sri Rayapu Reddy, an elderly man of Nampalli village in Vemulawada mandal of Sircilla constituency was subjected to brutal murder in the day light by the avowed extremists. I very much liked his sincere services in uniting the social workers irrespective of their political affiliations. His precious life was cut short by the adventurist gang parading as communists.

Every time I heard such a bad news I had to rush to the scene of occurrence and pay my homage to the departed social worker. I am particularly hurt because of my close association with them and their services to the people of the area. All of them, were my admirers who treated me not only as their political leader but also as their teacher in the art of politics and social movement. I mourn their untimely death caused by the extremists masquerading as “Marxists” and Leninists”.

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## **18. NAKED TRUTH BEHIND THE SEPARATE TELANGANA MOVEMENT**

I am witness to the merger of the Hyderabad state with Indian union in the year 1948, after 224 years' rule by the Asafijahi dynasty, the creation of a separate Andhra state by bifurcating the erstwhile Madras province in the year 1953, thanks to the martyrdom of Potti Sreeramulu; and the formation of Andhra Pradesh state on 1-11-1956 based on the 14 point 'gentlemen agreement' entered into by the leaders of Telangana and Andhra regions as a follow up of the report of the second states' reorganization commission headed by late Justice Fazal Ali.

It will be relevant to have retrospection and recollect that until the reorganization of states, India was in two parts known as British India consisting of 10 provinces and Indian India consisting of 565 states ruled by the native princes, under the suzerainty of British government based on various agreements in between the rulers of the states and the British government. Erstwhile state of Hyderabad, consisting of 8 Telangana districts, 5 districts known as Marathwada and 3 districts known as Karnataka was the biggest of all native states, which was ruled by the Asafjahi dynasty, the last and seventh king being Mir Osman Ali Khan.

Despite the commonality of language(Telugu), history and culture and the contiguity of area, 224 year long separation between Andhra and Telangana, by virtue of being ruled by comparatively liberal British rulers and the autocratic feudals of the Nizam's state and their hirelings had created a big gulf between the two telugu speaking peoples. Such a visibly uneven levels of development, forced the elite of Telangana to make a strong representation to the second S.R.C. about their fear that the comparatively more developed Andhra brotheren, particularly from the coastal region might swamp and exploit the most backward Telangana people, and hence they prayed for continuing the Hyderabad(Telgnana) state. The SRC, in its wisdom, after considered deliberations positively recommended for the continuation of Hyderabad as a separate state until 1962 when its merger with Andhra state could be reconsidered if the two third elected members of Telangana so desire. This recommendation was broadly agreeable to the central leadership consisting of Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru(PM) Maulana Abdulkalam Axad(the Minister for education) Sardar Vallabhai Patel(the Deputy Prime Minister) and Mr.Gobind Vallabhpat( the Home Minister). Late Sri Sardar K.M.Paniker a famous historian and a member of the second SRC had appended his minute of dissent to the main report stating that Hyderabad state(Telangana) be continued as a separate state, unequivocally declaring that smaller states will be the best units for good administration and speedy

development. Inside the state of Hyderabad Sri Boorgula Ramakrishna Rao, the then Chief Minister of the state, Sri K.V.Ranga Reddy and Dr.M.Chenna Reddy ministers had made strong representation for continuing the Hyderabad state as it was. The then united CPI, alone, wanted Visalandhra with the slogan of “peoples rule in greater Andhra”. Next only to congress, the CPI was organizationally very strong both in Telangana and Andhra areas with a large following.

Then started the pressurization of centre by the Andhra congress leadership to disregard the recommendation of the SRC and instead agree to the formation of the linguistic state of Andhra Pradesh. Panditji had a soft corner for linguistic reorganization of states which by then was felt to be far better than multilingual and unwieldy composite states. He was also influenced by the Russian pattern of linguistic states. This situation was very skilfully utilized by the Andhra congress leadership. Telangana congress leadership could not compete with their Andhra counter parts. Ultimately the central home minister Sri Govind Vallabhpunt got convinced of a larger state and then succeeded in convincing the central leadership including Panditji himself. CPI's vehemence behind its dogged propaganda for Visalandhra emanated firstly from its dogmatic Stalinist approach to the question and secondly from its hopes to come to power in AP based on its strength spread over in both the areas. Both have now proved as only illusions. Ultimately Andhra Pradesh state was formed on 1-11-1956 based on a formula of 14 points gentlemen's agreement which along with others includes strictly adhering to the Mulki rules in service matters, allocation of one third of the states budget for the development of Telangana area and the formation of Telangana regional committee to act as a watch dog and refer to the Governor about any difference with the Government whose decision would be binding on the state government.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the Prime Minister of India who inaugurated the new state had, in his speech referred to the genuine fears of the Telangana people and categorically stated that if the two distinct regions could not get integrated emotionally and the fears of Telangana people persist they will be free to divide and form a separate state. The trouble started from the day one after the inauguration. Gentlemen's agreement was honoured more in profession than in practice, ultimately it was given a decent burial. In every meeting of the T.R.C the problems arising out of government's failure to implement the agreements on service matters, budgetary allocations and other developmental issues were raised and the reports with concrete instances were submitted to the government for quick solution. The state government neither solved any issue nor it referred any matter to the Governor for arbitration, ultimately reducing the regional committee and the role of the Governor to a nullity, not even a formality. Literally, not a single issue was referred to the Governor. Hundreds of questions were raised on the floor of the Assembly with no avail.

The discontentment went on mounting with every passing year and it burst out after twelve years in the year 1969 beginning with the students agitation. Very soon it had spread to all towns involving the services and sections of middle classes. State government headed by the late K.Brahmananda Reddy with the active support of the then Prime Minister Smt.Indira Gandhi had decided to put down the movement with iron hand. Thousands of people were thrown behind bars and hundreds of students and youth were killed by the merciless police and paramilitary forces. Such a genuine movement demanding statehood for Telangana was sought to be exploited by an opportunist section of the state congress leadership for their power politics. The CPI with its considerable following lent its moral support to the cause of the Telangana people and pressurized the state and central governments to implement the agreements entered into and solve the problems short of separation. I was invited to Delhi in the capacity of the leader of the legislature party of the CPI for personal discussion with the then Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi. I took the advice of late Sri Chandra Rajeswara Rao, the then state Secretary of the CPI who had asked me to frankly tell the Prime Minister that it was the congress leadership which had signally failed to implement the solemn promise made to the people of Telangana and on the other hand it was utilising the genuine discontentment of the Telangana youth for settling their inner party scores for political power. He had also advised me to tell the PM not to take for granted the CPI's stand on Visalandhra. As already noted in the book, the PM gave a patient hearing but reiterated her firm decision to put down the violent movement Uprising for a separate Telangana state in 1969 was silenced partly by reiterating the previous promise of honouring all the agreements and partly by making new promises to enhance the powers of the Telangana Regional Committee through a new constitutional amendment known as Prime Minister's eight point formula. The ink had hardly dried up when the movement for separation of Andhra area was started in 1973. Within no time this movement assumed gigantic proportions. The Andhra Ministers had resigned from the cabinet, law and order situation in Andhra area became uncontrollable causing the promulgation of Governor's rule for two years. The immediate provocation behind such a large scale eruption was very clear. The Andhra leadership did not like the Chief Ministership of late Sri P.V.Narasimha Rao, a Telangana leader who had some commitment to the implementation of the Agricultural land ceiling Act. Secondly, probably mainly, the cause was to undo the effect of the fresh judgement of the apex court which clearly over ruled the judgment of the A.P. High Court which declared the "Mulki" rule null and void. The Apex Court's judgment upholding the "Mulki" rule and directing its implementation retrospectively would amount to the large scale removal from service thousands of non mulkies ie., Andhras who had illegally obtained their employment. Madam Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India taking a partial view, lost no time in amending the

