

More On Andhra Politics

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DURING a recent visit to Hyderabad I found quite a number of documents, including Party Programme (Draft) published by the Andhra Pradesh Communist (Revolutionaries) Committee, being sold on the open market. From these and conversations with people the following picture emerged:

In Andhra Pradesh four major revolutionary groups are functioning viz. 1. A group committed to the line enunciated by the late Charu Mazumdar. 2. A group which broke away from Charu Mazumdar's party and is following the line of Satyanarayan Singh. 3. The Revolutionary Communist Party of Andhra Pradesh known as the Chandra Pulla Reddy Group and 4. The group which broke away from the A.P. Revolutionary Communist Party, known as the Nagi Reddy group.

After a setback in the Srikakulam movement—after the killing of about 200 persons belonging to the Charu Mazumdar group including its top leaders, Vemptapu Satyam, Adibhatla Kailasham, Panchadi Krishnamoorthy, Dr Chaganti Bhaskara Rao, Dr Devineeti Mallikarjunudu and Subbarao Panigrahi, by the police in so-called encounters and the arrest of more than 12,000 workers and cadres including Nagabhushanam Patnaik, Tejeswara Rao, Kolla Venkaiiah, Bhuvanmohari Patnaik, Satyamurthy and Ravooof—a section of the party began a rethinking of the "individual annihilation line" given by Charu Mazumdar after his alleged visit to the Srikakulam area in 1969. Tejeswara Rao, Kolla Venkaiiah, Nagabhushanam Patnaik, Bhuvanmohari Patnaik, along with Kanu Sanyal and Souren Bose had had with the Chinese Communist Party during his alleged visit to Peking. Satyamurthy, a teacher turned Naxalite, S. A. Ravooof, Intha Rama Reddy and a few others still adhere to Charu Mazumdar's line and have rejected the courts.

Some time back Paila Vasudeva Rao, a leader of the Srikakulam revolutionary movement, who is still at large, signed a joint appeal among the Communist Revolutionary Party in the country to unite, along with Satyanarayan Singh and the Chandra Pulla Reddy group. The Srikakulam movement at present is under the control of Vasudeva Rao, it is said, and the movement is coordinated with the revolutionary movement going on in Khammam, Warangal and Karimnagar districts of Andhra Pradesh under the leadership of Chandra Pulla Reddy. The Vasudeva Rao group, giving up the "individual annihilation line" has taken up the programme of propagation of revolutionary politics, mobilisation of the masses on mass basis, taking necessary actions on their enemies like cruel landlords and police informers and self-defence against the police—thus paving the way for agrarian revolution. The same is the policy that the Chandra Pulla Reddy group is following in the agency areas of Khammam, Warangal and Karimnagar districts.

When I asked some people of the Nagi Reddy group who broke away from the Revolutionary Communist Party, they said the differences between the Nagi Reddy group and the Pulla Reddy groups are mainly based on theory versus practice. While the Nagi Reddy group confined itself to mere formulations of revolutionary programmes and principles to carry out armed struggle, the Pulla Reddy group

The Revolutionary Communist Party was formed in April after being disaffiliated from the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries. In its convention, the Andhra Revolution Committee adopted a programme called "Immediate Programme" and the Co-ordination Committee was called the Revolutionary Communist Party, to facilitate the Committee to exercise democratic centralism in it. The "Immediate Programme" announced the commencement of the armed struggle at the onset of the rainy season, in June 1969.

About 8 months prior to the convention, Chandra Pulla Reddy was sent to the Telengana area to prepare people for armed struggle. Since then he is on the ground. A few days after the arrest of Bathula Venkateswar Rao (a provincial committee member who was later arrested by the police), raids on the houses of landlords were undertaken to procure firearms to protect the raiding from the police, as they heard of the setting up of police camps in the area. On one night about 8 houses in the Pagideru area of Khammam District were raided and 13 firearms were procured. In this Pagideru incident police persecution and repression were continued. The agency committee did not actively move into the area to do propaganda of revolutionary politics and mobilize the masses in anti-feudal struggle. The provincial committee criticized Pulla Reddy for not stopping these raids, for not making self-criticism and admitted on his part for not stopping the "adventurist raids". He told the Party that he was not in a position to stop the raids as the cadres were nervous on conducting them and the Party had also failed at the convention to convince the cadres that the steps were adventurist, though at that time in Manthana of Karimnagar District some members had procured a weapon from an American. Even later neither Nagi

