

Andhra Pradesh : Analysis Of A Split

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

MR K. P. Satyamurthy, a top Naxalite leader and a close follower of the late Charu Mazumdar, who was stated to have been striving for a rapprochement between all the revolutionary groups in the State, including the revolutionary communist group led by Mr Chandra Pulla Reddy, the moderate Marxist-Leninist group of Mr Satyanarayan Sinha of Bihar, and his own group of Marxist-Leninist Party which adheres to the Charu Mazumdar line, was arrested in Hyderabad on the night of November 29 in a "dramatic swoop" as he was emerging from his city 'hide-out'—a house, the Deputy Inspector General of Police (CID and Railways) told reporters.

It is stated that Mr Satyamurthy had met Charu Mazumdar just before the latter's arrest last July and had lengthy discussions. The DIG told reporters that Mr Satyamurthy carried a reward of Rs 25,000 on his head and had been underground since 1969.

The DIG also said Mr Chandra Pulla Reddy, the leader of the Andhra Pradesh Revolutionary Communist Party, carries a reward of Rs 100,000 on his head.

Though the police sources are reluctant to say anything about the differences between the two groups of the State Revolutionary Communist Party led by Mr Tarimela Nagi Reddi, and Mr Chandra Pulla Reddi, party circles told this correspondent that while efforts were being made to bring about a rapprochement between all the revolutionary groups in the State, their Party (The Revolutionary Communist Party of Andhra Pradesh) was on the verge of a split.

It may be recalled here that Mr Chandra Pulla Reddi was expelled from the CPM in 1968 along with Messrs T. Nagi Reddi, Devulapalli Venkateswara Rao and Kolla Venkaiah, the Secretariat members of the CPM State unit. The four leaders

formed in September 1968 the Andhra Pradesh Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries with Mr Nagi Reddi as its convener. Mr Kolla Venkaiah who differed with the State Co-ordination Committee on certain 'issues' left the Committee and associated himself with the Marxist-Leninist Party.

The APCCCR, which joined the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries headed by Charu Mazumdar, in October, 1968 was disaffiliated by AICCCR in February 1969. The Andhra Pradesh Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries held a State Convention in April 1969 and adopted an "Immediate Programme" to carry out revolutionary activities in the State. After the April Convention the State Co-ordination Committee called itself Andhra Pradesh Communist Committee of Revolutionaries.

Soon after the formation of the State Co-ordination Committee Mr Chandra Pulla Reddi was deputed by the Committee to the Telengana Agency (forest) area to build up the revolutionary movement there.

In December, 1969 Mr T. Nagi Reddi and eight others were arrested in Madras and subsequently state-wide arrests were made and the Government of Andhra Pradesh charged them with conspiring to overthrow the legally established Government through violent means. The Special Court, constituted to try the accused sentenced 23 persons including Mr T. Nagi Reddi and Mr D. Venkateswara Rao to four years rigorous imprisonment while acquitting 24 others. Now all the convicted are on bail and have filed an appeal in the Andhra Pradesh High Court.

In Madras 6 out of 9 Provincial Committee members of the APCCR were arrested including the Provincial Committee Secretary Mr D. Venkates-

wara Rao and two secretariat members, T. Nagi Reddi and Mr M. Karayana Swamy. Mr Chandra Pulla Reddi, another secretariat member, and Mr P. Ramanasaiyah, Provincial Committee member, evaded the police trap.

The polemics in the Party started mainly in the last part of 1970 particularly between the Jail Committee and the Provincial Committee outside. Though on the surface it may look that the differences between the jail leaders and the Provincial Committee started on the correct implementation of the "Immediate Programme", in fact it had several other reasons.

It may be recalled here that the members, realising that it was not possible for them to effectively function as PC and lead the party and the people's movement from inside jail, resolved to dissolve the PC and ceased to function as PC. They asked the Party outside to form a new Provincial Committee to shoulder the responsibilities of the party and the people's movement. Accordingly a new PC (with the remaining two members of the old PC and one new member) was proposed and the proposal was unanimously approved in two separate meetings, one being the joint meeting of the forest area and of all the armed squads, and the other of representatives of the district committee of the plains area. The new PC came into existence in July, 1970. For a few months close co-ordination between the newly formed PC and the arrested leaders was maintained. But by the end of 1970 the jail leaders began to circulate their own documents without consulting with the PC and belittling the armed struggle in the Telengana Agency Area. The jail leaders in their document "Left Deviation" accused the PC that it had violated the line enunciated in the "Immediate

Programme". Volumes of documents were issued by both sides, defending each their stand.