constitution to regularize such services and to nullify the very “Mulki” rule. She had also done away with the very Telangana Regional Committee, the powers of which were promised to be increased only four years back to pacify the Telangana uprising of 1969. She now came forward with a six point programme. Abolition of T.R.C, removal of mulki rule gave unbridled powers to the mischief mongers. Maintenance of separate accounts for Telangana and the very accountability was totally stopped. Flood gates were opened for all kinds of injustices to the backward Telangana area. Regional Development Boards and the zonal system for employment created under six point programme with constitutional guarantee have been rendered totally inoperative and ineffective. Again in the early eighties the Telangana services picked up enough courage to force the state government to strictly adhere to the zonal system in appointments, promotions and transfers. Sri N.T.Rama Rao, the then CM, getting satisfied with the enquiry committee reports had issued G.O.No.610 to set right things in the light of six point formula and the zonal system. Even the 610 GO was not implemented. Twenty long years have elapsed, not a single case of correction of the mistake has yet seen the light of the day. Almost all the sufferers have either retired or are no more to see the consequences. A.P. Legislative Assembly had appointed a house committee to examine the implementation of 610 G.O. Ministries have changed, assemblies too have changed new house committees have been formed but their reports are not being submitted to the house.

The year 2009 has again witnessed the upsurge for a separate Telangana state. The movement got electrified with the fast unto death undertaken by the founder of the Telangana Rashtra Samithi, Sri K.Chandra Sekhara Rao M.P. He had taken pains to rouse the Telangana people to fight for their statehood, for the last over a decade. The idea of a separate statehood had not died, it was only lying low, waiting for an opportune time. The historic fact of Telangana having a separate identity self respect is getting reinforced with every passing year under the most unscrupulous policies pursued by the ruling parties, dominated by the economically and politically advanced and power crazy sections of Andhra area. This time the demand for a separate statehood has penetrated very deep, to the grass root levels. Along with the TRS party, the BJP, the TDP, the CPI and a number of civic groups and prominent citizens as also the strong trade unions representing the entire Telangana are joining hands to peacefully but militantly agitate for the achievement of separate statehood for Telangana. Even the congress leaders hailing from Telangana area the MLAs and MPs in particular, seeing the totally changed mood of the people are identifying themselves with this movement. Forces opposing the movement are taking no chances and leaving no stone unturned to disrupt and kill the surging movement by resorting to all kinds of tactics of divide and rule, including repression. Setting up Sree Krishna Commission, delaying the decision making for the last

two years is but an example. The most unhappy situation is that the innocent students and youth, unable to boldly withstand and pick up courage to fight for freedom, are resorting to suicides leaving heart rendering suicide notes. Over seven hundreds sons of soil have already committed suicides. Yet the power mad ruling class has no tears to shed. Yes freedom is not begged, it is won through struggle and sacrifice. It is high time all those who stand for Telangana statehood unite and seize political power from the unwilling hands of the unscrupulous and heartless few, masquerading as the high command.

Decentralisation of power is the call of the time. Every where in the world, empowerment of the common people by all means is catching the imagination of people. Smaller states with local self government institutions fully vested with powers and funds is the requirement for real human development. Democracy denotes power to the working people. The days of imperialism and expansionism are numbered. No power on earth, however strong, can stop the onward march for freedom and socio economic democracy. We shall win!

Though physically unable to partake in the movement personally however much I may wish, I am very happy at the age of 88 years to witness the uncompromising and determined mood of the legendary and heroic people of Telangana. I am specially proud of the Telangana services and their tested leaders who have led a historic general strike comprising of all classes and sections of the Telangana area. There is an apprehension among some Telanganites and an optimism among some statusquoists of Andhra area that the Telangana people will keep up the adage “forgetfulness of the people is proverbial” and the dilly dallying tactics resorted to by the congress high command as also the theory of “two eyes” propounded by the supremo of the TDP will pay good dividends; but as the times have changed, and the people of Telangana, the services and students in particular, despite the waverings and “politricks” of some opportunist political leaders, are dead set for separate statehood and no power on earth can stop the sunrise of democracy and self determination over Telangana. The movement for separation has assumed the proportion of a movement for liberation from the colonial yoke. Statesmanship today demands that the national leaders of all political parties in the country clearly see the writing on the wall that the present globalisation while on one hand has condensed the vast world into a small village from the view point of communication, on the other hand has encouraged the participation of wider sections of people in the administration through democratic decentralization. Demands for separate Telangana state, Vidarbha state and the demand for dividing Utter Pradesh state into four distinct states etc., have emerged as progressive demands for decentralization, a product of peoples’ mature social mindset in a popular democracy. The movement for bifurcation of AP state got further strengthened thanks to the merger of the two strong sentiments of separation from the big brotherly attitude of the rich power monger rulers of Andhra area and the lofty desire for decentralization and good governance in the back drop

of a rising crying need for protection of the identity and promotion of self respect of the people of Telangana.

Dr.Ramesh Chennamaneni, MLA who jumped into politics and got elected from Vemulawada Assembly constituency on TDP ticket in 2009 was the first Telangana legislator who resigned from the party and then from the Assembly protesting against the suicidal “two eyes” theory of the leader of the opposition. Within months of his reelection from the same constituency as TRS candidate, he again resigned his seat in company with ten other TRS members, protesting against centre’s failure to execute its promise, but the Hon’ble Speaker rejected them on grounds of his discretion to do so.

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## EPILOGUE

Globalisation is not a new phenomenon. It was slow dormant in the previous centuries. It is speedy and open since the later half of the last century. The advent of science and technology, its impact on human society has changed the individual and social life styles of the people radically, qualitatively different from the old ones. Speedy, connectivity is its work. Information revolution is its effect. Spread of scientific and technological knowledge, speedy communication, quick transport are its results reinforcing the discoveries and inventions which are further intensifying the very globalization and its impact on individual and social lifestyles much more. It is not a negative feature of human struggle for existence. On the other hand it is the product of human labour, quality labour, worthy to be harnessed for bettering the social development. A very wrong representation of globalization as being the negative development of capitalism or the creation of imperialism is misleading the world, derailing the healthy progressive thought process.

