

## **Chapter 2**

### **Articulation of Left Ideological hegemony and the Formation of Communist Party of India in the Madras Presidency**

The years between the Non-Cooperation movement (1922) and Civil Disobedience movement (1930-34) were a period of transition for the national movement in Andhra. Several changes at the national and international level influenced the course of national movement in Andhra. During this period the influence of Russian Revolution, spread of Socialist and Communist ideas, failure of non-co-operation movement, Simon Boycott agitation, activities of revolutionary terrorists, trial of Communists in Meerut Conspiracy Case, death sentence to Bhagat Singh and his friends and finally the suspension of Civil Disobedience movement, created great impact on the minds of the youth in Andhra that made them turn towards communism.

A striking feature of this period was the spread of new social and political ideas rooted in the Communist ideology. At one level, these new ideas evolved on man–woman relationship, problems of women, peasantry, working class and untouchables had galvanized reform of social and cultural space. At another level, different ideological positions in relation to the national liberation struggle were discussed and propagated. It is argued by Atlury Murali that during this period “two contradictory visions of the future transformation of society – one rooted in the bourgeois ideology and the other in the left ideology – started competing for both ideological and political hegemony over the national movement”.<sup>1</sup> This ideological struggle within the framework of the national movement led to the emergence of several Leftist organisations and parties Andhra in the 1930s.

The focus of this chapter is the analysis of the emergence of Communist Party of India and the political conditions in Madras Presidency during 1920s and 1930s. We mainly deal with the factors that contributed to the growth of Communist ideas in Madras Presidency, i.e., the impact of October Revolution and the economic depression of 1929-30 in an environment of political disappointment of youth with the

earlier Gandhian movements. The changing trend in the Telugu literature helped the spread of socialist ideology through literature, which in turn shaped the consciousness of the youth. The activities of the peasant leader N. G. Ranga, ideas of Jawaharlal Nehru had an impact on Andhra youth. At political level, the failure of civil disobedience movements of 1930-34 had disappointed the youth with the Gandhian methods of struggle. This appears to have created space for alternatives methods of struggle for independence.

Another important aspect that is discussed in this chapter is the contribution of revolutionary terrorists of northern India for the growth of Socialist ideology in Andhra. The Revolutionaries of north India who were arrested during the 1920s and 1930s were sent to jails in different places in South India. They became strong believers of Communism. The youth who came to jails during the Civil disobedience movements of 1930-34 came into contact with the revolutionaries. These youth influenced by the revolutionaries became socialists and communists and took part in the formation of Congress Socialist Party and Communist Party in Andhra in 1934-35.

The economic depression of 1930s and its impact on peasantry, fall of prices of agricultural commodities and dissatisfaction among the peasantry, the appointment of land revenue re-settlement committee and consequence increase in land revenue demand and the agitation against re-settlement of land revenue are also discussed in this chapter.

The withdrawal of non-cooperation movement in February 1922 witnessed all round disappointment among the nationalist forces, which came together during 1920-22. Two main currents of an opposite nature emerged from the Non-cooperation movement. The first current is representative of the upper middle class Liberals of the Congress who have not been in sympathy with Gandhi's methods, turned towards Constitutional approach. The second group is the Radical nationalists who later turned towards Socialism and Communism. Some of the Terrorist revolutionaries, who

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<sup>1</sup> Atlury Murali, "Changing Perceptions and Radicalisation of the National Movement in Andhra, 1922-34", *Social Scientist*, Vol.16, No.8, August 1988, p.3.

discontinued their activities during the Non-cooperation movement on Gandhi's appeal, reverted to their old ways. All these groups worked within the womb of the Indian national movement. S.A.Dange, Muzaffar Ahmad and others were attracted towards Communism. Bhagat Singh, Chandrasekhar Azad and other revolutionaries influenced by October Revolution, became Socialists and formed the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association.<sup>2</sup>

The common feature of all these groups was to give the national movement a left orientation by mobilising and organising the workers and peasants. The workers and peasant's parties also came into existence. For instance, N.G. Ranga organised the Guntur District Agricultural Labour's Conference at Nidubrolu in 1923. This was the first agricultural labour conference held in India.<sup>3</sup> S.A.Dange started a weekly, *The Socialist* from Bombay to popularise the leftist ideas. This was the serious beginning of the spread of Socialist ideas in India. Since neither the Socialist Party nor the Communist Party were in a position to stand on their own, all these groups submerged their distinctive individuality under the umbrella of Congress led national movement and fought for the independence under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

After the suspension of the Non-cooperation movement, the young and educated people were dissatisfied with the Gandhian methods in Andhra, resorted to individual terrorist activities. Prativada Venkatachari known as Bhayankarachari of Kakinada, who started revolutionary activities in Kakinada felt that 'Gandhism is a failure. Gandhi's non-violence is not possible. Surely, the nation must try the alternative method of breaking up the fetters. If Gandhi's non-violent movement is a failure, there must be a mass revolution in India. To affect this mass revolution, masses must be awakened, inspired and encouraged. To furnish which and to check the atrocities of their administration, which will be on their swing, political murders be committed. When youths are hanged and deported, a nation's eye cannot be blind. To furnish finance to the operations, banks must be looted, if necessary and places of

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<sup>2</sup> Bipan Chandra, "The Ideological Transformation of Revolutionary Terrorists of Northern India in the 1920s", in B.R.Nanda (ed.), *Socialism in India*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1992, pp.163-189.

<sup>3</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 10<sup>th</sup> September 1923, p.10; Sarojini Regani, *Highlights of Freedom Movement in Andhra Pradesh*, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1972, p.106.

accumulation of wealth dealt with”.<sup>4</sup> Bhayankarachari gathered several youth around his revolutionary activities. The members of his group planned to kill the notorious Deputy Superintendent of Police, Mustafa Ali Khan, by hurling bombs.<sup>5</sup> However, they failed in their attempts and Mustafa Ali Khan arrested them. The government launched Kakinada Conspiracy Case and convicted them.<sup>6</sup> Again in 1933, in Tiruchirapalli some of the youth who were influenced by the revolutionary terrorists of northern India, formed a branch of Hindusthan Socialist Republican Association.<sup>7</sup> The organisers of this association planned to carryout revolutionary activities after their release from the jail.<sup>8</sup> They made unsuccessful attempts to loot the Mylapore Imperial Bank in Madras and government revenue collections near Kovur in Nellore district.<sup>9</sup> Later, 23 members of this association were arrested and government launched their prosecution under the Madras Conspiracy Case. Twenty of them were convicted to various terms of imprisonment.<sup>10</sup> After their release, P. Sundarayya, the organiser of Communist Party in South India met the revolutionaries and convinced them to join communist party.<sup>11</sup>

Another group of youth who participated in the Non-cooperation movement, dissatisfied with the suspension of the movement joined the Communist and Socialist

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<sup>4</sup> Statement of Bhayankarachari in the court of sessions, East Godavari division, Cocanada, Sessions Case No. 8 of 1934.

<sup>5</sup> Inguva Mallikarjuna Sarma, *Role of Revolutionaries in the Freedom Struggle*, Marxist Study Forum, Hyderabad, 1987, p.249.

<sup>6</sup> Kakarala Kameswara Sastri of Samalkot, Chilakamarthi Narasimhachari of Cocanada, A. Sundaram of Samalkot, Challa Apparao of Peddapuram, Vadlamani Sriramamurthy of Indupalli, Chilakamrthi Satyanarayanachari of Kota, Madduri Narasimhachari of Kota, Prativadi Bhayankarachari of Kakinada and Oruganti Ramachandraiah of Nellore were the accused in Kakinada conspiracy case. See, G.O.No. 2558, dated 6<sup>th</sup> June 1934, G.O. No. 3225, dated 15<sup>th</sup> November 1934, G.O. No. 3307, dated 21<sup>st</sup> November 1934, Law (General) Department, Government of Madras. Also See, Bhayankaracharya, *Andamanu Jivitamu*, (Life in Andamans), (Telugu) New Political Publishing House, Rajahmundry, 1938.

<sup>7</sup> G.O. No. 1399 (S-51), dated 15 August 1936, Home (confidential) Department, Government of Madras.

<sup>8</sup> The Andhra members of this organization were M. Sabhapathi, B. Joseph, K. Arunachalam, K. Gopalasastri, G. Balakrishna Reddy, B. Balaramireddy, R. Audisheshaiah, B. Bapiraju, and G. Dasaratharamireddy, Kanuri Ramananda Chowdary of Gudiwada was the organiser of this group. Sarojini Regani, *Highlights of Freedom Movement in Andhra Pradesh*, p.139.

<sup>9</sup> Tirumala Ramachandra, *Hampi Nunchi Harappa Daka* (From Hampi to Harappa) (Autobiography), (Telugu) Ajo-Vibho Publications, Hyderabad, 2000, pp.205-206.

<sup>10</sup> P. Siva Sankara Reddy, “Revolutionary activities during the period from 1930-34”, *Itihas*, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1&2, January – December 2000, p.86.

<sup>11</sup> P. Sundarayya, *Viplava Pathamlo Na Payanam*, (Telugu) Part 1, Prajasakthi Press, Vijayawada, 1994, pp.57, 61-62.

Parties. Dr.Chelikani Ramarao, Pandiri Mallikarjunrao, Damisetty Parthasarathy, Darisi Chenchaiiah and Pratapa Ramasubbaiah were some of the Non-cooperationists who turned towards leftist ideas after 1922.<sup>12</sup>

### **Impact of Russian Revolution on Andhra and Telugu Literature**

The spread of Marxist and Socialist ideas in Andhra, after the 1917 October Revolution in Russia had created a nucleus of dedicated young revolutionaries within the womb of the nationalist movement in Andhra. The growth of left ideas among the youth in Andhra was through the spread of Marxist literature in the form of books, novels, poems and articles. In fact, the Andhra nationalists have keenly followed the Russian Revolution and the political, economic and cultural changes that followed revolution. In the early twenties, the nationalist press and several national leaders hailed the Russian Revolution as a great historical event and rightly thought that it would be an inspiration for the colonial liberation movements. The Newspapers like *Lahore Tribune* and *The Modern Review* published articles on Socialism and the Russian Revolution. Famous Tamil poet Subramanya Bharathi wrote an article on Russia in *Swadeshi Mitran*. In that essay, he called Lenin as the leader of the exploited people in Russia.

In Andhra the earliest reference to the October Revolution of 1917 and the subsequent changes in Russia was perhaps made by Dr.Bhogaraju Pattabhi Sitaramaiah, an ardent admirer of Gandhiji, who was later on, became the official historian of Congress and president of Indian National Congress. Pattabhi wrote a lengthy article, *Soviattulu*, in the Ugadi special number of *Andhra Patrika* for the year 1920-21, which was read by thousands of Telugu readers. In his article, the author described the evils of Capitalism and praised the Socialist economy. Describing the Soviet revolution, he denounced the propaganda done by imperialists on the Soviet Union. In his words: “Revolution is not an Act it is a change. Anti revolutionaries are

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<sup>12</sup> Kambhampati Satyanarayana, *Andhra Pradesh lo Communist Udyama Charitra*, (History of Communist Movement in Andhra Pradesh) Part-I, [Telugu], Visalandhra Publishing House, Vijayawada, 1984, pp.40-45; Pratapa Ramasubbaiah, *Poratapathamlo Nenu*, (Telugu) Marxist Adhyayana Vedika, Hyderabad, 1987, pp.37-39.

trying to destroy it. But their efforts served as strength to the revolution”.<sup>13</sup> Describing the new system emerged in Russia, he wrote, “in Russia a labourer is paid enough wages. One need not pay money for their charges. No postage charges for letters. To drink there is no toddy and arrack. Whenever selling and buying is done through cooperatives then the seller is becoming a buyer and the buyer a seller. The middle traders, who only worshipped money and through money earned profits, were eliminated. To teach the philosophy of the system to the people special training extending from six weeks to six months was given. There is no person without food, nobody without education, no rich person and no poor person. No seller, no buyer, no lazy person. No protecting soldier. The new system is having the similar characteristics of *krita yugam* and there is no doubt in it”.<sup>14</sup>

Gurajada Raghava Sarma’s book, *Lenin Jivitha Charitramu* (Life history of Lenin) was perhaps the first detailed work on Soviet Russia in Telugu published in 1921,<sup>15</sup> while Govindarajula Venkata Krishnarao’s *Nikoloy Lenin*, published in 1921 was in English. In that book, he wrote that the Russian revolution was “a clear milestone in the history of human progress. It would create great impact on the coming generation”.<sup>16</sup> This book goes into a detailed narrative on ideologies of Gandhi and Lenin and the difference between them. A complete text of Lenin’s thesis in the Second congress of the Communist International in 1920 entitled ‘Bourgeois Democracy and Dictatorship of Proletariat’ was given in the end of the book.<sup>17</sup>

G.V.Krishnarao, in writing forward to the book, *New Russia* written by British Communists T.A.Johnson and R.W.Postgate, made an appeal to people to contribute to the Russian famine relief fund. This book, published by Arka publishing house,

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<sup>13</sup> Kambhampati Satyanarayana, *Ardha Satabdi Kalamlo Andhrula Paini October Viplava Prabhavam*, [Telugu], Vikasa Sahiti, Madras, 1973, pp.6-7. Also see, D.Anjaneyulu, “Impact of Socialist Ideology on Telugu Literature between the Wars, 1919-1939”, in B.R.Nanda (ed.), *Socialism in India*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1991, p.245.

<sup>14</sup> Bhogaraju Pattabhi Sitaramaiah, “Soviattulu”, *Andhra Patrika*, Annual Number, (Telugu) April 1921, pp.63-64. The English translation of this paragraph was taken from Atlury Murali, “Changing Perceptions and the Radicalization of the National Movement in Andhra, 1922-34”, p.22.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p.21. Also see the review of the book published in *Krishna Patrika* on 11 June 1923.

<sup>16</sup> G.V.Krishnarao worked as a sub-editor in the English daily, *Swarajya*. See, Thammareddi Nirmala, “Telugu Sahityam – October Viplava Prabhavam”, in C. Narasimharao (ed), *Telugu Samskriti – Marxism Prabhavam*, (Telugu) Jayanthi Publications, Vijayawada, 1992, p18.

Madras was said to have been sold more than 10,000 copies in India and abroad.<sup>18</sup> He made a moving appeal to the workers to unite to overthrow the capitalist Imperialism at the global level.

In literature, one of the earliest exposition of the Socialist ideas in general and the Bolshevik experiment in particular could be found in the Telugu novel, *Malapalli*, first published in 1922 but was banned for some time by the British government.<sup>19</sup> It was written by Unnava Lakshminarayana, who had studied Bar-at-Law in Ireland and was influenced by the *Sin feen* movement. He was a keen observer of international developments, particularly the Russian Revolution.<sup>20</sup> Lakshminarayana was closely influenced by the philosophy of truth and non-violence as propounded by Mahatma Gandhi. He wrote this novel when he was put in Vellore jail for his participation in Palnad forest satyagraha. The scene of the story of this novel laid in the countryside of Guntur district in coastal Andhra. The theme could roughly be described as the relation between the cast Hindus and the Harijans and of the landlords and the tenants of the village and the use of methods inspired by the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi and the teachings of *Bhagavad Gita*. The author denounced the French and American experiments, for they resulted in the establishment of a government dominated by capitalist interests, which further oppressed the interests of the lower classes. He takes up the example of Russia where according to him the people's Soviet government was established. He discussed how the Bolsheviks smashed the feudalism of Tsarist regime, how the majority of the people were given over the land under collectivized forming and so on. He sums up the main ideological principles of Lenin and Trotsky and the spirit of soviet experiment as "all have got equal right to enjoy the material resources of the nature, all should work and enjoy the fruits of their labour; when some were starving and suffering from food and others were living in pomp and show with all the vices - this was not justified".<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Kambhampati Satyanarayana, *Ardha Satabdi Kalamlo Andhrula Paini October Viplava Prabhavam*, p.17.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.17-18.

<sup>19</sup> Kothapalli Ravibabu (Ed), *Ankshalu – Nishedhalu*, (Telugu) Janasahiti Publications, Nagaram, 1998, p.20.

<sup>20</sup> Kambhampati Satyanarayana, *Andhra Pradesh lo Communist Udyama Charitra*, pp.19-20.

<sup>21</sup> Atlury Murali, "Changing Perceptions and the Radicalization of the National Movement in Andhra", pp.5-6.

The government considered the speeches of Takkella Jaggadu, a character in the novel as most objectionable and seditious. A report of the government said that the speeches of Takkella Jaggadu were preaching communism directly.<sup>22</sup> The government also asked the officials of Andhra University to remove the text *Malapalli* from the list of prescribed textbooks for the students. The Chief Secretary of Madras in his letter to the Vice-Chancellor wrote that “the book fall within the scope of section 4 (1) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act .... The cumulative effect of the lengthy speeches put in the mouth of the characters is to create an impression that capitalists and bureaucrats are trampling under foot the toiling masses that the various limbs of the government, such as the police, the magistracy, the judicial and jail department are teeming with corrupt dishonest and cruel officials. As the tenor of the book on the whole is to bring the government and the administration of justice into contempt to stir up communist activities and to overthrow the present order of society, the government views with considerable surprise the fact that it has been considered fit to be prescribed as a text book for university students”.<sup>23</sup>

*Malapalli* gave a new perspective to the Indian national movement on the question of integration of harijans into the anti-colonial struggles. Through this novel, the author exposed the need to emancipate coolies, labourers and untouchables so that the national movement will have a wider social base. The ideas in this novel had a visible impact on nationalists and youth and consequently after 1930s many youth had joined either the Indian national movement or the Communist movement.<sup>24</sup>

The news about the activities of Communists in India and outside, the transformation that the USSR was going through, the working class strikes in Madras mills, and other provinces in India, and the struggles of the working class all over the world have attracted the attention of the Telugu Press in the Madras Presidency. The

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<sup>22</sup> G. O. No. 396, dated: 14<sup>th</sup> May 1923 and G. O. No. 620, dated: 8<sup>th</sup> August 1923, Public (General) Department, Government of Madras, and G. O. No. 1203, dated: 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1936, Home (Confidential), Government of Madras.

<sup>23</sup> G. O. No. 1203, Home (Confidential), Government of Madras, dated: 3 July 1936.



nationalist press in Andhra in particular highlighted the activities of the All India Trade Union Congress. The death of Lenin in 1924 was specially covered by the newspapers in Telugu.

The press, by covering the Socialist transformation in USSR, influenced the consciousness of the youth and attracted them towards Marxism. For instance, the *Andhra Patrika*, on 20 June 1928, published a news item “Russia *Stri Swatantryamu*” (Women’s Freedom in Russia) written by Oleti Venkatasubbaiah. In that article, the author praised the revolutionary government and said that ‘In Russia the government recognized the equality of men and women. The women have made considerable progress after the October Revolution’.<sup>25</sup> Again, on 17 Feb 1928, *Andhra Patrika* published another article on ‘Education system in Russia’ written by Jarugumalli Sambasivarao.

