

## LET US LEARN FROM COM. T.N

Comrade Tarimela Nagireddy was born in a wealthy family on February 11, 1917. He spent his childhood in the Theosophical and Rishi Valley schools which were well known for discipline and all-round development of personality. One may not be certain of how many of its pupils learned dignity of labour, which these schools used to teach, but the respect for labour that grew in young TN had led towards the movement of toiling masses.

It was this respect towards labour and toiling masses that saved him from succumbing to the feudal authority and ways that prevailed in his family. It made him humble towards the working class movement. This became sharpened with the study of Marxist-Leninist theory and politics and developed into the consciousness for working class struggle. It moulded him into a proletarian revolutionary and self-less person neither the relation and affection as father and son came in the way when he had to launch the struggle against the landlord of his own family.

The anti-national and reactionary governing body of Madras Loyola College could not tolerate independent and nationalist ideas of Com. TN. It could not tolerate independent political thinking, thirst for knowledge and actions of Com. TN. Unable to compromise, Com. TN shifted his studies to Benarus Hindu University, where he found more freedom for his independent political thinking.

He actively participated in the activities of student's union and was elected as its president. At that time, BHU was a centre for various political views. The untiring efforts and initiative of Com. TN had led the student masses towards the nationalist politics, socialist ideas and proletarian revolution. Eventhough he was performing the important responsibilities in the students' movement and secret organisation of Party, the class background of his family delayed the process of getting party membership for him. Only after the party firmly confirmed that he had moulded himself as a proletarian revolutionary, it gave him the membership. He withstood all the tests required by the standards of the then Communist Party for a member and became a member of the vanguard of working class, the Communist Party, in 1939.

Marge Grower, the then Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University made a chauvinistic speech in the convocation of BHU against the then national slogan for the formation of Constituent Assembly. Com. TN, who was then the president of Student's Union, openly challenged him. This caused 'pain' to the traitorous leader of national movement, Gandhi. He wrote a letter to the Vice-Chancellor

of BHU demanding an apology from Com.TN. Com.TN rejected the demand of Gandhi. This angered the Principal of Law College and so he failed Com.TN in the examinations in the studies. He met the Principal and told him he lost interest in the study of law and his life would venture in a new path from then onwards.

After returning to his native village with MA degree, he strived to organise the youth and students into Communist movement. During the political classes organised by the Congress Socialist Party, Com.TN used to teach contemporary economics and politics creatively applying Marxism. Though the Congress leaders did not like this, they were helpless because of the wealth of information substantiation that usually contained in the speeches of Com.TN. During this period, Com.TN attracted the youth towards Marxism.

Com.TN published a booklet titled "*Economic Effects of War*" in 1940 which dealt at length the impending crisis as an after effect of Second World War. As a part of the anti-war call given by the Communist Party, Com.TN used this booklet to extensively propagate against the war. As the British Government started a hunt for Com.TN, he went underground. At that time, the Government started collection of levy from peasants for its war efforts. While the Government chose to leave the foodgrain stocks of landlords untouched, it was forcefully collecting levy from the poor and middle peasants. While in the underground, Com.TN charted out a programme to oppose the levy. He collected the details of foodgrains stocks of landlords and exposed it before the people. The Government issued an arrest warrant on him under the charges of sedition and treason. It took into custody the owner of the press that printed the booklet. Com.TN owned up the responsibility for publishing this booklet and was sentenced to one year rigorous imprisonment. No sooner he was released from Thiruchirapalli jail, the government arrested him again right in the jail premises as a detenu under the Defence of India Act.

Frightened by the country-wide post-World War upsurge, the British Imperialists and their servants, the Congress Government in the Madras Province unleashed repression on Communists. The then Chief Minister Tanguturi Prakasam issued an ordinance banning the Communist Party. In this context, Com.TN was arrested and released in 1947.

As the Telengana Peoples Struggle against Nizam had reached a higher stage, all the activities of the Communists had to be conducted secretly both in Telengana and Andhra regions. Many families had to go underground to work as members of guerilla squads or to conduct other activities. As a result barbarous attacks on families, they had to be moved enmasse to elsewhere. As a member of Rayalaseema Regional Committee, Com.TN took proper measures to save the

secret organisation and the families of several comrades which came under repeated raids by the police. His wife Laxmikanthamma also went into underground life helping him in his tasks. He also took the difficult task of circulating the party literature secretly and duplicating it whenever the copies fell short. He maintained and protected the centre with all responsibility and caution.