The Revolutionary Communist Committee of Andhra Pradesh outside in a document "Defeat the Party splitting activities and capitulationist policies of T. Nagi Reddi and Devulapalli Venkateswara Rao", says: All the comradely efforts to reconciles with the jail leaders proved futile and the whole ideological discussion with them was of no avail. The jail leaders who are now on bail are openly criticising in public the revolutionary movement in the Telengana Agency Area and have denounced it when the enemy was employing every means, political and military, to suppress the armed struggle and at a time when the situation demands the utmost unity in the party to strengthen the revolutionary people's movement in the state. They tried to show confusion, doubts and a sense of no-confidence in the minds of Party members and people about the future development of the people's armed struggle. "With fabricated baseless charges and utter lies about the armed struggle and about the Provincial Committee leadership who were in the thick of the movement, the two leaders wrote documents and distributed them from jail on their own without the knowledge of the PC and without any discussions in the party at any level. In gross violation of principles of party organisation and party discipline, they established a rival PC inside jail and tried to form rival committees in the State and thus are trying to split the party and the people's movement."

The document further alleged that the jail leaders never objected to the political line and to the principles of armed struggle followed by the PC though all the documents on political and ideological issues and on problems facing the armed struggle prepared by it were sent to them. Moreover, the jail leaders "upheld the armed struggle of the agency areas of Warangal, Khammam

and Karimnagar Districts in their document distributed in June, 1970, "Present Situation—Our Tasks" and described the agency movement as a "struggle being waged in self-defence of the cadre and to defend the people's movement", and also wrote in that document that "the movement had the people's support and it did score many successes and that it was surging forward", the present document claimed.

Points of Difference

The document at length explained the points of difference between the PC and the jail leaders.

About the split in the Indian ruling classes into pro-American and pro-Russian groups, the document said that India is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country subjected to neo-colonial exploitation by imperialists, especially by U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists. The Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlord classes were split into pro-American and pro-Russian groups and the two groups were locked in a dogfight for power. While political parties like the Syndicate Congress, Jana Sangh and Swatantra represented mainly the pro-American group, the private sector in India, the Indira Congress and her friends represent mainly the pro-Russian group, the public sector. The Indian ruling classes were split on policies to be followed and were beset with internal contradictions and as a result were getting weakened. While it was the stand of the PC, Nagi Reddi and Venkateswara Rao held that there were no differences among the Indian ruling classes on policies and they were not split into pro-American and pro-Russian groups. The jail leaders further argued that the Indira Congress itself did represent the whole of the Indian ruling classes—the big bourgeoisie and big landlords—and safeguards the interests of both American imperialism and Russian imperialism and thus they came to the conclusion that the Indira Government was an

independent power, the document alleged.

In this connection the document quoted the views of the Chinese Communist Party and said that the views of the PC were in accordance with those of the CPC while those of Nagi Reddi and Venkateswara Rao went against the CPC's views.

Due to the policies of exploitation pursued by the Congress for the last 25 years, the country is in the grip of serious economic and political crises, the people of various classes are fighting against the policies of exploitation of the ruling classes; in different parts of the country armed peasant struggles have broken out under the leadership of Communist Revolutionaries. As a result of people's struggles developing throughout India the ruling Congress party was split into two; the ruling classes and their political parties are facing a serious political crisis and the political situation in the country is unstable. This instability is a permanent one. The document said that the PC was of the opinion that a permanent political instability prevailed in the country.

