

## A Historical Study of Dalit Movement in Andhra Pradesh

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### Abstract

*The present paper examines the origin of Dalit Movement in Andhra Pradesh. An attempt is made to explore the demands of the Dalit community in Andhra Pradesh. It includes the origin, objectives, functions of the Andhra Pradesh Dalita Maha Sabha, Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi and other organizations which includes other Dalit Movements in Telangana Bhagya Reddy Varma, Ariga Ramaswamy, P.R Venkata Swamy. Our religion has degenerated into a creed of the "touchable" and "untouchable" lines. It is because of the existing caste system in the pivot of the social structure of Hinduism. The untouchables constitute the lowest strata of this social structure. The caste system is responsible for more of man's inhumanity to man than any other religious institution is widely admitted. The grave disabilities under which the depressed classes have labored and continue to labor are a blot upon Hinduism. The submerged masses have all along been content with the position assigned to them and have taken it lying down and it is only of late that they have begun to raise a voice of protest in view of their awakened self-respect. The present study is to draw different phases of Dalit Movement in erstwhile Andhra Pradesh.*

**Keywords:** *Dalit Movement, Self-respect, Dalit Mahasabha, Adi-Andhra Movement, Social Justice*

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### I. Introduction

Modern India is to be built strong united and progressive anew of social order that has to be evolved but such a new social order cannot be satisfactorily shaped unless the old structure which is absolutely rotten is demolished first any limb of human body if it becomes septic and dangerous to other parts, needs a surgical operation and removed of the affected part. It is with thin intention an attempt is made to make imprisonment in the malignant social order which has become totally outmoded and degenerated could be subjecting society to constant danger of ruin just like effecting minor repairs in a dilapidated building constantly in danger of collapse.

The patch work will not do destruction; it is that good constructive work in such a sphere has been developed by the learned leader Dr. B. R. Ambedkar who through his high intellectual caliber and dauntless courage completely exposed the insidious tactics of the Hindu social reformers and politicians. Ambedkar gave a call to the political consciousness which has to achieve our birthrights. The seeds of this struggle for self-realization of hopes and aspirations for an honorable place in the comity of nations were sown in the minds of the untouchables during the later twenties of present century. but during the period of early teens-15 years before Bhagya Reddy of Hyderabad and Arigay Ramaswamy of Secunderabad, the pioneers of social reform movement in Hyderabad state. Awakened social consciousness in the untouchables. They are Malas by caste and though not brought up in affluent circumstances were able to acquire some elementary education in their mother tongue Telugu.[1]

The population of our people in the dominion of Hyderabad was about-19 lakhs which was nearly 20% of the Hindu population and 18% of the total population of the state. There were 34 sub castes which were generally known as Mala, Madiga in Telangana and Dhed, Mang and Mahar in Marathwada. the total percentage of literacy in the dominions was only two and half and among the untouchables it was infinitesimal.

The occupation of our people in the villages was field labour and free labour and in the city of Hyderabad and town of Secunderabad it was domestic service in European and Muslim households. There were also leather workers, Scavengers and masons among them. Many were enjoyed in railway and government departments and in private workshops. There were a few well to do contractors and artisans too. They adopted all Hindu customs in their auspicious and inauspicious ceremonies and consequently all the evils of Hindu society were copied and they even observed Untouchability among the sub castes.

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There was no inter-dining or inter-marriages among these castes. The greatest evil which sapped the very vitals of their economic structure was the evil of drink which was extensively practiced on all occasions of religious and social ceremonies.[2] It is difficult to say whether Bhagya Reddy came under the influence of Arigay Ramaswamy or Arigay Ramaswamy was influenced by Bhagya Reddy. But this much is sure that both started their work of reform in their own spheres and came into contact with each other. M.V Bhagya Reddy a Mala by caste, whose original name was Madarti Bhagaiah, was in the domestic service of a Goanese businessman in Hyderabad. But he gave his name as Ramana and so he was popularly known in the bungalow of his master as butler Ramana. But there was a controversy over the use of the suffix Reddy in a local Telugu weekly Golconda Patrika edited by Suravaram Pratapa Reddy who asked if everyone called himself a Reddy who the original Reddies were? Bhagya Reddy justified the use of the suffix by quotations that even a Mala also could use it.

In the early days i.e. in the beginning of the present century, there was an organization of untouchables, called Jagan Mitra Mandali which did some service to enlighten the illiterate masses through Hiraakata performances and Bhajans. Bhagya Reddy was connected with this Mandali from its very inception in 1906. It is doubtful whether he was one of the founders of the Mandali. but in the year 1912 he founded an organization under the name of Manysangham which after a decade was given the name of Adi Hindu social service league. Arigay Ramaswamy in his young age was addicted to the evil habit of drink. In the midst of his youthful pranks there dawned a height on him which picked his conscience to get rid of all his evil habits and lead a path of unblemished life. He came under the spiritual influence of his guru Mandippela Hanumanth Rao, an exponent of 'achala bodha'. his will was so strong that he resolved to become a teetotaler and a pure vegetarian. That was in the year 1912. Immediately he started an organization in the name of 'Suneethi Balasamajam' with the principal object of temperance. The name of this organization was given by his Garu. he caught hold of his own company of friends and enlisted them as the members of this association. Arigay Ramaswamy carried on his work of social reform with the help of his reformed friends.

Professor N.G. Welinker of Bengal, who settled down in Hyderabad had sown the seeds of Brahmo Samaj in the fertile field of our community which served as a grazing ground to the Proselytizing religions of Islam and Christianity. Now it was the turn of Brahmo Samaj to augment its strength by capturing our battalions. but its tenets were not so appealing as those of other missionary bodies to the common folk. only some educated people could understand and follow it.[3]

Bhagya Reddy being a preacher and leader of the untouchables was the first person to be brought in contact with the reformers of the Brahmo Samaj movement. He rendered very valuable service in spreading this movement in Hyderabad city. He became a Brahmo but he did not advocate its adoption by the untouchables. Had he done it there would not have been the need for the existence of the organization of the untouchables and his leadership. So, to gain their favour and support he was with the Brahmos and helped them in their propaganda. But some educated members of our community, particularly the followers of Bhagya Reddy, enamored of the appellation Brahma Samaj embraced it. The main reason for embracing it was to escape from the stigma of untouchability. If a Hindu was asked his caste the questioner would not feel satisfied with the simple answer 'Hindu'. he would be anxious to know his sub caste also. Under such circumstances an 'untouchable' should say either mala or Madiga was asked his caste, he would straight that away say, without the fear of stigma, that his caste was Brahmo so, many of our people of Hyderabad began to call themselves as Brahmos. As the movement developed the word Brahmo had lost its significance and whoever said that he was a Brahmo was suspected to be a mala or a Madiga.