After the withdrawal of Telengana Peasant Armed Struggle, Com.TN came out of his underground life and contested as a candidate in 1952 general elections. The Government arrested him and released him only after elections. He defeated Neelam Sanjivareddy from prison. He played a key role in Madras Assembly as the leader of opposition.

After the formation of Andhra State with its headquarters at Kurnool, the Congress joined hands with bourgeoisie opposition parties as against the Communists. Various feuding sections of the feudal landlords joined together to attack and defeat the Communists in elections. Com.TN contested from the Puttur constituency, which was a formidable fort of feudal landlords. In order to strike hard at the heart of feudal forces, Com.TN changed his earlier constituency and contested from here. In these elections, the Communist Party had to carry on its propaganda armed with sticks. The cadre of Communist Party under the guidance of TN widely spread the policies of the Party among the people. This was a struggle in which the toiling people attacked the feudal bastion. In fact, it was a war between two classes.

Though defeated, Com.TN organised a number of meetings after the elections and explained to the people the political tasks before them. The landlord sections could not consider their success in elections as a victory.

The results of the mid-term elections drove the rightist forces in the Communist Party to the brink. They came out openly advocating the need to tail behind the bourgeoisie. They firmed up their arguments in support of so-called progressive policies of Nehru. Internationally, the Krushchevite revisionism came in handy for them.

Com.TN and other leaders were closely watching the danger of revisionism in the Party. Keeping this in view, he closely examined political and economic developments in the country. Not only that he engaged himself in organising the people into class struggles and consolidating them politically. Along with engaging himself in this type of work in Ananthapur district, he responded to such programmes all over the state.

In 1957, TN was elected to the Parliament. This provided him with an opportunity to study and analyse the political economic and social problems of

the country. He fully utilised it. As a member of Public Accounts Committee, he made a thorough study of imperialist grip over all industrial and economic spheres. He proved that the Indian economic system is not independent and it is tied to the interests of imperialists. The central leadership of the then Communist Party not only rejected but also ridiculed his conclusions on Indian economy.

Com. TN and other leaders opposed the rightist leadership which was acting as a tail to Nehru's policies and as worshippers of Krushchevite revisionism on various national and international issues. Since 1959-60, Com. TN opposed the expansionist designs of Nehru Government and the national chauvinist trend in the Communist Party. Com. TN and other comrades condemned strongly the rightists who were supporting the Indian Government's attitude of rejecting the friendship between India and China and its aggressive acts. The result was his arrest in 1962 under National Security Act.

It was the time when the revisionist and national chauvinistic forces within the Communist Party had come out more openly whipping up national fanaticism. As a result of disruption caused by this revisionist and chauvinist faction, Party faced a split. CPI(M) came into existence by fighting against revisionism and national chauvinism. Com. TN was one of those who ruthlessly fought against revisionism.

The Government made preparations for repressive measures against CPI(M). In December 1964, during the Indo-Pak war on border issue hundreds of leaders and activists of CPI(M) were arrested. Com. TN too was arrested.

The CPI (M) was formed as a result of fight against national chauvinism and Krushchevite revisionism and disruption within the undivided Communist Party. Contrary to this, the central leadership of CPM came to the fore with trends like national chauvinism and praising the big bourgeoisie as independent etc., Com. TN and other comrades started opposing these trends from the jail itself. The central leadership laid the basis for its opportunist positions on international ideological question in the 7th Congress of Party held in Calcutta itself. It came out nakedly with its opportunism in Madurai document of 1967. With this document the leadership of CPM bowed its head to the Soviet Modern Revisionism. Com. TN and other leaders who raised their voice against this opportunism inside the jail, vehemently opposed this document. It became imperative for them to openly oppose the method of undemocratically pushing the opportunism onto the entire organisation by the leadership of CPM. Com. TN stood in the forefront of this struggle.

