CHAPTER 6

WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: THE RADICAL PHASE

The 1940's mark a new phase in the politics of Hyderabad state. The struggle, issues raised and the ideology that supported this all heralded a new and radical phase. Moving from demands for freedom of social expression and organization, which were essentially concerns of the urban middle class of Hyderabad, the focus now was on the forms of oppression, the feudal nature of the state and the compulsions necessitating shift of activity from the urban and semi-urban areas to the rural villages.

These trends necessarily affected women's organizations, compelling hard choices. While most of the women leaders and organizations, given their class character, opted out of this radical phase, a few Hyderabad organizations like the Navijivan Mandali made conscious decisions to support the Communists.

By the end of 1940's women's participation in the urban and the rural areas was legitimised by the spaces created for them or the opportunities they created for themselves. Two divergent and
seemingly parallel trends emerged, a legitimate public space for participation for the Urban middle class educated women, a process that was supportive and facilitated by society. And its opposite if one could call it a space in which women held a central position but yet could not publicly articulate grievances since they were and are often considered illegitimate.

Given the feudal nature of society in which women irrespective of religion or caste were in Purdah or had little opportunity for knowledge of the outside world, it is truly significant that in the first half of 20th century that women of Telangana region gradually and yet progressively expanded their sphere of activities and political participation, moving from welfare and recreational activity to active involvement in a radical armed struggle at the other end of the spectrum.

It is also important to note that the nature of women's participation changed at this juncture. During this period the participants were primarily poor agricultural labourers.

It is pertinent here to take a brief look at the feudal nature of agrarian social relations in Telangana region.
The basic feature that dominated the socio-economic life of the people of Hyderabad and especially in Telangana was the unbridled feudal exploitation that persisted till the beginning of the Telangana armed peasant struggle.

Out of the 53,000,000 acres in the whole of Hyderabad state about 30,000,000 acres i.e. about 60 percent were under Governmental land revenue system called Diwani or Khasla area, about 15,000,000 acres i.e. about 30 percent were under the Jagirdari system, and about 10 percent as the Nizam's own direct estate i.e. sarf-e-khas system.

The income or loot from the peasantry from the sarf khas area, amounting to Rs. 20,000,000 annually was entirely used to meet the expenditure of the Nizam's family and its retinue. The whole area was treated as his private estate. He was not bound to spend any amount for economic and social benefit or development of people's livelihood in that area.

The peasants in these areas were nothing but bonded - slaves or total serfs under the Nizam. Even whatever little rights existed in the diwani area were denied to them.¹
The Jagir areas constituted 30 percent of the total states. In these areas, Paigas, Samasthanams, Jagirdars, Ijavadars, Banjardars, Muktedars, Inamdars, or Aagraharams were the various kinds of feudal complexes. Some of these used to have their own revenue officers to collect the taxes they used to impose. Some of them used to pay a small portion to the state while some others were not required to pay anything. In these areas various kinds of illegal exactions and forced labour were the normal feature. Some of these Jagirs, paigas and samsthanams, especially the biggest ones had their own separate police, revenue, civil and criminal systems. They were subfeudatory states, under the Nizam's state of Hyderabad which was itself a strong native state under the British in India.  

The Paigas estates were granted to Muslims feudal, especially the Nizam’s relatives, for recruiting and maintaining armed personnel to help the Nizam in his wards. The Jagirs and samsthanams were those given to reward officers, who distinguished themselves in serving the Nizam. Maktas, Banjars, Aagraharams and Inams were given for various services, and these owners were entitled to fleece the peasantry and take as much as they could extract. These used to be Deshmukhs and Deshpandes who were earlier the tax collectors for the Government. Later on under the chief-ministership
of Salar Jung when direct tax collection by the state apparatus was introduced, these Deshmukhs and Deshpandes were granted vatans or mash (annuities) based on percentage of the past collections, in perpetuity. These Deshmukhs and Deshpandes as collectors of taxes, grabbed thousands of acres of the best fertile cultivated land and made it their own property. The peasants cultivating these lands were reduced to the position of tenants at will.\(^3\)

The feudal landlords had occupied or acquired these lands by all foul means from the ordinary people. The major portion of the lands cultivated by the peasants came to be occupied by the landlords during the first survey settlement. These people who had power in their hands got lands registered in their names without the knowledge of the peasants who were cultivating them and the peasants came to know of it only afterwards when it was too late to do anything. Thus, these feudal lords got possession of unlimited vast lands and made them their legal possession.

Even lands which were left out in possession of the peasants in the survey settlement, were occupied by the landlords in the years of the economic crisis of 1920-22 and 1930-33 when the peasants either due to bad harvests or unfair prices for the crops were unable
to pay the taxes. These feudal landlords used to torture the peasants who were unable to pay the taxes and get hold of their lands. Many a time this acquisition used to take place even without the knowledge of the peasants. They used to lend agricultural products like grain, chillies, etc. to the peasants at fantastic usurious rates and later under the pretext of non-repayment of these loans, used to confiscate the lands. This was the system prevalent at the time of the Telangana struggle.⁴

The extent of concentration of lands, can be seen in the case of the Jannareddi Pratap Reddy family which had one and a half lakh acres.

These landlords are not only Deshmukhs but also village chiefs, Patel, Patwari, Mali Patel with hereditary rights. Each one used to be given five to ten villages as Vatan.

These vatan villages were controlled through clerks or agents (Seridars) appointed by the Deshmukhs. They enjoyed the rights of an officer. These Seridars used to collect the products from the peasants by force, and do all other jobs including supplying all information about the village. If there are any quarrels or friction
amongst the villagers, it could not be settled without the knowledge of the landlord. Depending upon the nature of the quarrel, the Deshmukhs used to decide whether it should be settled in his house (gadi) or outside in the village centre or elsewhere. If it was a small matter, the Deshmukh’s agent would be entrusted with it, but if it was a big affair, then it was settled in the presence of the Deshmukh in his house. To this category of rich land lords belonged people like the Babasahebpeta landlord, Visnoor Ramachandra Reddy.

Pingali Venkatrama Reddy (Waddepalli Deshmukh) got excise contracts for the whole of Telangana all for himself. In those days excise (Akbari) contract meant full control over the village.

If this was the state of exploitation by the feudal lords in ryotwari areas, one can imagine what it must have been in Jagirdari areas. These Jagirdars and Deshmukhs had licenses for rifles and guns, had cavalry squads and armed forces as well.