Arigay Ramaswamy took advantage of this newly formed organization and launched his vigorous campaign of social reform from this platform. His speeches from this platform were entirely different from the preaching from the subha's platform. In our meetings he used to instill in us the sense of self-respect and to feel proud of ourselves as we were the aboriginals and masters of this land. The foreign invaders hostelry dubbed us as rakshasa in their shastras and puranas. At the same time, he insisted that we should give up the social evils which crept into our society and due to which we were contemptuously treated by the Hindus.

He fearlessly criticized the Brahmins for they were solely responsible for the hostile attitude of the Hindu community towards the 'untouchables.' the Hindu listeners used to hang their heads in shame when he narrated thread bar the atrocities committed on the Panchama's by the merciless caste Hindus and the inhuman treatment meted out to them in the abominable manuscript.[4]

Bhagya Reddy claimed the leadership of 20 lakhs Adi Hindus of Hyderabad state. But a major portion of his public service was devoted to the malas only. He was not straight in his dealings with the Madigas. He was not in favor of the abolition of the sub caste among the Adi Hindus. He wanted Malas and Madigas to live separately. He was not in favor of inter-dining, not to speak of inter-marriage of Malas and Madigas. This narrow mindedness on his part was a great drawback in his fair name, in spite of his great sacrifices for the service of Adi Hindu. The Madiga community as a whole revolted against his short-sighted policy and denounced his leadership of the Adi Hindus. But Arigay Ramaswamy was a contrast to Bhagya Reddy in this respect. He bestowed his paternal love on malas and Madigas in equal proportion and openly declared that the uplift of the Adi Hindu

entirely respected the social reform of all the castes and sub castes of the community. He not only advocated inter-dining and inter marriage among these sub castes but as an example of practice is better than precept. He got a number of such marriages celebrated under his guidance. It was this large heartedness on his part and his liberal views that earned for him the love and confidence of all the sections of the community.

But unfortunately, the differences between these two great leaders created fissiparous tendencies among the two major sections of the Adi Hindus and resulted in disintegration of the community. The gulf of difference between the Malas and Madigas was widening day by day. Bhagya Reddy and his followers stuck to their guns and by their irreconcilable attitude they were becoming very unpopular. Girikala Mallesh Rao, a well-wisher of the Madigas co-operated with Arigay Ramaswamy in the matter of unification of Malas and Madigas. He thought seriously about it and pressed Arigay Ramaswamy to take some drastic steps in that respect. He suggested a separate organization for the Madigas to achieve their legitimate rights. But Ramaswamy hesitated to take any hasty step in that direction lest it might cause a split in the community. So he approached Bhagya Reddy and sincerely pleaded for the cause of the Madigas to give them a place of equality with the Malas. But Bhagya Reddy ridiculed his utopian ideas. Ramaswamy warned him of the evil consequences of his short-sighted policy. Bhagya Reddy bluntly told him to have his own way and he was not in the least bothered about it. Arigay Ramaswamy in collaboration with Girikala Mallesh Rao and B.S Venkat Rao arranged a meeting at the theosophical hall, Hanumantkedi, Hyderabad, to which he invited all the elder numbers of the Madigas and Hindu social reformers like Sri Krishan, and Suravarm Pratap Reddy. Arigay Ramaswamy in his speech traced the history of the split created by Bhagya Reddy and his party and his own efforts in bridging the gulf. After deep deliberation it was decided to establish a separate organization for the Madigas under the name "Arundatiya Mahasabha."

The establishment of the new organization had upset the balance of power between the Adi Hindu social service league and the Adi Hindu social service league and the Adi Hindu Mahasabha, which had the support of the Arundatiya Mahasabha and also the good will of some sincere Hindu social reformers. The formation of the new body, from the view point of divide and rule policy produced deleterious effects on the body politics of the community. In the beginning it appears very harmless as the two organizations were considered as the two wings of the community. but the subsequent political change in the state brought about a great change in their outlook and instead of thinking in terms of community they put forth their demands in terms of sects. This resulted in the disruption of the solidarity of the community and weakened its position on the political map of Hyderabad.

With the influence of Dr.B.R.Ambedkar Nizam state Dalits became stronger ideologically. When Gandhi came to Hyderabad in 1933 by calling the Harijan Sevak Sangh in which Arigay Ramaswamy, B.S Venkat Rao were part of Pisiri Veeranna opposed Gandhi. Earlier, Dalits were closely related to Hindu religion which produced the caste system. After the influence of Dr. Br. Ambedkar Dalits started to give up Hindu religion and joined the Islam with the influence of Hyderabad's Nizam. P.R Venkataswamy has started the organization in the name of Ambedkar called youth in the name of Ambedkarites to which B.S Venkat Rao gives his full support.

When Dalit movement was in full swing, one Mala poet of Andhradesa named Kusuma Dharmanna Kavi, popularly known as 'Modern Vemana' visited Secunderabad and was the guest of B.S Venkat Rao for a number of days. His poems printed under the name of 'Nalla Dora Thanamu' (Brown Bureaucracy) were very popular among the people belonging to Dalit sections. But somehow from the very beginning of his arrival in Hyderabad was suspicious and very seldom during his stay with B.S Venkat Rao. His talk about Venkat Rao was so full of sympathy. The poet, after thanking the Ambedkarite said that no movement was successful without the participation of the youth. they should take truth in one hand and righteousness in the other and enter the field of social service.

They should always play the role of a soldier and obey the command of their leaders like Dr. Br Ambedkar and B.S Venkata Rao. He also said that Dr Ambedkar's well thought out suggestion to leave the Hindu fold as the panacea for the sufferings of the depressed classes. The function terminated with the recitation by the poet of a few poems from his brown bureaucracy. The first ominous public meeting that J.H Pelayan Pillai was to discuss was the death of Bhagya Reddy who passed away on 18<sup>th</sup> February at the age of 45, after ailing for the same time. His untimely death was a great loss to the Adi Hindu particularly to the Adi Hindu Social Service League whose founder Bhagya Reddy was a very prominent figure among the galaxy of social reforms of Hyderabad state. He was also very popular outside the state. His presidentship in north India and Andhradesa earned name and fame for the Depressed Classes of the state. He established his leadership of the Adi-Hindus by his sacrifice and service, his marked ability and organizational powers. But his partial forwards to the mala community and prejudices against the Madiga caste were so much spoken of by the educated section of the Depressed Classes in the British administered areas of Secunderabad that his laudable service has not created much of an impressive effect on their minds. He labored fearlessly and unmindful of recognition or reward for the emancipation of the downtrodden to the evil custom of dedication of Devisees, which should be written in golden in the annals of the history of depressed classes of Hyderabad state.