Com. TN condemned outright the barbarous act of drowning the Naxalbari movement in blood committed by the United Front Government, in which CPM

was a partner. He criticised the expulsion of leaders and cadres of Naxalbari movement from the Party branding them as 'ultra-left'. He took measures to expose and repel the scuttling of internal democracy resorted to by the neo-revisionist leadership. He protested and opposed the method adopted by the leadership in organising discussion on the Madurai document as undemocratic and dictatorial; He considered that it was his historical responsibility to revolt against the Central Committee of CPM and his close associate and the then General Secretary of Central Committee, Com. P. Sundarayya.

In order to defend and push through their own opportunist policies, the CPM leadership resorted to most heinous and dictatorial methods. Com. TN and other leaders behaved in a responsible and disciplined manner. They demanded a thorough discussion on the document, "New Situation and New Tasks", which was circulated before the Madurai document. They also demanded a re-evaluation of the Programme of the 7th Congress, which had the seeds of present opportunism. They condemned the avoiding of discussion by CC with regard to the revolutionary path and demanded the spelling out of the Path. By that time, the CPM withdrew from the documents of 'Great Debate'. The leadership was cautiously trying to make the cadre to swallow Krushchevism. In the Palakollu Plenum, these neo-revisionist policies were thoroughly defeated. Overwhelming majority of members voted in support of the Resolution proposed by Com. TN.

They unequivocally stated that the Naxalbari Peasant Revolt called on us to take up the path of Telangana. By this time, the oppression and brutal attacks of landlords and Government on the girijan peasant movement and party cadre of Srikakulam, Khammam, Warangal and Nalgonda districts were demanding a revolutionary path. Com. TN and other leaders demanded the Central leadership to formulate a revolutionary path. But the opportunist and bankrupt leadership of CPM responded by expelling Com. TN and other leaders from CPM.

By that time Com. TN and other leaders were in a situation where they had to shoulder the responsibility of taking measures to prepare the people to resist against the unbridled terror let loose by the landlords in Srikakulam, Nalgonda, Warangal and Khammam districts. They declared revolt against the treacherous neo-revisionist policies and undemocratic methods of leadership of CPM and formed Andhra Pradesh Co-ordinating Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (APCCCR). Com. TN was elected as its convenor.

Com. TN was a member of AP Legislative Assembly from 1962. As an MLA, he represented the rural poor and peasant movements in the Assembly. He expressed his strong indignation against the deteriorating living conditions of people. He condemned and exposed the brutal suppression of toiling masses by

landlords and the ruling Congress party.

During the movement for Visakha steel plant, all the opposition members resigned from the Assembly as a protest against the fraud played by the both State and Central Governments and also against the brutal repression on the people. Com. TN sent his resignation letter to the speaker condemning the repression and explaining the causes of his resignation.

In the districts of Telangana, the landlords were freely using lethal weapons against the people without any fear of law or reprisal from the state. Com. TN repeatedly brought to the notice of the Assembly the instances of attacks on rural poor in the villages of Maheswaram, Chandrugonda, Narakkapet, Katsala, Nelamarri, Salipet, Hussenabad, Thonda, Tekulapalli, Thimmapet and others. In his resignation letter he said: "With all pain, in all these instances the people were arrested and not the criminals. It was the rural poor who were subjected to many hardships. The real culprits, landlord forces, are roaming freely". The righteous indignation of a real representative of people was expressed in that letter.

His thinking and activities moved closely along the course of development of Srikakulam Girijan Movement from its early stages to its higher stage. On various occasions when the landlords and Government unleashed the reign of terror, he toured the area and stood by the side of people and cadre. The Girijan Movement built by the party since 1958, continued and developed into a sharp class struggle from 1964 to 31st October 1967. On the later date, with the martyrdom of Com. Koranna and Manganna the movement took a new turn.

The leadership of CPM, which opened floodgates for parliamentarism, took irresponsible and surrendering attitude towards the future course of Naxalbari, Srikakulam and Telangana movements and towards the repulsion of landlord attacks. Com. TN and other leaders declared war against the ideological and political roots of this treachery of CPM and formulated the course to protect and advance these movements.

While taking steps to re-orientate the style of work as against the orientation of revisionists and neo-revisionists, who subordinated all the activities of the Party to parliamentarism and emasculated the orientation of class consciousness and class struggle. They intensified internal struggle on ideological and political issues within the CPM. They made extensive political and ideological campaign. The bankrupt policies and conspiracies of leadership of CPM were smashed by the revolutionary politics and ideology.