The Vetti System (forced labour) is generally taken to be confined to tribal areas or some of the most backward social communities in other areas. But in Telangana vetti system was an all pervasive social phenomenon affecting all classes of people in vary-
ing degrees. Each Harijan family had to send one man from the family to do vetti. In a small hamlet (Palle) each house will send one man. Their daily job consisted of household work in the house of the Patel, Patwari, Mali Patel or Deshmukh, to carry reports to police stations, taluk office (Tehsil) keep watch on the village Chavadi and the poundage. Besides these, there used to be more work for them whenever an officer came to the village Chavadi. In village Chilkur, daily 16 Harijans used to do vetti. They used to collect wood for fuel from the forests and carry post also. For carrying post or supplies they were supposed to get an anna for two and half miles, which was of course never honoured in practice. This system was known as "Kosuku Veesam" in Telugu (i.e. 1/16th of the rupee for a distance of 2 1/2 miles).\(^7\)

The worst of feudal excretion was the prevalence of keeping girls as 'slaves' in landlords houses. When landlords gave their daughters in marriage they presented these slave girls and sent them along with their married daughters, to serve them in their new homes. These slave girls were used by the landlords as concubines.

The vetti system had made the life of the Telangana people to utter degradation and abject serfdom.\(^8\)
Some of the notorious feudal Deshmukhs who owned tens of thousands of acres, against whom bitter battles were fought, during 1940 were.

1. Visunur Deshmukh, - land lord over 40 villages in Jangon taluk, Nalgonda district with 40,000 acres.
2. Suryapet Deshmukh with 20,000 acres.
3. Babasahebpet Deshmukh with 10,000 acres, Miryalagudem taluk.
4. Kalluru Deshmukh with 100,000 acres, Madhira Taluk, Khammam district.
5. Jannareddy Pratap Reddy with 150,000 acres in, Suryapeta Taluk.

Visnur Ramachandra Reddy, the notorious Deshmukh in Janagoan tehsil of Nalgonda district, used to forcibly seize the lands from the tenant and the peasants. He used to force the peasants in his areas, of about 40 villages to do forced labour in his fields all through the year, pay nazarana (presents in kind or cash) on the birth day of a child in the family. On occasion of marriage or death in Visnur family every handicraftsman, artisan or merchant had to pay a certain portion of his produce or fixed amounts in cash. Cobbler should present shoes and harness, shepherds should present Kambles.
and also supply sheep and goats for the feast and free milk too!.. and peasants, grain, vegetables etc. He built a house costing Rs. 200,000 in the thirties and forties, out of which nearly half the cost was collected in cash from the forced labour for various construction jobs. A young mother who had delivered a child only three days earlier, was made to do forced labor in his fields, leaving the infant with nobody to look after and the child died because of lack of feed and care. He was so notorious that peasants hesitated to give their daughters in marriage to persons living in those villages. It was against such forced labour and illegal exaction and eviction that the Andhra Mahasabha, rebelled. The beginnings of the Telangana armed struggle were against, the atrocities of this very same Visnur Deshmukh in 1946, when his goondas attacked and murdered Doddi Komarayya, the local Andhra Mahasabha worker in Kadivendi village on July 4. 

The Bhagela system was yet another form of oppression. The origin of a bhagela was typically that of a landless members of one of the lower castes, often from untouchable caste, who would be obliged to offer her or his labour as security for debts and work for the creditor until the debt was repaid. For instance it often happened that when a man married, involving considerable expense, he would become
a Bhagela, while his wife would work as an agricultural labourer (when she could) and support them both. The wages for this work would be deducted as repayments for the loan. But wages were so low and interest so high (usually never less than 25%) that the debt remained perpetually unpaid. When Bhagela died the debt was inherited by his heir, so there were generations of agricultural labourers giving totally unpaid labour to the Deshmukhs, which enabled them to cultivate their large holdings paying the most minimal amount in wages.\textsuperscript{11}

In 1936 the state Government made a gesture towards reform through the Hyderabad Bhagela Agreement Regulation. As its name implies, the intention was to set out conditions for agreements between Bhagelas and their employers. The main provisions were that interest was to be fixed at 6% and that the agreement was to be rendered void on the death of the bhagela.\textsuperscript{12} This was not a success. Four years later in the report of the labour census it was stated that the measure had not had much effect yet and in fact no agreements had been registered. This was put down to the bhagelas having been under an inferiority complex for generations and so being too timid and backward to complain against their all powerful employers.\textsuperscript{13}
The 1949-50 economic survey produced comparative statistics for indebtedness in the 118 villages surveyed. 62 were in Telangana, 56 in Marathwada/Karnataka. The increase in indebtedness between 1930 and 1939 was 63% for the whole state, the regional figures showed a considerable disparity.\textsuperscript{14}

In Telangana it was 89%. In at least one village, Chintapalli in Nalgonda district, the percentage of debt more than doubled in the period (actually 126%).\textsuperscript{15}

The fall of prices meant that in real terms debts doubled, because the volume of crops that would have to be sold to pay off the debt increased in direct proportion to the fall in prices. The number of people in debt increased and those who were already in debt found themselves hopelessly trapped. Incapable of repaying interest because of their falling income they were the first to lose their lands.\textsuperscript{16}

Even if they did not lose their land immediately, the effect of compound interest on the one hand and of having to perform vetti at the crucial periods of the cultivation cycle on the other meant that their own crops were neglected and their own income reduced. On top of all that the usual social expenses remained. For example expenses on a marriage could ruin a family. Although many official
reports moaned that peasants were responsible for their own plight, much of their money being 'frittered away on unproductive objects', but the fact is that they had very little alternative.\textsuperscript{17}

The Introduction of the Levy System created more problems. The Hyderabad state Government decided that the purchase of food grains under this system should be on their account and in 1943 formed the Hyderabad Commercial Corporation with Government capital.

One more problem was that the levy price in Hyderabad was lower than that in the surrounding provinces of British India. This had the predictable effect of promoting smuggling which was not inhibited by the rather ineffectual patrolling of the Hyderabad army and police.

A ration system was introduced and ration cards, issued.\textsuperscript{18} Ration shops opened in Hyderabad and one of the district towns, Warangal. Unfortunately some of the rural areas and especially Nalgonda district, were food deficit areas. What further compounded the deteriorating position of the peasants was that in some areas notably Nalgonda district, food grains were in deficit. This was partly due to
the bad weather conditions of the mid 1940’s and also because of rapacious landlords again particularly in Nalgonda district.\textsuperscript{19} The food grain which was not in deficit was rice, but the basic staples in Telangana were Jawar, bajra, and gram. Most people could not afford to eat rice regularly.