It was in the early thirties that the Socialist thought began to take roots in Andhra. The creative literature played a lasting mediation in shaping the consciousness of the youth. Maxim Gorky’s novel, *Mother* had created a powerful influence on the youthful writers of the day and changed their outlook towards the society. Krovvidi Lingaraju, a Congress leader from Rajahmundry translated this work into Telugu, in 1932, under the title *Amma*, when he was in jail. Gadde Lingaiah Chowdary published it in 1934.<sup>26</sup> The novel, *Amma* turned many young minds towards Socialism and Marxism. The Madras Government banned the book.<sup>27</sup>

In this book the editor, Gadde Lingaiah Chowdary strongly urged the workers thus: “sacred brother workers - you - who were the foundation of this world are sacred. I pity on your lives, which suffer with work from morning until evening and yet go with burning stomachs (hunger). Cursed by those of your masters who enjoy the fruits of your labour and lavishly spend for their pleasures. But what is the use? You must get bold try to conserve strength to resist the tide. Realize your true

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<sup>24</sup> Kolla Venkaiah, “Kolla Venkaiah Swiya Jivitha Charitra”, in *Comrade Kolla Venkaiah Rachanalu – (Telugu) Part – I*, Comrade Kolla Venkaiah Samsarana Committee, Guntur, 2002, p.13.

<sup>25</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 20 June 1928.

<sup>26</sup> See G.O.No.1180 Public (General) (Confidential), dated 18-7- 1935. Also see D.Anjaneyulu, “Impact of Socialist Ideology on Telugu Literature between the Wars, 1919-1939”, pp.249-51.

strength. Truth will always succeed. Use this instrument (the book *Mother*). Know your duty and fulfill it. If that is the case the trouble and expense for publishing this will be fruitful”.<sup>28</sup>

In the same book, in his appeal to the youth: “hot blood is running in your veins. Do not become selfish and waste your time in luxuries. Consider the state of workers and peasants and begin to do your duty. Destroy injustice. Bury the word autocracy, what you have to do is seen in *Amma* as a mirror”.<sup>29</sup> Thus, *Amma* influenced and shaped the youth and workers in the contemporary society and created the social space for the hegemony of Socialist and Communist ideas. It became a guiding force for the Socialists and Communists of that time.

The literature in Hindi and other languages also started having their impact through the articulation of radical ideas on various issues. In the early thirties Hindi novels had a deep impact on Telugu literature. Premchand’s *Godan* found its way into Telugu, which had a wide circle of admiring readers. Novels were also written in Telugu on the model of *Godan* and *Mother*.<sup>30</sup> The novels of Dr.Mulkaraj Anand, particularly *Cooly* and *Untouchable* were read with keen interest and were translated into Telugu.<sup>31</sup>

The end of Civil Disobedience movement 1934 created a much wider social space for the increased flow of Socialist ideas in Andhra. The newspapers like *Andhra Patrika* and *Krishna Patrika* began to publish articles on Socialism. Several books on Socialism and Marxism were translated into Telugu. The periodicals like *Vaahini*, *Chitragupta* and *Praja Bhandu*, edited by S.G.Acharya, used to provide the forum for discussion of Socialist ideas. This intellectual environment and circulation of socialist ideas strengthened the leftist forces, particularly attracting the young people within

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<sup>27</sup> G.O. No.1180, dated 29-1-1936, Public (General) Department, Government of Madras.

<sup>28</sup> G.O. No.1180, dated 29-1-1936, Public (General) Department, Government of Madras.

<sup>29</sup> G.O. No .1180, Public General (Confidential) dated 18-7-1935.

<sup>30</sup> For example Tummala Venkatramaiah wrote a Telugu book, *Matri Hridayam*, a summary of Gorky's *Mother*. Durbha Krishnamurthi wrote another novel *Bali* (Sacrifice) based on the story in Gorky's novel, *Mother*. See Yetukuri Prasad, *Tummala Sahityam*, (Telugu) Andhra Pradesh Abhyudaya Rachayitala Sangham, Hyderabad, 1990, p.196; Durbha Krishnamurthi, *Smrithulu*, (Telugu) Marxist Adhyayana Vedika, Hyderabad, 1985, pp.57-58.

the national movement. Gadde Lingaiah Chowdary, founder of Adarsha Grandha Mandali, started the Red Flag Publications under whose imprint were brought out the most popular work, *Viplava Veerulu* which narrated the lives of terrorists. This book was banned by the British government for its 'seditious' content.<sup>32</sup>

In the field of poetry, a new epoch was started in the early thirties, by a band of younger poets like Sistla Uma Maheswarrao, Narayanababu, Pattabhi, Muddukrishna, Srirangam Srinivasarao (popularly known as Sri Sri) and Puripanda Appala Swamy. They moved away from the romantic poets' obsession with love and man-woman erotic relationship and under the influence of the leftist ideology, started writing about wider social, political and ideological questions.<sup>33</sup> They also rejected the conventional poetry and created a new genre, called Free Verse. They had little respect for traditional literary forms and wanted to shock the complacent bourgeois, questioning their values and sentiments. Realising the importance of spoken Telugu in taking ideas to common people, they freed the poetry from metre and *Chandassu* (prosody). This period was regarded as the beginning of progressive poetry in Telugu literature. The 19<sup>th</sup> century social reform movements in Andhra, Success of Russian Revolution, devastating effects economic depression during 1928-1930, struggles against Fascism all over the world and the failure of Congress led Civil disobedience movements acted as a stimulating background for the emergence of new trends in Telugu literature.<sup>34</sup> The post war literary trends in Europe (1920-39) Imagism, Impressionism, Futurism, Dadaism, Cubism, Symbolism, Realism and Sur-realism also had their influence on the young generation of Telugu poetry writers.<sup>35</sup>

Sishtla Umamaheswararao (1909-1953) was the first to understand and appreciate the latest trends in the Western poetry. His two books, *Vishnu Dhanuvu*

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<sup>31</sup> See D.Anjaneyulu, "Impact of Socialist Ideology on Telugu Literature between the Wars, 1919-1939", pp.249-50.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p.251.

<sup>33</sup> See C.Narayana Reddy, *Adhunika Andhra Kavityamu Sampradayamulu-Prayogamulu*, (Telugu) A.P.Book Distributors, Secunderabad, 1987, pp.487-488.

<sup>34</sup> K. K. Ranganadhacharyulu, *Telugu Sahityam – Charitrika Bhumika*, (Telugu) Andhra Saraswata Parishat, Hyderabad, 1990, pp.172-175; M. Gangadhar, *Adhunika Telugu Kavityamlo Viplava Dhoranulu: Oka Vishleshana* (An Analysis of Revolutionary Trends in Modern Telugu Poetry), (Telugu), Pranahita Publications, Warangal, 1994, p.122.

and *Navami Chiluka*, have espoused the themes completely from a new perspective. His expression was considered to be a unique effort at recreating his own poetic diction. His book, *Navami Chiluka* was concerned with the life of common people.<sup>36</sup> Though some scholars felt that it was written under the influence of proletarian revolution, it did not really rise to the level of progressive and revolutionary poetry.<sup>37</sup> In his poetry, Sishtla experimented with the metre.<sup>38</sup> A few words from the traditional verse, a broken line from a folk song and a prose piece were joined together shocking the elite sentiments concerned with grammar, balance and order. One of his songs ‘*Maro Maro Maro*’<sup>39</sup> written upon the police lathi charges on satyagrahis in 1930-31, was sung by Tallavajjula Sivasankara Sastri in a conference of poets at Barampuram in 1933. Srirangam Srinivasarao, who attended the conference was very much influenced by this song, that he wrote his most celebrated song ‘*Maro prapancham*’ in 1934.<sup>40</sup>

Like Sishtla, another poet Pattabhi (Tikkavarapu Pattabhiremi Reddy) also revolted against the use of traditional grammar in poetry. In his book, *Fidel Ragalu Dazan*, Pattabhi introduced his own syntax and grammar in poetry. The spellings used in his poetry surprised the readers. It was regarded as a counter blast to romanticist poetry for it made fun of the existing romantic poetry’s diction, lyrics and love sickness.<sup>41</sup> He has discovered a new dimension basically experimenting with his experiments with versification and rhyme scheme.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> G. V. Sitapati, *History of Telugu Literature*, p.194; Sri Sri, *Anantam*, pp.158-160; C. Narayana Reddy, *Adhunika Andhra Kavityamu: Sampradayamulu – Prayogalu*, pp.496-497.

<sup>36</sup> Yetukuri Prasad (Ed), *Sishtla Umamaheswararao Kavityam – Samalochanam: Navami Chiluka – Vishnu Dhanuvu*, (Telugu), Sri Sri Smaraka Samithi, Hyderabad, 1998, pp.42-62.

<sup>37</sup> Tripuraneni Gopichand, “Navami Chiluka Vimarsha”, *Ibid.*, p.79.

<sup>38</sup> Kuruganti Sitaramaiah, *Navyandhra Sahitya Vidhulu, (1827-1942)* (A History of Modern Telugu Literature), (Telugu), Telugu University, Hyderabad, 1994, pp.629-632.

<sup>39</sup> This song was reproduced in Yetukuri Prasad (Ed), *Sishtla Umamaheswararao Kavityam – Samalochanam*, p.54.

<sup>40</sup> Sri Sri, *Anantam*, p.182; Arudra, *Samagra Andhra Sahityam, Vol. XIII, Adhunika Yugam*, p.228.

<sup>41</sup> Undela Malakonda Reddy (ed), *Pattabhi Pelchina Phirangulu*, (Telugu), Pattabhi Amrutotsava Samithi, Hyderabad, 1994, p.15.

<sup>42</sup> Sripada Gopalakrishnamurthi, *Ardha Satabdapu Andhra Kavityam*, (Collected Essays), (Telugu), Telugu University, Hyderabad, 1994, pp.182-188.

Samineni Muddukrishna<sup>43</sup> was another prominent poet of this generation. In his writings, Muddukrishna revolted against the traditional values and superstitions. In 1932, a Telugu journal known as *Jwala* (Flame) with Muddukrishna as editor came into existence. The name is symbolic and it signifies the symbol of revolution. In the editorial, he announced that “we have become effeminate in life, thought, expression and deeds; we are like frogs in the well and like owls that close their eyes against the sunlight. Change is inevitable, in our dharma, our society, our concepts, and our language. We encourage revolt in all spheres of activity. We shall publish, in this journal, writings that contain fresh and inspiring thoughts...”<sup>44</sup>

Among the poets of this generation, Srirangam Srinivasarao (popularly known as Sri Sri) deserves the most prominent mention. In the beginning, he was very much influenced by D. V. Krishna Sastri and Vishwanadha Satyanarayana and wrote poems following their romantic style.<sup>45</sup> But later his friendship with Kompella Janardhana Rao<sup>46</sup> changed his understanding on poetry and he differed with romantic style. During this period, he read several books on the new literary trends in Europe, including the theories of Freud and Dialectical Materialism<sup>47</sup> and started new literary trend in the Telugu literature. His famous song ‘*Maroprapacham Maropracham Maroprapancham Pilichindi*’<sup>48</sup> (another world another world another world calls you),

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<sup>43</sup> Born on 6 February 1899 in Rajahmundry in a rich and highly educated family, Muddukrishna was famous for his book *Vaitalikulu* published in 1935. He died on 6 February 1972. For a brief Biographical Sketch, See Arudra, *Samagra Andhra Sahityam, Vol. XIII, Adhunika Yugam*, (Telugu), Prajasakthi Book House, Vijayawada, 1991, pp.139-152.

<sup>44</sup> Quoted in G. V. Sitapati, *History of Telugu Literature*, Sahitya Academy, Madras, 1968, p.194.

<sup>45</sup> C. Narayana Reddy, *Adhunika Andhra Kavityamu: Sampradayamulu – Prayogamulu*, p.510. Sri Sri, *Anantam*, p.150.

<sup>46</sup> Kompella Janardhana Rao was born in Konasima in East Godavari district in 1906 and studied in Kakinada. He became a member of *Kavita Samithi* founded by Sri Sri, Puripanda and others, worked as sub-editor in *Bharathi*, a famous literary journal during the 1930s. He started *Udayini*, a literary journal in 1933 that was famous for the spread of radical ideas. He died at an early age of 31 in 1937. He was very much famous as literary critique. He wrote several poems, plays and one-act plays. *Mallika Pelli*, *Swarna Yogi* and *Velugu* are some of them. See Etukuri Prasad (Ed.), *Kompella Janardhana Rao Jivitamu – Sahityamu*, (Telugu) Visalandhra Publishing House, Hyderabad, 1987; Sri Sri, *Anantam*, p.133 and Namala Vishveswararao, *Telugu Journalism Charitra*, Part – I, (Telugu) Progressive Communications, Hyderabad, 2003, p.133-136.

<sup>47</sup> Sri Sri, *Anantam*, p.158. C. Narayana Reddy, *Adhunika Andhra Kavityamu: Sampradayamulu – Prayogamulu*, p.516.

<sup>48</sup> He is known to have been influenced in composing this song by a brother poet, Sistla Umamaheswararao, who wrote a poem with same rhyme. See Sri Sri, *Anantam* (autobiography) (Telugu), Sri Sri Prachuranalu, Chennai, 2000, p. 182; Arudra, *Samagra Andhra Sahityam*, Vol.

with the caption *Mahaprasthanam* (The Great Journey) which was written on 12<sup>th</sup> April 1934<sup>49</sup> was read by him in a youth conference at Kakinada<sup>50</sup> creating tremendous impact on Andhra youth.<sup>51</sup> In this song, he appealed the youth to go forward to establish another world. The ‘another world’ in his song was the ‘world ushered in Russia by the October Revolution’. *Mahaprasthanam* is one of the best poems of Sri Sri. Gudipati Venkatachalam, a scholar, freethinker and author, wrote a fine introduction to this poem in which he said that Sri Sri endeavoured to destroy the old order of life with all its out-of-date conventions, customs and traditions.<sup>52</sup>

The songs written by Sri Sri during the 1930s revolutionised both form and content in Telugu poetry. Sri Sri was the first poet who transformed Marxist ideas into a simple and yet powerful poem, *Mahaprasthanam* and influenced the minds of thousands of young nationalists. He convinced the common people of the necessity of a revolutionary transformation of the existing society.

Another poet Srirangam Narayanababu (1906-1965), a native of Vijayanagaram wrote several poems in early thirties with the influence of Marxist philosophy. In the beginning, he was influenced by the romantic poetry and wrote poems on love<sup>53</sup> and nature.<sup>54</sup> Later, influenced by the writings of Kazi Nazrul Islam and Harindranath Chattopadhyaya he changed his ideas. He was very much upset by the death sentences imposed to Bhagat Singh and other revolutionaries. He wrote a poem depicting the death sentences and the failure of Congress to save the lives of the revolutionaries. In the poem *Kapala Moksham* he criticised the Gandhi – Irwin agreement and said that the policies of Congress leaders was the main reason for the death of Bhagat Singh.<sup>55</sup> Later he wrote several poems on the social and economic

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XIII, p.228; D.Anjaneyulu, “Impact of Socialist Ideology on Telugu Literature between the Wars, 1919-1939”, p.252.

<sup>49</sup> Sri Sri, *Anantam*, p.181. C.Narayana Reddy, *Adhunika Andhra Kavityamu Sampradayamulu-Prayogamulu*, p.516.

<sup>50</sup> Budaraju Radhakrishna, *Mahakavi Sri Sri*, Sahitya Academy, New Delhi, 1996, p. 49.

<sup>51</sup> D.Anjaneyulu, “Impact of Socialist Ideology on Telugu Literature between the Wars, 1919-1939”, pp.251-2.

<sup>52</sup> G. V. Sitapati, *History of Telugu Literature*, p.195.

<sup>53</sup> Srirangam Narayanababu, “*Valapu Chelamalu*”, *Andhra Patrika*, Ugadi Sanchika, (Telugu), 1928.

<sup>54</sup> Srirangam Narayanababu, “*Sandhya Vegamu*”, *Samadarshini*, Ugadi Sanchika, (Telugu), 1929-30.

<sup>55</sup> Kakarla Venkata Rama Narasimham, *Adhunikandhra Kavita Samiksha*, (Telugu), Gangadhara Publications, Vijayawada, 1982, p.646; Arudra, *Samagra Andhra Sahityam*, Vol. XIII, pp.167-168;

problems of the country and advocated socialism as the solution.<sup>56</sup> All his poems were published under the title *Rudhira Jyothi*, several years after his death in 1972.<sup>57</sup>

Puripanda Appalaswamy<sup>58</sup> was another poet of this generation. In the early days he was influenced by Krishna Sastri and other romantic poets. But he soon discovered that his heart was elsewhere. In one of the poems, *Pulipanja* (the Tiger's paw) he wrote that in the kingdom of vultures he can not live as a blood sucker, rather he would carry the torch of revolt for the impatient and revolutionary generation of the youth.<sup>59</sup> His poem *Gadaba Kanya* written in 1926, which is about an aboriginal girl, is the first free verse in Telugu.<sup>60</sup> He also wrote poems castigating the feudal exploitation of landlords and Zamindars. In 1925, he wrote a poem *Panchama Vilapam* in which he criticised the practice of untouchability and denial of entry to the harijans into temples.<sup>61</sup> Puripanda Appalaswamy was very much influenced by rationalistic thinking, Historical Materialism and Surrealism.

This new trend was not only limited to the field of poetry but also expressed through short story, novel, songs and drama. A new literary journal *Prabhava* took its birth in this period.<sup>62</sup> During 1933-34 Kompella Janardhana Rao, the most affectionate friend of Sri Sri, to whom Sri Sri dedicated his book *Mahaprasthanam*,

Avantsa Somasundar, *Rudhira Jyothirdarshanam: Srirangam Narayanababu Kavita Jivitam*, (Telugu), Kalakeli Prachuranalu, Pithapuram, 1981, pp.83-93.

<sup>56</sup> Srirangam Narayanababu, "Nisha Mantrivam", *Navasakthi*, 30-11- 1938, p.18; Kakarla Venkata Rama Narasimham, *Adhunikandhra Kavita Samiksha*, p.646;

<sup>57</sup> Srirangam Narayanababu, *Rudhira Jyothi*, Navodaya Publishers, Vijayawada, 1972.