With the suggestion of Dr.Br. Ambedkar the Dalit Association name was changed from Adi Hindu Mahasabha to Hyderabad state scheduled caste federation. The Harijan Sevak Sangh which was flourishing in

British India under the guidance of great national leaders had its main object in the words of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, to kill the untouchables with kindness.[5] Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in his volume entitled "what Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables" said as follows regarding Harijan Sevak Sangh. The Harijan Sevak Sangh started by Mr. Gandhi is a charitable organization only in name and its real aim is to ensure the untouchables to make them camp followers of the Hindus and the Congress and to paunch any movement aimed at freeing the untouchables from social, religious and economic domination by the Hindus... except for its illusory plank of untouchability which is quite unreal Gandhism is simply another form of orthodox Hinduism which has been a veritable chamber of heroes to the untouchables. Some of the local prominent social workers seriously thought to spread its trammels in Hyderabad state on 27<sup>th</sup> August, a meeting was called at the residence of Dr. Melkote to consider the question of starting harijan work in the state.[6]

Nizam in the state of Hyderabad was very much concerned about education towards the Dalits. In the month of July, the Nizam's government sanctioned a scheme of compulsory primary education and contemplated spending nine crores of rupees over it. It was doubtful whether such a huge sum would be properly utilized in view of the fact that in that past the government could not spend even the annual meager sum of one and half lakhs for the education of the depressed classes. So far, no free depressed classes' hostels were opened either in districts or talukas and no scholarships were granted to them for higher studies.

Another notable thing was that among the 106 students sent abroad for higher studies there was not a single depressed class of students. As opposed to this about 35 scheduled caste students were awarded foreign scheduled caste students were awarded foreign scholarships in British India.

It was reliably learnt that the education department of the Nizam's government saved about 9 lakhs of rupees from the annual grant of one and half lakhs allotted for the education of depressed classes. In this connection, P. Laxmidas president of the depressed classes educational conference strongly suggested to the president of the executive council not to spend the amount on any other scheme but to establish free hostels in the districts and talukas and grant foreign scholarships to the depressed classes students. When the political agitation was going on for the acquisition of the rights of the depressed classes, the Adi Hindu social service league was not in the picture for a long time. Suddenly it woke up from its deep slumber and with the cooperation of the Adi Hindu independent league called a joint meeting of the working committee on 31<sup>st</sup> August, to deliberate over the impending reforms. It deplored the narrow franchise accorded to 1.3 percent of the Population and the yoking of the untouchables with the caste Hindus. It felt that five seats reserved for the community were inadequate and that the high franchise qualifications set up were inimical to the interests of the community.

On these grounds the joint working committee decided to reject the reforms and withhold its co-operation. The committee also held the view that the untouchables nominated by the government for seats from the caste Hindu quota should not be deemed to represent the Adi Hindus.

The rejection of the reforms amounted to opposition to depressed classes association's move to cooperate with the government it clearly indicated the drift that was beginning to grow between the Adi Hindu social service league and the depressed classes association which were going hand in glove all these years in the conferences. Hyderabad Nizam was very much concerned and helpful towards Dalits. His exalted highness has graciously pronounced the following memorable words on the occasion of his silver jubilee. In my view there is none who should be regarded as low, nor do recognize any community to be high or low, much less untouchables as long as they are good. Dalits and Muslims have united in the Nizam state in order to distribute Muslim seats for the Dalits. Shyamsunder said that Qaida-e- Azam had shown the real height of statesmanship by the inclusion of the name of a number of the depressed classes in his quota of five. The rights and privileges of the depressed classes and Muslims which had been overlooked and trampled under the guise of nationalism had been rightly protected by Jinnah who had exposed the mind of the Congress and its so-called national character. Jinnah was above party politics and a real defender of the minorities.

Venkat Rao did not issue any statement, but during his propaganda tour of the Marathwada area he got one resolution adopted in a meeting at Parbhani congratulating the Muslim league for nominating a member from the Muslim league quota to the interim government. (it will be interesting to note that Venkat Rao was awarded Khusr-e-Deccan medal by the Nizam as a fitting recognition of his meritorious service to the state.) M.B. Goutham, president of the Adi Hindu independent social service league said that the inclusion of a scheduled caste representation in the interim government by the Muslim league a staunch communal body-initiated quota is a happy surprise. The untouchables who were betrayed even by British by dis regarding their rights their position has been saved by the stroke of statesmanship of Mr. M.A. Jinnah. Caste Hindu may be suspicious about his genuineness, but it is rightly justified to say that he has championed the cause of untouchables a minority by sacrificing a Muslim seat to Mr. Jogenderanath Mandal, an independent scheduled caste free from Congress or any other body's influence. This politics must serve a lesson to other Muslims of the native state who seek to dominate the suppressed untouchables.

It was strange that Subbaiah did not get any inspiration from the statement of Dr. Ambedkar nor was there any directive from all India scheduled caste federation either to support or to criticize the Muslim league's



gesture. Therefore, he refrained from getting a statement published under his name and thereby lost an opportunity of advertising his name.