The effect of the inflationary crisis of the war was even more severe. The figures for the state as a whole marked an increase of 83\% in the period 1939-50.\textsuperscript{20}

The Hyderabad state differed from the rest of the Indian princely state in that it retained its original ruling class during the British conquest of India. Particularly all of the rest of the states were British creations or like Mysore, had been re-established with a new plaint dynasty. Hyderabad escaped this fate because of its early adherence to the British cause in India which the Asaf Jahi Dynasty never abandoned despite occasional differences of opinion. In 1857 the Nizam’s Government resolutely suppressed anti-British movements in the state, which played a large part in preventing any spread of the mutiny to the Deccan.\textsuperscript{21}

Nevertheless there were substantial number of petti bourgeois
in Telangana. Lawyers, village officials, aspiring rich peasants who could send their sons outside to get an education, and such others soon began to dominate the activities of the Andhra Jana Sangham, even though it had been established by ultra conservative notables who where worried about their social position with the ruling families emphasizing their 'Muslim' nature.\textsuperscript{22} 

Some democratic minded students of Hyderabad who had gone to England for higher studies came under the influence of Victorian Liberalism and others by the Fabian Movement, started an organization called "Anjuman -e-Taraqqi Hyderabad" in 1928.\textsuperscript{23} They were also publishing a magazine from there under the title "The Hyderabad Magazine". Subsequently a branch of the above organization was formed at Hyderabad, with Ali Yavar Khan (the late Nawab Ali Yavar Jung) as its president and Mr. Fazlur Rahman as the General Secretary and other prominent members of this organizations were Ataur Rahaman, Ali Akbar, M. Narsing Rao, Baquer Ali Mirza, B. Rama Krishna Rao, Dr. Lateef Sayeed, Dilsukh Ram, Miss, Padmaja Naidu, Mohd. Hussain Jaff ri and others. This organization of nationalist and progressive minded people stood for responsible Government under the aegis of Nizam, compulsory education and social reforms. The organ of this organization was "Onward" under the
able editorship of Miss Padmaja Naidu.\textsuperscript{24}

In 1930 civil disobedience movement was started under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and under the impact of this movement some nationalist minded people started Swadeshi League in Hyderabad to propagate the boycott of foreign goods and to encourage the use of indigenous material and Khadi. The president of the league was Miss Padmaja Naidu and Mr. Fazlur Ruhman was its secretary, who was then working as a lecturer of economics in city college. A meeting of the league was held at Secunderabad in January, 1931 and Mr. Fazlur Rahman, spoke on the occasion. The Nizam's Government immediately took notice of this "gross violation" of the service rules by a lecturer of the college and suspended him from service. The league became defunct after a year or so. The promoters of the above organization were greatly influenced by the National Liberation Struggle of India and its left orientation.

The lull was again broken by the efforts of a few nationalist minded people, both Hindus and Muslims, who in 1935 formed an organization called "The Nizam's Subject League".\textsuperscript{25} According to the initiators this organization was formed to keep alive the enthusiasm created by the Mulki Movement and to utilize it for healthy
and constitutional purposes, and they intended "to promote the cause of Deccani Nationalism" without "distinction of caste, creed or sex all striving for the best interest of the sovereign and the state". It also proposed to "secure and safeguard the fundamental rights and privileges of citizenship in Hyderabad and to strive for the establishment of a constitutional form of Government under the aegis of Asaf Jahi dynasty".  

The prominent persons who took initiative for the formation of this organization were Miss. Padmaja Naidu, Abdul Hasan Syed Ali, B. Rama Krishna Rao and S.B. Sharma.

Another group of nationalists led by Mr. Akbar Ali Khan, Bar-at-Law, started a society "Jamaat-e-Ittehad-e-Taraqqi" and important leaders of this organisation were Dr. Lateef Sayeed, Nawab Mir Ahmed Ali Khan, Mir Hassanuddin Zahed Ali Kamal and a few liberal Congressmen of the state. This was no doubt a non-communal organisation with Liberal leadership who were satisfied with some sort of constitutional reforms and ultimately the establishment of representative Government under the aegis of Asaf Jahi dynasty on the end of British paramountcy, which implies more power and greater independence to the Nizam.
In view of the limited scope of these organizations they had no popular appeal and their activities were continued by a section of Hindu and Muslim intelligentsia. Besides, there were Congress minded Muslim families, like the Amir Hasan family, Ghulam Panjatan family and a few others.

There were many individuals with strong nationalist convictions, notable among them were Nawab Ahmed Ali Khan, Dr. Latif Sayyed, Dr. Hasim Amir Ali, Nawab Sardar Ali Khan and Sirajul Hasan Tirmizi who was one of the prominent leaders of the state Congress and was later the president of the State Congress.  

In those days progressive books and Marxist literature was a rare commodity in Hyderabad and in the absence of such literature, books written by M.N. Roy which were easily available, were also instrumental in creating the socialist and Marxist consciousness among the young generation. Although the Communist party of India was under ban throughout the country (1934-42) and in Hyderabad city the Unit of the party was not yet formed, but illegally published literature of the party had started trickling in and the Andhra unit of the party was making efforts to contact some of the workers of Andhra Mahasabha and Comrades Association with a view to form an un-
derground unit of the Party in this area.

During this period the left orientation of the national movement, under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and above all the victory of socialist revolution in Soviet Russia tremendously enthused the whole country, specially the younger generation.\(^\text{30}\)

Radicalising the thinking of the young generation of Hyderabad, gradually led to the formation of Comrades Association in 1939.

Comrades Association was not a political party, but it was a broad forum of all those forces who were anti-imperialist, anti-fascist, and anti-Nizam and who stood for Freedom, Democracy, Secularism and Socialism. It served as a common platform for Communist, Socialist, Royist, Congressmen and progressive individuals.

Here it should be emphasized that it was not floated by the upper strata of the society and liberal politicians with an eye to get some petty political concessions and individual benefits from the autocratic regime of the Nizam. This was a radical organisation started by Marxist and progressive minded students and youth to fight against imperialism, facism, communalism and autocratic regime of the
Aims and Objectives of Comrades Association were: 1. to explore grounds of differences among the various communities of the country and to endeavor to find out points of concordance. 2. to remove illiteracy from the masses. 3. to spread the above ideals in the public through the medium of Indian languages and 4. to propagate these ideas by arranging public speeches, debates and the circulation of newspapers and pamphlets.