<sup>58</sup> Puripanda Appalaswamy (1902-1982), a native of Salur in Srikakulam district, was a great Telugu scholar though his mother tongue was Oriya. He was active participant in the national movement in Visakhapatnam district during the 1920s. He was the founder of *Kavita Samithi*, a literary organisation with progressive ideas, in 1926. He has rendered greater service to the Telugu literature by translating into Telugu some of the best works in modern Oriya literature, especially the works of Sakara Mohana Senapathy, Gopinadh Mohanty and Kalichanran Panigrahi. After the death of Gidugu Ramamurthy, he has taken up the cause of successfully projecting the use of spoken Telugu at the university level. He was president of 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> sessions of the Progressive Writers Association held at Hyderabad (1976) and Kakinada (1978). His famous book *Pulipanja* (Tiger's Jaw) was published from London in 1976. See G. V. Sitapati, *History of Telugu Literature*, pp.162, 199; Arudra, *Samagra Andhra Sahityam*, Vol. XIII, pp.107-119.

<sup>59</sup> Avantsa Somasundar, *Puripanda Ethina Pulipanja*, (Telugu), Kalakeli Prachuranalu, Pithapuram, 1983, p.10.

<sup>60</sup> Arudra, *Samagra Andhra Sahityam*, Vol. XIII, p.113; Avantsa Somasundar, *Puripanda Ethina Pulipanja*, pp.32-34.

<sup>61</sup> Arudra, *Samagra Andhra Sahityam*, Vol. XIII, p.115.

<sup>62</sup> Atlury Murali, "Changing Perceptions and Radicalisation of the National Movement in Andhra, 1922-34", p.20.

started a literary journal *Udayini*<sup>63</sup> which popularised the leftist ideas. Muddukrishna started another journal *Jwala*<sup>64</sup> in 1934. Though *Jwala* survived only for few years, it helped for the spread of the Socialist ideas in Andhra.

Apart from these poets, there were several writers, who, though not been directly influenced by Marxism, propagated the vision of Socialist experiment in the Soviet Russia, through books and articles. The book *Neti Russia* (Russia Today) written by Narla Venkateswararao<sup>65</sup> was famous during that time. In this book, Narla described the amenities enjoyed by the workers, the condition of religion, the disruption of feudal family system, and the abolition of capital punishment in Russia.<sup>66</sup> The *Krishna Patrika* wrote that *Neti Russia* “gives a fair idea of communism that was prevailing in Russia. A perusal of this book will not only stimulate interest to read more literature on Russia but also creates desire to visit that country”.<sup>67</sup> *Neti Russia* influenced several people particularly youth and made them supporters of Communism and Socialism.<sup>68</sup> But the Madras government banned the book.<sup>69</sup>

Thus during the 1928 and 1935, the younger elements of nationalist intelligentsia have vigorously popularized new social and political perceptions among the people. They created a strong social base for the left and radical ideas, especially among the youth. By popularising universal, rational and progressive ideas they laid the foundation for the hegemony of left ideology in Andhra. This led to the formation of several left wing groups and parties within and outside the Indian National Congress in the 1930s and thus emerged a bitter battle between the left and bourgeois

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<sup>63</sup> See Yetukuri Prasad (ed.), *Kompella Janardhana Rao Jeevitam-Sahityamu*, (Telugu), Visalandhra Publishing House, Hyderabad, 1987, p.9.

<sup>64</sup> M.Ravindra Reddy, *Telugu Kavivampai Marxism Prabhavam*, (Telugu), Friends Publications, Hyderabad, 1988, p.111; C.Narayana Reddy, *Adhunika Andhra Kavivamu Sampradayamulu-Prayogamulu*, p.506.

<sup>65</sup> Narla Venkateswararao, *Neti Russia*, (Telugu), Andhra Vani Mudraksharasala, Bezawada, 1934.

<sup>66</sup> G.O.No.1059, Public (General) Department, Government of Madras, dated: 16 October 1934.

<sup>67</sup> *Krishna Patrika*, 18 August 1934.

<sup>68</sup> Narla Venkateswararao in his interview with N.Innaiah said that Alluri Satyanarayana Raju was influenced towards Communism with the influence of *Neti Russia*. See N.Innaiah, *V.R.Narla Jeevitamu-Sahityamu*, (Telugu), Telugu University, Hyderabad, 1987, p.90.

<sup>69</sup> G.O.No.1059, Public (General) Department, Government of Madras, dated, 16 October 1934.



ideologies for cultural-ideological and political hegemony over the national movement.

### Social Reform Movements

Another factor which contributed for the growth of communist ideology in Andhra was the social reform movements of 19<sup>th</sup> century and early twentieth century. There was widespread social reform activity in the coastal parts of Andhra during the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Kandukuri Viresalingam was the first and foremost among the reformers in Andhra. The social reform activity reached its peak during his lifetime.<sup>70</sup> After his death in 1919 the social reform activity was continued by Unnava Lakshminarayana,<sup>71</sup> Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu,<sup>72</sup> Chilakamarthi Lakshmi Narasimham<sup>73</sup> and Darisi Chenchiah<sup>74</sup> in the 1920s. The social reform movements created background for the emergence of socialist ideas in Andhra. Most of the first

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<sup>70</sup> V. Ramakrishna, *Social Reform in Andhra: 1848-1919*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1983, Chapters 3 and 4.

<sup>71</sup> Unnava Lakshminarayana (1873-1958) was a freedom fighter and social reformer in Guntur district. He studied Bar-at-Law in Ireland. He underwent imprisonment for three years in between 1921 to 1943. He encouraged widow remarriages and established widow home at Guntur. He started *Sarada Niketan* at Guntur in 1922 to promote women's education. He also played active role in the movement for Separate Andhra State. He wrote the novel *Malapalli* in 1922 when he was in jail. It was published in two parts in 1923. The government banned the novel but later in 1925, the government allowed publication of the novel with certain modifications. Again the novel was banned in 1936. See for further details, V. V. B. Ramarao, *Unnava Lakshmi Narayana*, Sahitya Academy, New Delhi, 2002.

<sup>72</sup> Raghupathi Venkataratnam Naidu (1862-1939) is regarded as second great social reformer in Andhra, after Viresalingam. He dedicated his life for the upliftment of harijans and *devadasis*. He became vice-chancellor of Madras University in 1924. See for details, K. Suryanarayana, *Sir R. Venkataratnam*, (Telugu), Rajahmundry, 1952.

<sup>73</sup> Chilakamarthi Lakshmi Narasimham Pantulu (1867-1946), a prolific author in Telugu wrote several plays, poems, Novels, and biographies despite handicap of blindness. He also worked for the upliftment of harijan community. He started a separate school *Ramamohana Pathasala* in Rajahmundry for the education of downtrodden people. Chilakamarthi Lakshmi Narasimha Kavi, *Swiya Charitramu*, (Telugu), M. S. Murthy & Co, Visakhapatnam, 1957; V. V. L. Narasimharao, *Chilakamarthi Lakshmi Narasimham*, Sahitya Academy, New Delhi, 1993.

<sup>74</sup> Born in 1890 in Kanigiri in Nellore district (now in Prakasam district), Chenchiah went to America in 1912 for higher education. He became a member in Gadar party of Lala Haradayaal and was arrested along with other members of the party in 1915 in Bangkok. He has taken up social reform activity after his release from jail in 1919. Initially he started social reform activity among his own Vaisya caste and later extended his activities to other caste groups like Kammas and Vishwa Brahmins. The main emphasis in his activities was on marriage after puberty, widow marriage and women's education. Darisi Chenchiah, *Nenu Na Desam*, (Telugu), Andhra Grandha Mandali, Vijayawada, Fourth Edition 2004 (first Published in 1952) and *Na Divya Smrithulu*, (Telugu), Adarsha Grandha Mandali, Vijayawada, 1961. Also see Atlury Murali, "Perspectives on Women's Liberation: Andhra in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries", *Studies in History*, Vol.3, No.1, 1987, pp.98-120.

generation communist leaders were inspired by these reform movements and worked in those movements.<sup>75</sup>

The youth who were working in the social reform movement especially for the upliftment of women found that the economic dependence of women was one of the major reasons for the problems of women in society. They observed that the problems of women could not be solved in the bourgeois social structure in which women were made inferior to men.<sup>76</sup> They thought that most of the problems were arising out of their economic dependence<sup>77</sup> and therefore the solution is the socialist system in which women were free and do not depend on men for their livelihood.<sup>78</sup> Thus their search for alternative social structure led them towards Socialism. The communists intensified the social reform movements in Andhra after the formation of the communist party in 1934.

The atheist movement of Gora<sup>79</sup> also influenced several people towards rationalism and communism. Through Atheist movement Gora attracted the youth of Andhra who opposed the religious beliefs and superstitions. Reputed leaders of the Communist movement in the 1940s and 1950s from the districts of Krishna and Guntur were students of Gora in his school of Atheist thought. In fact, they provided both moral and material support to Gora's movement in spreading atheist ideology. The communist leaders like Tammareddi Satyanarayana,<sup>80</sup> Sanaka Butchi Kotaiah,<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> For example, see P. Sundarayya, *Viplava Pathamlo Na Payanam*, Part – I, pp. 67-68.

<sup>76</sup> Darisi Chenchiah, *Nenu Na Desam*, p.187.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p.188.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p.277

<sup>79</sup> Goparaju Ramachandrarao (1902-1975), a Brahmin by birth, was an atheist, social reformer and freedom fighter. He was the leader of social reform movement in Andhra in Post-Viresalingam era. He fought against the orthodox beliefs, superstitions and caste distinctions. He also encouraged intercaste marriages and widow remarriages. Sunanda Shet, *Gora, his life and work*, Podanur (Tamilnadu), 2000.

<sup>80</sup> Thammareddi Satyanarayana (1919-1991) was a prominent leader of the Communist movement in Andhra. He began his political career as a student in the 1930s and participated in the Telangana Armed Struggle. He was the secretary of Andhra Pradesh Committee of CPI from 1971 to 1978. For further details see, S.V. Satyanarayana, *Avishrantha Porata Yodhudu Thammareddi*, (Telugu), Visalandhra Publishing House, Hyderabad, 1998.

<sup>81</sup> He was one of the prominent leaders of CPI in Krishna district during the 1940s. He was elected as M. P. from Machilipatnam Lok Sabha Constituency in 1952. Later he left the CPI and joined CPI (ML) in 1967.

Katragadda Rajagopalarao,<sup>82</sup> Gunturu Bapanaiah,<sup>83</sup> and Ganji Ramarao<sup>84</sup> were students of Gora at Machilipatnam.<sup>85</sup> All these leaders later became communists and rose to the high positions in the CPI. More than Viresalingam, Gora's social reform activities added strength to the leftist ideology in Andhra.

There were several other factors that contributed to the spread of radical ideas and the most important one was the rise of non-Brahmin movement in Andhra. The non-brahmin movement revolted against Hindu religiosity, the traditional caste system and Brahmin ideological domination in the society. The youth who were influenced by the ideology of the non-brahmin movement later joined the communist movement, particularly from 1930, when the non-brahmin movement merged with the national movement in Andhra. This movement was also called the self-respect movement.

The self-respect movement in Andhra was started in 1916 by Suryadevara Raghavaiah Chowdary of Kollur, in Guntur district (in Kollur village), with the help of some prominent non-Brahmin middle class intellectuals. The leaders of this movement propagated against the caste system, Brahminical ritual domination and attacked the sanctity of Puranas. The non-Brahmin leaders argued that the Puranas were created by Brahmins for the purpose of vesting themselves with ritual exclusiveness and to keep non-Brahmins in perpetual servility. They reinterpreted the sacred literary works, which were the basis of the Brahminical cultural-ideological

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<sup>82</sup> He had immensely contributed for the growth of communist party in Vijayawada and was active in the student movement in the 1930s. He was the editor and publisher of *Prajasakthi* daily in 1947. Later he was elected as M. L. A. from Gudiwada (General) constituency for Madras Assembly in 1952. He left the party in 1968 and worked as editor for *Andhra Janata* daily of Congress party.

<sup>83</sup> Gunturu Bapanaiah (1919-1978) was an activist of CPI from the 1930s. He was the in-charge of agricultural labourers associations for a long period. He was one of the organizers of the peasant struggles in Challapalli Estate during 1938 and 1950. He was elected as M. L. A. to the Madras Legislative Assembly from Divi constituency in 1952. Later he was elected as M.L.A. from Nidumolu assembly constituency for Andhra Pradesh Assembly in 1962 and 1978. For further details see Moturu Hanumantharao, *Na Parichayalu*, (Telugu), Prajasakthi Book House, Vijayawada, 1998, pp.96-98.

<sup>84</sup> Ganji Ramarao (1913-2004), who was born in an agricultural labourer's family, became an activist of communist party and elected as M.L.A. from Gudiwada (Reserved) constituency to Madras Legislative Assembly in 1952. Later he left CPI and joined in CPI (ML) in 1967. He became president of Naxalite controlled Andhra Pradesh Rytu Cooly Sangham (Andhra Pradesh Agricultural labourers Association) in 1981.

domination and tried to put forward an opposite world view by using the same literary source material. In other words, the intellectual leaders of this movement in rural Andhra, who were mostly rooted in the preceding cultural renaissance, embarked upon the reinterpretation of the sacred texts, in which they changed names, wore sacred thread, pursued both English and Sanskrit learning and started *Swasangha Pourohityam*.<sup>86</sup> Leaders like Suryadevara Raghavaiah Chowdary (? -1937), Tripuraneni Ramaswami Chowdary (1887-1943), Kosaraju Raghavaiah Chowdary (1905-1986), Etukuri Venkata Narasaiah (1911-1949), Avula Gopalakrishnamurthi (1917-1966), Tapi Dharmarao (1887-1973), Duggirala Balaramakrishnaiah, G. S. B. Saraswati,<sup>87</sup> played an important role in the self-respect movement in Andhra.<sup>88</sup> It was the self-respect movement that opened up social and cultural space for non-Brahmins, who later turned to nationalist and left political movements in Andhra.

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<sup>85</sup> Saraswati Gora, *Gorato Na Jivitam* (My life with Gora), (Telugu), Nasthika Kendram, Vijayawada, 1992, p.125; S. V. Satyanarayana, *Avishranta Porata Yodhudu Thammareddi*, pp.3, 54.

<sup>86</sup> As a protest against the ritual exclusiveness of the Brahmins, the non-Brahmins began to learn mantras that were recited during rituals. They decided to create priests from their own castes to perform rituals. At the instance of non-brahmin leaders, a training school called *Veda pathasala* was started in Patchala Tadiparru to train the non-Brahmins especially, Kammas in Vedas. The school was inaugurated by the then premier of Madras, Bollini Muniswamy Naidu. Very soon a large number of people were trained in the art of performing rituals and they began to perform rituals to their own caste people which was came to known as *Swasangha Pourohityam*. See Pedavalli Sriramulu, *Mavuri Katha – Vinadaggadi: Patchala Tadiparru*, (Telugu), Vijayawada, 1992, pp-2-6 and Uma Ramaswamy, “The Belief System of the Non-Brahmin Movement in India: The Andhra Case”, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 18, No.3, March 1978, pp.290-300, pp.295-296.

<sup>87</sup> Swami Gopala Satchidananda Brahmananda Sarswathi, though a brahmin, supported the non-brahmin movement, visited several places in Andhra to propagate the ideas of non-brahmin movement He wrote several books in support of the arguments put forward by non-brahmin movement and its leaders. For further details on his activities, see Ravipudi Venkatadri, *Andhra Pradeshlo Hetuvada, Manavavada Udyamala Charitra*, (Telugu), Telugu Academy, Hyderabad, 2003, pp.68-69.

<sup>88</sup> For Further details on the activities of non-brahmin movement and its leaders in Andhra, see - Suryadevara Raghavaiah Choudary, *Brahmanetara Vijayamu*, (Telugu), Kolluru, 1925; Gorrepati Venkata Subbaiah, *Kaviraju Jivitamu – Sahityamu*, (Telugu), Desi Kavitamandali, Vijayawada, 1970; *Kaviraju Sanmana Sanchika*, Gudiwada, 1942; Tripuraneni Subbarao, *Kaviraju Jivitamu – Sahityamu*, (Telugu), Kaviraju Sahiti Sadanam, Hyderabad, 1964; Avula Sambasivarao, *Tripuraneni Ramaswamy: A Herald of Philosophical Renaissance*, Telugu University, Hyderabad, 1988; Kilari Surendra, *Kaviraju Tripuraneni Ramaswami Rachanalu – Bhava Viplavam*, (Telugu), Navodaya Publishers, Vijayawada, 1987; Tripuraneni Subbarao, *Navyandhra Kavibrahma Etukuri Venkata Narasaiah Jivitham – Sahityam*, (Telugu), Telugu University, Hyderabad, 1987; Nalluri Ramarao, *Janapada Kavisarvabhouma Kosaraju Kavita Vaibhavam*, (Telugu), Sneha Prachuranalu, Narasaraopeta, 1997; Yetukuri Prasad, *Tapi Dharmarao Jivitam – Rachanalu*, (Telugu), Vishalandhra Publishing House, Hyderabad, 1989; Tapi Mohanarao, *Tapi Dharmarao Jivitha Sangraham*, (Telugu), Vishalandhra Publishing House, Hyderabad, 1987.

The rise of peasant movement in Zamindari areas helped for the emergence of communist Ideology in Andhra in 1930s. Leaders like Gudavalli Ramabrahmam, N.G. Ranga, Tripuraneni Ramaswamy Chowdary, who were intellectually moulded by the self-respect movement, now moved towards supporting of peasant movements, particularly in Zamindari areas. Pedavalli Sriramulu, a communist leader from Guntur district, who witnessed the rise of non-Brahmin movement and Communist movement in his native village, described how the energies of non-Brahmin movement have transformed into Communist movement in coastal Andhra.<sup>89</sup> Sri Tripuraneni Gopichand also said that the non-Brahmin movement in Andhra created background for the emergence of Communist Movement in Andhra in the 1930s. He compared the non-Brahmin movement in Andhra with the Nihilist Movement in Russia, which attacked the religion and God and created background for the emergence of rationalism and Communism in Russia.<sup>90</sup>

### **Rise of Peasant Movements**

The emergence of peasant politics between 1922 and 1930 as part of anti-colonial struggle also created political environment conducive for radical politics. The middle class educated youth emerging from the peasant social background and their earlier involvement Congress party and politics is also a crucial factor for the rise of left in Andhra after 1930.

The context in which the peasant movement expanded was the world economic depression and its aftermath. When the depression set in, prices of agricultural commodities slumped between 1929 and 1930; a fall in the 50 - 60 percent was a common phenomenon in Andhra. Between 1930 and 1935, the slump in prices continued to hunt agrarian economy. The increase of production of agriculture products like Rice and Cotton in Burma, Uganda, Egypt and U. S. A. reduced the prices those products in India. The fall in the prices was disastrous for the peasantry because it reduced their cash incomes. Peasant's inability to pay revenue and rent regularly resulted in the large-scale accumulation of arrears. Peasants' indebtedness

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<sup>89</sup> Pedavalli Sriramulu, *Mavuri Katha – Vinadaggadi: Patchala Tadiparru*, pp.10-11.