Ambedkar view on Muslim: though Dalits and Muslim have united, in some cases Muslim made some problems towards Dalits. Ambedkar shared his experience among Muslims and Dalits. Of late there was a marked difference in Dr. Ambedkar's attitude towards the political aspirations of the scheduled castes. He spoke emphatically in favor of united India in the constituent assembly and expressed himself weightily in favor of the states ascending to the Indian dominion. His latest advice to the scheduled castes, in view of the violent disturbances that have occurred in several parts of the land, who have been the main sufferers of the attacks of organized goondaism was that they should not succumb to the transient temptation from interested parties and should decide on their future alliance and allegiance. In the course of statement, he said:

Notwithstanding the gloomy prospect for the scheduled castes who are in India. I would like to tell the scheduled castes who happen today to be impounded inside Pakistan to come over to India by such means as may be available to them. The congress party has weakened the political safeguards necessary for the scheduled castes under the new constitution to such an extent as to make them worse than useless. Nonetheless. Our numbers are so great that if we are well organized, we cannot fail to influence the government of the day, no matter who are in charge of it even if we have no safeguards. I, therefore, suggest to those who are in Pakistan to come over to India. The second thing I went to is that it would be fatal for the scheduled castes, whether in Pakistan or in Hyderabad to put their faith in the Muslims or the Muslim league. It has become a habit with the scheduled castes to look upon the Muslims as their friends simply because they dislike the Hindus. This is a mistaken view. The Muslims wanted the never gave their support to the scheduled castes. Mr. Jinnah was always playing a double game. He was very insistent that the scheduled castes were a separate entity when it suited him, but when it did not suit him, he insisted with equal emphasis that they were Hindus. The Muslims and the Muslim league, charged as they are with the passion to make the Muslims a governing class as quickly as possible, will never give consideration to the claims of the scheduled castes. Ambedkar speaks from his experience.

As regards conversion to Islam I ask all the scheduled castes not to succumb to it as an easy way of escape. I cannot say that they should die rather be converted. What I say is that they must look upon it as a last resort forced upon them by violence. And even to those who are converted by force and violence, I say that they must not regard themselves as lost to the fold forever. Fortunately, for us we are not hampered by the rules of the Hindus' shastras according to which once a shastras according to which once a convert always a convert. To all those who are forcibly converted I pledge my word that if they wish to come back, I shall see that they are received back into the fold and treated as breathers in the same manner in which they were treated before their conversion. To the scheduled castes of Hyderabad, I want to say that they should under no circumstances side with the nizam and the Ajman-e-itched-ul-muslimin.

Whatever the tyranny and oppression which the Hindus practice on us from our duty. The scheduled castes need our duty. The scheduled castes need freedom and their whole movement has been one of freedom. That being so they cannot support the nizam. After the end of the fascist rule and the dawn of freedom in the state the question of true representation of the scheduled castes and their accredited leadership came to the forefront again. The revival of the question was due to the fateful fall of the leadership of the depressed classes association and its inevitable dire consequences. The fall of the Razakar regime and the victory of the Indian union was attributed to the maneuvering of the state congress, which was now at the helm of affairs to deliver the goods. So, some leaders of the scheduled castes started advocating the common leadership of the community by the state congress. The first among them to enter the field was Mohan V. Raj who played an important role in the history of the downtrodden. In support of his contention he said:

It is well known that the depressed classes in our state are divided into many different groups, some with hardly half a dozen numbers. So far as he knows none of these groups has any definite ideas of its political future, and it is doubtful however far these groups have been formed on a democratic basis. It is suspected that these so-called associations consist of groups of individuals who have set themselves up as leaders. He doubts if any one of these associations can start the scrutiny of a public investigation. He conceived that these associations as such have no political future. Now that Hyderabad state is a part of India, the depressed classes cannot keep themselves isolated from their kith and kin in the rest of India. We have to feel that we belong to the large group in India which has made its contribution to the independence of the country. For the past decade various associations with high sounding names under various leaders were created. Did any one of these leaders at any time try to bring our community together or did they honestly try to raise the standards of the poor, ignorant and humble toiling masses. The best course now left for us is that all of us should join together forgetting our little differences and squabbles and placing the leadership in the high hands. This alone will bring salvation to the poor, ignorant and miserably clad masses. After the police action in the nizam state of Hyderabad, association president Syamsunder fled to Europe and founder B.S Venkat rao remained in house arrest. In these circumstances Sampath Beraiah had to take responsibility as association president and he merged the association into a scheduled caste federation which was founded by Dr.Br. Ambedkar.

Now we come to the conclusion of the long drawn-out tragic story of the struggle of an over downtrodden community, the 'Harijans' sons of God. B.S Venkat Rao, who through his dint courage enjoyed the splendor of a great political career the first depressed classes minister of a feudal state. He died on 4<sup>th</sup> November, 1953. He was essentially a man of action and achieved success in the field of his service. His contributions to the cause of our struggle for emancipation of the downtrodden will ever be cherished by those who knew how much he had done for it. He sacrificed his all in the cause of the community and died as pauper. He was generous without calculations. He had a lovable individuality and a dynamic personality. He was of charming manners and amiable disposition. He remained simple and unobtrusive as ever. In his eminent service to the community, he created a host of critics and a host of admirers. He came into the political arena with a bang. He was the undisputed leader for two decades and strode like a colossus. He ruled the depressed classes association of which he was the chief architect with an iron hand. Numerous condolence meetings were conducted all over the state to commemorate the death of Venkat Rao and a memorial committee was formed consisting of his erstwhile enemies to draw up a programme and raise a fitting memorial to shri B.S Venkat Rao. We shall have to wait and see their sincerity in the implementation of their decision.

Here ends the story of our struggle for emancipation but after the death of B.S Venkat Rao three developments of paramount importance have occurred in our history. Though it is beyond the scope of my present work. I shall not deprive my readers of their legitimate rights to learn something about those developments also.

Karamchedu and Chundur incidents became a swarming point for the emergence of the Dalit democratic movement in Andhra Pradesh. The Dalit movement has been spurred on by new understandings and inaugurated by new visions provided by its intellectuals and ideologies. The Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh, which began to articulate a fresh concern about the process of democratization, provides broad approaches not only for the academic pursuits but also institutions builders and policymakers. Lastly, the course of Dalit movement is discussed.[7]

The Karamchedu incident in Andhra Pradesh has changed the nature and character of the Dalit movement, which tried to weaken and alter the caste authority that imparted and upheld by the dominant castes.[8] Dalits in Andhra Pradesh realized that the caste and its ideology centered obstacle for the realization of substantive democracy and the democratic state in India that a was supposed to dispense immunity to its entire people prepossessed in favor of the upper caste Hindus. It eventually dragged every single political institution into the folds of its polemics, forcing each in turn to take a position on the caste, gender and class issues, but also calling for important political alliances to secure short term as well as long term political and social change. Conjointly the nature and character of the Dalit movement has also attended about its own conscious future political motives, constituent abilities and energies to transform the present face of democracy and democratization process in Andhra Pradesh, which is currently expressing dramatic political and social change.