The aims and objectives of the association were purposely kept very simple and non-controversial as to bring wider section of people into its fold and to ward off the heavy hand of the Government at the initial stage itself. Comrades Association was mainly a city based middle class organization, though it had contact in some districts of Telangana. The association had also taken up many problems of urban poor and from the very beginning was very keen to organize Trade Unions and always expressed its solidarity and active support to the problem and demands of the working class. This is evident from the resolutions passed in the annual conferences and working committee meetings of the association held from time to time.
The multifarious activities of the Comrades Association included

1. political campaigns and conferences.
2. lectures and talks on political issues.
3. political classes and study circles.
4. publication of books, pamphlets and leaflets.
5. Mobilizing people on food problem and other issues.
6. organizing workers in Trade Unions.\textsuperscript{33}

A public meeting to observe Anti - Nazi day was organized on 13.9.1940, which was presided over by Miss. Padmaja Naidu and the prominent persons who spoke on the occasion were Dr. Khalifer Abdul Hakim, B. Rama Krishna Rao, Sirajul Hasan Tirmizi, Kashinath Rao Vaidya and Dr. Lateef Sayeed.\textsuperscript{34}

Some time in 1939-40 many leaders of the Comrades Association came in contact with the Communists of Andhra area and they formed an underground unit of the Communist party in Hyderabad city along with the Comrades of the Telangana area i.e. Ravi Narayana Reddy and Baddam Yella Reddy, who were working in and through Andhra Mahasabha.\textsuperscript{35} Since then the Nizam state committee and its city unit functioned under the guidance of the Andhra Communist committee which was one of the strongest units of the
Communities. The Communist party in Hyderabad state was able to function as a legal party hardly for four years and again it was declared illegal in November 1946.\(^{36}\)

The changing political environment and the radical voice began to make itself felt in the Andhra Maha Sabha itself. After the eighth annual conference in 1941 Andhra Maha Sabha had taken the style of a radical nationalist organization at the instigation of the Communists. It attempted to organize campaigns like 'Detenues Day' 'Education Week' 'Anti-Forced Labour Week' etc.\(^{37}\) The most important and as it turned out to be the crucial issue, was the grain levy campaign. This levy produced a huge uproar. A leaflet was brought out explaining what the levy was and how people were being fleeced by corrupt officials.\(^{38}\)

The right wing nationalists in the Andhra Mahasabha were not at all happy at this turn of events and tried to win back the presidency of the organization at the 1942 and 1943 conferences. At the time of the 1944 conference at Bhongir, the work the Communists had been doing over the levy and the very fact that they had taken up the problems of forced labour and excessive taxation by Jagirdars was sufficient for them to build up a groundswell of popular support that scared the right wing leadership. Faced with the prospect of
loosing the elections they split from the Mahasabha. Communists members now controlled the entire organization and through it influenced a vast population. It had won the Andhra Mahasabha's great credibility. There was then a regular organization with a standing committee, district and taluk committees and by 1944 village committees, as well. It was possible to build these as by then Communist controlled leadership had instituted mass individual membership. By reducing membership subscriptions to four annas per head they recruited over 1,00,000 members in the rural areas. There were about 10,000 people at the rally at Bhongir.

In Telangana there were specific reasons which both assisted and arrested this process. Many of the Communist members were easily absorbed into the reformist traditions of the Andhra Mahasabha. As we have seen many had previously also been members of the state Congress and Arya Samaj. The political line of the Communists fitted in very well with their own political experience. In some areas, notably in Warangal district, the state had specifically appointed liberal field officers with the result that Communists and Andhra Mahasabha activists were pulled all the more easily into purely reformist legal wrangilings.
Devulapalli Venkateswara Rao, who was then Nalgonda district secretary of the CPI and district organizer of the Andhra Mahasabha, has described what happened:

"The comrades representing the revolutionary trend in Nalgonda district had gone to the peasant masses, took up not only issues like forced labour and illegal extortions but also boldly championed the cause of tenants, who were faced with the threat of evictions and were victims of exorbitant rents. Besides this they took up the issues of forcible grain collection from the peasants by Government officials. The revolutionaries relied on mobilizing and organizing masses for which they had to face intense repression in the form of arrests and sentences of imprisonment. Whereas in other districts party units relied on representing the grievances to the authorities, which did neither help to build a militant peasant movement, nor mobilize them for further struggles."

The reason for this strange difference appears to have been almost entirely fortuitous. It happened that party activists in Nalgonda district had almost all come out of the student movement of 1938, and so had not been influenced by Gandhian politics as had the veterans of the 1930-32 campaign who were in the Andhra Mahasabha already.
In most districts the party operations were supervised by high-level bodies, notably by the Andhra provincial committee in Warangal district. In Nalgonda district committee unhampered by these restraints was free in practice to develop its own programme.\textsuperscript{44}

In 1944 they held detailed political classes for the training of cadres one in Hyderabad with 100 people attending and other in Warangal with 80-100 people attending.

In addition to these special schools there was a regular system of meeting and report backs to party members after central committee meetings there were a couple of general meetings of members and sympathisers in each taluk to report on what went on. State committee members went to enlarged meetings of the provincial committee as Vijayawada, then to enlarged meetings of the various district committees which then reported to the taluk meetings. The cadres produced by this training were the people who were to fulfil a crucial role in organising the Telangana movement in the succeeding years.\textsuperscript{45}

The main impact that the Communists made was in their organisation around agrarian issues. The campaign against forced labour had already caused clashes with landlords. The Communists
and Andhra Mahasabha activities then took up tenancy questions as landlords scared of impending tenancy questions were beginning to evict people. The Communists members decided that since the legal system was rigged in favour of landlords, they should fight cases by the mass mobilisation of peasants to resist attacks.

The famous 'Jangoan Movement' which foreshadowed the general Telangana movement, was one such resistance movement.46

Towards the end of the 1945 the Telangana peasants were suffering from rapidly deteriorating conditions. As the economic crisis got worse the landlords stepped up their attacks.

The peasants developed a general resistance to gain collections and forced labour. They came to the local Andhra Mahasabha organizers and asked them to 'form a Sangham' that is to organize a local branch of the Andhra Mahasabha. Many of the cadres responded in such a positive manner to these peasant initiatives that after this time the Andhra Mahasabha was known as the 'Gutpak Sangham' (Baton society) while the earlier movement was called the 'cheetty Sangham'. They organized defence squads and went from village to village gathering forces.
At Palakurthy village in December 1945 the local peasants defeated an attempt by the local landlords to expropriate the crop of the widow Ailamma. However, the landlords returned with greater force, and captured and tortured those responsible for the thwarting of their designs. D. Venkateswara Rao then went to the neighboring village of Davaruppal and held a general meeting of the village. It was decided that each family should provide one young male to go to Palakurthy to defend the village. When the volunteers arrived it had an immediate effect on the morale of the peasants.