The All India Co-ordinating Committee of Communist Revolutionaries

(AICCCR) already came into existence by the time the APCCCR was formed.

Com. TN explained the understanding of the Indian revolutionary movement in his interviews to BLITZ in 15 May 1968 and the Swedish journalists on 16 March 1969.

In these interviews Com. TN self-critically explained the reasons for splits in the Indian Communist Movement. He exposed the services rendered by the revisionists and neo-revisionists to the ruling classes as a result of parliamentary path. He explained the close relation between the main form of struggle, i.e. armed struggle, and other forms of struggle. "We will enter these legislative bodies to expose their fraudulent character and to convince the masses that revolutionary way is the only way to solve their problems", he said. Thus, he applied the Marxist-Leninist principle that the legislative bodies and elections should be utilised as legal forms of struggle - to the Indian situation.

He said, "If we had been carrying on the working class struggle in its revolutionary form during these 16 years, we could probably have also used parliament, even while an agrarian revolution was going on in some places.... We can go in for armed struggle in really large area and still sit in Parliament in other areas where no armed struggle is going on. This would probably have been the best way to organise the revolutionary struggle .... sometimes parliamentary and sometimes extra-parliamentary". Through these lines Com. TN clearly pointed the necessity of closely combining various forms of struggle keeping in view the unevenness in political and economic spheres, consciousness of people and level of the movement in our vast semi-colonial and semi-feudal country.

While stating that non-Congress coalition Governments are a hoax, he made clear, "We will enter the Assemblies to expose them, but not join any coalition Government". He made a sharp criticism as to how the revisionist and neo-revisionists are serving imperialism and feudalism in the name of United Front Governments.

In these interviews he stressed the need for building the revolutionary peasant movement. He said that the rebuilding of revolutionary zeal, which was lost due to parliamentary path, was the immediate task. The main task is to build agrarian revolutionary movement with land to the tiller as its central slogan. All the measures being taken by the Government in the name of modernising the agriculture are only strengthening the imperialist plunder of our agriculture; so, the problem of peasants is not only the problem of smashing feudalism, but also the problem of throwing out the imperialism. Hence, he clearly stated that we should fight for the successful conclusion of Peoples Democratic Revolution,

which is anti-feudal and anti-imperialist with agrarian revolution as its axis.

Though 16 years have passed since Com. TN gave these interviews, they are still relevant and continue as guidelines for peoples democratic revolutionary movement.

When Com. TN resigned to the Assembly in March 1969, many including those belonging to other political parties seriously felt his absence in the Assembly.

The State Plenum of A.P. Communist Revolutionaries was held in April 1969. It adopted the document "Immediate Programme" which was prepared with the orientation of agrarian revolutionary movement. Accordingly Com. TN moved the landless peasants of 28 villages in Ananthapur district to occupy the banjar lands which were in hands of landlords for the last 30 years. Com. TN personally led the movement. All the three thousand acres of land was distributed to landless peasants. Similarly, in line with Immediate Programme, the Communist Revolutionaries led the movements in Kurnool, West Godavari and East Godavari districts to occupy forest banjars and the lands under the occupation of landlords.

Com. TN opposed the wrong trend of ignoring the importance of building revolutionary movement in countryside with the agrarian question as the central point in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country.

The responsibility of defending the programme of Peoples Democratic Revolution and Peoples War path rested with Com. TN and other leaders. They took measures accordingly.

While taking measures, Com. TN and other leaders were arrested in Madras. In this context, many doubts spread and attacks were made on Com. TN and the Organisation.

On the one hand, countering the vilification campaign of the ruling classes, and on the other, defending, owing up and explaining the revolutionary mass line and putting it into practice -- all these tasks were to be carried on simultaneously by Com. TN and other leaders. Particularly, Com. TN stood like a rock and faced the challenges from all sides.

After the Government foisted the conspiracy case basing on the Documents of Atlapragada Plenum in 1969, Com. TN took it as his political and moral responsibility to defend and own up the "Immediate Programme". He owned up the entire practice that was part of the implementation of Immediate Programme. At the same time, he did not openly criticise the left opportunist politics and

practices that went against this programme. He considered them as internal problems of revolutionaries. This dignified attitude of Com. TN was taken by some as a weakness.