<sup>90</sup> Gopichand, "Varga Chaitanyam", *Kaviraju Sanmana Sanchika*, (Telugu), Gudiwada, 1943, pp.76-77.

also grew. Local credit was not freely available to the peasants. The cultivators, who had lent their money to the neighbours lost hopes of getting back the money. The moneylenders' money also started shrinking from lending market. Due to the difficulty in the maintenance of land, several peasants sold their lands and became agricultural labourers or left to the towns. The depression also affected the income of Zamindars. They failed to pay their annual rent to the government. At several places Zamindars adopted illegal methods to collect taxes from the peasants. The resentment of peasants against the atrocities of the Zamindars led to the formation of peasant associations. The peasant leaders who were influenced by the Civil Disobedience movements of Congress disappointed by the suspension of the movement and turned towards Socialism after 1934.<sup>91</sup> At the same time the socialist Revolution in Russia and the gigantic strides it made under the Soviet five-year plan, at the time when the capitalist world was reeling under an unprecedented economic crisis had impressed the youth and peasantry.

Between 1925 and 1930, the Congress activities which were at a low key in India were quite intense in coastal Andhra. The local Congress leaders organised the peasantry on class lines to achieve their demands. This helped the Congress in Andhra to achieve a considerable success during the first phase of the Civil Disobedience movement of 1930-32. In Andhra the peasant leaders formed peasant associations and used press and publications extensively to mobilise the peasantry.

In Andhra the first serious effort at peasant mobilization was made by Dandu Narayana Raju and N.G.Ranga as early as 1923. They made serious effort to organize peasantry in Krishna, Godavari and Guntur districts.<sup>92</sup> In the 1920s the organizational structure was created for the peasantry in various districts of Andhra. For instance, in 1923, N.G.Ranga formed Guntur District Agricultural labourers association at

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<sup>91</sup> For a detailed discussion on Economic Depression and its impact on Madras, See, C. J. Baker, *The Politics of South India, 1920 - 1937*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1976, pp.170-192; *An Indian Rural Economy, 1880-1955: The Tamilnad Countryside*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1984; "Debt and the Depression in Madras, 1929-1936", in Clive Dewey and A. G. Hopkins (ed), *The Imperial Impact: Studies in the Economic History of Africa and India*, The Anthlone Press, London, 1978, pp.233-242.

<sup>92</sup> Atlury Murali, "Changing Perceptions and Radicalisation of the National Movement in Andhra, 1922-34", p.22.

Nidubrolu.<sup>93</sup> In the same year in 1923, a ryot conference was arranged in Appikatla village of Guntur district, presided over by Paturi Venkatappaiah. N.G.Ranga was also participated in that conference.<sup>94</sup> Dandu Narayana Raju formed West Godavari Ryots Association in 1923.<sup>95</sup> He acted as the secretary to the association from 1923 to 1929. The association organized a ryot school to give training in various aspects and help solve their problems. Dandu Narayana Raju, Maganti Bapineedu and Rebbapragada Mandeswara Sarma were the leaders in West Godavari peasant movement. In Nellore district also the ryot associations emerged in the late 1920s. In Mallam, a village in the Nellore district, a ryot conference was organized in March 1929, presided over by Tikkavarapu Rami Reddy. The local peasant leaders like Baddepudi Venugopala Reddy, Nelluri Venkata Ramanaidu and Vennelakanti Raghavaiah had also participated in that conference. Inspired by the Russian revolution and the national movement in India the peasant leaders decided to develop the political and organizational structure to the peasantry, artisans and rural masses in Andhra. N.G.Ranga seems to have stated that he was inspired by the October revolution and the national movement and began work to organise the peasant unions from 1923 and weavers unions from 1925.<sup>96</sup>

In July 1928, the first conference of Andhra Ryots Association was held at Guntur, with Bikkina Venkataratnam as president and Maganti Bapineedu as the secretary.<sup>97</sup> The second conference was held at Vijayawada under the presidentship of N.G.Ranga. Through these meetings they began to educate the peasantry and brought them under into the fold of the Indian national movement.<sup>98</sup> N.G.Ranga as a student in England wrote articles, which were published in the prominent newspapers of that time.<sup>99</sup> A number of journals and newspapers were also started to educate the

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<sup>93</sup> Krishna Zilla Swatantra Samara Yodhula Sangham, *Swatantra Sangrama Charitra*, (Telugu), Krishna District Congress Committee, Vijayawada, 1984, p.74.

<sup>94</sup> K. Chinnayasuri, *Andhralo Rytu Udyamamu*, (Telugu), Andhra Pradesh Rytu Sangham, Vijayawada, 1986, p.45.

<sup>95</sup> Y.V.Krishnarao, *Andhra Pradeshlo Rytu Udyamalu-Poratalu*, (Telugu), Visalandhra Publishing House, Vijayawada, 1987, p.97.

<sup>96</sup> Atlury Murali, "Changing Perceptions and Radicalisation of the National Movement in Andhra, 1922-34", pp.23-5.

<sup>97</sup> K.Chinnayasuri, *Andhralo Rytu Udyamamu*, p.46.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> See *Andhra Patrika*, 4 January 1924.

peasants. These papers highlighted the problems of peasants. As early as 1920, N.G.Ranga and his associates started *The Ryot* weekly, though it was stopped due to the internal bickering.<sup>100</sup> The *Zamin Ryot*, a full pledged peasant newspaper was started in 1928 by Nelluri Venkata Ramanaidu in Nellore.<sup>101</sup> The newspaper played a pioneering role in publishing extensively reports on agrarian economy, peasantry and the issues that were adversely affecting them.

It was the practice of the Madras government to re assess the land revenue for every thirty years so that the land revenue rates might reflect the prevailing economic conditions. A joint reassessment of the Kistna and Godavari districts was begun in 1924 and a revised schedule of land revenue rates were to be implemented from 1930. The government appointed B.G.Holdsworth as special settlement officer for the Kistna-Godavari operation.<sup>102</sup>

Holdsworth in submitting his report stated that agriculture was extremely profitable in Kistna and Godavari districts. He recommended that the land revenue rates be increased by the permitted maximum of 18.75 in most of the areas covered under the re-settlement areas.<sup>103</sup>

The ryots began to oppose the method of resettlement followed by the government and the consequent increase in the land revenue demand. The news about Bardoli Satyagraha in Gujarat inspired the ryots. They sent Dandu Narayana Raju and Venneti Satyanarayana to Bardoli to observe the methods of Satyagraha.<sup>104</sup> At the meeting of the A.P.C.C., held on 7 July 1928, a resolution was passed declaring that the government order of enhancing the land tax by three annas in the rupee was “unjust, unconstitutional and unbearable”.<sup>105</sup> In the meeting Prakasam Panthulu condemned the report of the special officer as a “perversion of truth”. In this agitation

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<sup>100</sup> B. Reddy Prasad Reddy, *Anti Zamindari Struggles in Andhra*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, 1993, p.88.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> See Brian Stoddart, “The Structure of Congress Politics in Coastal Andhra, 1925-1937”, in D.A. Low (ed.), *The Congress and the Raj: Facets of the Indian Freedom Struggle, 1919-1947*, Arnold Heinemann Educational books, New Delhi, 1977, pp.112-3.

<sup>103</sup> K. Chinnayasuri, *Andhralo Rytu Udyamamu*, pp.12-13.

<sup>104</sup> *Krishna Patrika*, 9 January 1929.



Dandu Narayana Raju, who actively participated in the Non-cooperation movement and elected to the Madras legislative council in 1924, took an active part. Narayana Raju attacked the land revenue proposals when they were discussed in the Madras legislative council. Dandu Narayana Raju and others started an organisation in Bhimavaram taluk of West Godavari district which piloted agitations mostly in the deltaic taluks of Bhimavaram, Tanuku, Narsapuram and Tadepalligudem of West Godavari; Rajolu, Ramachandrapuram and Amalapuram taluks of East Godavari and Bandar, Divi and Gudivada taluks of Kistna district. Venneti Satyanarayana led the movement in East Godavari district. Satyanarayana made an extensive tour of Ramachandrapuram, Rajahmundry, Rajolu and Amalapuram taluks of East Godavari district. Meetings were held at village, taluk and firka levels. By the beginning of 1930 Satyanarayana controlled an organised, established and widely publicized agitational force in East Godavari district.

Naturally in 1930-31, the Civil Disobedience movement in Andhra was most intense where the resettlement agitation had been most successful. The Civil Disobedience movement got its support amongst locally predominant landed groups, which sympathised with the land revenue agitation. The Collector of Kistna reported that “the Civil Disobedience movement was most active in the delta portions of the district where the Kamma population dominates and where the people were most prosperous. The people who were arrested during the movement were mainly agriculturists and aged between 17 and 28”.<sup>106</sup>

The Collector of West Godavari reported that the “sons of educated members of economically advanced communities such as the Kammas and Kshatriyas were actively participated in the movement”.<sup>107</sup> The Government of Madras had initiated a most-repressive policy and arrested all the leaders and participants in the Civil Disobedience movement. Mudiganti Jaggannasastry of Tanuku, Rebbapragada Mandeswara Sarma of Kavuru, Arekapudi Ramakotaiah and Arekapudi Ramaswamy

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<sup>105</sup> *The Hindu*, 9 July 1928. Also M.Venkatarangaiya, *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra)*, Vol. III (1921-1931), Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1965, pp.125, 441-51.

<sup>106</sup> Brian Stoddart, “The Structure of Congress Politics in Coastal Andhra, 1925-1937”, pp.120-1.

<sup>107</sup> M.Venkatarangaiya, *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra)*, Vol.IV, pp.72, 586-9.

of Angaluru in Kistna district were arrested.<sup>108</sup> Venneti Satyanarayana and Dandu Narayana Raju and several other taluk organisers were also arrested.<sup>109</sup> Duggirala Balaramakrishnaiah, a strong Kamma from Gudiwada taluk, who organised the land revenue agitation in Angalur, a village in Krishna district, during the Non-cooperation movement, was sent to jail. Kalidindi Bangarraju of Tadepalligudem taluk, Kollipara Suraiiah and Arumilli Venkataratnam of Rajolu were the other popular leaders who participated in the re- settlement agitation and got arrested during the Civil Disobedience movement.

The suspension of Civil Disobedience movement and Gandhi-Irwin pact dissatisfied the peasantry. They were in a mood to continue the struggle. But the terms of Gandhi-Irwin pact prevented the agitational politics. Gandhi and Patel informed the provincial leaders that the Congress should not encourage the land revenue agitation while the Gandhi-Irwin pact was in force.<sup>110</sup> The organised peasantry who was dismayed by the Gandhian directive looked towards communism and Socialism as a solution to their problems. From 1934 onwards the leadership of the peasant associations was passed on into the hands of Communists and the left wing Congress leaders, i.e., the Congress Socialists and N.G.Ranga and thus started the struggle for the Left domination over the national movement and peasant politics.

### **Impact of Meerut Conspiracy Case**

The Meerut Conspiracy Case (1929) and the subsequent trial of Indian Communists also inspired the youth. The news about the arrest of Communist leaders and the speeches made by them in the Court encouraged the youth to join the Communist Movement.<sup>111</sup> The Communists in the Meerut Conspiracy Case in fact, set an example for the revolutionary fighters against British Imperialism on how to conduct in a bourgeois court. They ignored the threats of the session's judges from time to

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<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.24-5.

<sup>109</sup> Brian Stoddart, "The Structure of Congress Politics in Coastal Andhra, 1925-1937", pp.120-2.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.122-3.

<sup>111</sup> Parakala Pattabhiramarao, *Swatantrya Samaramlo Communist Desabhaktulu*, (Telugu), Visalandhra Publishing House, Hyderabad, 2000, p.20; P. Sundarayya, *Viplava Pathamlo Na Payanam*, p.24.

time to punish them for contempt of court and carried on communist propaganda utilizing the court as a platform.<sup>112</sup>

### **Influence of Revolutionaries in Northern India**

Another important factor, which had contributed for the rise of Socialist ideology in Andhra, was the impact of the revolutionaries of Northern India on the youth. After the suspension of non-cooperation movement, two powerful revolutionary organisations came into existence in North India. They were the Hindustan Republican Association in U.P., Punjab and Yugantar and Anusheelan Samithi in Bengal.<sup>113</sup>

In the early years the aim of the revolutionaries was the physical liquidation of the British officers and their Indian stooges. The political and ideological maturity made them realize the need to achieve radical transformation and political freedom by the way of organizing workers and peasants. Reading on Socialist experiment in Soviet Union and Marxism made them arrive at a socialist understanding of the state, nationalism and revolution.<sup>114</sup> In other words, the impact of the Russian Revolution and Marxism made the revolutionaries of U.P. and Punjab change the name of their organisation into Hindustan Socialist Republican Association. Ajay Kumar Ghosh, a member of the newly formed organization, who later became the General Secretary of CPI in 1952, declared that the objective of HSRA was to wage struggle for freedom and socialism in India.<sup>115</sup>

After the assassination of Saunders (a British Official in Punjab) in December 1929 the revolutionaries declared that they are working for a revolution which would

<sup>112</sup> Sohan Singh Josh, *Meerut Conspiracy Case: The Great Attack*, People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1979, pp.75-110.

<sup>113</sup> Bipan Chandra, *India's Struggle for Independence*, Penguin Books, New Delhi, 1989, p.247.

<sup>114</sup> For further details on the process of ideological transformation of revolutionary terrorists, see Satyendra Narain Majumdar, *In Search of a Revolutionary Ideology and a Revolutionary Programme: A Study in the Transition from National Revolutionary Terrorism to Communism*, People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1979; Kalpana Dutt, *Chittagong Viplava Virulu* (Telugu), Prajasakthi Press, Bezawada, 1945; Bejoy Kumar Sinha, *In Andamans, The Indian Bastille*, People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1988 (reprint); Sekhar Ganguly, *A Satyagrahi, A Revolutionary, A Communist*, People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1995; and Sudhansu Das Gupta, *How We Became Communist in Jails*, Nishan Prakashani, Calcutta, 1985.

<sup>115</sup> Ajay Ghosh, "Bhagat Singh and his Comrades", *Articles and Speeches, Ajay Ghosh*, Publishing House for Oriental Literature, Moscow, 1962, pp.16-17.

end exploitation of man by man.<sup>116</sup> Another revolutionary, Bhagat Singh in a letter sent from prison before his martyrdom said, “The real fight for freedom can only be fought by mobilizing *Kisans and Mazdurs* and the common people. It is my considered opinion that bombs can not serve our purpose. This is proved by the history of Hindustan Socialist republican association. Our chief aim should be to mobilize the toiling masses”.<sup>117</sup> Though Bhagat Singh and his comrades were influenced by Socialism and recognized the need of mobilization of masses against imperialism, they did not stop the preparations for violent activities and armed actions. They thought that violent actions were necessary to rouse the masses from slumber.

During this period, 1922 to 1933, the revolutionaries of North India exerted a considerable influence on Andhra youth and students. And this brought them into freedom movement.<sup>118</sup> The political and ideological radicalization of the youth and students expressed itself in anti-colonial struggles as well as in building working class and peasant movements. The youth wore Bhagat Singh caps instead of Gandhi Caps. The youthful deeds and slogans of the revolutionaries inspired the Left wing within the congress. During the time of the death sentence of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukudev, all sections of the people demanded that they should be saved from the gallows. The people were uneasy when Gandhi entered into a pact with Irwin who refused to commute the death sentence of the three revolutionaries.<sup>119</sup> In several places people observed hartals and protest meetings against the death sentence of these revolutionary heroes.<sup>120</sup>

During the Civil Disobedience movements of 1930-34, the entire generation of the Indian youth suffered from imprisonment. Most of the revolutionaries were

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<sup>116</sup> Bipan Chandra, “The Ideological Transformation of Revolutionary Terrorists in Northern India in the 1920s”, p.177.

<sup>117</sup> Cited in E.M.S Namboodiripad, *A History of Indian Freedom Struggle*, Social Scientist Press, Trivandrum, 1987, p.372.

<sup>118</sup> A.K.Gopalan wrote that the activities of the revolutionary terrorists like Bhagat Singh evoked sympathetic reverberation in his heart towards the freedom movement. See A.K.Gopalan, *In the Cause of the People: Reminiscences*, Orient Longman, Madras, 1973, p.13.

<sup>119</sup> See P.Sundarayya, *Viplava Pathamlo Na Payanam*, Part – I, p.44.

<sup>120</sup> See E.M.S.Namboodiripad, *How I Became a Communist*, Chinta Publications, Trivandrum, 1976, p.133; Indukuri Subbaraju, *Na Gnapakalu*, (Telugu), Hyderabad, 2004, p.1.

arrested and the police killed some of them. The Government declared the Lahore Conspiracy Case detenus as 'dangerous prisoners', divided them into several groups and sent them to jails in different places in the country. Seven of them were sent to Madras Presidency and they were kept in Vellore, Cannanore, Tirachirapalli and Rajahmundry jails.<sup>121</sup> During that time some of the political prisoners from Bengal were sent to Rajahmundry central jail. The Congress youth that were arrested during the civil disobedience movement were also sent to these jails. It was in these jails that the revolutionaries and the Congress young Satyagrahis established contacts with each other and the revolutionaries exerted considerable ideological influence on these young Satyagrahis.<sup>122</sup> The revolutionaries having access to the socialist literature from outside,<sup>123</sup> brought some of the young satyagrahis of Andhra into their circle and taught them the ideas behind socialism and encouraged them to work for the spread of socialist ideology in Andhra.

E.M.S.Namboodiripad wrote "the seeds of the left wing Congress that was later formed in Kerala and the Congress Socialist movement were laid in the Cannanore jail. And the one individual responsible for it was Tiwari. It was he who consolidated and gave a new shape to the leftist tendencies of the Satyagrahis in jail".<sup>124</sup> The revolutionaries like Kiran Chandradas, brother of Jathindas, one of the co-accused with Bhagat Singh in Lahore conspiracy case, Kamalnadh Tiwari one of the youngest in the Lahore conspiracy case, Baba Kher Sing and Jayadev Kapoor and Acharya of Anusheelan Samithi of Bengal were sent to Cannanor jail. E.M.S.Namboodiripad wrote that "it was Tiwari who instilled in me the emotional instincts of the revolutionary movement. It was Sri Acharya of Anusheelan group

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<sup>121</sup> Batukeswara Dutt, Mahabir Prasad, Kundan Lal, Dr. Gayaprasad, Shiva Varma, Kamal Nadh Tiwari and Bejoy Kumar Sinha were sent to Madras Presidency. See, Bejoy Kumar Sinha, *In Andamans, The Indian Bastile*, pp.3, 17.

<sup>122</sup> See K.Chinnayasuri, *Andhralo Rytu Udyamamu*, p.60; K.Gopalan Kutty, "The Task of Transforming the Congress, Malabar, 1934-40", in *Studies in History*, Vol.5, No.2, 1989, p.178.