The whole problem of globalization being positive or negative development arises out of its proper or improper use for social development. Unfortunately capitalism which dictated the world social order in the last two centuries has taken undue advantage of science and technology and its social production globalization for furtherance of its ugly designs of exploitation through creation of social inequalities, launching of wars and destruction. Hence the fear about science and technology and the resultant suspicion about globalisation. Now, the decline of capitalism and its worst forms of multinational corporations, the defeats being faced by the hated imperialism have generated an awareness all over the world where people, no longer under the bondage of imperialism, enjoying full freedom and liberty and making use of democracy as a powerful instrumentality for self rule are opening a new chapter of complete freedom peace and democratic advance. Twenty first century will go down in human history as an era of all round freedom, democracy, world peace and the end of capitalism and wars.

The developed, developing and the least developed countries and their people today are facing the problems of wriggling out of all kinds of old reactionary socio political and economic practices and systems and instead are evolving and embarking on the new paths and systems to reorganize their societies capable of sustaining the peaceful, harmonious growth of the societies world over yoking the inventions and discoveries made by science and technology. The strongly entrenched out dated and out moded exploitative systems are acting as impregnable walls of obstructions to any change over to humane modernity. Present crisis of capitalism and the failures of its decadent systems practices are offering the unprecedented opportunities before the forces

of socio-economic reforms or revolution to accelerate their struggles for speedy advance and change. The economic crisis started in USA in the year 2008-09 as liquidity crisis, ‘sub-prime crisis’ and now spreading fast to the European union leading to dismantle their very foundations of unity, is essentially the systemic crisis, the capitalist crisis. System which encourages and makes possible the appropriation of 60 percent of its G.D.P. by a mere one percent of consumerist population system which leads to national indebtedness crossing its gross domestic production, and the system which closes down the factories rendering millions of gainfully employed population, unemployed, under employed has no future. Present globalization with its rare qualities of connectivity and speedy communication is hastening and deepening the capitalist crisis making it impossible to recover. Developing countries and the least developed countries are drawing appropriate lessons from the unfolding and unending crisis of the so called developed countries. Human history since the last few centuries has proved beyond doubt that science and technology and their product “capital” the double edged weapon can be used both for the promotion of human welfare and its destruction. India and China once rich enough producing more than fifty percent of world’s wealth were overtaken by the rich west producing over seventy five percent of world’s wealth. Present situation is increasingly hopeful. These two giants of Asia alone are already contributing forty five percent of world’s wealth. With crisis ridden west we can very soon emerge as a major economic force in the whole world. If the developing countries like China, India, Brazil and Russia succeed in cementing their economic and political unity through bilateral and multilateral agreements, there will be no doubt in changing the form and content of the international organizations like UNO, IMF, and WTO and to convert them into the best instrumentalities for promoting world peace, peaceful co existence and equitious development. Such a qualitative change will surely take its historically necessary time. We can only accelerate the process of its transition. However the overwhelming majority of the world’s backward population can be rest assured the era of imperialism and war has come to an end never to raise its ugly head again. At the same time one cannot and should not jump to the conclusion that we can write the obituary of capitalism and imperialism. The era has come to a close but not the system. Visionaries are able to see the unfolding of human history heading towards lasting peace and people’s democracy. The forces of democracy and social equity can confidently march ahead through their sustained struggles against all the relics of the historically doomed feudal, semi feudal and perverted capitalism.

In the context of our own country India, we are sorry to witness the absence of a vivid path of national advance for national welfare. The reasons for such a stalemate is our rulers’ inability to come out of the shell of inaction and adopt the new path of socio-economic, advance involving the vast man

power, both skilled and unskilled. Political parties of all hues are getting oriented more and more towards grabbing political space to acquire political power, absolute political power, as early as possible. Ostentatious life styles, wasteful expenditure, continuing and growing socio-economic disparities, widening inequalities are staring at us challenging our capacities to call a halt to such a fast deterioration of all values. It is high time the progressive forces unitedly take the challenge and defeat them taking the best advantage of social awareness and radicalisation of the people nationally and internationally. Let me conclude my autobiography by drawing the attention of the esteemed readership towards a few tasks which according to my view are awaiting our effective intervention and action.

- 1) The subject of Agriculture was included in the state list under our constitution. Past experiences, and the complicated problems arising out of globalization require the closest cooperation and coordination between the centre and the states for the effective and quick solution of the problems faced by the agriculturists. Therefore present conditions demand the inclusion of “agriculture” in the list of “concurrent” subjects through an amendment in the constitution. Comprehensive second green revolution from farm to fork, comprising of land reforms land use, increase in production and productivity making the best use of biotechnology, guaranteeing remunerative prices to the producers and ensuring reasonable prices to the consumers etc., brook no delay.
- 2) Far reaching reforms in the system of education at all levels and reforms in the field of health both preventive and curative, are crucial for Human Resource Development(HRD). The significance of skilled man power in the wake of a possible population dividend till about two decades ahead cannot be under estimated. Large scale technical education is an immediate necessity to make our vast labour force employable.
- 3) Development of micro-infrastructure consisting of rural roads, bridges, school rooms, primary health centres, providing pure drinking water with sanitation facilities and minor irrigation including watershed schemes, etc., is the crying need both for rural welfare and rural employment.
- 4) Promotion of manufacturing industry now employing only four crores of people in medium and small scale industries numbering about eighty lakh units, with sixty percent of export income is vital for employment generation and earning foreign exchange.
- 5) Economic crisis started in USA, spreading to Europe as a contagious disease which will envelop all the countries connected with capitalist economies. Stringent efforts at arresting the contagion from spoiling our nescent economy are urgently needed. Maintenance of the balanced budgets keeping



*All Hyderabad students union group photo of its six general secretaries of forties and early fifties of the last century.*

*(left to right) Sri Omkar Prasad, late Sri Jawad Razvi,  
Sri B. Narsinga Rao, Sri Ch. Rajeswara Rao,  
late Dr. B.S. Paranjape and Dr. Ch. Hanumantha Rao.*

indebtedness and the wasteful expenditure under check, controlling the inflation and price rise are the few economic disciplines which can be neglected only at our peril. All concerned should join heads and cooperate for promoting the philosophy of plain living and high thinking.

- 6) Last but not the least in importance is the reorganization of our system of administration with the spirit of decentralisation in the light of 73-74 amendments of our constitution in smaller states. Creation of smaller states since independence has paid very good dividends in terms of faster rate of growth and creation of level playing ground for more equitable distribution of wealth apart from the good governance with transparency and accountability.

All the above reforms assume equal importance for an urgent redressal of the grievances of our working people. The existing budgetary resources coupled with the large scale reserves of foreign exchange on hand will be a dependable basis for expanding our economy vertically and horizontally to build a just and equitable society.