At about the same time there were incidents in two villages that had not been touched by the Andhra Mahasabha and Communist movement. At Akunur and Machireddypalli the peasants resisted police and revenue officials who had come to collect the grain levy. The police retaliated with torture, looting and rape. The district committee sent an organizer to Akunur who managed to obtain statements from 36 out of the 70 raped women. After discussing this kind of spontaneous fight, the district committee reconsidered their perspectives.47

The fighting at Palakurthy had been against the forces of the hated Deshmukh of Jangoan, Visnur Ramachandra Reddy. Enraged
by being opposed by people whom he considered his right to
ravage, he planned to crush resistance by murdering Andhra
Mahasabha activists. On 4 July 1946 his hired gang invaded the
village of Kadavendi, a couple of miles from Devaruppal, and fired
on a demonstration that was on the way to the Deshmukh’s house.
The local activist Doddi Komarayya a shepherd, was killed. The result
was very different from that anticipated by Ramachandra Reddy.
A crowd of more than 2,000 people gathered, looted his mango grove
and tried to set fire to his house. He was saved by the arrival of
60 armed police, who managed to get the crowd to disperse on the
(false) promise that they would arrest Komarayya’s murderers.

This killing at Kadavendi is generally taken to be the beginning
of the ‘Armed Struggle’ and it sparked off a mass movement covering
about 150 villages in the surrounding area. Shortly after Komarayya’s
death 200 acres were seized from a landlord in an adjacent village
and was distributed under the guidance of local Communist mem-
bers.48

The programme that was set out to implement was the most
radical that has ever been carried out in India. It consisted of

1. The abolition of forced labour
2. The abolition of illegal exactions and the repayment of negotiated properties of those which had been extracted in the past.

3. The return of 'illegally' seized lands, including seizure for alleged indebtedness and the manipulation of land records. They faced a problem in that, some rich and middle peasant families had also given loans and acquired land. This arose because any peasant family which had a grain surplus used it for lending. At this time it was decided not to re-distribute those lands but to concentrate on the landlords.\textsuperscript{49}

The Communist Party was banned in November 1946 and after that most of the organizers in Hyderabad city went across the border to Vijayawada. The defence squads were at a great disadvantage because except for a few 'country guns' (home made muskets) they were only armed with lathis and slings as against the force of the modern arms of the police and the army. By December 1946 a lull fell over Telangana as peasant resistance declined in the face of this repression.

Women played an important role in the Telangana struggle,
They participated actively in the land movement, in agricultural labour wage struggles, in seizure of lands and grain, against the "Briggs Plan" of evacuating the Koya, chenchu and lambadi people from their hamlets in the forest areas, or from their scattered hamlets in the plains. They were with their husbands and brothers fighting the Razakars and Nizam police. They had joined the militant political squads and underwent all the difficulties and joys of the life in the forests and hills and in the fields, in rain and in sun. They acted as couriers, as political agitators, and in new centres as organizers of people's movement and mass organizations.

They were the worst victims of the brutal tortures and atrocities committed by the Razakars and Nizam's and later Indian police and military. They had to face molestation and rape, apart from beatings on a large scale. They had to see their babies and children tortured and killed before their very eyes. They had to see their beloved husbands or brothers hunted and arrested and killed. They had to suffer all this, remaining in their own houses and villages, looking after what was left behind, the very young and the very old when their men folk had to fight to escape the fury of the army and police attacks, or had gone to join the fighters and the guerrillas in far-off secret places.
The story of their heroic and stubborn resistance in defence of their personal dignity, against molestation, torture, and rape, is an inspiring one. Their awakening to new social equality, to a new moral and cultural life, their stubborn fighting quality, gives us a glimpse of that tremendous revolutionary spirit and energy that is smouldering in womenfolk.\textsuperscript{50}

It was Chakali Ailamma in Palakurthy village, Jangoan taluk who was the first in bitter fight to retain her land and crop from being seized by the Deshmukh. She inspired her whole family of sons and daughters to be with the Party through thick and thin. Her house had been the centre of Andhra Mahasabha and Communist party activities against the landlords. She fought not only for her personal case - this only symbolized and signaled the beginning of the mighty struggle of the Telangana peasant.

In Miryalagudem taluk, in Mukundapuram village, the Sahukar had got Kummari Mattaya tortured to death because he refused to give up the land he had recovered from this Sahukar. His wife took up the challenge. She stuck to the land and refused to surrender. She was brutally raped by the police but still she refused. She roused the people to support her and succeeded in retaining, the land.
In Vadapalli centre, a lambadi peasant was killed because he too refused to surrender the recovered land to the landlord. But his wife took his place and succeeded in cultivating that piece of land in spite of the police terror.

In Kondrapolu village, another lambadi peasant cultivating a two acre wet land plot, that too, a recovered piece was done to death by landlord Dattudu. Here again his wife came forward and succeeded in defending her right on land.

In Subaramigudem, Golla Muttayya was killed for not surrendering the piece of land he was cultivating, but his wife stepped in and continued the cultivation and did not allow the enemy to seize the land.

In Moddulukunta, a lambadi took possession of a piece of land from landlord Ramakrishnanna who tried to seize it with the help of the police. The lambadi was beaten to pulp and forced to leave his house and farm. But his wife refused and persisted. She cultivated it and succeeded in carrying the harvest to her home.\textsuperscript{51}

Veeraram, a lambadi peasant and his wife resisted their land being
sized by the landlord's men and the police. The police trampled on the women who was pregnant and she died.

It was a fact that tens of thousands of women stood along with their men folk in this struggle for land.\textsuperscript{52}

A great percentage of agricultural labourers are women. They are in very large numbers, perhaps as many as the men themselves, because they too have to earn if they are to get even one meal for their children and themselves. They cannot rely on their men's earnings. As such it is not surprising that women participated in large numbers in all agricultural labour strikes, or in seizure of grain from landlord's and deshmukhs warehouses and gadis.

In the Kondrapalli centre, and other neighboring centres in a large number of village, agricultural labourers went on strike for increase of their daily wages to four seers from the then existing 2 or 3 seers.

In the demonstrations, women in large numbers participated with flags in their hands. Ultimately to force the landlords to come to a settlement, they had to raid and start seizing grain. The landlords were forced to concede the demands.\textsuperscript{53}
There were women who staying in their own villages, defended their homes, fought against the oppressors and the police and suffered immensely, but went on fighting. Many demanded to be taken into the guerrilla squads, to the forest area, maybe partly under the pressure of the enemy attacks as the only method of escape. The party admitted only a few women into the forest areas and even fewer in the guerrilla squads. Yet there were quite a number of women in various jobs, both in the political and militant fields in both the forest and plain regions.  