Reddy nor D. Venkateswar Rao, the two top leaders of the committee, went to the agency area to tell the cadres of their "adventurist" activities. Nagi Reddy, defying the committee mandate, remained open and was arrested in a hotel at Anantapur under the PD Act. On a *habeas corpus* writ petition in the High Court he was released. Later he and seven others were arrested in Madras. Consequently several district leaders and important members of the party were arrested under conspiracy charges of overthrowing the legally established government through violent means. Pulla Reddy and Ramanarasaiah, the key figures of the Khammam and Warrangal movements, were not arrested as they did not participate in the alleged Madras meeting and are still eluding the police trap. It may be mentioned here that the State Government has announced a reward of one lakh rupees each on the heads of Pulla Reddy and Ramanarasaiah.

The arrested leaders had sent a document from jail—"Present Situation and Tasks"—in which the armed struggle in the Agency area was hailed as the right line. The jail leaders called for a provincial committee outside as they could not direct the movement from jail. Accordingly a new provincial committee was formed. The two area committees of Khammam and Warrangal which had some differences, clinched them and set up a committee. In 1970 they reviewed the activities of both the area committees and four principles of armed struggle were laid down: the propagation of revolutionary politics, mobilization of people on mass issues, necessary action on people's enemies and defence against the police. The Agency leadership had been keeping the jail leaders informed about all these things. But differences started when the new PC sent a letter to the jail leaders asking them to make use of the court in which they were being tried for propagating the revolutionary line of the party. The jail leaders wanted to set up civil liberties com-

mittees with the CPI and the CPM also, to demand the release of the arrested leaders. The new PC was opposed to the idea of forming a civil liberties committee with the revisionists. It wanted the committees to first condemn police repression of the movement and to make the issue of the release of the arrested leaders a secondary one. Within a few months, after the formation of the new PC and both the area committees of Khammam and Warrangal coming together, the party achieved significant results and the revolutionary movement could go forward. Both the area committees circulated a reply to the document on the lapses of the Khammam Agency movement prepared by the old PC and seized by the police in Madras and used by the Government of Andhra Pradesh as a relevant document in the Conspiracy case. The reply denied all the criticisms made in the old PC document and said that it was an attempt to belittle the armed struggle. When this document was released the jail leaders got panicky and questioned the very authority of the new PC and began to criticise the Agency movement and said it had deviated from the line given in the 'Immediate Programme'. The jail leaders also went to the extent of saying that the Agency movement followed the line of Charu Mazumdar. The jail leaders, who had hailed the movement till the last part of 1970, suddenly changed their estimation of the movement in December 1970. The jail leaders later also said that they would resume the powers of the PC and wrote a letter to the party rank and file to reject the new PC. On this the PC circulated another document explaining how the movement was put on the right line. In that document they asked the cadres to condemn the subjugationism of the jail leaders. The jail leaders in their document 'Left deviations in our Party' raised some points of difference with the PC on the assessment of Indira Gandhi's Government after her victory in the mid-

term parliamentary elections, on the issue of the split in the Congress, and about the assessment of the prevailing revolutionary situation in the country. The PC in its documents said that on all those issues their stand was similar to that of the Chinese Communist Party. The jail leaders, ignoring all the internal discussions and violating organisational principles, openly inspired some of their comrades to form rival committees. Lastly, a break in the party became imminent when the jail leaders through their advocate argued in the court that the arrested leaders had nothing to do with the action in the Agency area and that Pulla Reddy, Ramanarasiah and others were alone responsible for all the actions. This made clear the subjugationism of the Nagi Reddy group and a majority of the district committees in the State except the Hyderabad and Guntur committees, extended their support to the PC.

The Andhra Pradesh Revolutionary Communist Committee has successfully concluded its first conference recently and elected a new PC with Ramanarasiah as the secretary. The conference claimed that by following the four principles of armed struggle, they could undertake several anti-feudal struggles and could stop the exploitation of moneylenders in the area. They had also successfully fought illegal extortions by village and forest officials. The Party said that under its leadership more than 200,000 acres of forest land was occupied by the tribals. The party could make a beginning of forming village volunteer squads and strengthening guerilla squads. It was preparing the masses to occupy the landlords' lands.

People said that Nagi Reddy was now running a weekly magazine *Janasakti*. Devulapalli Venkateswara Rao has associated himself as one of the editors of *Proletarian Path*, published from Calcutta. This group is engaged in criticising the Chandra Pulla Reddy group and the Charu Mazumdar Group.