## **BACK COVER PAGE**

(from left to right)

**Sri Nadendla Manohar**, the then Deputy Speaker and the present Speaker, A.P. Legislative Assembly.

**Sri Potturi Venkateshwara Rao**, Senior Journalist.

**Sri Konda Laxman Bapuji**, Freedom Fighter and Ex. Minister

**Sri N. Kiran Kumar Reddy**, the then Speaker of the Assembly and the present Chief Minister of A.P.

**Sri K. Rosaiah**, the then Chief Minister of A.P. and the present Governor of Tamilnadu.

**Sri Ch. Rajeshwara Rao**, Ex. MLA, freedom fighter and the author.

**Sri Gade Venkata Reddy**, Ex. Minister and the present MLA.



# *Quest for Truth*

## **Prophets of Social Revolution**

(Front Cover Page Clockwise)

**Swami Vivekananda** : Crusader for applied philosophy.

**Karl Marx** : Exhorted the need for a philosophy to change the world, not merely interpret it.

**Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar** : Father of the Republican Constitution of India.

**Mao-tse-tung** : Father of the Chinese Socialist Revolution, 1948.

**V.I. Lenin** : Architect of Russian Revolution, 1917.

**Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru** : Architect of Modern India

**Rabindranath Tagore** : Nobel Laureate, Poet, Philosopher and visionary of real freedom

**Mahatma Gandhi** : Father of Indian Nation



# ***Quest for Truth***

***An autobiography of  
Chennamaneni***

**Quest for Truth**  
**An Autobiography of Chennamaneni**

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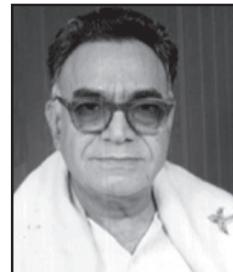
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# **“STREAM OF KNOWLEDGE”**

**- Potturi Venkateswara Rao**

*Senior Journalist*



Telangana armed struggle occupied a special place in the history of the Communist Party of India. Several events of historic significance have taken place during the five year period of this struggle from 1946 to 1951. During this period India achieved its independence and declared itself as a free sovereign and democratic republic, paving the way for freedom and democracy for many countries in the world. Erstwhile state of Hyderabad got liberation from the clutches of the seven generation old dynastic rule of Asafjahis and joined Indian Union. Discussions and debates on the Telangana armed struggle took place not only inside the CPI, but had also figured in the agenda of Comintern, the world communist organization of yester years. This armed revolt of the people, who for centuries were trampled under a monarchy, had created history and had become subject for close study and research.

The first half of twentieth century will go down in our history as a golden period which has given birth to a selfless political leadership. Communist movement also gave to the nation a number of such great leaders. Many of them hail from Telugu speaking area. Leaders like Puchalapalli Sundaraya, Chandra Rajeswara Rao, Makineni Basava Punnaya, Tarimela Nagireddy and others rose to leadership from the undivided Madras province. Baddam Yella Reddy, Ravi Narayana Reddy, Maqdoom Moinuddin, Developalli Venkateswara Rao and others emerged as such leaders from the old Hyderabad state. Sri Chennamaneni Rajeswara Rao is one among such selfless, spotless political leaders. Valuable literature on this subject like “Lessons from the historic struggle of Telangana” written by late Sri Puchalapalli Sundaraya, “The history of the Communist movement in Andhra Pradesh” edited by Sarvasree Tummala Venkat Ramaya, Y.V.Krishna Rao, Etukuri Balarama Murthy, and Pattabhi Rama Rao, “The history of the armed struggle conducted by the Telangana people” written by late Sri Devulapalli Venkateswara Rao, “The truth of Telangana struggle” written by late Sri Basava Punnaya, “Naked truths behind Telangana” a study paper written by late Sri Ravi Narayana Reddy and other books and papers give valuable information on the different facets of this movement and about the role of the leaders who conducted the movement. Sri Ravi Narayana Reddy’s autobiography “the path of my life” narrates the conditions during that period and explains his views and experiences in the movement. Present book in your hands “Satyashodhana” in the form of an autobiography of Sri Chennamaneni Rajeshwara Rao, enriches the literature on the developments in Telangana since the second half of the last century.

The title “Satyasodhana” given by Sri Rajeshwara Rao garu brings into our mind “My Experiments with Truth” the title selected by Mahatma Gandhi for his autobiography. Gandhiji aimed at absolute truth in his book. His belief was that truth is God. He himself had written in his book that even though he had given

the title “my experiments with truth”, his book contains his experiments with the ideals like Non-violence Brahmacharya and other values also. Sri Rajeshwara Rao’s book does not contain experiments but only his quest for truth. In his book Sri Rajeswara Rao has given to us his own views and analysis of socio-economic and political events and developments of the contemporary period of his chequered public life. There are different methods even in telling the truth. He has followed the vedic prescription which says ‘Satyam Bhrrooyaat, Priyam Bhrrooyaat; Nabrooyaat Satyamapriyam’ meaning, tell the truth that is palatable, do not tell an unpalatable truth. You do not find any unpalatable thing in this book. Sri Ravi Narayana Reddy, through his autobiography “My path of life” has provided answers to certain critical comments made by late Sri Makineni Basava Punnaya in his book “Telangana Poraatam – Vaastavaalu”. We will not find any such effort in this book written by Sri Rajeshwara Rao. May be such a need did not arise for him. He has not uttered a single word against any one even while narrating his distancing from the CPI after his long association with the party. He has even poetically stated. “My place in the flower garden of party is like an everlasting flavour – My place is like an exemplary book in the party library”.

Eight eight year old seasoned life of Sri Rajeshwara Rao has seen three decades as child born in an average agriculturist family, as a student leader, and witnessed the Telangana armed struggle, the integration of Hyderabad state into Indian Union and a number of other events of importance. It appears, a hand written letter in English language by late Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali, addressed to him had motivated him to join politics. Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali was then in the Congress Socialist party. Gone underground, during “the Quit India” movement of 1942, she was getting attracted towards the armed struggle. Naturally her letter would give such a message. When the letter was shown to Sri Baddam Yella Reddy, he felt happy and had encouraged Sri Rajeshwara Rao to play an active role in politics. Since then, his links and associations with the leaders of Andhra Maha Sabha and Arya Samaj got strengthened. Despite his being attracted towards the Communist ideology, thanks to his study of Bhagavat Geeta and association with Arya Samaj, his attachment to the hoary culture and tradition of our country continued as ever. He had understood and appreciated the views of Dr.B.R.Ambedker in the same period. He did not find any contradictions in such differing view points. On the other hand, he had seen unity in such a diversity. His student life went off well, and political activity was unabated. In the year 1947, seeing his hectic extra curricular activities the Principal of the law college of Osmania University had asked him to decide whether become to a leader or a pleader. He would have become a lawyer if he had so decided then. Born in a landlord family he had opted for a communist political field. Joining the Communist Party in spite of hailing from a landlord family, honouring the Indian culture and tradition despite being a confirmed Communist, keeping away from every kind of superstition even when he visited Satya Saibaba or Vaishnavi Devi Temple are the special features of Sri Rajeshwara Rao’s personality. Then itself, he had the good opportunities to meet eminent persons like Smt.Sarojini Naidu and Sri C.V.Raman, He had, at that time itself the great opportunity to work for the cause of peasantry a facet of the then politics.

Starting from the fourth decade Sri Rajeshwara Rao's life was dedicated to party work, legislature, kisan movements and other social activities for fifty long years. He had studied in-depth many a problem affecting the lives of peasantry. He made every effort to solve the kisan problems having gained a grip on the subject.