Two Dalit leaders, Bojja Tarakam and Katti Padma Rao, hastened to meet the suffers. Bojja Tarakam was a radical Ambedkarite who led the Ambedkar Yuvajana Sangham in the 1970s. he is a Marxist-Leninist movement sympathizer, and civil right activist and lawyer by profession. He resigned his government law practice in the Andhra Pradesh high court in protest against the Karamchedu atrocity. Katti Padma Rao was associated with the Hetuwada Sangham or rationalist movement an erudite Sanskrit scholar, orator, and Marxist-Leninist movement sympathizer. Both were angered by the position Dalits in society and wished to do something to change this. They realized that effective action must be based upon correct knowledge and analysis re reading Ambedkar and Marx along with Mao Tung perhaps to sympathize their ideas on caste-class analysis with a critical orientation has been the main activity. This new intellectual leadership sought to develop, examine and reformulate various theoretical orientations until they arrived at a position that enabled them to describe themselves as the true anti caste ideologues.

The all-India Dalits coordination committee on Karamchedu was formed by the Dalit organizations along with the radical and progressive organizations. Under this coordination committee a massive "Chalo assembly protest rally" (let's march to Andhra Pradesh state legislative assembly) was organized with about 500,000 people from all over the state, that was addressed by almost all the prominent Dalit leaders and other human rights activists. The issue was discussed and debated thoroughly in the state legislative assembly on the incident and the state government headed by N.T Rama Rao Telugu Desam party admitted to the crime inflicted on dalit by the dominant castes and constituted a judicial enquiry to probe the incident.

On September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1985, the historic huge "chalo chirala" public meeting was organized in which more than 300,000 Dalits marched with ferocious slogans and their emotions were so high. In this historic meeting the stage was prioritized exclusively for the Dalits, who were allowed to share the dais. Dalits at that moment did not want anyone to speak on their behalf; they expressed the confidence that the most considerable important fact of this meeting was that it was inaugurated by Gaddar, the new democratic communist party India (Marxist-Leninist) people's war party. He composed a song for the occasion: "Dalita Pulalamma, Karamchedu bhooswamula thoti kalabadi nilabadi porujesina dalitapulalamma" (dalit tigers, who boldly stood up and fought with karamchedu landlords).[9]

The most prominent Dalit organizers, Bojja Tarakam and Katti Padma Rao, addressed the meeting. The meeting ended with the decision to form a new state level autonomous Dalit organization called Andhra Pradesh Dalit Mahasabha (DMS) with the prime objective of consolidating the strength of the Dalits, tribal's, backward castes and the minorities. Bojja Tarakam was elected as the founding president and Katti Padma Rao as the general secretary of the new organization promising to bring about what would lead to the Dalit democratic movement. This new leadership has come from the movement, they are the movement intellectuals and it is the history that created them not these leaders who created history. The ultimate aim of the DMS was to see that when the Dalits come to power, the DMS would be an integrated part of the process of building Dalit culture as an alternative.

With the formation of the Dalit Mahasabha, the word 'Dalit' became popularized in Andhra Pradesh in a radical way. The word Dalit means economically and socially oppressed people. Dalits demanded that the Karamchedu victims should be rehabilitated at Chirala town, for that the DMS called for a statewide Rail Rokho and Rata rokho (protest) on September 8, 1985. The agitation was a total success in disrupting the communication system and the state administrative functions. The police destroyed the tents, conducted, Indiscriminate Lathi charge on the Shibiram members and arrested nearly 300 inmates. It was rumored that Padma Rao was killed in an encounter with the police. In the midst of this chaotic situation, DMS president, Tarakam, sent Padma Rao to conduct under round activities. Padma Rao floured all over the state, holding secret meetings about the objectives of the DMS. Meanwhile on October 6<sup>th</sup> 1985, a huge public meeting was arranged at the Vijayawada Municipal grounds, with an estimated crowd of 100,000. As Padma Rao was about to address the meeting, he was arrested on the dais and taken to the Visakhapatnam central jail, an enraged crowd was assaulted by the police using lathi. DMS filed a separate private case citing 165 people as the accused along with Karamchedu landlords, Daggupati Chenchuramaiah, who was the chief minister's relative and the real strategist behind the massacre. Salha a voluntary legal organization played a crucial role .to answer the charges filed by the DMS the prime accused Chenchuramaiah was summoned by the district court. In the court, the Dalit women Alisamma the prime witness in the case was deposed. Because of her graphic narration of the horrifying scam of how her son was axed to death in front of her eyes, it seemed almost certain that the prime accused would be punished according to the law. Alisamma was killed by the upper castes after her deposition and became the martyr to the cause of Dalit democratic struggle. Judicial inquiry commission headed by justice desai, the commission's decision was inconclusive as it could not find any clear-cut reason behind the massacre. On April 6<sup>th</sup> 1989, a CPI(M-L) PWG guerilla squad killed the Chenchuramaiah.[10]

In the second week of February 1986, the DMS held its first state level conference at Tenali town of Guntur district. At this conference, the DMS manifesto explaining the mode of Dalits struggle, strategy and principles was released. Though the manifesto did not draw the kind of attention that the manifesto of the Dalit panthers did in Maharashtra, the DMS manifesto certainly was an outstanding political text and its politically polemical formulations created contentious debate. The manifesto says that the Dalit Mahasabha is a movement to unite the hitherto oppressed people and traced the historical emergence of oppressed caste/class struggles and stressed the caste annihilation thesis. Implying that Ambedkar's philosophy was central to caste class annihilation. The Dalita Mahasabha manifesto explained historically how the Dalits were systematically exploited and divided during centuries in the Hindu social order. It also emphasized how the precious political struggles including the communist movement of the early 1940s and 1950s lacked the political effectiveness and revolutionary purpose to annihilate the caste in addition; the manifesto stressed the crucial importance of the Dalit organic political party. Lastly it said that the primary aims of the DMS to conscientious the Dalits about the history of the working-class struggle at the global laws, and then emancipator zeal.

Importantly the principles and struggles of Ambedkar and Phule should prove to be the breathing spirit of the Dalit's struggle which have enabled the emancipation of oppressed, must be reconciled with the spirit of the Dalit movement as attempt to recruit the cultural army for the Dalit movement the first all India Dalit writers conference held in 1987 at Hyderabad, was an attempt to bring together all the writers who were born in Dalit families and a write for the Dalits on one unified and united course of action for the Dalit liberation.[11]

The unprecedented politicization and mobilization of Dalits after Karamchedu incident and the increasing level of self-creative activity through their own autonomous organizations like DMS, the entry of BSP, the formation of the poor people's party and the highly motivated communicative role of Dalit periodicals like Dalita Shakti, Nalupu, Edureetha which expanded the Dalits consciousness and assertion of Dalits was subjected to brutal suppression. This time it was the Reddy landlords who assaulted Dalit in Chandur mandal Guntur district, killing more than ten Dalits. Their bodies were cut up, stuffed into gunny bags and thrown into the nearby Tungabhadra drainage canal.