Contrary to this political estimation, Nagi Reddi and Venkateswara Rao argue that after the spectacular election victory of the Indira Congress, there exist no groups or split in the ruling classes and that their differences have disappeared. They also argue that the instability which existed before the parliamentary elections of 1971, has changed into stability. The PC argued that the successes of the Indira Congress in the elections to Parliament and State Assemblies (by false promises, by using military and police forces and by making most opportunistic agreements with other political parties) did not alter the instability among the ruling classes. The conditions which created the permanent political instability did not disappear with the election victory of Indira Gandhi. The so-called stability is only a temporary phase within the framework of the per-

manent political instability and this will not continue long.

On the assessment of the revolutionary situation also the two groups give different accounts. While the PC saw an excellent revolutionary situation and its development day by day and felt that the "present revolutionary situation" nationally and internationally was more favourable than the situation at the time of the Telengana armed struggle (1946-51), Nagi Reddi and Venkateswara Rao said that the existing revolutionary situation was not more favourable "for armed struggle" than in that period.

When to Start?

Though no auspicious day can be fixed to start armed struggle, the Revolutionary Communist Committee in its "Immediate Programme" fixed 'Muhurat' for the start of such struggle. "With the onset of the rainy season i.e. in the month of June we can start the armed struggle... Rainy season provides the favourable climate for resistance movement", the Immediate Programme stated. This fixing of 'muhurat' was ridiculed by the CPI(ML) and the PC later could note the mistake they committed. Nagi Reddi and D. Venkateswara Rao in their document "Left Deviation" tried to defend the fixing of the date, saying that when they formulated the Immediate Programme there was an exodus of party members into the Marxist-Leninist Party and to stop it and give confidence to the rank and file of the party they had to fix a time! But later Nagi Reddi and Venkateswara Rao accused the Agency leadership for starting the armed struggle in the name of self-defence 'before the

people were prepared for occupation and distribution of the land of landlords'. The PC contested this line of thinking and explained that the landlords and the government would not sit with hands tied till the people were prepared to seize their lands. But at the same time the PC did not forget the importance of the preparedness of the people to come forward to occupy the landlords' lands. The document explained in the following lines the PC's stand on the issue:

When the people launch mass struggles on their own issues against feudal exploitation, the landlords and the reactionary government come down heavily on the movement using the armed police to suppress it. In such a case if the people in defence of their movement, are prepared to resist the armed repression of the government with arms, the communist revolutionaries should lead such a struggle; and must strive to develop the movement which had started on partial demands into agrarian revolution. If and when people are not prepared to resist the brutal armed suppression and repression to which the people's movement is subjected in the process of its development, we must adopt necessary tactics for self-defence of the cadre and the mass movement to develop the movement into agrarian revolution. We have to decide upon the forms of struggle for self-defence taking into consideration the degree of the preparedness of the people for armed struggle, their support, geographical conditions (contiguity) of the area concerned etc.

In the forest areas of Warangal, Khammam and Karimnagar districts, when mass struggles were developing against feudal and other exploiting classes, the reactionary Congress Government unleashed heavy police repression to suppress the people's movement. In order to safeguard this movement and its gains and so save the cadre, the people and the party were forced to take up arms in self-defence.

So, armed squads were formed. The party and the armed squads have put forward before themselves the main task of mobilisation of people for armed revolution.

The document mentions propagation of revolutionary politics of people's war, mass mobilisation on their immediate issues, necessary actions against the enemies of the people who actively oppose and work against the development of the movement and self-defence against the police, as the main principles that guide armed struggle at the given phase.

The document criticised Nagi Reddi and Venkateswara Rao for the change in their attitude towards the Marxist-Leninist Party from non-antagonistic to antagonistic. The April Convention of the State Revolutionary Communist Committee decided to conduct political and ideological struggle against the "left sectarian" and "adventurist" policies of the Charu Mazumdar group on the one hand and on the other to treat them as revolutionaries and to resolve differences with them by fraternal discussions on ideological and political issues. It was also decided to maintain non-antagonistic relations with them, the document added. The PC also claimed that its approach in accordance with the decisions taken at the April convention, had yielded certain results and many people belonging to the CPI(ML) were in the process of rethinking and some of them had joined their party. But the jail leaders argued that the Charu Mazumdar group should not be treated as revolutionaries and no attempt should be made for unity with them. The aim should be to defeat them, the document alleged.