He had resigned from the CPI and joined the Telugu Desam Party at the beginning of the new century. His main activity in the recent decades has been to get freedom fighter's pensions for thousands of the Telangana people who fought for the merger of erstwhile state of Hyderabad into Indian union. He had also organized an N.G.O. by name 'Self Employed Welfare Society(SEWS)' and undertook rural development activities with the help of foreign funds and the state government's contribution. He has played an active role in the TDP without budging an inch from his socialist outlook.

Sri Rajeshwara Rao, through this book, has made crystal clear that his resignation to the CPI was never due to any ideological or political differences with it. Most of the people who were surprised to learn about his resignation will now get satisfactory explanation for the decision

There have been a number of occasions when he differed with the party line when he was its member and leader, and he never concealed it. He had ventilated his feelings and declared them from the party platform itself. He has referred to seven such major differences in this book. He differed with the party when it opposed "quit India" movement of 1942, he opposed the party line of 1948 to overthrow the Nehru Government through armed rebellion. He opposed the continuation of Telangana armed struggle even after the police action and the integration of Hyderabad state into Indian union. He has argued at length that the majority of the four thousand Telangana martyrs lost their valuable lives due to party's wrong decision to continue the armed struggle.

It is a wonder that Sri Rajeshwara Rao, in his book, has no where attempted to malign others or resorted to self praise. This indeed is the most distinguishing feature of the book. He, not only restrained from any criticism or belittling of other parties, he has tried to see the positive and good things among the leaders of other parties. He described Sri Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy as a frank and truthful person and Sri Kasu Brahmananda Reddy as a great statesman. He has explained how Sri V.B.Raju as Revenue Minister had asked the people to give due respect to the elected leaders even of other parties when he had visited Sircilla at Sri Rajashwara Rao's request. Sri Rao has also emphasized that such a sense of tolerance, cooperation still continues in Sircilla among different parties and their leaders. Likewise referring to an incident during the tenure of Chief Ministership of Dr.M.Chenna Reddy, he narrates how one can rise above politics in the due discharge of one's duties in the service of people. The instance was when Sri Malloju Koteswara Rao the Maoist leader often known as "Kishanji" was arrested. Fearing "encounter death" of his son, his father late Sri Malloju Venkataya a friend of Sri Rao had approached him, then an MLA with a request to intervene and save the life of his son. Sri Rajeshwara Rao had immediately spoken to the then CM

Dr.M.Chenna Reddy and with mutual understanding, the subject was raised on the floor of the house and Koteshwara Rao's life was saved. (Unfortunately the very same M.Koteswara Rao alias Kishanji was recently "encountered" in West Bengal). Sri Rajeshwara Rao has without any hesitation appreciated the good performance of late Sri N.T.Rama Rao as the CM, and the capacity for good governance of Sri Chandrababu Naidu for nine years as Chief Minister. These are but a few examples of Sri Rajeswara Rao's personality, characteristics.

Recognition of good things does not mean overlooking the mistakes committed by the parties and persons. There are several instances when Sri Rajeshwara Rao has sharply criticized parties. "Congress" he said "is a party of mutual bickerings" and "land distribution is a myth and farce". He has unequivocally condemned the murders committed in the name of "encounters". He has out beaten every separatist Telangana leader in exposing the injustices done to the backward Telangana region since 1956. For example, "the reduction in the area of wet cultivation in Telangana since 1956 makes one hang his head in shame" he bitterly comments.

To give interesting reading to his book, Sri Rajeshwara Rao has decorated it with anecdotes and aesthetic description of events. He has, here and there provided with certain information which an inquisitive reader would like to know, enjoy, and enrich his knowledge. You will find in this book educative and interesting information to answer the question like, why 26<sup>th</sup> January was chosen for celebrating the Republic Day? And why was the transfer of power made in the intervening midnight of 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> August? Shaheed Bhagat Singh, before being hanged by the British had addressed a letter to Congress leadership from his cell wherein he had questioned the congress leadership as to whether the resolution of "Poorna Swaraj" will take care of the suffering working class and peasantry or it will help the rich to become richer. This letter was dated 26<sup>th</sup> January. Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru had preserved this letter. And he, in his wisdom, chose this date for declaring India a free democratic and sovereign Republic. This truth was made known to the world by late Hari Kishan Singh Surjeet in his article on Shaheed's birth centenary issue of 'Peoples democracy'.

Sri Rajeshwara Rao's autobiography 'Satyashodhana' proves that service to the people can be rendered irrespective of having power or position. His political affiliations did not come in the way of development of Sircilla constituency. This does not mean, power and position do not matter. "Power position is like a weapon in the hand of a warrior" he said.

What is the message that Sri Rajeshwara Rao is giving out of his seven decade long active public life? "Humanism is the goal" he said "evolution of a value based society is my ideal" he affirmed. Awakening moral consciousness of the people and flowering of a new awareness of their rights and responsibilities in the hearts and minds of readership is the main purpose behind his writing, Sri Rajeshwara Rao explains. Yes, very true Sri Chennamaneni's personal experiences compiled in the book when examined will unveil the fact that the book "Satyashodhana" flows like a stream of knowledge.

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# **"HEARTY RESPONSE"**

**Jnanpith Awardee**

**Dr. C. Narayana Reddy, Ex.MP**

President,  
Andhra Saraswata President



As dear Sri Chennamaneni Rajeshwara Ro in the introduction to his autobiography has stated, biography does not mean writing one's own life story. It also covers lively unveiling of all events one witnessed. As he himself has said, it requires necessary boldness and courage of conviction. His book as a whole is such an example. He hails from our Sircilla area in Karimnagar District. As he said, despite having been born in a rich family, he has grown up in an atmosphere of progressive thinking. He was an active student leader in Osmania University and worked hard to build the communist movement. In the year 1944, Smt.Sarojini Naidu had pat him on the back while giving him the first prize on his materialistic interpretation of Bhagavat Geeta. Rajeshwara Rao was a bold leader who had dared to hoist the national flag under prohibitive condition in the heart of Hyderabad city on 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1947, the flag day. This event was flashed prominently in the daily paper "Raiyat". Every single chapter of this book mirrors his services to the growth of the Communist Party of India since then. He was a terror to the feudal landlords against whom he fought for the cause of the peasantry. He stood on the side of poor peasants. His services as a member of the state legislative Assembly got appreciation from all quarters. He had boldly exposed the weaknesses of the state and central governments. He had logically analyzed many a political development of the contemporary periods. He had made fervent appeals to all concerned to uphold the values of legislature and protect the sanctity of democracy. He had condemned the Chinese aggression on India in a public meeting at Karimnagar soon after he came to know about it. His declaration that the aim of his seven decade long active public life is only to see the all round flourishing of humanism speaks about his noble cause. He himself has admitted that he had to oppose the upsurge for separate Telangana in 1969 following the political line of his party. He has emerged as a dedicated political leader serving the people as an MLA for six terms as also a tested social worker.

Sri Chennamaneni has narrated his family affairs with an open heart. He has treated his public life and family life as his two eyes. His life's heart beat and pulsation can best be visited in his poetic expression in Telugu. I am sure Sri Rajeshwara Rao's "quest for truth" his autobiography(his own translation of "Satyashodhana" from Telugu original) will work as a torch bearer for all generations to come.