As one of the accused in the Hyderabad Conspiracy Case, he categorically stated in the court (July 1970) that "it is impossible to implement land reforms by democratic methods without an armed revolution.... It is sheer deceit to say that feudalism can be rooted out without giving a call to revolutionary practice". He concluded his long speech in the court by declaring that "it is inevitable that the masses would overthrow the ruling classes by means of class struggle and peoples armed revolution".

Those who misunderstood Com. TN's politics would correct their mistakes by reading TN's Court Statement as the declaration to the sessions court. Com. TN, DV and others decided to own up and defend the policies of the party and prepared themselves for any punishment. Com. TN himself argues his case in the court. In the cross examination he exposed the exploiters, landlords and police officers. He followed the footsteps of Com. Dimitrov in the Reichstag fire case and the Indian Communists in the Kanpur and Meerut Conspiracy cases.

Finally they were convicted. High Court granted bail with stringent conditions. He came out of jail in May 1972 with a firm resolve not to return to it even if he was convicted by the High Court. Soon after his release the Government arrested him for a short period in the context of separate Andhra agitation.

Again he plunged directly into action to expose the Government's policy of suppression against revolutionaries, killing in fake encounters and keeping the people in concentration camps in Srikakulam district. He placed before the democrats the necessity of a democratic rights movement against the undemocratic activities of the ruling classes. He toured the girijan areas of Srikakulam district extensively and thus extended a helping hand to them. He consoled and comforted them. He boosted the morale of the masses here through his political campaign. As a result of these efforts and the civil and democratic rights movement that gathered strength in various districts the Government was forced to relax the repression on the Girijan masses.

He advocated that we must have a broader perspective in the democratic rights front; that all forces that can be united can be brought into fold of the movement against oppression on girijan and peasant masses, against encounters and for the release of revolutionaries. He felt that such a movement was very much needed at a time when we had to fight back the attacks of ruling classes and

neo-revisionists branding the revolutionaries as anti-social elements.

Com. TN took the campaign for Defence Committee for the accused in Parvathipuram Conspiracy Case as a political responsibility and conducted the defence committee meetings as political campaigns. In this context, the neo-revisionists published the most venomous letter and attacks Com. TN. Since 1968, the neo-revisionists were spitting venom on Com. TN. This is the natural character of neo-revisionists who reduced themselves into social chauvinists and running dogs of the ruling classes.

In his efforts to form Unity Centre of Communist Revolutionaries, Com. TN kept various experiences in his view. He perceived that it is not enough for the revolutionaries to come under a single committee and many problems of practice and application may crop up. He moved with the understanding that the unity would strengthen in the course of building revolutionary movement and functioning of the organisation. Within the two months of the formation of Unity Centre of Communist Revolutionaries, Indira Gandhi imposed Emergency and unleashed fascist repression.

Since his release from jail until the imposition of the Emergency, Com. TN worked hard for democratic rights, for legal defence of revolutionaries and rebuilding the movements that faced setbacks due to repression. He also worked tirelessly for building movements in the peasants, youth, workers, literary and cultural fronts and to train the revolutionary cadres. A few months before the imposition of Emergency, he warned in meeting of cadres about the possibility of imposition of Emergency and gave orientation of how to mobilise people even under the conditions of Emergency. Utilising the pseudo-reforms of the ruling classes, he told the cadre, the illusions of people could be shattered. He asked the cadre to expose the ruling classes through leaflets on each and every problem of the people and to gain skills in distributing them even under the severe conditions of repression. AP State Committee made extensive propaganda under his guidance and produced and circulated secret papers.

He poohpooed the Congress leaders for their sycophancy of Sanjay Gandhi when he toured AP. He hated the Congress culture of worshipping a person because he happened to be the son of Prime Minister. He made arrangements for the preparation of a satirical leaflet and arranged for its distribution on the same day of his visit to Guntur.

During the Emergency the Government decided to build a heavy engineering plant at Vijayawada and to collect levy from peasants and middle class traders. For its construction. It came to the notice of Com. TN when he

toured Krishna district in June 1976. He asked the cadre to oppose this as a part of the move to loot the people in collaboration with the imperialist companies and to burden the people for this purpose. He directed the district organisation to take up a programme. The Party cadre went to the people and mobilised the people's opinion against it. The Vengal Rao's Government was forced to retreat from its plans.