The village women folk aided the guerrilla squads in their raids. They provided the squad members with water and food while the battles raged for hours together. Women went in disguise to gather information about the military camps and passed it on to the squads. They also participated in battles with pots of chilli powder, kept vigil on the routes of the police and killed them. Hundred of such raids occurred all over Telangana.  

During the Nizam days in 1946-47 the Nizam police and levy officials raided the villages of Akunur and Machireddypalli in Jangoan taluk. They raped a dozen or more women. This incident was taken up even by Congress leaders as a major, issue, as an insult to the
honour of womenfolk and as a disgrace to national honour. Padmaja Naidu was in the forefront of that agitation and a huge wave of anger swept the whole country.\textsuperscript{56}

In Ragipadu (Suryapet taluk) a women who had delivered only three days before, was raped. In Narigudem (Bhuvanagiri taluk) a women who had delivered a day before, was raped. In Tangunta, a women in advanced pregnancy was raped. In Yenapadu, of Bhuvanagiri taluk, and in Pushpapur of Khammam taluk even girls of 10 years were raped.

Reports of women being raped by 5-10 military police men at a time were innumerable. More than 100 women died of brutal raping. In the first year itself reports showed more than a thousand women being raped. It will be no exaggeration to say that in all these three years of the police and military terror regime a few thousand women were raped.

But the women and the people waged a continuous and bitter fight against this barbarous attack on women, beat back the police in many cases, and saved themselves from this torture.\textsuperscript{57}
Soldiers from Nawabpet village (Jangaon) camp went in civilian dress to Vaddicherla village unarmed and raped women. The people of the village got wild. Hundreds of people surrounded the house which the soldiers had entered. While two escaped the other two were beaten to death.

In Proddutur village the military raided and after beating up villagers, shot dead four local militants. They tried to catch some women, but all the rest of the women of the village surrounded them and got their sisters released.

In Madarugudem, Miryalagudem taluka, the wife of the local organizer, Balakoti was caught hold of by the military. She resisted and fought back, and escaped from their clutches.

In Jalalpuram an armyman tried to rape a pregnant women. She talked to him to get him into room and then bolted it from the outside and gathered a crowd of women.58

When the armed police were attacking the villages of Balemula, Patasuryapet, Mallareddygudem, Devarapalle and in a number of other places, women were at the side of their men, handing them
stones for their slings. Along with their men folk they faced brutal lathi-charges and firings. In the Mallareddygudem fight, a women who was supplying stones standing by the side of her husband, was shot dead. Women resisted their men folk being spirited away in lorries and demanded that they should accompany them and face all the consequences. The police could move only when they took the fighting women in the lorries along with their men folk.

In the Kottagudem Koya hamlet, in Gundala area, in September 1950 the men and women of the whole village resisted the military atrocities and in that fight killed a subedar and three of his men and seized their guns. After this when the military came in large force in whole village had to take shelter in the deep forest. That was the heroic way the women lived through the ordeal, not even allowing their children to cry out, will always rouse admiration and be an example of the determination and stubbornness of which women are capable.59

In Rajaram centre, a man and woman of a lambadi tanda were taken to the camp, the police suspecting them of helping the guerrillas. They were made to stand up for days and nights without food and water. When they fell down, a little water was given and...
as soon as they became conscious were again made to stand up. Their legs became swollen, but even after this torture both of them would have rather given up their lives than give any information about the guerrillas. The enemy then let them off.

It was a common feature in the whole fighting area that women took extraordinary precautions to look after the guerrillas and squads, sheltering and billeting them in their houses and in a large number of cases keeping night or day vigil while the guerrillas or leaders were sleeping or resting. The women fed guerrillas and party organisers at any time of the night or day with great care and affection. They took food and supplies to the guerilla hideouts in the forests on hills and suffered horrible tortures and indignities when they were found out.  

In the village of Bendalapadu, a peasant women Rajamma was caught. She and her husband were tortured with red hot irons, her waist and hands were branded as if wearing ornaments but not a single word did she utter about the squads. The charge was that she was taking food to the squads in the forests.

In this struggle, women had participated equally along with the
men and due to this it became easier for the gram committees, Sangham and party to campaign against the age old ideas prevalent in the society that women were inferior to men. Women were elected to village Panch committees.

As mentioned earlier the Urban Women's Organizations in Hyderabad split on issue of support to the growing radical movement.

In 1945, there were two rival meetings of the Andhra Mahasabha. One was held at Warangal and was attended by non-Communists. The other was held at Khammam and was attended by Communists and their sympathizers. Both the groups discussed the problems of popular Government, representation for different religious groups, problems of peasants and agricultural labourers etc. It must be noted that these were also the last important meetings of the two wings of the Andhra Mahasabha. While the liberals slowly became a part of the state branch of the Indian National Congress, the radicals joined hands with the Communist party. Within the Congress also there were two groups consisting of conservatives and progressive-nationalists. The women who were active in the nationalist movement and also in the welfare and reformatory activities gradually
developed into diverse groups because of the influence of the Communist ideology. The organizations like the All India Women's Conference had stopped its relations with the activities of the Andhra Mahasabha saying that the Andhra Mahasabha had links with the Communists. The Navjivan Mandali had links with the Communists and they worked very actively in the war time and at the time of floods and also in the dalams in the freedom struggle. The women from the Andhra Yuvathi Mandali who were very active in nationalist politics were the founder member of the institution Yellapragada Sita Kumari. Burgula Anantha Lakshmi had participated in the Mahasabha conference. Though Anantha Lakshmi participated in the politics earlier, after independence she stopped her activities. She was not keen on involvement in political activity. She was very interested in the Andhra Yuvathi Mandali Activities. Her aim was to see it as an individual self-sufficient institution and it was fulfilled. Even now she continues to visit the institution.