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## "AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY IN THE SEARCH FOR TRUTH"

**Prof. S. V. Satyanarayana**

Head, Dept.of Telugu  
Osmania University, Hyderabad

The liberation movement of the erstwhile state of Hyderabad is a shining part of the recent political history. The life of every active leader of this great movement is a heroic story by itself. It is an endless rich mine of experiences, memories of its leaders, and a store of knowledge. The more you unearth, much more remains still. Already valuable literature penned by veterans like Ravi Narayana Reddy, Arutla Rama Chandra Reddy, Deveulapalli Venkateshwara Rao, Puchalapalli Sundaraiah, K.L.Mahendra, Nalla Narsimlu, Dharma Bhiksham and others is available. Different facets and various aspects of this revolutionary upheaval its analyses from different view points have come to light.

Sri Chennamaneni Rajeswara Rao, a veteran of freedom movement, an elderly leader with outstanding public life is releasing his autobiography named 'Satyashodhana'. The title justifies the contents of this book. It contains the author's ceaseless and tireless efforts at searching for socio-economic truths. It does not revolve round the life of a single person. The book unearths the underlying flow of historic current mingled with the life of the author. It can rightly be called a collection of a stream of events contributing to history in the shape of an autobiography. Sri Chennamaneni is a significant participant of the contemporary history. He is an initiator of certain important events while being a creative and living witness to a host of events of historic significance.

Twentieth century occupies the place of utmost importance in human history. Individuals revolted against the entrenched systems for their freedom. Nations struggled for their liberation. Countries fought for their emancipation. Scientific vision emanating from Marxism Leninism acted as a path finder for igniting and pushing forward the stagnant societies, and worked as torch bearer in the hands of freedom fighters.

Born on 31<sup>st</sup> August 1923, Sri Chennamaneni Rajeshwara Rao, at the age of 13 years worked as a volunteer in the fourth conference of Andhra Maha Sabha held at Sircilla in the year 1936. This conference, presided over by Sri Madapati Hanumantha Rao Garu and attended by the elite of Karimnagar district gave a fillip to the political movement in the district, while acting as a mile stone in the onward march of the Telangana people's movement. At every turning point of the seven decade old movement in the state, one can find Sri Chennamaneni's participation in one capacity or the other. His political career commenced as the Secretary of "the scholars debating society" a students union formed to arrange a public meeting for Sri Konda Venkatappaya Pantulu garu in Karimnagar town, developed into a regular leadership of the students union, a district branch of "the All Hyderabad Students Union," with the encouragement provided by a personal letter from

Smt.Aruna Asaf Ali, at the time of the “Quit India Movement” in 1942. His career, getting recognition from all well-meaning quarters, further advanced as a state student leader, kisan leader and party leader step by step unabated and undaunted, under the most difficult conditions of repression, ultimately, arriving at the present stage of life leaving behind an inspiring long march in public life of about seven long decades.

This autobiography “Satyashodhana” mirrors the twists and turns in his chequered political career like joining the CPI, getting the blessings of the nightingale of India Smt.Sarojini Naidu, the inevitability to decide his future to become a pleader or leader, participation in the student and youth movement as its, active leader, underground and jail life lasting for about five years, social service rendered as a six terms legislator etc., it also deals at length with the contemporary national and international situations all of which gave a back drop to his sustained public life.

The ruler of Hyderabad state, aided and abetted by the Jagirdars and Zamindars of the decadent feudal system had tried to brutally suppress the state peoples movement for civil liberties, and socio-economic rights. Forced labour(Vetti) and forced collection of land revenue and other taxes was the order of the day. People awakened under the leadership of Andhra Mahasabha and CPI refused to tolerate the atrocities by the Nizam any more and had resisted every attack on their legitimate rights with their movements. This movement, started from the level of peaceful satyagraha, grew into an armed struggle to pay the enemy in his own coin. Finally, it took the shape of an armed rebellion to liberate the state from the autocratic rule and force the ruler to agree to join the Indian union. This movement threw up a spate of political leaders who rose up from the grass root levels. Ordinary sons of the soil rose up to state and central level leadership imbibing the experiences from the movement of resistance. Mass of the people of Hyderabad state, Telangana areas in particular, literally participated in the heroic struggle, gave their precious lives at the altar of mother land. They protected their leaders through their sacrifices. These leaders acquired state and national level name and fame as the champions of the movement for freedom and socio economic justice. No less than four thousand partisans gave their lives and created history. People through their heroic struggle and sacrifices forced the Nizam and his mercenaries to bite the dust and surrender before Indian occupation force on 17<sup>th</sup> September 1948, and declare the merger of the state into Indian union. This was the saga of the Telangana peoples movement which completed the freedom movement of our country, 13 months after the formal declaration of Independence on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947.

It is quite surprising now, after the passage of 62 years, some political parties and groups, with a view to serve their narrow political ends, are raising a debate whether it was a liberation movement or a movement for integration with India or a treacherous one to help the counter revolution. They are trying to create many doubts and a lot of confusion about the war of liberation conducted by the valiant people of Telangana.

At this crucial juncture, Sri Ch.Rajeswara Rao, on his 87<sup>th</sup> birth anniversary day is releasing his autobiography “Satyashodhana” which is quite relevant, valuable and standard.

This book holistically explains the objective life conditions of the people, the cruelties resorted to by the Nizam's government to put down the uprising of the people which necessitated the people to take to arms in sheer self defence. Likewise Mr.Rajeswara Rao rationally deals with the post police action situation when the balance of political forces, had changed and the continuation of the armed struggle proved counter productive, necessitating many more sacrifices to protect the valuable cadre and their achievements. He has logically analysed the findings on the grass root level picture presented by leaders like Ravi Narayana Reddy, Maqdoom Moinuddin and Arutla Ramachandra Reddy and others.

Sri Rajeshwara Rao has objectively recorded in his book all the events like the withdrawal of Telangana armed struggle in 1951, first general elections held in 1952, formation of linguistic states, differences and the split inside the communist movement. Chinese aggression on India, and other political, socio-economic and cultural developments in the state, elucidating them with his own assessments and experiences. He had also explained his political differences with party line on different occasions.

Sri Rajeswara Rao who respects parliamentary democracy won the assembly elections six times and faced the defeats too. Irrespective of his successes and defeats he is still continuing his ideal political life mixing with the people and their legitimate movements.

From 1952 to 1972, for two decades he had worked in the kisan sabha of Karimnagar district leading the kisan movement on various problems. From 1973 to 1998, a quarter century he worked as the state leader of the A.P. kisan sabha. Between 1942 and 1952, a decade, he had spent his life in the student movement, and the movement for the liberation of the state of Hyderabad remaining underground and sufferings imprisonment. In August 1998, at the age of 77 years he had submitted his resignation to his 55 years old CPI membership voluntarily purely on personal grounds without any politics. Such an explanation on his part testifies to his truthfulness and honesty. Such a statement on the part of senior most party leader who had his long political innings despite his differences with the party line on crucial issues is laudable. Right from the day he joined the Telugu Desam party in the year 1999 up to the on going movement for a separate Telangana state, and since the beginning of the economic liberalisation in India up to all the developments under globalization, Sri Rajeswara Rao's objective analytical views are based on historic truths and realities of life.