Once again, all the Dalit organizations and revolutionary Marxist- Leninist groups put together a solidarity committee. The CPI (M-L) liberation, CPI (ML) Prajapantha UCCRI (M-L) Jana shakti, Marxist Leninist center, Indian people's front and the Dalit Mahasabha organization for the rural poor formed a committee called Andhra Pradesh Chundur Porata Samithi. This time, K.G Satyamurthy, a Dalit revolutionary thinker who was underground for more than two decades joined along with Tarakam and Padma Rao. Satyamurthy coined a

new slogan” Self-Respect, Self Defense is “Dalit Birth Right” and formed Marxist- Leninist Centre at Ongole in Prakasam district. The aim of the center was to prepare the socio political and theoretical ground to build a new revolutionary working caste class party in the Indian subcontinent. The Centre also decided to swim against the predominant tides of pedantic economic determinism and Brahmanic and patriarchal male authority. It explicitly opposed the mechanical application of armed struggle and unorganized violence and argued that unless Marxism and Ambedkarite anti caste theories were interwoven the democratic revolution could not be achieved.

The massacre at Karamchedu, Padirikuppam and Neerukonda had taken place under the Telugu Desam headed and led by the Kammas now the Chundur was perpetrated under the congress, dominated by the Reddys. Kommarlaanil Kumar the main witness in the Chundur carnage was shot and killed by the main witness, Alisamma, was killed by the upper castes whereas in Chundur it was the police who performed the job on behalf of the upper castes. The biases towards the ruling class and undemocratic siding with dominant castes exposes the nature and character of the Indian state in general and Andhra Pradesh in particular.

The Dalit movement that started with Karamchedu brought the caste class debate to the forefront and understanding that debate in the context of present movement requires a specific treatment due to the fact that the caste and class were dominated in their actual political mobilization for the democratic movement. The communists' understanding of Indian society and their characterization of the Indian state however, had some fundamental limitations from the Dalits point of view. In India the caste relations are the most determining features in social formation. Ambedkar's rediscovery of the existence of specific caste class divisions and the direct antagonistic relationship between the ownership of the means of production by the upper castes and the production by the upper castes and the producer Dalits was not recognized by the communists. Thus, the communists did not try to construct an ideological alternative against the hegemony of Hinduism in which caste operates successfully. Thus, recognizing the historical limitations, the Dalits who came out from the Marxist-Leninist (Mao) party formed a new political party called the communist party of the United States of India (Dalita Bahujan Sramika Vimukti) in December 25, 1999. According to their thesis, no class struggle or revolution can succeed without unity among the working-class people engaged in agricultural activities. And more than 80 percent of them are in Andhra Pradesh from Madiga and mala communities though there are other castes from Gauda, Yadava, Kapukamma, Reddy and other artisan castes of backward castes.

The highly motivated communicative role of Dalit periodicals like Dalita Shakti, Nalupu, Edureetha, Eenatiekalavya and Kulanirmulana have started various debates on Indian history and society and politics. Dalit Shakti monthly journal was started and later renamed as Dalitharajyam. This journal was continued for quite some time under the editorship of Padma Rao. The Edureetha had four political objectives; to create a sweeping consciousness about the contemporary day to day political incidents among the Dalit masses, secondly, to create democratic, socialist theoretical revolutionary consciousness about caste, class, religion and nationality, to overcome the past mistakes of the revolutionary struggles and to build a strong consciousness among the dalits, and lastly, to start a protracted theoretical debate on Marxism and Ambedkarism. Therefore, the caste class and the importance of caste specialty in the Indian context for the new democratic revolution have been the context of the debates. Brahmanism, caste, caste hegemony, Gandhi, Nehru, Indian national movement, Indian communist movement, worldwide working-class movement especially the Chinese cultural revolution and lessons for Indian new democratic revolution apart from the awareness the about the legal rights, civil rights, employment related rules and regulation, local, national and international issues.

They started publishing the translated version of Mahatma Phule, Periyar, Narayana guru, Iyothithass, Ambrdkar's work into Telugu asking the seriously interested readers and writers to respond to those ideas of the Dalit intellectuals. In these debates, they tried to reconstruct Indian history and society from the Dalits caste-class point of view. Edureetha published in series Ambedkar's "what congress and Gandhi have done to the untouchables" which created debate and counter debate. A noted Marxist intellectual and writer in Andhra Pradesh wrote an essay in Edureetha projecting how Ambedkar and his movement were detrimental to not only the communist movement but also to the Indian society, and how his caste analysis would not work for the Indian reality. While replying to this in the same journal, Ravichandar made clear many obsessions of communists on Ambedkar. He replied that the communist's positive opinion on Gandhi and negative impression on Ambedkar about the caste and untouchability reflects the caste prejudice of communists. He says that it was Ambedkar who had revolutionary thinking against the caste and its oppression whereas Gandhi had a reformist view, and that in fact Gandhi upholds the Varna based caste. The debates in these periodicals reiterated that the present objective of the Dalit movement is to understand the Indian society in the light of anti-caste philosophy and to bring all the oppressed Castes together to lead the new democratic movement. \*

K.G Satyamurty has initiated another united forum called samajika Viplava Vedika (social revolutionary forum) basically to unite the Dalit revolutionary forces along with Marxist-Leninist radicals. As part of this he also took the initiative to form a voluntary force called the Samathasena or Samatha Voluntary force Dalit squads were formed and cycle yatra (journey) was conducted covering about hundred villages and mobilized thousands of people to participate in a huge meeting that was organized in west Godavari District at Tanuku town. Satyamurty



inaugurated Samatha Sena or Samatha Voluntary force and he exhorted that every Dalit should become a member of Samthasena for self-protection and self-respect. He enumerated three responsibilities for the Sena's Volunteer's; to build the movement for annihilation caste: to organize all the oppressed castes at the village level; and lastly, to organize the Dalits for self-protection against the violence committed by the upper caste.