It was in this period he toured Rajasthan, Punjab, Bihar and Bengal. He gained the first hand knowledge about the political, economic situation, life of the people and the situation of communist revolutionary movement there.

Problems cropped up in the Unity Centre within a year of its formation. Eventhough those who had different political and organisational orientations and hailed from different regions had come into one organisation, it is a mistake to think that the old understandings would not be reflected and after the formation of the Committee a comprehensive understanding should be developed among its members. This was the understanding of Com. TN.

He took the initiative into his hands to set right the organisational situation and to establish unity. With the unanimous adoption of the Resolution, "One Year of Emergency and Situation", by the CC in May 1976 and other decisions on the matters of functioning, the spirit of resolving the problems had emerged. For this, the attitude adopted by Com. TN was the main reason. But the spirit evaporated immediately after his demise. His absence was immediately felt.

The restless work and labour had effected the health of Com. TN. The fever and vomitings that started on July 17 subsided with routine treatment. But it recurred. The efforts of a private neurologist and senior doctors of Osmania Hospital to save his life were futile. Com. TN (who took admission in the Osmania Hospital under the name of 'Venkataramaiah') breathed his last in the early hours of 28 July 1976.

The body of Com. TN was handed over by the hospital authorities at 9 AM. It was taken to the house of his beloved sister Mrs. Rama. While she was taking the body in her car to Tarimela, the police stopped the car at Kalluru and arrested the body of Com. TN. Thousands of people had gathered to see their leader. The police made strict bandobust to thwart the people's efforts to get a glimpse of their departed leader. Only after the people agitated, they allowed them to see by forming a queue. They handed over the body to his relatives after conducting a postmortem. Thousands of people followed his body from Ananthapur to Tarimela. With tears, the people paid homage to their beloved leader.

The death of Com. TN shocked the revolutionaries and people. The demise of Com. TN who personified the revolutionary iron will was a irreparable loss to the revolutionary movement.

Com. TN was an uncompromising fighter. He fought against the exploiting society tirelessly and unrelentingly from his student days till his last breath. He faced many hardships and departed as a true proletarian revolutionary.

Com. TN fought back every attack of exploiting society on the poor. His response to the political, economic and social problems of people was seethed with righteous indignation. Like a lion, he used to plunge into the problems of people. Whatever may be level of these problems - local, provincial, national or international - his response would be the same. As proletarian internationalism and proleterian class struggle outlook got into his blood, he remained steadfast as a revolutionary fighter till the last minute of his life.

Com. TN took a principled stand against the revisionism and right and left opportunism that reared their head in the Communist movement. In this struggle, he put into practice what he believed, disregarding the personal vilifications. He is an outstanding leader of Communist Revolutionaries who showed discipline, sacrifice, responsibility, patience, courage and humility towards the communist organisational principles.

Com. TN played his role in the Parliament and Assembly as the representative of working class and its movement. He had been an unparalleled propagandist and agitator. He organised people into agitations by exposing anti-people policies of exploiting classes through his fiery speeches.

Even the class enemies used to like Com. TN. Forgiveness and compassion were his natural characters. Com. TN observed the misuse of his good nature by some opportunists; Yet, he did not hate them but tried to correct them.

All these virtues of Com. Nagi Reddy belong to the future generations of revolutionaries. They are the inheritors. We must own and emulate all his best qualities like sacrifice, determination, discipline, tireless work, study, responding nature and fighting spirit and achieve the revolutionary goal of Com. Tarimela Nagi Reddy.

**Meghanath**

"We, the Communist revolutionaries believe in the theory of People's War. We have declared in the Immediate Programme our Path. "Our revolutionary line - completely different from the revisionist parliamentary path." "The vital aspect of this Programme is to liberate the villages, encircle the towns and gradually liberate the urban areas." In the successful implementation of this Programme "Agrarian Revolution plays the vital role." Hence the need for revolutionaries to propagate the importance of land distribution and organise the masses for action on the question of land."

**("INDIA MORTGAGED" - Page 533)**