I am one of those who encouraged venerable Sri Rajeshwara Rao to write his autobiography, for enlightening the coming generations with his rich, priceless experiences comprising of ups and downs in life, drawing invaluable lessons from successes and failures in movements, the nobility to respect and appreciate the good things in opposition leaders, rising above politics, and always keeping the balance of mind in thought and action. My deciple Smt. Dr.Tangella Sreedevi helped the author in giving a brushing to his draft. I offer my profuse thanks to the kind hearted Sri Rajeshwara Rao who has provided me, a person born only after the liberation of Hyderabad state, with an opportunity to write a few lines as prologue to his impressive autobiography 'Satyashodhana'.

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## PREFACE

**Dr. J. Ramanaiah**  
Historian & Educationist

Millions of people come and go but only a few people leave their mark on this earth by virtue of their service and sacrifice. Among them the most illustrious son of this sacred soil Sri Chennamaneni Rajeswara Rao, who is a veteran popular public leader, has undoubtedly left his notable impress on the minds of the masses of Telangana in general and the poor peasants and landless labourers of Karimnagar region in particular, always supporting and fighting for their genuine and justified cause and readily rushing for their timely rescue and relief from the intensified oppression of the autocratic landlords and merciless feudal gentry. Although he is born in a feudal family, he has grown as a communist in his ideology, which has been enduring and endearing to him throughout and it is not an exaggeration if a mention is made here that he is better known in this region as communist Rajeswara Rao than Chennamaneni. His heart always leaps up to serve and solve the problems of the peasants and proletariat. He was ever ready to fight against the exploitation of landlords in many villages as revealed by the interesting and inspiring anecdotes of villages like Boinapalli, Eglaspur, Thakkellapalli and Dharmaram etc., where it is curious to notice that he never shirked from facing the unkind men of his own caste and community in order to secure social justice. He is honest to the core and truthful in his thought, word and action. He is true patriot and being a communist condemned the Chinese aggression holding a meeting at Karimnagar in 1962.

There are memories and recollections in every man's life, which he would like to preserve for the progeny and posterity and it is in the last prices of life that he permits himself to enjoy the fragrance of the flowers that grew in his youth and blossomed in the middle years. The most important thing in the first place is that one should have sincere desire and innate inclination to give concrete shape to his thoughts in the form of an autobiography. The book may be in his mind and might remain buried there. The literary adventure begins to take shape when the first line is written and then for the reader explosion follows. Likewise Sri Ch.Rajeswara Rao at the ripe of age 89 started telling his story of about nine decades – a story of many aches and agonies as well as glimpses of happiness and ecstasy impressing upon the readers that the life of man is a mixture of sunshine and shadows, depression and elation, pleasure and pain. Despite certain health hazards, painstakingly he wrote his autobiography first in Telugu known as "Satya Sodhana" and later he himself wrote it in English entitled "Quest for Truth" which resembles to the title "My Experiments with Truth" the autobiography of M.K.Gandhi the father of our nation.

The present work is not a mere autobiography of personal events of the author but an exhaustive narrative giving an encyclopedic information of the contemporary history of the state as well as Karimnagar region in particular throwing ample and adequate light on the conditions prevalent in political, social, economic, agrarian, industrial, medical, educational and several other spheres. This book is an objective and unbiased record of author's relations with various men and matters at home and abroad. The picture that emerges from the pages of this book is of a man, earnest, sincere, fully conscious of his duties, determined to discharge them, ever anxious to do the greatest good to the greatest number. He respects all the leaders irrespective of parties and has maintained cordial and harmonious relations with all the Chief Ministers and Ministers of his time. He criticizes where he feels he must but is exceedingly generous with praise where he deems it is due. It is surprising than not even a faint trace of self glorification nor condemnation of any other person is noticed in this stupendous work, which reflects his noble character with purity of heart and serenity of thought.

As a young boy he was sharp and shrewd. He had the pride and pleasure of receiving a letter from Aruna Asaf Ali written with her own hand appreciating him as a good student leader during the Quit India movement in 1942, while he had a complimentary pat from Mrs.Sarojini Naidu the nightingale of India, when he wrote on the holy Bhagavat Gita in 1944. As an enthusiastic young leader, he fought against the Nizam's rule, actively participated in Telangana armed struggle(1946-51) and led underground life with his wife without graining and grumbling but always cherishing the pleasant noble idea that he is struggling for the liberation of his land. The selfless sacrifices of his contemporaty leaders like Baddam Yella Reddy and Ravi Narayana Reddy etc., had profound influence upon him. When he was elected to the State Assembly in 1967 he felt pleased and privileged as the floor leaders of the CPI to sit along with the stalwart leaders P.Sundaraiah and T.Nagireddy of CPI(M) on the first bench of the opposition when the able administrator Kasu Brahmananda Reddy was the Chief Minister. If I go on narrating episodes and anecdotes, I fear that this foreword becomes another book. Just as an ocean cannot be confined in a bottle, so also his long life with sterling qualities cannot be exposed in a limited space. However an attempt is made to focus him in a nut-shell with a few glowing glimpses that struck to my mind, while the rest are left to the readers to understand and appreciate the contents of truth which certainly inspire the youth and posterity.

The author is a well-read and widely read politician with rich and vast experience. He is multi-faceted genius gifted with tremendous assimilating capacity and respectful acceptance of diverse outlooks. He has studied the diverse ideologies and philosophies of many great thinkers like Marx, Lenin, Gandhiji and Ambedkar etc. and digested them developing a single humane outlook which is nothing but to stand and strive for the welfare and uplift of the poor and the needy, the destitute and the down-trodden, the oppressed and the depressed section of the society with a human heart. He travelled widely at home and abroad and maintained cordial relations with all the leaders without giving scope for discord or dissent. He has established for himself an enduring reputation both as an able legislators

and opposition leader on the floor of the house, which listened to him attentively, as his speech on wide ranging subjects, is always eloquent, thought provoking, pleasingly authoritative and uncompromisingly dignified without any trace of ego or vanity. He always pleaded that democracy should not be stripped off and its sanctity should be maintained on the floor of the Assembly with full decency, dignity and decorum. He believes passionately the necessity of ideas and standards, which he himself has always striven to maintain. But it is unfortunate that the values of life have no value today.

The versatile talents of the author have been highly and widely recognized. He is quick in perception, broad in vision and fresh in approach with fertile imagination and notable initiative. Throughout his life he received a great deal of love and affection from people and it is a rarity that he has been elected to the Assembly for half a dozen times. He has been endeavouring to develop Sircilla area, which is very dear to him, through a voluntary organization called SEWS established in 1991. In spite of his distinguished position and various accomplishments, there is no change in his life style of simple living, with gentle manners, humble greeting, kindly smile, sweet and soft temper which are lovable and endearing qualities of his personal character that brought him laurels and several honours right from the poor peasants to the President of India.