<sup>123</sup> Ramalingaiah wrote that Bengali detenus have acquired several books on the history of Russian Revolution and other writings of Lenin. See Jonnalagadda Ramalingaiah, "Jatiya Swatantryodyamam – Ma Purva Smrithulu", in *Andhra Kesari Prakasam Satajayantyutsava Sanchika*, (Telugu), Hyderabad, 1972, p.295.

<sup>124</sup> E.M.S.Namboodiripad, *How I Became a Communist*, p.133; also see K.Gopalan Kutty, "The Task of Transforming the Congress, Malabar, 1934-40", p.179.

from Bengal helped for its ideological growth”.<sup>125</sup> It was in Cannanore jail later the veterans like P. Krishnapillai, A.K.Gopalan, K.P.R.Gopalan, K.A.Keraleeyan, K.Damodaran, P.Narayanan Nair, N.C.Sekhar and E.M.S.Namboodiripad were exposed to the Marxist literature<sup>126</sup> and became communists after their release from the jail.

The Civil Disobedience Movement that was launched by Gandhi with Salt Satyagraha on 6 April 1930, brought several youth into the Movement. The young people who were studying in colleges and schools were also entered in arena of freedom movement. Puthalapalli Sundarayya, student of intermediate in Loyola College Madras, left his studies and joined in Chagallu Satyagraha sibiram in West Godavari District.<sup>127</sup> Kambhampati Satyanarayana, a student of MA in Loyola College Madras left studies and joined in the Civil Disobedience movement.<sup>128</sup> The others like Maddukuri Chandrasekhararao, Tanikella Venkatachalapathi, Chalasani Vasudevarao, Dr.Chelikani Ramarao, Anne Anjaiah, Anne Venkateswararao, Pandiri Mallikarjunarao, Chadalavada Pitchaiah, Alluri Satyanarayanaraju, Madabhashi Venkatachari, Pratapa Ramasubbaiah and B.V.Rangasayi were also participated in the movement.<sup>129</sup>

While the movement was at its zenith, Gandhi entered into a pact with Viceroy Irwin and suspended the movement. It created much disillusionment among younger nationalists. Even though the movement was resumed after the failure of second round table conference, people did not show interest in the programme. The youth disappointed by Gandhian methods and searched for alternatives. The police atrocities during the movement made the young people ready to take revenge. They younger nationalists tried to murder the notorious police officials Mustafa Alikhan and

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<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, p.134.

<sup>126</sup> Robin Jeffrey, “Matriliney, Marxism, and the Birth of the Communist Party in Kerala, 1930-1940”, *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXXVIII, No.1, November 1978, p.86.

<sup>127</sup> See P.Sundarayya, *Viplava Pathamlo Na Payanam*, Part-I, pp.26-27.

<sup>128</sup> See Kambhampati Satyanarayana, *Andhra Pradeshlo Communist Udyama Charitra*, p.51.

<sup>129</sup> P. Sundarayya, *Viplava Pathamlo Na Payanam*, Part-I, pp.37-43; Durbha Krishnamurthi, *Smrithulu*, pp.9-15; Pratapa Ramasubbaiah, *Poratapathamlo Nenu*, pp.74, 82; Jonnalagadda Ramalingaiah, “Jatiya Swatantryodyamam: Ma Purva Smrithulu”, pp.293-295.

Dappula Subbarayudu.<sup>130</sup> The police excesses on satyagrahis<sup>131</sup> and police firings at the Vadapalli Radhotsavam<sup>132</sup> created much angry among the youth. The young people felt that the Gandhian programme was failed and they searched for a new strategy. They began to closer towards Socialism.<sup>133</sup>

In Andhra the youth who went to jails during the Civil Disobedience movement came under the influence of the ideology of revolutionaries. Putchalapalli Sundarayya of Alaganipadu, who was arrested in west Godavari, was sent to Rajahmundry central jail. In jail he met Bejoy Kumar Sinha and Shiva Varma, co-workers of Bhagat Singh. Before that Sundarayya, when he was a student in Layola College, read in the newspapers the heroic deeds of Bhagat Singh and his comrades.

Sundarayya was very much influenced by Shiva Varma. It was in jail that Sundarayya learnt the techniques of Guerrilla war from Shiva Varma. Shiva Varma also gave some suggestions, which a revolutionary should follow in his underground life.<sup>134</sup> Already disillusioned with the Gandhi-Irwin pact which did not achieve any of the 11-point programmes of Gandhi, Sundarayya moved towards Left ideology and revolutionary movements. He discarded Gandhism and began to work the Communist Party in Andhra.

The entire generation of youth in Andhra, who went to jails during the civil disobedience movement came under the ideological influence of revolutionaries and started to form the left wing political parties like Communist Party and Congress Socialist Party mixing nationalism with revolutionary ideas and politics. For instance, Dr.Chelikani Ramarao, arrested during the civil disobedience movement was sent to

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<sup>130</sup> M.Venkatarangaiya, *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra)* Vol. IV, p.90; Sarojini Regani, *Highlights of Freedom Movement in Andhra Pradesh*, pp.137-138.

<sup>131</sup> C.V. Rajagopalarao, *Gautami Satyagraha Ashramam Sitanagaram*, Gautami Satyagraha Ashramam (Telugu), Platinum Jubilee Celebrations Committee, Hyderabad, 2000, pp.22-24; K.S. Sastry, *Na Adarshalu, Anubhavalu* (Autobiography), (Telugu), Smt. K. Ramanamma, Visakhapatnam, 2004, pp.60-61; Sarojini Regani, *Highlights of Freedom Movement in Andhra Pradesh*, pp.134-5.

<sup>132</sup> Police opened firing on the car festival in Vadapalli village in East Godavari district on 30 March 1931, and removed the photographs of Gandhiji, Jawaharlal Nehru and Sarojini Naidu from the Car. M. Venkatarangaiya, *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra)* Vol. III, pp.155-6;

<sup>133</sup> Kambhampati Satyanarayana, *Swiya Charitra* (Autobiography), (Telugu), Visalandhra Publishing House, Hyderabad, 2000, pp.6-7. P. Sundarayya, *Viplava Pathamlo Na Payanam*, pp.43-44. Pratapa Ramasubbaiah, *Porata Pathamlo Nenu*, pp.83-84.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*

Rajahmundry central jail. It was in jail that he learned the basic principles of the Socialism and joined the Socialist Party.<sup>135</sup> Durbha Krishnamurthy wrote in his autobiography that that a Bengali detenu, Pratul Chandra Bhattacharya explained them about the weaknesses of the individual terrorist activities and advised them to work for the formation of political party with socialist ideas.<sup>136</sup> Extensive reading of books in jail turned him towards Socialism. Kothamanu Satyanarayana, Garapati Satyanarayana, Maddukuri Chandrasekhararao and Tanikella Venkatachalapathi, who played an important role in the formation of Communist Party in Andhra, were also influenced by these revolutionaries in jails. Jonnalagadda Ramalingaiah<sup>137</sup> who was arrested during the Civil Disobedience Movement was sent to Tiruchirapalli jail, where he met the prisoners of Lahore conspiracy case. He was already dissatisfied with the Gandhi-Irwin pact, which did not, included the release of Bhagat Singh and his comrades. Similarly in Tiruchinapali jail the Bengali detenus transformed several young men as supporters of Socialism. In that jail, the Bengali detenus Pratul Chandra Ganguly, Jivanlal Chatterji Surendra Mohan Ghosh and Kundanlal Gupta of Meerut Conspiracy Case and the Lahore Conspiracy case prisoner Batukeswar Dutt played an active part in influencing the minds of the youth.<sup>138</sup> For several youth the martyrdom

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<sup>135</sup> Chelikani Ramarao born in 1901, participated in Non-cooperation movement, got arrested and was sent to Rajahmundry Central Jail. In jail he established relations with Neelakantha Brahmachari, who murdered the Collector of Selam. He also had relations with several other revolutionaries from North India. Ramarao learned Communism and Socialism in jail and joined in Congress Socialist Party in 1935. He played active part in the communist movement in East Godavari district. He was arrested and kept as detenu in various jails in South India during 1949-1952. He was elected to Lok Sabha from Kakinada parliamentary constituency in 1952. See G.O.No.3374, dated 5 October 1949, G.O.No.2097, dated 10 August 1951, Public (General) (Confidential) Department, Government of Madras; B.V.V.Balakrishna, *Dr.Chelikani Ramarao Jivithamu: Oka Rajakiya Parishilana*, (Telugu), Visalandhra Publishing House, Hyderabad, 1992.

<sup>136</sup> Durbha Krishnamurthi, *Smrithulu*, p.29. Krishnamurthi was one of the organisers of the Communist Movement in Guntur district during 1930s.

<sup>137</sup> Born in Jonnalagadda Village in Guntur district, Ramalingaiah actively participated in the Civil disobedience Movement and he turned towards Socialism after his release from jail in 1932. He was elected as the secretary of Andhra Provincial Congress Socialist Party in 1934. Later he played an important role in the formation of Labour Protection Leagues and Agricultural Labourers Unions in Andhra region. He was the founder of Youth and Student movements in Andhra during 1930s and 1940s. Later he joined CPI and became organisor of Communist Movement in Visakhapatnam district. He was arrested during Quit India Movement. He left CPI after his release from jail in 1952. Later he joined in Andhra Socialist Party. See G. O. No. 178, dated 22<sup>nd</sup> Jan 1937, G. O. No.1879, dated 1<sup>st</sup> November 1939, G.O.No.1122, dated 7<sup>th</sup> June 1940, G.O.No.3996, dated 18<sup>th</sup> November 1949, G.O.No.566, dated 15<sup>th</sup> March 1951, Public (General) (Confidential) Department, Government of Madras; *Andhra Patrika*, 25-06-1934, 15-01-1938, 03-09-1939, and 12-05-1942; Jonnalagadda, Ramalingaiah, "Jatiya Swatantryodyamam: Ma Purva Smrithulu", pp.289-295.

<sup>138</sup> Tirumala Ramachandra, *Hampi nunchi Harappa daka*, pp.180-183.



of Bhagat Singh was the most inspiring event in the contemporary history. The detenus and the youth celebrated Bhagat Singh day on 24 March 1932; sang songs on Bhagat Singh and regularly echoed the jails with slogans like *Inquilab Zindabad*. Regular speeches on the life and ideas of Bhagat Singh moulded the consciousness of youth and made them the future leaders of Socialist movement in India.

The revolutionaries in jails regularly held classes to introduce the revolutionary literature to the young nationalist satyagrahis. The most active were Surendra Mohan Ghosh, Jivanlal Chatterjee, Pratul Chandra Ganguly and Batukeswara Dutt, who not only introduced the books in classes, but also advocated violence as a means to achieve independence. In June 1932, Madduri Annapurnaiah,<sup>139</sup> who was arrested on 15 July 1929, gave lectures on life of Jansi Lakshmibhai and Alluri Sitaramaraju. Annapurnaiah, who was otherwise a Gandhian and nationalist also moved towards advocating the violence as a means to achieve independence.<sup>140</sup> The youth, trained by the revolutionaries in jails, after their release took active part in organising the left wing political parties, i.e., the Communist Party and the Congress Socialist Party.

Among the Bengali detenus, who were sent to Rajahmundry central jail, Pratul Chandra Bhattacharya and Binoy Roy chowdary played an important role in the spread of Socialist ideology in Andhra. One important change; however is that the Bengali detenus changed their views and moved closer to the method of mass

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<sup>139</sup> Madduri Annapurnaiah (1899-1954) was born in Komaragiri village near Peddapuram. He is known for his sacrifices during the time of freedom movement. He was a friend and classmate of Alluri Sitaramaraju during his school days at Kakinada. He participated in the Home Rule Movement of 1916 and NCO movement of 1922, Civil disobedience Movement of 1930 and Quit India Movement of 1942, started *Congress*, a nationalist Telugu weekly, He was imprisoned thrice for his participation in the national movement and writing objectionable article in his weekly *The Congress*. He worked as the Secretary of Andhra Provincial Congress Socialist Party. He started a Weekly *Navasakthi* for Congress Socialist Party. Later he resigned from Congress Socialist Party due to his differences with the Communists in the CSP. He joined in Forward Bloc of Subhash Chandra Bose and invited Bose for a tour in Andhra in 1940. He left the Congress in 1946 when he was rejected a ticket to contest Assembly elections from Rajahmundry. Later he joined in Socialist Party and became the Secretary of Andhra Committee of Socialist party in 1948. See. Ravinutala Sriramulu, *Mahatyagi Madduri Annapurnaiah Jivitha Charitra*, (Telugu), Vishalandhra Publishing House, Hyderabad, 2000. Also see, G.O. No. 2363, Law (General) (Confidential) Department, Government of Madras, and dated 15 August 1934.

struggles in place of the revolutionary terrorism.<sup>141</sup> Jonnalagadda Ramalingaiah, who was arrested for the second time after the failure of the second round table conference, was sent to Rajahmundry central jail where he met the Bengali prisoners like Pratul Chandra Bhattacharya and Binoy Roy Chowdary and became a supporter of Socialism.<sup>142</sup> Much before Ramalingaiah, Anne Anjaiah, Chalasani Vasudevarao, Kosaraju Seshaiyah, Alluri Satyanarayanaraju,<sup>143</sup> Nirukonda Ramarao and Nanduri Krishnamachari have become their followers.<sup>144</sup> Apart from introducing the youngsters the ideas of through the book *Basic principles of Socialism*, they also trained them in the art of organizing the secret associations. The Bengali detenus continued to maintain their contacts with the young Congress political prisoners even after they were released. In a letter, Bhattacharjee wrote some instructions to the youth on what they have to do after their release from jails, to quote: “those who have revolutionary tendencies asked them to bottle up their energies. Just now and devote for organisation and to build a disciplined and a conscious Party. To kill one or two individuals is not a revolution but a perversity of revolutionary ideas. Revolution means mass, etc. Always keep the discipline in your mind. Do not hesitate to amputate the gangrenous part however big that limb be”.<sup>145</sup> This move on the part of the revolutionaries of Bengal like Pratul and Binoy Roy to leave the idea of individual terrorism and expose the need for a strong organisation with mass base had its positive impact on the young nationalists.

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<sup>140</sup> See G.O.No.1399 (S-51), 15 August 1936, Home (Confidential) Department, Government of Madras, Enclosure V, Statement given by Nayidi Pattabhi Rami Reddy of Rebala village, Nellore district, an approver in the Madras Conspiracy Case.

<sup>141</sup> Durbha Krishnamurthi, *Smrithulu*, p.29.

<sup>142</sup> See Jonnalagadda Ramalingaiah, “*Jatiya Swatantryodyamam – Ma Purva Smrithulu*”, p.295.

<sup>143</sup> A native of Jinnuru in West Godavari was an influential leader of the Communist Party upto 1941. He was arrested during Second World War and became anti-communist in jail. He was released from jail in 1945. He was elected to Madras Legislative Assembly in 1946 and 1952 and 1955. He played important role in the Congress after independence and became the president of APCC in 1956.

<sup>144</sup> All these people after their release took active part in Congress Socialist Party. See Kambhampati Satyanarayana, *Communistu Udyama Charitra*, Part 1, p.65.

<sup>145</sup> See the report on the letter of the special branch C.I.D., in G.O.No.1399, Home Confidential, dated 15 August 1936.

The above quoted letter that was seized from the house of Basavaraju Rangasayi of which though in the name of one Krishnamurthy, but was actually written by Pratul Chandra Bhattacharya,<sup>146</sup> suggests that:

1. The ideology chalked out by Jawaharlal should be the basis of work. The nature of work and the programme to be under taken by the youth league should be the following (a) work amongst the youths and themselves, form youth leagues, wherever possible gymnasiums, small libraries and volunteer corps. (B) Work amongst the workers, form labour unions in various factories and through those unions ventilates their grievances, low wages etc., and to organise strikes formation of night schools and gradually to make them militant. (c) Work amongst the peasants, form peasant unions in the villages and to agitate with their grievances, high taxation, and tyranny of the government officials, etc. Formation of night schools and gradually to make them conscious.
2. A firm alliance amongst the workers, youths and peasants is to be established.
3. The main aim of all your activities will be to form a solid disciplined Party with the best elements of the above. This Party is to lead the country in struggle.
4. Relations with Congress must not be hostile, but the Congress should be captured and through it also the socialistic ideas propagated till they accept the ideology.<sup>147</sup>

The youth who were trained by these revolutionaries in jails after their release took active part in the formation of the left wing political parties with Communist and Socialist ideas. Jonnalagadda Ramalingaiah and Basavaraju Rangasayi who have established close relations with Pratul Chandra Bhattacharya took initiative in organising a conference with the 'Congress men of Socialist views' in Vijayawada. It shows that the suggestions given by Pratul Bhattacharya began to take real shape. After the formation of the Socialist group within the Congress in Andhra, the

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<sup>146</sup> Report of the Special Branch C.I.D., to the Inspector General of Police, Madras, dated 18<sup>th</sup> May 1934, in G.O. No. 1399 (S-51), 15<sup>th</sup> August, 1936, Home Department, Government of Madras.

<sup>147</sup> Report of the special Branch C.I.D., on the second letter seized from Rangasayi on 18 May 1934; See G.O.No.1399, Home confidential, dated 15 August 1936.

Socialists adopted all the suggestions of Bhattacharya into their agenda. The aims and objectives as declared by the Socialists reflect the suggestions given by Pratul Chandra Bhattacharya.

### **Activities of N.G.Ranga**

Some of the individuals also worked for the rise of socialistic ideas in Andhra. Prof.N.G.Ranga was one of such individuals. Ranga has his own image as a peasant organiser, Congress leader and the left-wing politician within the national movement. Born on 7 November 1900 in Nidubrolu village of Guntur district, Ranga deeply influenced by the Non-Brahmin movement and its ideology, and became a nationalist social reformer and champion of peasants cause. In 1920, Ranga left to England for higher education. As a student of Oxford University, he wrote articles to *Andhra Patrika* on the problems of peasants and youth.<sup>148</sup> During that time he read the Novel *Malapalli*, written by Unnava Lakshminarayana and wrote several articles on that novel popularizing the Socialist ideas in that novel. The study in London also made Ranga exposed to the ideas of socialism. While in Britain, he read books on Socialism, particularly the publications of left book club of London, Soviet literature and the writings of John Strachy, Edgar Snow, G.D.H.Cole and Pearl Buck.<sup>149</sup> During that time, the Fabian society and its leaders, Sydney Webb and Bactrice Webb were influential in the Oxford university circles. He read H.G.Wells book *The Salvaging of the World*, Russell's *Road to Freedom*, Hyndman's *The Awakening of Asia* and Burke's *Present Discontent*.<sup>150</sup> Coming from the peasant family, Ranga could easily grasp the problems of peasants as articulated in various historical contexts and decided to work for peasants' emancipation. Apart from literature, Ranga's friends circle also had an impact on his thinking. His discussions with friends like Sri V.Ramakrishna and Vellodi on the changes in the Soviet Russia where the working class and peasants gained supremacy impressed him. Ranga records in his autobiography that he wanted to establish a Soviet type of government in India.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 6 March 1924, pp.2-3; Daruvuri Veeraiah (ed.), *Acharya Ranga Rachanalu*, (Telugu), Kisan Publications, Guntur, 1986, pp.VIII-IX.