The PC felt that all legal opportunities, legal mass movements and mass organisations should be utilised for the development of people's armed struggle. Civil liberties movement was also a part of the mass movement and it should help to strengthen the mass movements and armed struggle. It should expose

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and condemn the brutal repression of the government and should rouse the masses to demand the restoration of all civil liberties, including the release of the leaders. The PC said that it should not have any truck with revisionists and neo-revisionists even in the name of civil liberties movement. But Nagi Reddi and Venkateswara Rao wanted to unite not only with the old and neo-revisionists but even with the reactionary elements in the name of fighting for civil liberties. They also wanted to make the release of arrested leaders the central issue of the civil liberties movement, the document said.

Barrel of a Gun

The document severely criticised Nagi Reddi and Venkateswara Rao for commenting on Mao's strategic slogan "political power grows out of the barrel of the gun" as simply a 'figuratively given slogan'. "Where is the difference between these comrades and the neo-revisionist party leader Basavapunniah, who joked that "not only power but smoke also comes from the barrel of the gun?", the document questioned.

The document also stated that immediately after the April convention (1969) Nagi Reddi brought before the then PC his request that he be allowed to get arrested because he could not lead underground life and because he had no confidence in himself to lead armed struggle. The April convention had decided that party membership should be given only to those 'who are prepared to go underground'. Nagi Reddi refused to honour the Party decision and remained legal till he got arrested while he was in a hotel in Anantapura, his native district, in September 1969 under the Preventive Detention Act.

The document criticised Devulapalli Venkateswara Rao, the secretary, for not taking steps to organise a secret underground party machinery and for not making any efforts to send the leading comrades in the plain areas underground. He was

arrested in Madras eight months after the April convention without setting up any secret party machinery.

"One is surprised to know that in the eight months before their arrest in Madras the two leaders never cared to visit the forest area where the armed struggle was going on and did not help the movement in any way."

"Even after putting forth these arguments and openly disowning the armed struggle in the Telengana Agency Area, it is ridiculous for them to try to convince the cadre and the people that they are for armed struggle. It is also ridiculous for them to say that they are for armed struggle when they advocate unity with the revisionists and neo-revisionists but refuses any unity with other revolutionary groups which are leading armed struggle."

The document claimed that the movement which was started with one taluk had extended to nine taluks in the forest area of Khammam, Warangal and Karimnagar districts and in hundreds of villages people occupied more than 100,000 acres of Reserve and other kinds of land. In most of the forest area, the people have 'done away' with 'setti' (free labour), corruption and bribery of forest officials, contractors and patels (village officers) and freed themselves from the feudal exploitation of exorbitant rates of interest and Nagu (debt in the form of grain). People in the forest area are freely enjoying and utilising the forest produce.

"As a result of continuous propaganda of revolutionary politics and mass mobilisation of their immediate issues, political consciousness of the people is growing. People see armed struggle as the only way for their liberation from the age-old and inhuman exploitation. That is why a large number of Girijan and other youth, men and women, are volunteering to join the armed squads. People's village committees are being organised. The people are doing everything to support and safeguard the armed struggle, brav-

ing the fascist method of suppression, inhuman torture and raping of women by the police of the reactionary government."

The government has burnt down several villages in the interior of the forest area 'to wean away' the people from the extremist influence' and set villages in the pattern of Vietnamese 'hamlets'.

The document explained the steps that the PC had taken to safeguard party unity. It had proposed to circulate their documents. It had also proposed to hold a State plenum of the party to discuss and resolve the political and ideological issues and on the basis of the discussions and decisions to elect a new PC. But Nagi Reddi and Venkateswara Rao turned down these proposals, the PC document added.

It further alleged that the two leaders had formed a rival PC inside the jail with the arrested members of the old PC (except one secretariat member who criticised them for anti-party activities and capitulationist policies and extended his support to the Agency area armed struggle and the PC) which they themselves had dissolved. "The two leaders gave a call to form rival party committees in the State and thus caused a split in the party."

The PC solemnly declared that they would fight till the end and carry forward the armed agrarian revolution until the realisation of the great hopes of 'our martyr comrades'—the establishment of New Democracy—and the PC would steadfastly adhere to and follow Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung Thought and implement the people's war path.

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JANUARY 27, 1973