Although he is pre-occupied with public duties he never allowed to ignore his personal relations with his family members and his close relatives whose number runs into hundreds. He proved himself as a dutiful son, affectionate brother, responsible father and a devoted spouse in his private life. His devoted wife Smt.Lalitha, who always stood with him through thick and thin, pleasure and pain, joy and sorrow richly deserves high degree of admiration and appreciations as a true Indian wife giving him all love and affection she is capable of as he is the whole of her life, while his illustrious son legislator Ramesh is a great asset and granted boon for him.

I deem it a proud privilege to write foreword to the autobiography of Sri Ch.Rajeswara Rao, surely secures an abiding and endearing place as a shining example in the annals of the modern history of Telangana. I congratulate him on bringing out this voluminous book which is highly useful to the world of scholars as well as general readers.

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# **MY SUBMISSION**

**Chennamaneni Rajeshwara Rao**

An autobiography does not merely mean writing the life story of an individual. It also includes, apart from personal experiences the lively narration of incidents and events which the author witnessed. It requires great courage and confidence. It is not only a strong desire, it is a research, a painful delivery.

I had to think about such a venture for years on before taking a decision to satisfy the repeated requests of my friends, admirers and relatives to write an autobiography. I questioned my capacity and stature to undertake such an important venture. The more I thought about it, the closer I came to the positive decision to embark on the venture. Ultimately, following the voice of my conscience. I took the final decision to write. At the age of 87 years when I had just completed my career as a legislator, I had sufficient time at my disposal to take up the job.

Since the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, we find an awakening in the whole world which motivated the colonial people to rise and fight for freedom. Our own first war of independence in 1857 is an example. Heroic freedom fighters emerged from such movements who in turn enthused the young and energetic patriots to continue the crusade for full freedom from slavery. This generation, roused the common people to participate in the patriotic movements for freedom. In India such a movement for freedom shook the foundations of the British empire and its props, the rulers of the native states. Gandhiji entered in Indian politics in the second decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century and led the historic movement known as the non-cooperation movement. This movement had generated the public awareness for freedom and laid firm foundations for a strong and nation wide movement against the British imperialism. With this, Gandhiji acquired the title of ‘Mahatma’ from the hearts of the millions of freedom fighters. This wave of struggle for freedom led to the great movement of civil disobedience of 1930. In quick succession followed the events of Quit India movement of 1942, revolt of the Indian navy, non cooperation of the Delhi Police, students movements, country wide protests against the fake trial of Azad Hind army personnel etc., culminating in the achievement of Independence on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947.

Our freedom unfolded an era of new life for our people. It is the outcome of many a struggle and sacrifice of the freedom fighters who staked their lives. Over 500 native states joined the Indian union and rediscovered the united India. Nizam of Hyderabad alone refused to join the Indian union and declared his state a separate country, “Azad Hyderabad”. He had the tacit support of the British government and had even approached the united nations complaining against the government of Independent India. But the people of Hyderabad wanted to join Indian union. Nizam’s government tried its best to suppress, put down and even crush the liberation movement of the people. People refused to be cowed down and take it lying down. Thousands joined the movement demanding the integration into Indian union. I for one already in the fray as a student leader, had joined this great movement for liberation of the state. This was the last but a painful part of the freedom movement when over four thousand sons and daughters of our mother

land gave their lives facing the inhuman repression let loose by the mercenaries of an autocratic ruler and his hirelings. I had to undergo an underground and jail life for about five years. I am proud of being a partisan of such a patriotic movement. It gave me a new lease of life to sustain in public life with a social commitment to change the very social order and convert the political freedom and political democracy into a real and economic democracy where people as a whole can enjoy the fruits of freedom in a system of equality and equal opportunities for all broadly termed as socialism.

I had the rare opportunity to represent my people for six terms in the assembly and to use the parliamentary platform for alleviating the life conditions of our people. I am satisfied I could succeed in my efforts to some extent. On the repeated requests of my friends admirers I had to write my autobiography "Satyashodhana" in telugu which was appreciated by people having political interest and followed my line of thinking. To my surprise and dismay I realized a large section of youth, the harbingers of new life could not read the book as the medium of instruction they studied was English. They just enjoyed it with their poor knowledge of telugu devoid of following the spirit. I therefore had to take a decision to furnish them the English version of my biography to achieve my real purpose. I thought I myself should undertake the onerous responsibility. My age had crossed 88 years and added to it I had suffered from a fracture of my spinal cord which made me practically disabled. However my strong commitment emboldened me and I succeeded in translating about 600 page book with some abridgements here and there. It is before you with the title "Quest for Truth". Hope it will be of some use in throwing light on the recent history of our state.

My heartfelt thanks are due to Sri Potturi Venkateshwar Rao, Senior Journalist; Dr. C. Narayana Reddy, Ex.M.P. and Sri S.V. Satyanarayana, Head, Dept. of Telugu, O.U., who have permitted me to translate and incorporate their introductory notes in this English version "Quest for Truth".

Permit me to express my heart felt gratitude to Dr.J.Ramanaiah a historian and an able educationist, who offered his service to give a final brushing to my English version, and did the painstaking job with a sense of admiration and affection. His advice and encouragement gave me added strength to complete the work within the targeted date ie., end of the year 2011.

My hearty thanks to Smt. V.Shailaja my grand daughter in relationship, and a busy lecturer who volunteered her service to correct the draft and make my job easy. I shower my hearty blessings on her, wishing her a bright future as an educationist with excellence.

Lastly but not in the least I record with my utmost satisfaction the tireless and affectionate services rendered by my favourite assistant B.Sreenivas who did the job of typing, retying and arranging the voluminous papers besides taking care of myself and my wife Lalita. His devoted services to me and my family for the last about fifteen years gave me practically inexhaustible physical and mental stamina to serve my country and my people despite the over powering over age of 88 years.

I reiterate my fond hope our efforts will bear fruit.

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## PATH FINDERS



**Late Sri Polkampalli Venkataramarao garu**  
*Advocate  
Freedom Fighter*



**Late Sri Baddam Yellareddy garu**  
*Telangana CPI Leader*



## **DEDICATION TO PARENTS**

**Late Sri Chennamaneni Srinivasa Rao - Chandramma**



President of Indian Republic Smt. Pratibha Devi Singh Patil with the delegation of the Freedom Fighters from Andhra Pradesh, on the occasion of the "Quit India" movement on 9<sup>th</sup> August, 2007, Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi



*Senior Members of A.P. Legislative Assembly being honoured on the occasion of the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of our Independence, by His Excellency the Governor Ranga Rajan, Honourable Chief Justice of A.P. High Court and Honourable the then Chief Minister Sri Nara Chandrababu Naidu*



*Senior Members of A.P. Legislative Assembly being honoured by the Honourable Speaker of Lok Sabha Sri Somanath Chatterji and Honourable Speaker of A.P. Legislative Assembly Sri K.R. Suresh Reddy, Honourable the Chief Minister of A.P. Late Sri Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy, on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee Celebration of the formation of A.P. State*