<sup>149</sup> N.G.Ranga, *Fight for Freedom*, S Chand & Company, Delhi, 1968, p.238.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, p.88.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.82-83.

After coming from London, N.G.Ranga joined the Pachhayyappa College in Madras as a professor. From 1928 onwards Ranga, in association with Maganti Bapineedu and Dandu Narayanaraju began to organise the peasants against the Zamindars and landlords.<sup>152</sup> Ranga also recognized the need for a moratorium for all agricultural debts. Ranga and other kisan minded Congressmen organised many district conferences to make the peasants politically conscious. An Economic Inquiry Committee was appointed by the Madras government to look into the issue of resettlement and the enhancement of land revenue in two Godavari and Krishna districts. This committee, headed by Ranga unanimously recommended against the increase of land revenue.<sup>153</sup> But the government did not accept the recommendations. So Ranga launched intensive tours in Godavari and Krishna districts campaigning against the resettlement of land revenue.

Throughout 1930s and 1940s Ranga took active part in anti Zamindari struggles in Andhra particularly in the Nellore district against Venkatagiri Zamindari. The Nellore District Ryot Conference which met at Alluru in Kovur taluk in the summer of 1931 appointed a Zamindari Ryots Inquiry Committee to study the problems of Ryots, with N.G.Ranga as the President and Sri Nelluri Venkataramanaidu, the editor *Zamin Ryot*, a Telugu weekly, as the Secretary. The committee held meetings in several places in Nellore district.<sup>154</sup> On the issue of peasants in Zamindari areas, a conference was held in Venkatagiri. Satyamurthy, Kasinadhuni Nageswararao and Sri Biswanadha Das had attended it<sup>155</sup> wherein a resolution was moved by N.G.Ranga, demanding Madras government for the abolition of Zamindari system. N.V.Naidu sang a song “We do not want the Zamindari system”, which influenced the kisans and became a clarion call to all the kisans in the anti Zamindari struggle. In Venkatagiri anti-Zamindari struggle, it was Petluri Govinda Reddy, Ponaka Kanakamma, Vennelakanti Raghavaiah, N.V.Naidu and Katikaneni Brothers assisted Ranga. In fact, N.G.Ranga toured several places in

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<sup>152</sup> K.Chinnayasuri, *Andhralo Rytu Udyamamu*, p.45. Also see Y.V.Krishnarao, *Andhra Pradeshlo Rytu Udyamalu-Poratalu*, p.79.

<sup>153</sup> M.Venkatarangaiya, *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra)* Vol. III, pp.125-6.

<sup>154</sup> N.G.Ranga, *Fight for Freedom*, p.138. Also see Y.V.Krishnarao (ed.), *Andhra Pradesh lo Rytu Udyamalu - Poratalu*, p.51.

Andhra and formed peasant associations,<sup>156</sup> which shaped peasant consciousness on class lines.

N.G.Ranga established All India Peasant Institute in Nidubrolu in April 1934<sup>157</sup> with an aim to train the peasant youth in social, economic and political problems of the country and prepare them to fight for resolving the problems of peasants.<sup>158</sup> K.Santanam of *Indian Express* opened the first session.<sup>159</sup> Several Congress stalwarts like Konda Venkatappaiah and Unnava Lakshminarayana attended the session. Seventy-five students came to attend the first session from all parts of Andhra. Sri Kandula Obula Reddy, Dukka Suryanarayana Reddy and Pragada Kotaiah were among the students who attended the first session. In this school the students were taught the history of capitalist societies from the primitive stages, Fascism, industrialism, industrial policies, labour movements, emergence of third communist international, agriculture, land revenue systems, Zamindari system, peasant movements in zamindaris, political systems, world constitutions, local self governments, fiscal policies, co-operative movement, issues of unemployment, famine relief policies, civil liberties, press and propaganda.<sup>160</sup> In the institute N.G.Ranga, introduced inter-dining among the students to break the barriers of caste and religion. Several Communist leaders including P.Sundarayya, C.Vasudevarao, Durba Krishnamurthi and Jonnalagadda Ramalingaiah gave lectures in this school.<sup>161</sup> After 1934, the Congress Socialists following Ranga organised a number of summer schools in Andhra and trained the youth in economics and politics. In fact, they worked as recruiting centers of Congress Socialist Party and Communist Party.

In April 1934 N.G.Ranga published an anthology of poems, *Ryotu Bhajanavali*. This anthology consists of songs by several peasant activists who were

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<sup>155</sup> N.G.Ranga, *Fight for Freedom*, p.139. Also Y.V.Krishnarao, *Andhra Pradeshlo Rytu Udyamalu-Poratalu*, p.51.

<sup>156</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 26 September 1923, p.4; 6<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, 21<sup>st</sup> June 1934, and 3 December 1934.

<sup>157</sup> N.G.Ranga, *Fight For Freedom*, pp.102-5, 109-111.

<sup>158</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 14<sup>th</sup> and 26 March 1935.

<sup>159</sup> Fortnightly report for the second half of April 1934, dated 3 May 1934; also see N.G.Ranga, *Fight for Freedom*, p.193.

<sup>160</sup> N.G. Ranga, *Indian Adult Education Movement*, The Hindustan Publishing Company Limited, Rajahmundry, 1938, pp.144-160.

involved in struggles against landlords, Zamindars and the government.<sup>162</sup> N.V.Naidu's song "We do not want this association with Zamindars, lying in ambush for our lives, it was destroyed our honour", attracted the attention of government. Ryotu Bhajanavali popularised the Socialist ideas in Andhra.

The impact of activities of N.G. Ranga on peasants and youth is enormous. As a student in London, Ranga wrote articles and influenced the peasantry and youth to think about rural economic problems. After arrival to India, he toured several places in Andhra and created awareness among the peasants. He formed peasant associations in Zamindaris and encouraged peasants to fight against the atrocities and exploitation. The youth who took active part in his activities later became the organisers of the peasant and communist movements in Andhra.<sup>163</sup>

### **Influence of Left Literature**

The study of the Socialist movement is both political and ideological. It was the left literature that moulded people ideologically in their struggles against imperialism, feudalism and other forms of exploitation. From the early 1930s the Socialist ideas penetrated the nationalist movement drawing the youth away from Gandhian struggles. Three events influenced this shift: disappointment with the Gandhian principles and methods of struggle, influence of Socialist experiment in the Soviet Union and economic depression of 1929-30. The creative literature produced during this period under the influence of left ideology in turn shaped influenced the left lead movements such as Kisan Sabhas, agricultural labour unions, and youth and student movements. It was left literature that ideologically moulded the individuals who took active part in organising the left wing political parties and Kisan sabhas within the framework of anti-colonial struggle. Socialist ideas through the theoretical works of Marx, Engels and Lenin were being secretly smuggled into Andhra, which intern were

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<sup>161</sup> Durbha Krishnamurthi, *Smrithulu*, p.52. Also see Andhra Patrika, 3 May 1935, p.3; Andhra Patrika, 1 June 1935, p.4 and 14 June 1935, p.2.

<sup>162</sup> M.Ravindra Reddy, *Telugu Kavityampai Marxism Prabhavam*, pp.106-109.

<sup>163</sup> Makineni Basavapunnaiyah, Moturi Hanumantharao, Chalasani Vasudevarao, Idukallu Sadasivan and several others were drawn into the peasant movements with the influence of N.G.Ranga. See, Mukkamala Nagabhushanam (Ed), *Nenu Communistunu Ela Ayyanu*, (Telugu), Prajasakthi Press, 1946, p.6; Moturu Hanumantharao, *Na Parichayalu*, pp.104-105; P. Dastagiri, *Comrade Idukallu*

translated and published in Telugu. Sri Kundurthi Narasimharao of Tenali translated the biography of Karl Marx which was published by Kommuri Kasivishwanadham of Tenali in 1933.<sup>164</sup> In 1934, Adarsha Grandhamandali published Telugu translation of Lenin's *Imperialism*.<sup>165</sup> An anonymous author 'a Socialist' translated this book. In the same year Adarsha Grandhamandali published the translation of *Communist Manifesto* of Karl Marx and Engels, and a small booklet on in the question-answer form on socialist theories.<sup>166</sup> In the year 1935 the Government of Madras felt that the Telugu translations of the two books *Communist Manifesto* and *Imperialism* were directly preaching communism and therefore banned them.<sup>167</sup>

Adarsha Grandhamandali, established by Gadde Lingaiah Chowdary had published several works in Telugu. In 1935, he published a book on the biography of George Dimitrov, the Bulgarian communist, who was one of the accused in the Reichstag burning case.<sup>168</sup> Gadde Lingaiah felt that the life of Dimitrov would inspire the working class and prepare them for class war against their enemies.<sup>169</sup>

Maxim Gorky's novel, *Mother* had a very great impact on the youth. This novel turned many youth towards Socialism and Marxism. For instance, Surendranadh Dwivedy, a famous Socialist leader from Orissa after reading *Mother*, when he was in jail turned towards Socialism. He wrote "Maxim Gorky's novel, *Mother* sowed the seeds of Socialism in me".<sup>170</sup> In 1934, Krovvidi Lingaraju translated *Mother* into Telugu, when he was in jail. Fearing its mesmerizing influence, the colonial state banned its circulation.<sup>171</sup> The *Amma* (name of the novel in Telugu

*Sadasivan Jivitha Viseshalu*, (Telugu), Idukallu Sadasivan Memorial Society, Anantapuram, 1997, pp.23-34.

<sup>164</sup> Kundurthi Narasimharao, *Adhunika Maharshi Karl Marx* (The Modern Sage: Karl Marx), Tenali, 1933. (The book was a Telugu translation for the biography of Karl Marx written by Haradaya in English).

<sup>165</sup> A Communist, *Imperialism*, Adarsha Grandhamandali, Elamarru, 1934.

<sup>166</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 12 January 1935.

<sup>167</sup> G.O.No.823, dated 23 May 1935, G.O.No.221, dated 29 January 1936, Public (General) Department, Government of Madras.

<sup>168</sup> *Comrade Dimitrof*, Adarsha Grandhamandali, Machilipatnam, 1935.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, p.20.

<sup>170</sup> Surendranadh Dwivedy, *Quest for Socialism: Fifty Years of Struggle in India*, Radiant publishers, New Delhi, 1984, p.23.

<sup>171</sup> Government of Madras, G.O.No.1180, Public (General) Confidential 18 July 1935, also See G.o.No.221, Public (General) dated 29 Jan 1936.



translation) became a household novel for the youth in Andhra and a symbol of creative literature that created ideological space for left hegemony in Andhra.

A number of individuals, groups and associations worked hard to spread the Socialist ideas in Andhra. Narla Venkateswararao, a famous journalist of the later period, influenced by the novel *Amma*, wrote *Neti Russia*, in 1934. Tummala Venkatramaiah wrote *Matru-hridayam*, summary of Gorky's novel *Mother*. Dr.Chelikani Ramarao, Putchalapalli Sundarayya and Uddaraju Ramam, while they were in jail, read left literature and turned into a young and energetic left leadership in the Madras Presidency. Outside the jails, they continued to read so many books like *The Ten days that shook the world* by John Read, *Communist Manifesto*, *Basic principles of Socialism* and *Imperialism* etc.<sup>172</sup> In a way it was the creative literature that grounded ideological hegemony for the left politics in Madras Presidency.

### **Students of Andhra in Benaras**

The Students of Andhra in Banaras Hindu University were another important group who played an important role in the spread of Socialist ideology in Andhra.<sup>173</sup> During early years of 20<sup>th</sup> century, when the Non-Brahmin movement was at its peak, some students of Andhra who belong to Non-brahmin communities were sent to Kasi to get training in Sanskrit and Vedas.<sup>174</sup> Then Kasi became a familiar town to Andhras and people continued to go to Kasi for education. After 1920s the students of Andhra who were studying in Benares were attracted towards Socialist ideas, which was prevalent in the university campus.

After the suspension of the Civil Disobedience movement some of the youth of Andhra went to Benaras Hindu University for studies. Katragadda Venkata Narayana Rao, Yallabandi Poliseti, Katragadda Srinivasarao, Chilakapati Lakshma Rayudu (Dr.C.L.Rayarudu of Gannavaram), Polepeddi Narasimhamurthy, Pulupula Venkata Sivaiah, Nanduri Prasadarao, Ponnam Veeraraghavaiah, Muniapalle Ramarao,

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<sup>172</sup> Kambhampati Satyanarayana, *Andhra Pradeshlo Communist Udyama Charitra*, chapters 2 and 3.

<sup>173</sup> Ponnam Viraraghavaiah, "Andhralo Communist Party Nirmanamlo Benares Viswavidyalaya Vidhyardhula Patra", *Communism*, (Telugu), Vol. 1, No.8, December 1975, pp.51-54.

<sup>174</sup> Carol Upadhyaya, "Social and Cultural Strategies of Class Formation in Coastal Andhra Pradesh", *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, Vol. 31, No.2, 1997, pp.177.

Chandra Ramalingaiah and Chandra Rajeswararao<sup>175</sup> joined in the Benaras Hindu University.<sup>176</sup> The Court statements of Communists in Meerut Conspiracy Case influenced some of them and they have established contacts with the north Indian communists. They founded 'Young Communist League' in Benares Hindu University with Rajeswararao as secretary.<sup>177</sup> They read the writings of Karl Marx, Engels and Lenin. They also formed 'Socialist Study Circle' with Ponnam Veeraraghavaiah as its secretary, to study the Socialist literature. Chandra Ramalingaiah, D.K.Baruva, S.V.Ghate, Vithal Chowdary and several others were its members.<sup>178</sup> The members of the Socialist study circle used to get important books on Marxism, including banned literature from university library. Sri Subramanyam, the librarian of the university, who was also a Telugu man, helped them to get those books.<sup>179</sup> S.V.Ghate, who came to Madras to organize Communist Party in 1935 used to explain Marxist literature to members of Study circle.<sup>180</sup> The members of Socialist Study Circle invited Communist leaders S.A.Dange, K.N.Joglekar, and P.C.Joshi to the university to give lectures on Marxism. Slowly the Andhra students of Banaras University smuggled

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<sup>175</sup> Known as C. R. in CPI, Chandra Rajeswararao was born on 6 June 1914 in Mangalapuram village in Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh. He was one among the Andhra students at Benares Hindu University who have come in touch with the leftist ideas and smuggled the Left literature to Andhra. Later, after his suspension from the Benares University for his communist activities, he joined in Andhra University and worked for the spread of Leftist ideas among students, workers and other educated people in Visakhapatnam. After 1934 he joined in CPI and became secretary of the Krishna district committee of CPI. He led agrarian struggles in Challapalli and due to his untiring efforts Krishna District Committee became one of the strongest units in CPI in Andhra. He was elected as the secretary of the Andhra Provincial Committee of CPI in 1943. He took active part in the formation of CPI in Telangana region of Hyderabad State. He was elected as a member to the Central Committee of CPI in 1948. He was closely associated with the Armed Struggle in Hyderabad State. He opposed the Russian path of revolution proposed by the P. B. of CPI in 1949. He was the principal author of the *Andhra Document* of 1949 on alternative path of revolution, which advocated what is known as Chinese path. He was elected as the General Secretary of CPI in 1950 when the Central Committee accepted his thesis. Later he retreated from his position and opposed what he said in his Andhra document. Finally he became the General Secretary of CPI after the Great Split in the CPI in 1964. Comrade Rajeswararao held the position till 1990. He died on 9 April 1994 at the age of 81 years.

<sup>176</sup> See Kambhampati Satyanarayana, *Communist Udyama Charitra*, p.77; Telakapalli Ravi (ed), *Marxist Medhavi, Shramikavarga Yodhudu, Nanduri Prasadarao*, (Telugu), Andhra Pradesh Committee of CPI (M), Hyderabad, 2002. p.51.

<sup>177</sup> Y.V.Krishnarao (Ed), *Maha Manishi Comrade Chandra Rajeswararao*, (Telugu), N.R.R. Parishodhana Kendram & C.R. Foundation, Hyderabad, 2002. p.5.

<sup>178</sup> Kambhampati Satyanarayana, *Andhra Pradeshlo Communist Udyama Charitra*, p.78.

<sup>179</sup> *Somuri Darshanam*, (Telugu), Somuri Venkatramaiah 80<sup>th</sup> Birth Anniversary Felicitation Committee, Vijayawada, 1993, p.40.

<sup>180</sup> Gajjela Mallareddy, Paruchuri Rajaram & Kondepudi Srinivasarao (Ed), *Palanadu Velaleni Maganira*, (Pulupula Venkata Sivaiah Smaraka Sanchika), (Telugu), Andhra Pradesh Abhyudaya Rachayitala Sangham, Vijayawada, 1978. p.48.

Marxist literature to Andhra. Tummala Venkatramaiah, a native of Kolluru village in Tenali taluk received Gorky's novel *Mother* from Benares through Katragadda Venkata Narayanarao. He wrote *Matri Hridayam* a summary of Gorky's novel *Mother*.<sup>181</sup> After some time Tummala Venkatramaiah, Somuri Venkatramaiah (a native of Pasumarru in Kistna district) and Gullapalli Purushottam (from Kurumaddali village in Kistna district), joined in Kasi Vidyapeeth and he became members in the 'Communist Cell'.<sup>182</sup> All these students worked for the spread of Communist ideas in Andhra.

When they were coming to home the B.H.U. students brought the left literature to Andhra and distributed to the other Comrades. Katragadda Narayanarao visited Bhatlapenumarru village and distributed the literature he brought from Benares to Chalasani Jagannadharao and other young men of the village. Polepeddi Narasimha Murthi reached Tenali and established contacts with Muktevi Madhavacharya, Kothamanu Satyanarayana and Panditaradyula Mallikarjunasarma and distributed the literature to them. P. V. Sivaiah and Nanduri Prasadarao reached Guntur and supplied Marxist literature to Jonnalagadda Ramalingaiah, Durbha Krishnamurthi, Kambhampati Satyanarayana (Junior),<sup>183</sup> Pratapa Ramasubbaiah and Madabhashi Venkatachari.<sup>184</sup> Later Sivaiah established contacts with Makineni Basavapunnaiiah and influenced him to join in Communist Party.

The youth who were dissatisfied with the Gandhian methods of struggle and searching for alternative ideologies were attracted by the leftist literature supplied by Benares students and they turned towards communism.<sup>185</sup> At this juncture, P.