After Karamchedu, the Dalit literature was thoroughly radicalized. A number of Dalit movement intellectuals emerged from the Karamchedu movement. The formations of Dalit Akala mandala, Dalita writers and artists and intellectuals united forum in 1991 have brought perceptible change in their outlook. Katti Padma Rao, the leader of the movement has written many poems, literary criticisms and books. His social revolutionary writings: a Dalitist Literary Critique (1995) has been the trenchant critique of the hegemonic upper caste culture and ideology. Kancha Ilaiah essays on reservations particularly parana bukkulu pratibhagurinchi matladuthunnai (parasites are talking about the merit) published in Nalupu series. His highly intellectually mature work, Why I Am Not a Hindu: A Shudra Critique of Hindutva philosophy culture and political economy (1996), Bojja Tarakam's essay, caste class (1996) have become the critical texts which came out of the present ongoing Dalit movement.

The new political alliance between the Dalits and the backward classes of Uttar Pradesh created a new trend in the Andhra political process as well. Bojja Tarakam proposed to have political alliance with the Bahujansamaj Party (BSP) whereas the Dalit Mahasabha remained only a cultural mobilizing organization under the leadership of Katti Padma Rao. The BSP's entry into Andhra Pradesh and its electoral experiment was well received by the Dalit Bahujan forces. As a part of political mobilization for the 1994 assembly elections, the BSP organized its first public meeting at Nizam college grounds in Hyderabad on January 23<sup>rd</sup> which evoked the spontaneous gathering of over one lakh people. This meeting was presided over by Bojja Tarakam who had brought the BSP into Andhra. This meeting many leaders from different political parties and organizations joined the BSP. The most notable among them were K.G Satyamurthy from the Marxist-Leninist Centre, Katti Padma Rao from his own poor people's party, B. Vijay Kumar from the Janata dal, and P.L Srinivas and Balachari from the congress. The BSP's public meeting rallies were held in Hyderabad, Visakhapatnam and Nalgonda in order to gauge the public mood; against the BSP's homogenizing strategy of Dalit Bahujans the congress adopted the strategy of "sub- caste wise" conference such as Madiga Sabha, Arundhati Sabha, Yadava Sabha, weavers Sabha, fisherman Sabha, dhobi Sabha, Barbers Sabha, Black smiths Sabha etc. the entry into Andhra also created a significant impact on the CPI (M.L) groups, particularly the PWG. The PWG is understanding that the BSP is of a party led by the comprador Dalit bureaucrats and urbanized petty bourgeoisie intellectuals and balked by a sector of the comprador big bourgeoisie a party in service of the Indian ruling class. With this basic nature the, the BSP had faith in the constitution parliamentary democracy, absence of any land reform programme".

The BSP like any other bourgeois parliamentary party can in no way solace the basic problem facing the Indian people. Despite this reading of the BSP's bonafide's in the 1994 elections the BSP was allowed to enter the PWG- dominated base areas, a privilege not allowed to any other political party. In a public meeting at Mandamarri (Karimnagar district) the BSP state president Dr Sundaraiah promised that if the BSP came to power it would lift the ban on people's war groups and all the paramilitary forces would be sent back and encounter deaths would be stopped. Kanshi ram also appealed to the PWG to take up the caste issue apart from the land issue. On June 5<sup>th</sup> 1994 the BSP organized a huge 'PRADARSHANA' (Parade) at Gymkhana grounds in Secunderabad where nearly a lakh people attended. While speaking to the Dalit masses Kanshi ram appealed to them to unite and fight against the caste system. He said that in order for the Dalits to capture Political power the number of votes were important.

However, in 1995 the Republican Party of India (RPI) has been revived and got a new lease of life under the leadership of Bojja Tarakam because of political differences with the BSP leadership, Tarakam left the BSP and started gathering all like-minded activists to revive the RPI as a viewable political alternative. The RPI raised questions regarding the great need in the areas of housing and social welfare, and staged protests all over the state. Along with a political programme the focus was on concrete economic issues like redistribution of Agricultural land and budget allocation for Dalits. The RPI demanded an inquiry into the large-scale diversion of funds in the social welfare department. The RPI alleged that about 6000 crore rupees were diverted in the last six years (1996-2002). Another important political issue taken up by the RPI was when the NDA (National Democratic Alliance) government headed by the right-wing BJP proposed to review the Indian Constitution, because the present contents in it are inadequate to fill the aspirations of the Indians. In response to this RPI led the "Save Indian Constitution" movement in Andhra Pradesh. The Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh took up Caste discrimination and exclusion to the international level by equating them with other similar forms of discrimination at the global level, especially racial discrimination and stressed the importance of the external actors in the democratization process. In this connection a resolution was passed by 1200 delegates at the first World Dalit Convention which took place at the Malaysian Capital Kuala Lumpur on October 10-11 1998, demanding that the government of India should file a suit in the supreme court of India against the culprits of Karamchedu Massacre in Andhra

Pradesh who have been acquitted by the Andhra Pradesh High Court, and start immediate trial through special courts of the accused in the Tsundur massacre in the Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh.[12]

The UNHCR states that 'All human beings are born free, and equal in dignity and rights', the international convention on Civil and Political Rights recognizes that all persons are entitled to the equal protection of the "law without any discrimination".

The world conference against Racism, Racial discrimination, xenophobia, related intolerance (WCAR) was convened by the UN held at Durban, South Africa in 2001. A few hundred Dalit activists from AP have been participating in this conference; perhaps no other states in India had this kind of massive response. Thus, the global level discussion on the Caste and its impact on the Dalit Movement in AP is another dimension of democratization efforts of Dalits. The violation of Dalit Human Rights and the International legal liability of the Indian state have acquired greater coherence and deeper significance in light of the Dalit movement in AP. Further, the Asia social forum held in 2001 at Hyderabad, AP was also used as a forum to enforce effective legal and fragmentize measures to abolish the Caste and Untouchability in India.