Smt. Sita Kumari was very interested in politics. She pioneered the ideas which she propagated and in the process she became the member of the Legislative Assembly. The organized Satyagraha movement launched by the States Peoples, Conference in 1938 was only the beginning of the people’s struggle. It was at such time that the Communist party called upon the All India Trade Union Congress, the All Hyderabad Students
Union and the women who were organized in a few towns, to join hands with the Andhra Mahasabha and to come out boldly and protect the life of the people. Men and women prepared themselves to face the Nizam. Women played an important role in the Telangana Armed struggle. They who had suffered and starved under the regime of extortions of the Nizam and the Deshmukhs, now saw the possibility of a new life, and they actively participated in the land movement, in the seizure of the landlords' grain, and in the struggle for higher wages. They fought the Razakars and the Nizam's police and later the Indian Army, standing shoulder to shoulder with their men. Ordinary women in the villages heroically defended their land. It is a well known fact that tens of thousands of women stood along with their men in this struggle for land, women formed a large percentage of the participants in the agricultural labour strikes. In demonstrations, the women with red flags in hand came in large numbers and finally they participated in seizing the grain of landlords who were then forced to concede their demands of four 'seers' of grain as daily wages, raising it from the prevailing rate of two or three 'seers'. Even though the women had hitherto not been drawn politically into the movement or politically trained, they now rose to great heights of heroism and sacrifice in the course of the struggle. Not only did they fight in their villages and their homes, but many
demanded to be taken in the guerrilla squads and fight in the forests. The leaders admitted only a very few women into the forest area and fewer in the guerrilla squads. Mallu Swarajyam who was active even as a young girl in the Andhra Mahasabha, later joined the Communist movement and organized men and women to participate in the Telangana struggle.  

The Navjivan Mandali, a composition organization mainly of non-Telugu women of whom there was a large number in the city, did splendid work in the city. Among the most active was a young village girl from Marathwada, named Padma Deshpande. She played an important role in organizing the activities, going from school to school and taking the message of the demonstration to the girl students. Another individual who played a significant role was Sarojini from Dhoolpet, who was a hard working and devoted worker. She was not only in the forefront of the struggle for the introduction of food rationing but also took the responsibility of writing and distributing the ration cards, working day and night through the Mahila Navjivan Mandali. She earned great popularity and she used all her organizational talents to rouse women against the activities and the injustice of the Razakars. She gathered around her a good number of sympathizers who were a big asset to the anti-razakr movement.
N. Sathyavathi working in the Andhra Yuvathi Mandali was interested in working among Telugu speaking women and their organization. Yashodaben was another member of the Navjivan Mandali during the Razakar period. When the people's anger was mounting against their atrocities she played a dominant and inspiring role. She was a leading spirit directing the activities of the Navjivan Mandali.

The story of Jamalunissa Begum, fondly called Baji is not only inspiring but also significant because in those days Muslim women never participated in any movement that opposed the Nizam. In 1926-27 she decided to give up the purdah and to boycott foreign clothes. She became a nationalist, and though not actively involved in political activity, she never liked the idea of Pakistan. She invested all the Rs. 10,000 she got from her insurance policy to start an Urdu paper which for all purposes was a paper of the Communist party. This brave Muslim woman carried out her revolutionary mission courageously in a situation where hardly any Muslim woman dared to support the great Telangana Armed struggle or the Communist party which was its spearhead. In this great struggle women showed their courage and fortitude and in the process liberated themselves from the feudal chains that had bound them down for centuries. But, the reason so many women participated in leading the struggle was due to the good work done among women and by the women cadres.
From the beginning of the forties a mass organization of women was built.\textsuperscript{65}

In 1943 All India Women's Faction was formed. The question of Communist women's participation in the mass movement was discussed and the unit came to the understanding that whatever possible Communist women should work through the All India Women's Conference which was dominated by Congress leadership. Hyderabad at that time was backward. The struggle against British imperialism in various forms in British India had its echo in Hyderabad and in the women's field too.\textsuperscript{66}

In Hyderabad the Navjivan Mandali, was the one organization through which Communists worked very smoothly without any friction. In 1943 they collected cash and material for the Bengal famine through a variety of programmes. Though the Communists were active through Navjivan Mandali and All India Women's Conference, their ideology was very different. For instance, when the Navjivan Mandali collected money and material for the Bengal famine, Communist women wanted to send it to Mahila Atmaraksha Samithi but others wanted to send it to All India Women's Conference.\textsuperscript{67}
Communists earned a good name in Hyderabad through their hard work and mass contacts, like when Government decided to introduce rationing suddenly, there was panic in the city. The Communist party came forward to help in the distribution of cards which the Government refused. But, the same Communists when they approached the Government through Navjivan Mandali, they got 8000 cards which they distributed within two days. When there was a sugar and kerosene shortage in the city, the Communists went door to door distributing coupons. Then milk committee formed under the presidency of Princes Niloufer, had one of the comrades as secretary.\textsuperscript{68}

Pramela Mahendra one of the active comrade in Hyderabad, says that the general atmosphere helped the Communist programme. Their programmes were for the entire womenfolk irrespective of caste and creed. There was no friction among members. The way in which Communists worked and the way Navjivan Mandali became popular did bring credit to its members. It helped the Communist party to gain popularity in the city.

Communist women gave a new turn to the women's movement. Most of the organisations of women comprised of the middle and upper-
middle and and their membership was limited in numbers. For the first time peasants, workers, the downtrodden in the bustees in urban areas, the agricultural women, lower middle class women, side by side with lower middle-class intellectuals and activists all converged into a massive stream. The women's organisations became a big mass movement involving town and countryside.

The significance of the movement was the building of a movement which questioned the very basis of the society founded on exploitation, inequality and indignity. It demanded a socio-economic transformation of society.
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CONCLUSION

The earlier socio cultural movements which were started were not operating in the state because of the non-cooperative nature of the state. The community association which emerged in the late 19th and early 20th century, encouraged respective communities and helped the social and cultural change. Through these organisations women of that particular community started participating in public life. The community association and caste association which a merged worked for literary and cultural renaissance, gradually they gained politically importance during 1920's.

With the spread of education in the state and awareness created among educated ladies of the Muslim, Hindu, Zoroastrian and Christian communities and their duty to the women of there community. This consciousness has manifested itself into the organisation of recreational clubs and associations where members spend an evening hour or two in social intercourse. They have raised buildings of their own and quipped them for recreational purposes.
They also formed an association for the advancement of education among women which interests itself in other matters relating to women. Safeguarding the interest of Hindu widows in the matter of inheriting property. The question of women's franchise has also gained attention. They participated in the deliberations of the All India Women's Conference. As Teachers, Doctors, Writers, Speakers at zanana gatherings and honorary visitors to women's hospital and child welfare centers.