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<sup>181</sup> *Tummala Sahityam*, p.131.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, p.48. Also *Somuri Darshanam*, p.97.

<sup>183</sup> Kambhampati Satyanarayana (Junior) was active member of CPI in Guntur district and worked as organizer of CPI in several districts in the early years, left CPI in 1948. He has published a book entitled *Soviet Videsanga niti – Bharatadesam (Soviet Foreign Policy and India)* in 1944. For further details on his life and activities, see *Tenali Taluka Swatantrya Samara Yodhula Sanmana Sanchika*, (Telugu), Tenali, 1972.

<sup>184</sup> Pratapa Ramasubbaiah, *Poratathamlo Nenu*, pp.85-86; A.V.Ramanaiah, *Bharata Jatiya Vimukthi Poratamlo Vamapakshala Patra*, (Telugu), Visalandhra Book House, Hyderabad, 1992, pp.519-520. Gajjela Mallareddy, Paruchuri Rajaram & Kondepudi Srinivasarao (Ed), *Palanadu Velaleni Maganira*, p.48. Y.V.K. and others (ed), *Andhra Pradeshlo Communist Udyama Charitra, Part – II*, Visalandhra Publishing House, Hyderabad, 1988, p.121; Telakapalli Ravi (ed), *Marxist Medhavi, Shramikavarga Yodhudu, Nanduri Prasadarao*, p.52.

<sup>185</sup> Pratapa Ramasubbaiah, *Poratathamlo Nenu*, pp.84-85.

Sundarayya, who joined in Communist Party with the influence of Amir Hyder Khan, contacted the youth who were already influenced by communism and formed communist cells in all the important places in Andhra region.

In Andhra University also the left literature began to spread among the students. Prof. Hiren Mukherjee, who worked as professor in Andhra University during 1930s, brought so many books on Marxism from England and kept them in the Andhra University library.<sup>186</sup> Abburi Ramakrishnarao,<sup>187</sup> the librarian, Acharya Mamidipudi Venkatarangaiah, the Principal of arts collage and some of the students Oruganti Venkatasubbaiah and Kambhampati Satyanarayana (junior) formed *Anamika* an association to discuss about Socialism.<sup>188</sup> The Communist Party workers Attaluri Narasimharao and Narasimhamurthy of Guntur were sent to Visakhapatnam to organise the Harbor worker union. They held night schools for workers and taught world history and Socialism to the workers. Abburi Ramakrishnarao and Mamidipudi Venkatarangaiah worked as teachers in these schools.<sup>189</sup> During these days Chandra Rajeswararao, left Benares Hindu University and joined in Andhra University as medical student. Nidamarthi Aswani Kumara Dutt, who established Pragati Prachuranalayam (Progressive Publishing company) in his native place Nidamaru and published several translations of Marxist literature, was also in A.U. as a student of B.Com, studied the left literature.<sup>190</sup> He actively participated in the student's protest against the decisions of Sir C. R. Reddy, the then Vice-Chancellors of the

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<sup>186</sup> M. Ravindra Reddy, *Telugu Kavivampai Marxism Prabhavam*, p.105.

<sup>187</sup> Abburi Ramakrishnarao (1986-1979), a pioneer in modern Telugu literature, was a multifaceted personality who had left his strong imprint on a generation of creative writers, actors, and political and trade union leaders. Born in Ananthavaram village in Tenali Taluk of Guntur district, Abburi had his education in Tenali, Secunderabad and Machilipatnam. He worked as the Librarian for Andhra University for three decades till his retirement in 1959. He established contacts with the Bombay Communists and became a founding member of the Communist Party in Visakhapatnam. Abburi acquired a good deal of Marxist literature for the library. He encouraged students to read those books. But after 1936 Abburi left CPI and became a follower M.N.Roy. Abburi was also active in various literary and theatre movements in Andhra Pradesh. See, E. Nageswararao, *Abburi Ramakrishna Rau*, Sahitya Academy, New Delhi, 2002; Abburi Gopalakrishna (ed), *Abburi Samsmarana*, (Telugu), Natyagosthi, Hyderabad, 1988; Abburi Chayadevi and others (ed), *Varada Smrithi*, (Telugu), Abburi Trust, Hyderabad, 1994; Abburi Varada Rajeswara Rao, *Varada Kalam*, (Telugu), Visala Grandhasala, Vijayawada, 1990.

<sup>188</sup> Kambhampati Satyanarayana, *Andhra Pradeshlo Communist Udyama Charitra*, p.83.

<sup>189</sup> See Memoirs of Attaluri Narasimharao, in Abburi Gopalakrishna (Ed), *Abburi Samsmarana*, pp.20-22.

<sup>190</sup> Nidamarti Uma Rajeswararao (Ed), *Tolivekuvalo Ashwani Darshanam (Memories of Ashwani Kumara Dutt)*, (Telugu), Pragati Prachuranalayam, Bangalore, 1999, pp.6-7.

university to remove the Marxist literature from the Library and suspended from the university in 1937.<sup>191</sup> Chandra Rajeswararao who was a student of medicine in Andhra University organised students union in the university.<sup>192</sup> Sri Sri (Srirangam Srinivasarao), who was studying in the Andhra University, under the influence of Abburi Ramakrishnarao read the book *the Ten days that shook the world*.<sup>193</sup> The activities of Rajeswararao and Abburi Ramakrishnarao helped to attract the youth and students towards communism and in 1935 they formed a branch of Communist Party in Visakhapatnam with Abburi Ramakrishnarao, Attaluri Narasimharao, Nidamarthi Aswani Kumara Dutt and Kothamanu Satyanarayana. Later several students of Visakhapatnam, J.V.K. Vallabharao, Dr. D. Lakshmi, and B. Achyutam joined in CPI and became the organizers of the CPI in Visakhapatnam.<sup>194</sup>

The Students of Kamma hostel and Harijan hostel in Guntur were another group of students who have contributed for the growth of Communist Party in Andhra. Pulpula Venkata Sivaiah who returned to Guntur from B.H.U., established contacts with M.Basavapunnaiiah, a student of A.C. College, staying in Kamma hostel. Slowly along with Basavapunnaiiah, other students of the hostel were also attracted by towards Leftist ideas. Tummala Venkatramaiah, who returned from Kashi Vidyapith, supplied left literature to Y.V. Krishnarao and Tummala Venkata Subbaiah and other students Kamma hostel. With all these efforts the students of Kamma hostel Madala Narayanaswami, Y.V.Krishnarao, Makineni Basavapunnaiiah, Moturu Hanumantharao, Vemulapalli Srikrishna, C.L.Narayana, Lavu Balagangadhararao, Prabhala Krishnamurthi, Tummala Venkata Subbaiah, T. Venkateswararao and Kolla Venkaiah became members of CPI and worked for the spread of Communist ideas in Guntur district in the early period.<sup>195</sup> Kamma hostel worked as the recruiting center of communists in Guntur district.

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<sup>191</sup> *Ibid*, p.7

<sup>192</sup> Chandra Rajeswararao left his studies in Benares Hindu University and joined in Medicine in Andhra University. See Darisi Chenchaiiah, *Nenu Na Desam*, p. 278; Abburi Gopalakrishna (ed.), *Abburi Samsarana*, p.26.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, p.63.

<sup>194</sup> Y.V.Krishnarao and others (Ed), *Andhra Pradeshlo Communist Udyama Charitra*, Part – II, pp.94-95.

<sup>195</sup> Kolla Venkaiah, “Swiya Jivitha Charitra”, in *Comrade Kolla Venkaiah Rachanalu*, Part – I, p.13-14; Moturu Hanumantharao, *Destination Communism: Memories of Veteran Communist*, Prajasakthi Prachuranalayam, Hyderabad, 2000, pp.4-5; Y.V. Krishnarao, *Na Smrithi Pathamlo*

Sri Yetukuri Balaramamurthi of Yetukuru village, who has become Communist with the influence of left literature, established contacts with students of Harijan hostel in Guntur and taught them Marxism. The students of Harijan hostel Lankapalli Bullaiah, Govada Nirikshanarao, Kathi Chandraiah, Bussa Bikshalu and several others were inspired by his teachings and became members of the Communist party.<sup>196</sup>

During the early thirties some of the Andhra students who were studying in the Loyola College Madras established contacts with communist leaders like Amir Hyder Khan. They formed *Sodara Samithi* and started to study the Socialist literature. Putchalapalli Sundarayya, Kambhampati Satyanarayana and V.K. Narasimhan were the members of Sodara Samithi.<sup>197</sup> Putchalapalli Sundarayya<sup>198</sup> who joined Loyola College as a student of Intermediate in 1929 played an important role in the spread of leftist ideology in Andhra and formed a branch of Communist Party of India in Madras Presidency. Sundarayya and Satyanarayana established contacts with H.D. Raja of Bombay and received Left literature secretly. They became subscribers to the paper *Young liberator* led by H.D.Raja. Sundarayya wrote that when was in Loyola; he was influenced by *Communist Manifesto*.<sup>199</sup> Sundarayya and his friends thought

(Autobiography), (Telugu), Rytumitra Prachuranalu, Hyderabad, 2005, pp.40-47. Yetukuri Krishnamurthi (Ed), *Gunturu Zilla Communist Udyama Vaitalikulu*, (Telugu), Andhra Pradesh Swatantrya Samarayodhula Samstha, Hyderabad, 2004, pp.5-7.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, p.8. Y.V. Krishnarao, *Na Smrithi Pathamlo* (Autobiography), pp.47-48.

<sup>197</sup> Kambhampati Satyanarayana, "Viplavodyama Karyakartaga Na Toli Anubhavalu", p.8; *Andhra Pradeshlo Communist Udyama Charitra*, p.56.

<sup>198</sup> The founder of Communist Movement in South India, known as 'communist Gandhi' for his simple lifestyle and high moral values, was born in Alaganipadu village in Nellore district in 1913, studied in Rajahmundry, Madras and Bangalore, became founder of communist party in Madras presidency and organized branches of communist party in other regions of Madras presidency. He was arrested and kept in jails for several times by the colonial government. Participated in Telangana armed struggle of 1946-51. He was elected to Rajyasabha in 1952 and worked as the leader of CPI group in parliament. He was elected as an M.L.A. from Gannavaram constituency in 1955 and worked as the leader of opposition in Andhra State assembly from 1955 to 56 and in Andhra Pradesh Assembly from 1956-1962. He revolted against the revisionist policies of CPI leadership and played active role in the formation of CPI (M) in 1964. He worked as the general secretary of CPI (M) from 1964 to 1977. Again he was elected as M.L.A. from Gannavaram constituency in 1978. Sundarayya also showed interest in Visalandhra movement and his book *Vishalandhralo Prajarajyam* outlining the features Andhra Pradesh laid foundations for the Visalandhra Movement. He was a keen observer of literary activities of the party and wrote several articles on literature with progressive outlook. He died on 19 May 1985. The Andhra Pradesh Committee of CPI (M) started a library *Sundarayya Vignana Kendram* in memory of Sundarayya in Hyderabad.

<sup>199</sup> P. Sundarayya, *Viplava Pathamlo Na Payanam*, p.24.

that independence could not be achieved through Gandhian programme of non-violence. They believed that revolution was necessary for the achievement of independence. They were thinking to work among poor peasants, agricultural labourers, and workers to mobilize them in the fight against British imperialism.

In April 1930, Sundarayya visited Chagallu village in West Godavari and participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement. He was arrested by the government and spent two years in Tanjore, Tiruchinapalli and Rajamandry jails. In jail, he established contacts with Durbha Krishnamurthi and Madabhashi Venkatachari. In Rajahmundry jail, Sundarayya came into contact with revolutionaries of north India and influenced by their heroic deeds. After his release from jail, Sundarayya decided to work for communist Party.

Sundarayya started Alaganipadu agricultural labourers association in 1932 and started work against untouchability and exploitation of labourers.<sup>200</sup> He started a primary health center and a co-operative store in the village. He also established a library and night school in the village. He visited villages around Alaganipadu and explained people that the Gandhian programme was failed. He advised them to start constructive programme for the upliftment of poor peasants and agricultural labourers.<sup>201</sup> During this period, Sundarayya translated *Communist Manifesto*, *State and Revolution* and *Left wing Communism An infantile Disorder* and distributed them to the youth.<sup>202</sup> Thus, by the year 1933, the activities of Sundarayya popularized Communist ideas in Nellore district and several young men were ready to join in the Communist Party.

Several individuals were also influenced by Left literature. Uppala Lakshmanarao, who visited Soviet Union, wrote *Soviet Union-Bhutala Swargam* (Soviet Russia-A heaven on the earth). Pandiri Mallikarjunrao read articles on Socialism in Hindi newspapers *Pratap* and *Auz*. He also read pamphlets of Fabian

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<sup>200</sup> "Constitution of the Alaganipadu Agricultural Workers Union", Report of the Inspector General of Police, Government of Madras to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, Secret File No.931 dated, 1<sup>st</sup> September 1935, in History of Freedom Struggle Files, 1935, pp.2584-2588.

<sup>201</sup> P. Sundarayya, *Viplava Pathamlo Na Payanam*, p.61; Yarlagaadda Lakshmi Prasad, *Putchalapalli Sundarayya*, (Telugu), Vignana Publishers, Guntur, 2003, pp.33-34.

society of London on Socialism. Uddaraju Ramam when he was in jail studied *Ten Days That Shook The World*.<sup>203</sup> Chalasani Vasudevarao was influenced towards Marxism by reading Dange's *Gandhi vs Lenin*. Vasudevarao also translated Hilpher Ding's *Imperialism* into Telugu.<sup>204</sup> Pratapa Ramasubbaiah read Left literature brought by P.V.Sivaiah from B.H.U. He read the writings of Karl Marx: *Das Capital*, *Communist Manifesto* and *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, *Class struggle in China*, *Civil war in France* and some text books of Marxism.<sup>205</sup>

Darisi Chenchaiiah, who joined *Gadar* Party, was engaged in understanding Russia and he initially read two books *The Challenge of Russia* and *Russia Today* written by Dr. Sher Wood Eddy on the changes that took place in Russia after the revolution.<sup>206</sup> Eddy as a Christian priest praised the changes in Russia. In his book he wrote “in Russia all the principles that laid down by Jesus have happened. Poverty removed. All people have work, have education. Women have equal right with men. The parda system was removed. There was no prostitution. Widows can get remarriage. No individual property. Workers and labourers were became the kings. There is land to the tiller. No place to lazy people. Adult franchise was implemented”.<sup>207</sup> Darisi Chenchaiiah and his wife Subhadramma read these books and they were fascinated by the Russian system and they joined in the Socialist Party. Chenchaiiah in his book further mentions that Chandra Rajeswararao was influenced by Frederick Engels book *Anti-During*.<sup>208</sup> Chenchaiiah met Chandra Rajeswararao in Visakhapatnam while he was engaged in organising the workers and students unions. Influenced by the ideas of Chandra Rajeswararao, Chenchaiiah and his wife turned towards Marxism.

During the period from 1930 to 1934, the newspapers in Andhra, *Krishna Patrika* and *Andhra Patrika* published several essays on Socialism. On 18 March

<sup>202</sup> P. Sundarayya, *Viplava Pathamlo Na Payanam*, p.63

<sup>203</sup> Kambhampati Satyanarayana, *Andhra Pradeshlo Communist Udyama Charitra*, pp.41-43.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, p.75.

<sup>205</sup> Pratapa Ramasubbaiah, *Porata Pathamlo Nenu*, pp.85-6.

<sup>206</sup> Darisi Chenchaiiah, *Nenu Na Desam*, p.276-277; B.Kesavanarayana, *Political and Social Factors in Andhra, 1900-1956*, Navodaya Publishers, Vijayawada, 1976, p.173.

<sup>207</sup> Darisi Chenchaiiah, *Nenu Na Desam*, p.277.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, p.279.



1933 Chaparala Satyanarayana wrote an essay in *Krishna Patrika* on Russian Labour unions.<sup>209</sup> On 7 July 1934 Darbha Krishnamurthy wrote *Workers or peasants*. He discussed about the importance of workers in the establishment of Socialism in Russia. *Krishna Patrika* published another article entitled *Life of Lenin and Evolution of Russia*, written by Yarlagadda Chilakamma.<sup>210</sup> In that article the author compared the rich people with young snakes and urged workers and peasants to fight against the atrocities. The government banned the issue of *Krishna Patrika*, which published this article on 14 July 1934.<sup>211</sup> Chelasani Vasudevarao and Katragadda Narayanarao also wrote several essays on Socialism. Dr. Shivarao also wrote essays in *Andhra Patrika* on Socialism. He wrote *New Russia, Old Russia, Socialism, Some doubts on Soviet Russia, New Russian constitution*. Shivarao basically a Congressman, but also got inspiration from soviet Russia. His essays created great impact on the minds of the people.<sup>212</sup>

During the early thirties several poems and books were published by the people who were influenced by the left literature. Adarsha Grandha Mandali of Elamaru published the Telugu translation of *Communist Manifesto*, which was banned by the Madras government.<sup>213</sup> Balantrapu Nalinikantharao translated Eugene Pottier's international anthem of the working class into Telugu as "All the orphans who are suffering from the pangs of hunger, arise".<sup>214</sup> Another young poet, Pendyala Lokanadham, who was drawn towards Socialist ideas, wrote a poem about the collective power of the working class as "If all the workers will unite, will there be dearth of bread?" Tummala Venkatramaiah wrote a poem in *Prabha* about the red flag, the symbol of toiling masses as "Should fly, should fly our red flag, till there is last breath in the throat of workers and warm blood flowing in the veins of poor peasant".<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>209</sup> *Krishna Patrika*, 18 March 1933.

<sup>210</sup> Kambhampati Satyanarayana, *Andhra Pradeshlo Communist Udyama Charitra*, pp.118-9.

<sup>211</sup> G.O.No. 1183, dated 26-11-1934, Public (General) (Confidential) Department, Government of Madras.

<sup>212</sup> Kambhampati Satyanarayana, *Ardha Satabdi Kalamlo Andhrula Paini October Viplava Prabhavam*, pp.49-55.

<sup>213</sup> Government of Madras G.O.No.657, Public (general) Confidential dated 26 April 1935.

<sup>214</sup> Kambhampati Satyanarayana, *Andhra Pradeshlo Communist Udyama Charitra*, Appendix-12.

<sup>215</sup> G.O.No.2833, dated 22 October 1936, Home Department, Government of Madras.

With the influence of Left literature, the generation of youth and students that was, B.H.U. students and Kashi Vidyapeeth students from Andhra, the Andhra students in Madras, Andhra University students, the youth who were in jails during 1930-31 took active part in organising the left wing political parties in Andhra.