There are two important issues before the Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh for bringing substantial manning to internal democratization and unity of the community. One is the issue of Dalit women and the other is the categorization of reservations. Dalit women's struggle is not only against patriarchy but also against caste and class. Thousands of Dalit women went to Hyderabad and protested in front of the chief minister's house, demanding immediate rehabilitation for the victims, the immediate release of the arrested movement leaders, and punishment of the accused. The famous anti liquor movement of 1992 in Andhra Pradesh which has been otherwise championed by the dominant caste educated women, was actually entitled by the started, cursed, and dilated rural women. Dalit women organized a movement for land and land rights. A huge mass rally in 2003 called Dalit Street Bhooporata Mahapatra was organized for the land under the banner of Andhra Pradesh Dalita Maha Sangham, started by Katti Padma Rao. It was reported that more than thirty thousand women gathered at Hyderabad and demanded that every Dalit woman should get one acre of land proper housing a share in small scale industry, a ban on arrack (liquor), a monthly pension, and free bus and rail passes for all Dalit women laborers. Dalit women literary parishad was started in 1989 under the leadership of B.M Lela kumara, a lawyer by profession and activist to bring about awareness to the naked realities of Dalit women. Gogu Shyamala brought out an outstanding creative collection anthology of Dalit women writers and activists in the name of Nallapoddu. Some of the Dalit women writers like B. Vijaya Bharathi Sharat Jyostna Rani Jupaka Subhadra and Chandra Street established themselves as the most popular Dalit women writers and activists.[13]

The issues of Dalit women are of a crucial importance in the context of Dalit movement due to their narrowing space in democracy. In spite of strong women's movements since the 1970s, the voice of dalit women was invisible. Remarkably, movement leaders such as K.G Satyamurthy, Bojja Tarakam, Katti Padma Rao and Gaddar, Masterji have elevated the question of Dalit women to the level of primacy within their practical political activities and their intellectual work.

Reservations have this created a different class of people among Dalits themselves. Such differences inevitably created imbalances and sub-caste animosities among them and the less benefited sections raised their voice for equal share of opportunities.

The conflict between the Madigas and Malas, the two major castes who together constitute more than 80% of the total dalit population in Andhra Pradesh is an important case for the division of reservations. Madigas raised the most important demand that the 15 percent quota allotted to the scheduled castes in the state has to be subdivided to create equal opportunities and fixed quotas allotted to properly identified sub groups of the 59 Dalit communities. The demand itself is not new as far as Madigas are concerned.[14] They made number of representations and resorted to fight to eliminate the imbalance that existed in reservations policy that prevented Madigas and other disadvantaged sections from attaining the equality of opportunity. Madigas argue that the reservation benefits have resulted in Mala domination and the controlling of public institutions, which is the focus of power and authority. These institutions include universities, colleges, government corporations, and employment avenues.

According to the Andhra Pradesh Madiga congress (APMC) which came into existence in 192 to protect against this inequality, six of the eight scheduled caste secretaries to the government, eighteen of the twenty officers of the Indian administrative service, eleven of the thirteen officers of the Indian police service, seven of the eight advocates of the high court, sixteen of the nineteen officials of commercial taxes, twenty of the twenty four officials of the Andhra Pradesh road transport corporation, thirty-two of the fifty revenue officers, 422 of the 475 doctors, 402 of the 47 engineers and the only scheduled caste judge of the high court are Mala. According to the 1991 census the total scheduled caste population was 105.95 lakh of which Madigas constitute 58 lakh, whereas Malas constitute 47.45 lakh. However, of the total 15 percent of reservation Madigas were not able to secure even 2 percent of benefits in education and employment opportunities provided by the government and the rest of the benefits are cornered by the Malas. It was for the first time being expressed as a mass upsurge through "Dandora". On July 7<sup>th</sup>, 1994 in Edumudi village of Prakasam district in a highly charged political environment,

the Madiga youth who led the political movement of “Madiga Dandora” formed an association called Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS). It was a mass expression of a genuine public grievance that attracted the most innocent and purest following. The Dandora movement was led by the new, young, dynamic and enthusiastic leadership of Manda Krishna and Panuganti Krupakar. The term “Madiga” was considered an abusive utterance by the caste Hindus. The Dandora movement has made it more dignified and has publicized the historical importance of the term. Madigas now started expressing their political identity by suffixing the Madiga to their names.

The primary observation of the Dandora movement was that there is an imbalance in the equality of opportunity in receiving the benefits of reservation and demanded just share in the present reservation policy. It was even said by the Madigas leaders that the neo- Brahmin is more dangerous than the Brahmanism and that is why the Mala is a bigger enemy. In reaction to this taking strong objection the Malas formed an organization in the name of Mala Mahanadu under the leadership P.V Rao, the former leader of Ambedkar Yuva Jana Sangham. Mala Mahanadu argued that instead of fighting among Madigas and Malas for division of reservations, Dalits should jointly fight for increasing the percentage of reservations proportionate to the increase in the Dalit population. It also called for a proper implementation of reservation including the backlog of unfilled vacancies in the government departments. As a result of the MRPS organization strength and dynamism the Andhra Pradesh government appointed a man commission with retired judge, justice Ramachandra Raju, on September 10, 1996 to study all the aspects of reservations and its impact on the Dalits development in the spheres of education and employment.

According to the commission there is a disproportionate distribution of reservation benefits in favor of the Malas group and Adi Andhra group of scheduled caste communities compared to their respective populations. Both the Madiga group and Palli group of communities are not adequately represented either in public appointments or in educational institutions compared to their respective populations. The commission suggested categorization based on most backward to least backward among scheduled castes. Accordingly, the “Relli” group of communities is the most backward among the scheduled caste communities. Thus, they were categorized as A with a percentage entitlement of 1% both in public appointments and admission to educational institutions. The Madiga group of communities is the next most backward among the scheduled caste communities. The group of communities is receiving the benefits of reservation wholly disproportionate to its population.

A, B, C, D groups as recommended by the justice Ramchandra Raju commission. Though there is a temporary impression the division of reservation as demanded by the Dandora movement, the movement has brought out yet other important gesture before the Dalit movement as the democratization in Andhra Pradesh.[15]

The Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh as a social movement made an important contribution in shaping democratic values and social relationship. The fundamental importance of the Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh for understanding these changes has been gathered through the fact that Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh has been the primary bearer of the hopes, and aspirations of the Dalits. The communists both traditional and radical, also played a notable role in the enhancement of Dalit consciousness. In particular, the radical Marxist- Leninist created a significant impact on the Dalits in endowing them with self-respect and self confidence in Andhra Pradesh. Thus, the Dalit movement has affected the agenda setting of various political movements. The external political process in bringing about Dalit consciousness was the Dalit study and absorption of Ambedkar’s thought. The Dandora movement-initiated debate that the policy of reservations has ended up by creating not only a class division among the Dalit but also the deep-rooted caste cleavages among the Dalits. Mala Mahanadu recognizes the existence of exploitation but tends to give it a minor role and fail to provide an explanation of democratization in historical perspective.[16]

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