These organisation held their weekly and monthly meeting and deliberated upon reforms and education. Not all of them advocated that women break down the confining walls of the home, some still talked in terms of exerting their influence best from the home but they all preached the general uplift of women. Relief work undertaken by the Girl Guide Centres and in the 1930's and 1940's particularly for earthquake victims. The Navajeevan Mandali, Andhra Yuvathi Mandali, All India Women's Conference Hyderabad branch relied plans begin consisting of opening milk and rationing centres.
The public life in Telangana was slowly become a active and effective and expressing itself in various fields. One such field was the emergence of women associations and organisations which have tackled women's issues and women's problems. These early women's associations were the stepping stones for future women to participate in politics. Gradually the sphere of women's participation expanded into the more open public and political organisations which began taking the central stage from the 1930's onwards in form of Andhra Mahila Sabha a separate socio cultural wing which encouraged women to participate in politics.

The aim of the Andhra Mahila Sabha was to reform socio-cultural and educational matters as there are other associations to deal with the requirements of other items that vitally affect the needs of women. However, the need to broaden the horizons was soon recognised. Y. Sita Kumari President of third Mahila Sabha in her presidential address stressed the importance of social service along with education. Social evils as poverty, early marriage, purdah were according to her, the external conditions or impediments to the progress of women's
education in Telangana. She also stated that at every stage of education, the spirit of social service should be inculcated.

This period also saw the advent of political awakening among the masses resulting in an all-pervading influence of anti-imperialist ideology affecting every field of activity. While the constitution of the conference declared that its aim was not to engage in party politics and only to deal with all questions affecting the welfare of women. It could not help but attain a political colour. Social reforms of women's rights activities which led to definite legislations being passed eg., child marriage, inheritance of women and other legal rights. Social Service activities which include women and child labour welfare, health and family planning, child and maternity welfare, work for backward classes and campaign against untouchability, anti-bigotry, earthquake, flood and famine relief work undertaken, and other such activities for socially handicapped, training programmes for workers and mothers, women's self employment schemes, protection for the aged, for destitute women and so on.
Andhra Mahila Sabha emphasised the need to provide medical aid to women and children. They suggested that a department of health under a senior women medical officer be instituted in every province to establish hospitals for women where none existed, to staff them, to undertake training of nurses and midwives and advise the surgeon-general on the policy of organising adequate spread the message of elementary principles of sanitation, hygiene and proper care of children, and resolution were passed origin the necessity to limit the family.

The Andhra Mahila Sabha was a premier women's organisation that had attracted the most talented and capable women of this century. They were Yellapragada Sita Kumari, Burgula Anantha Lakshmi, Nadimpalli Sundaramma, Madapati Manikyamba, Rangamma Obel Reddy and many others. In the historical context, the Andhra Mahila Sabha was more significant. It symbolises the transfer of leadership of the women's movement from men to women. It has revealed women's early awareness that the responsibility for women's regeneration belongs to women. In the nineteenth century the movement for women's education and uplift was initiated and led by men. In the twentieth cen-
tury, as women become more educated, they formed their own associations and occupied responsible positions. The Andhra Mahila Sabha has been the premier and pioneer organisation in Telangana. The organization has provided women with opportunities to come out into the world outside the parameters of the house, in order to contribute something to society at large. Most of the members taken initiative and will in carrying out their crucial period the Andhra Mahila Sabha must be given a place of pride Telangana History.

Ilendula Saraswathi Devi and Burgula Anantha Lakshmi opened though some women from elitist, educated families had come forward, for the most part women's meetings were addressed by men and essays and comments in women's magazines and journals were encouraged them to cooperate in the freedom struggle. Most of they women who participated in the movements have told that they received inspiration from the men in their families. Yet with participation came an awareness of themselves as a group and as individuals.
Women had supportive fathers and husbands behind them was a decisive factor in their emergence as leaders of the women’s movement in Telangana. The supportive atmosphere of their homes undoubtedly muted the militancy of their participation. Their views were generally moderate and they regarded the opening of education opportunities for women as a cause that should attract the support of all liberal-minded persons.

In this category we can place women like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who has supportive father, B. Anantha Lakshmi, who’s husband was Burgula Ramakrishna Rao, Illendula Saraswati Devi, Yellapragada Sita Kumar Rangamma Reddy and others.

The women educators representatives generally supported national education movements, rapid introduction of universal education, more extensive use of the vernacular, more stress on Indian cultural values and more vocational and practical training. They were of the opinion that the direction in which nationalist educators wished to move the educational system would benefit the cause of female education.
The decision to create the Telangana women's wing in political process was the clear indication that women educators were aware that organizational unity would be required to pressure for reform and expansion of women's education in Telangana. However, it was quickly recognised that the organisation of pressure groups would not be sufficient guarantee of influence, women would have to gain access to the inner councils of political process. This point of view was cogently expedient by they pointed out that conferences and women's journals are not enough, reform will only be forthcoming when women have access to administrative power to put their ideas into effect. The same views were carried out and propagated Sita Kumari, Nandagiri Indira Devi and others.

In Telangana the type of women's movement compared of elite an dedicated women here in this type of representation women demanded equal rights, status, property rights extension of educational opportunities, voting rights etc. In this category elite women and women from aristocrat background have participated. The interests of other
groups of women have not been well represented by these women's movement, very few lower class women have participated in the movement.

The early women's associations were limited in its scope focussed on spreading new unless and knowledge to women. The lack of effects to reach the masses and expand the narrow social base of the women's movement has limited its effectiveness in promoting social change in the poverty stricken regions of Telangana. Women's organisations in Teleangana largely are of upper middle class units composition and its membership. These organisations have not been able to challenge the basic social, economic and cultural constraints that affect the majority of women.

However, the improved status of upper caste and class Telangana women and the equal rights legislation are in large part due to the efforts of the Telangana women's movement and its historical links with the nationalist movement and women movements in other regions. In Telangana women's movement was of urban, middle class
in nature and they did not represent all women. One significant factor in Telangana women's movement that early women's movements are represented by upper caste women. The reasons for lower caste women not to represent is to be studied in detail.

In the later half of 20th century i.e in Telangana Armed Struggle one finds mass mobilization issues like kind, wages, working conditions were taken up. The Arms struggle had given an opportunity to rural women to participate but leadership was again in the hands of upper and middle case and class women.

In the armed struggle women's participation was seen as emergency movement at the time of acute trouble or problem. Afterwards the women went behind the screen and were lull. This type of women's movements create an opportunity to women to lead and at the some time its sustainability in very short. This has been very much prevent with the Telangana armed struggle. After the struggle women are asked to be in their own respective places i.e. family.
The difficulty encountered by women's movements had been their inability to mobilize large members of people. This has diminished the political clout of women's movements. Telangana women's movement was limited and more elite in nature. If enjoyed greater access to political elites and favored the politics of elite representation over the policies of mass mobilization.