### **Formation of Congress Socialist Party**

The formation of Congress Socialist Party in June 1934 also helped to the spread of Communist ideology and consolidation of Left wing politics in Andhra. The youth who were influenced by socialism and communism joined in Congress Socialist Party and later they became communists. A brief description of the circumstances led to the formation of Congress socialist party and its activities are given here.

After the withdrawal of Civil Disobedience movement several Congress leaders expressed their dissatisfaction on the Gandhian methods of struggle. They declared that “Mr.Gandhi as a political leader has failed. The time has therefore come for a radical reorganization of the Congress on a new principle with a new method for which a new leadership is essential, as it is unfair to expect Mr.Gandhi, to work the programme not consistent with his life long principles”.<sup>216</sup> They further pointed out that it would be welcome if the Congress as a whole ready for such a change: otherwise a new Party of radicals would have to be formed within the Congress.

The youth who were already influenced by socialism and Communism realized the need to organize the workers and peasants and to integrate them into the vortex of the anti - imperialist movement to broaden the social base of the Indian national Movement. They felt that one of the reasons for the failure of the Civil disobedience movement was that the movement did not enjoy the organized backing of a large section of peasants and workers. They felt that the peasants and workers were not in such circumstances, which necessitates their participation in the national

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<sup>216</sup> Bhogaraju Pattabhi Sitaramaiah, *The History of the Indian National Congress (1885-1935)*, Published by the Working Committee of the Congress on the occasion of 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary, Madras, 1935, p.942. Also see, E.M.S.Namboodiripad, *A History of Indian Freedom Struggle*, p.500.

movement along with the landlords and capitalists.<sup>217</sup> A.K.Gopalan pointed out “Unless peasants and workers fight in the forefront, freedom can not be achieved. And they cannot be mobilized by appeals for Swaraj. They have some urgent problems and needs. If the Congress failed to organize the workers and peasants separately, fight for their immediate necessities and win their confidence, they would not enter into the freedom struggle. They must be convinced that freedom means ‘freedom for poor’ to grow and develop”.<sup>218</sup>

When the Civil Disobedience movement was suspended in 1934 the young people who had courted imprisonment and participated actively in the national movement lost faith in the policies and programmes of the Gandhian leadership, that followed the suspension of the Civil Disobedience movement. The youth felt that common masses could be liberated from the economic exploitation through the achievement of Socialism. They also thought that the Indian National Congress was the only suitable organization able to achieve independence to India. So they decided to convert the Congress to Socialism. It was these views and opinions that led after 1934 to the formation of a group known as the Congress Socialist Party within the Indian National Congress.

The founders of the Congress Socialist Party were influenced by Marxism. But they did not like the attitude of the Communist Party of India, which was already functioning in India. During that time the Communist Party of India was working according to the principles laid down by the Communist International. The Communist International, with the experience of China where the Nationalist Kuomintang under Chiang Kai-Shek betrayed the Communist Party, treated the Indian national movement under Congress leadership as the movement of Bourgeoisie and counter revolutionaries. The Comintern under the leadership of Stalin reversed Lenin’s sympathetic attitude towards the liberation movements in the colonies and the united front tactics. The Communists in India as the adherents of the principles of the

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<sup>217</sup> Speech by Dinkar Mehta at conference of Socialists organized at Bezawada on 14 December 1935. *Andhra Patrika*, 26 December 1935, p.6.

<sup>218</sup> A.K.Gopalan, *In the cause of the People*, p.51.

Communist International greeted the formation of Congress Socialist Party with hostility.

The Communist journals criticized the emergence of another working class Party. They thought that only one working class Party would lead the revolution successfully. They thought that the emergence of Congress Socialist Party would be an obstacle for the Communists to achieve Independence and Socialism. In the Communist journals, R.P.Dutt, the ideologue of the CPGB criticized the Congress Socialist Party as 'a maneuver of bankrupt leaders to deceive the masses'.<sup>219</sup>

The Indian Communists criticized that the CSP was a tail of the bourgeois and it was setup not to intensify the mass struggle but to strengthen the bourgeois ideological hold over the toiling masses. And it was working to subordinate the interests of the working class to bourgeois instead of preparing for a working class revolution. They also criticized the CSP for its connection with the Congress, which consists of all sections of the people. They said that the working class Party based on Socialism should be independent in its work to achieve the demands of workers and peasants.<sup>220</sup>

After the decision of the All India Socialist conference to organize branches of Congress socialist party in provinces, the socialist minded youth in Andhra organized Andhra Congress Socialist Party in June 1934. On 23 June Basavaraju Rangasayi of Ellore and Jonnalagadda Ramalingaiah of Guntur organized the inaugural conference of the Andhra Congress Socialist Party with 'Congress men of Socialist views', at Bezawada in Durga Vilas, the house of Kasinadhuni Nageswararao. About 300 Congressmen from all over Andhra attended the conference.<sup>221</sup> N.G.Ranga presided over the conference. According to N.G.Ranga, the main object of the CSP was 'to convert the Congress to Socialism' and to encourage the peasants against Zamindars.<sup>222</sup> The conference elected N.G.Ranga as the president of the Socialist

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<sup>219</sup> Madhu Limaye, *Socialist Communist Interaction in India*, Ajanta Publications, Delhi, 1991, p.15.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, p.18.

<sup>221</sup> Suramouli, *Socialist Udyamam*, (Telugu), Andhra Pradesh Socialist Front, Hyderabad, 2002, p.35.

<sup>222</sup> Fortnightly Report dated 4 July 1934 from Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

group within the Congress. Unnava Lakshminarayana, Nyapathi Narayana Murthi, Kalluru Subbarao, Vadrevu Jaggaraju and Shaik Galib were elected as vice-presidents, Jonnalagadda Ramalingaiah and Basavaraju Rangasayi were elected as joint secretaries. Anney Anjaiah of Mudunuru village was elected as treasurer.<sup>223</sup> The conference also decided to conduct tours in other regions of Andhra to spread Socialist ideology and attract youth into the fold of Socialism and organize the branches of the CSP in all districts in Andhra. The joint secretary of the All India Congress Socialist Party, M.R.Masani attended this conference.<sup>224</sup> The conference prepared rules and regulations to the Party. Like the All India Congress Socialist Party the Andhra unit also permitted only the Congress members to become its members. The members of the Party should not belong to any other organizations, which is opposed to the interests of the Party.<sup>225</sup>

After the formation of CSP in Andhra, Mr.Jayaprakash Narayan, the Organizing Secretary of AICSP toured Madras Presidency. On 24 July 1934 Jayaprakash addressed a gathering of 300 socialists in Bezawada. In the public meeting, Katragadda Venkata Narayanarao of Bezawada urged the youth to work hard for the establishment of 'Peasants' and Workers' Raj' in independent India.<sup>226</sup> Krishna district Congress Socialist Party was formed on 10 July 1934 with Gadde Lingaiah Chowdary as president and Vallabhaneni Ramabrahmam and Vellanki Purnachandraiah as secretaries. Pochiraju Krishnarao, Chalasani Jagannadharao, Anne Anjaiah, Vallabhaneni Venkatarao, Pidikiti Ramakotaiah and Kosaraju Seshaiyah have also joined in Krishna District Congress Socialist Party.<sup>227</sup> The socialists of Krishna district decided to organize workers and peasants organization all over the state. The conference resented the resolution passed by All India Congress Committee on the formation of Socialist Party within the Congress and they decided to occupy all the

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<sup>223</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 25 June 1934, p.7.

<sup>224</sup> Suramouli, *Socialist Udyamam*, p.35.

<sup>225</sup> For complete text of the Constitution, Rules and Regulations of Andhra Congress Socialist Party, see Report on the Socialist Organisations in Madras Presidency, dated 20<sup>th</sup> May 1936, Submitted by Superintendent of Police, Special Branch C.I.D. to the Home Department, Government of Madras, in *History of Freedom Struggle Files, 1936*, pp.4556-4557. Also see M.Venkatarangaiya, *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra)*, Vol. IV, pp.663-5.

<sup>226</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 27 July 1934, p.3.

<sup>227</sup> Report on the Socialist Organisations in Madras Presidency, dated 20 May 1936, p.4565.

committees within the Congress organization.<sup>228</sup> Krishna district Congress Socialist Party expressed its solidarity for the strike organized by agricultural labourers in Gannavaram and jute mill workers in Elore.<sup>229</sup> The Krishna District Congress Socialist Party as a part of propagation of Socialism, published a Telugu book entitled *Life of Lenin* which was subsequently proscribed by the Government.<sup>230</sup>

A branch of Socialist Party was formed in Guntur at a conference held in the town on 3 September 1934 with Tallavajjula Sivasankara Sastri as the president. The conference elected A. Gopalarao as president and Sheik Galib as the secretary to the Guntur district Congress Socialist Party. Jonnalagadda Ramalingaiah, who played active part in the formation of Andhra Congress Socialist Party was elected as the secretary of Guntur district Congress socialist Party.<sup>231</sup> The branches of the Congress Socialist Party were established in Ellore, Bezawada, Guntur, Ongole and Nellore towns.<sup>232</sup>

The period between 1934 and 1935 the Socialists in Andhra engaged in organizing the meetings and conferences to propagate the ideology of socialism and to inspire the people against British Imperialism. The socialists also decided to gain control over the Congress Committees at all levels.

First of all they decided to win the right wing Congress leaders towards Socialism and to get their approval of Socialist plan. To start with, they raised their voice first in the Visakha conference of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee held on 1 January 1935. In that conference the Socialists moved a resolution requesting the Indian National Congress to adopt Socialist programme. The conference passed the resolution with 58 votes against 46.<sup>233</sup> This shows the strength of the Socialists in the Congress in Andhra.

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<sup>228</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 13 July 1934, p.3; 14 July 1934, p.5.

<sup>229</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 21 September 1934, p.2.

<sup>230</sup> Report on the Socialist Organisations in Madras Presidency, dated 20 May 1936, p.4565.

<sup>231</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 19<sup>th</sup> September 1934, p.2; Report on the Socialist Organisations in Madras Presidency, dated 20<sup>th</sup> May 1936, p.4567;

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*, p.4558.

<sup>233</sup> *The Hindu*, 2 January 1935; *Andhra Patrika*, 4 January 1935, p.7.

In another conference of the Andhra provincial Congress committee held at Bezawada the Socialists opposed a resolution moved by Ayyadevara Kaleswararao. The meeting was held in Durga Vilas with Kashinadhuni Nageswararao in the chair. Sri Kaleswararao proposed that the creed of the Congress should be changed so that the words *truthful* and *non-violence* were to be substituted in the place of *legitimate* and *peaceful*. Sri Bulusu Sambhamurthy seconded the resolution. The Socialists and Communists who attended the conference opposed the resolution. Alluri Satyanarayanaraju opposing the resolution stated that the committee should not blindly follow Mahatmaji. Among the 80 members attended to this conference 28 favoured the resolution, 30 members opposed the resolution and 22 remained neutral.<sup>234</sup> In this conference Alluri Satyanarayanaraju, a Communist, joined with Socialists and opposed the moderate Congress leaders. But in 1935, as per the directions from the central committee of the CPI, the Communists resigned from the Congress Socialist Party.

The Andhra Congress Socialist Party organised its first annual conference in Guntur on 19 February 1935. Mr.Tenneti Viswanadham presided over the conference.<sup>235</sup> Mr.M.R.Masani, one of the joint secretaries of the All India Congress Socialist Party opened the conference. E.M.S.Namboodiripad, who was elected as one of the joint secretaries of the All India Congress Socialist Party in its Bombay conference of 1934, was also attended the conference.<sup>236</sup> Tenneti Viswanadham in his presidential speech said that Indian Socialism was not an imitation of European or Russian Marxism and it was a movement towards a better and economic, social and cultural happiness of the people. He also said that the Socialist system of society was better than the existing system.<sup>237</sup> Makineni Basavapunnaiiah and some other communists of Guntur town also attended the conference and argued with Masani on the policy of Congress Socialist Party and affiliation with the Indian National Congress. The replies given by Masani did not convince the communists.<sup>238</sup>

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<sup>234</sup> *The Hindu*, 12 January 1935.

<sup>235</sup> Suramouli, *Socialist Udyamam*, p.36.

<sup>236</sup> E.M.S.Namboodiripad, *How I Became a Communist*, pp.184-185.

<sup>237</sup> *The Hindu*, 21 February 1935, in History of Freedom Struggle Files Andhra Pradesh, 1934-36, p.4056.

<sup>238</sup> E.M.S.Namboodiripad, *How I Became A Communist*, p.184.

The conference adopted several resolutions for the future work of the Party. The conference defined complete independence as the establishment of an independent state in which power is transferred to producing masses; implying a refusal to compromise at any state with imperialism.<sup>239</sup>

The conference passed another resolution declaring its opposition to the participation by India in any war in which the British government might be involved. It called the entire Indian Nation to resist actively the utilisation of Indian men, money and resources for the purpose of such a war by British and to prepare to utilise such a crisis for securing *Swaraj*. The conference also gave a call to the people of Indian states to join with Indian National Congress in the struggle against British imperialism and native feudalism.<sup>240</sup>

With the above programme and plan of action the Socialists carried their activities in Andhra. The activities of Socialists increased their strength in Andhra Congress. They gained considerable representation in All India Congress Committee and provincial Congress committee. In 1935, in the organisational elections the Socialists got three seats out of 24 allotted to Andhra in All India Congress committee and 23 out of 100 in the Andhra provincial Congress committee.<sup>241</sup>

With the exit of Ranga and with the decision of the Communists to work separately the strength of Socialists got weakened. The activities of Socialists were confined only to convene meetings and arrange conferences to propagate Socialist ideas. It was only after the formation of the united front between the congress, Congress Socialists and Communists, the activities of the Congress Socialist Party gained strength. In fact, after 1936, the Communists used Congress Socialist Party as a cover to carry out their activities and to escape from government repression.

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<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, p.4057.

<sup>240</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 23 February 1935, p.7.

<sup>241</sup> See Report on the Socialist Organisations in Madras Presidency, dated 20<sup>th</sup> May 1936, Submitted by Superintendent of Police, Special Branch C.I.D. to the Home Department, Government of Madras, in *History of Freedom Struggle Files, 1936*, p.4558. Also See M.Venkatarangaiya, *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra)*, Vol. IV, p.666.



The activities of the Congress socialist Party were seen by the government as a threat to peaceful atmosphere in the Madras Presidency. The officials reported to the government 'the programme of the congress socialist Party embodies almost the complete programme of the communist International but in respect of methods, does not explicitly advocate violence'.<sup>242</sup> The resolutions passed in the socialist conferences demanding the release of political prisoners and for lifting of ban of Communist party of India were seen by the government as a sympathetic attitude of Socialist party towards Communist Party of India. The Madras government which considered Madras Presidency as an unaffected zone (from Communism) decided to curb the rising communist tendencies in the Presidency. The officials carried out searches in the houses and offices of the socialists and seized several propaganda materials by declaring them as illegal.<sup>243</sup>

Before the formation of united front, the youth who were influenced by Communism but were afraid of repressive measures of government joined in Congress Socialist Party. Unofficially the Communists used CSP as a cover to carry out their activities secretly. The report of Inspector General of Police also said that 'though the Congress Socialist Party declared its strong belief in non-violence, and its opposition to the methods of the communist international, yet many communistically inclined in this presidency have joined it with a view to use this organization as a cover for their secret and sinister activities'<sup>244</sup>

After the formation of Congress Socialist Party, Communists worked for the formation branches of CSP at various places in Andhra. Another reason for the entry of Communists in CSP in the beginning was the lack of ideological clarity. In the early thirties most of the youth in Andhra were not clear about the differences between socialism and communism. Socialism and Soviet Russia became a fashion to them. During this period the influence of socialism on Andhra youth resulted in the

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<sup>242</sup> Report from the Inspector General of Police, Madras to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras dated 24<sup>th</sup> May 1935, in Secret File No. 931 dated 1<sup>st</sup> September 1935, *History of Freedom Struggle Files, Andhra Pradesh, 1935*, p.2578.

<sup>243</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 24 September 1934, p.7; 27 November 1934, p.2; 21 August 1935, p.10.

<sup>244</sup> Report of the Inspector General of police, Madras to the chief secretary to the government of Madras dated 24<sup>th</sup> may 1935 in Secret file no 931 dated 1<sup>st</sup> September 1935, HFAAP, 1935, p.2578

emergence of two left wing parties, Congress Socialist Party and Communist Party. The youth who participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement and searched for alternatives after their dissatisfaction with the movement joined in Congress Socialist Party. The other section mostly consisted of students who were drawn towards communism with the influence of left literature joined in Communist Party. The ban on the Communist Party, and the subsequent delay in the formation of branches of CPI, and the secret functioning of CPI after its formation, were the other reasons for the joining of youth in Congress Socialist Party. But most of the Socialists joined in CPI when they came to know about the functioning of a branch of CPI in Andhra. For a period of two years from 1934 to 1936 the Socialist and communists in Andhra functioned separately.

The formation of Congress Socialist Party and its activities in 1934 and 1935 helped to the spread of Socialist ideology in Andhra. Many youth who were already influenced by the Socialist ideas and searching for alternative strategies for the struggle against imperialism readily joined in Congress Socialist Party. Later, after the formation of Communist Party in Andhra in September 1934, most of them joined in Communist Party.

### **Formation of Communist Party**

The formation of Communist Party in Andhra was not a sudden step. It was during 1930s the Communist Party of India made several attempts to form its branches in Madras Presidency. In the early days Singaravelu Chetti of Madras and Amir Hyder Khan made serious attempts to form a branch of CPI in Madras. Finally a branch of CPI for Madras Presidency was in 1934 with P. Sundarayya as secretary.

During 1920s Singaravelu Chetti (1860-1946) of Madras played an active role to the spread of Communist ideology in Madras Presidency. Singaravelu, who was a lawyer by profession, became a prominent leader of Indian National Congress during Non-Cooperation Movement. Singaravelu was influenced by the Revolution in Russia and wrote several articles in journals propagating Socialist ideas. Slowly the activities of Singaravelu attracted the attention prominent communists of India and so he came

into contact with S.A.Dange in the Gaya session of the Indian National Congress in 1922. He has also established contacts with M.N.Roy and Abani Mukherjee has come to Madras to establish contacts with him on behalf of the Communist International.<sup>245</sup> Singaravelu formed 'The Hindustan Labour Kisan Party in 1923 and held first May Day meeting in Madras city. He also published 'Labour Kisan Gazette', a fortnightly in English. The activities of Singaravelu attracted the attention of government and he was arrested in Kanpur Conspiracy Case in 1924.<sup>246</sup> But the government withdrew the case against him because of his ill health. Later Singaravelu presided over the first Communist Conference in India organized by Satyabhakta in Meerut in 1925.

Singaravelu organized several struggles of working class. He was active in the Karagpur, Bengal, Nagpur Railway Strike in 1927 and the Loco Workshop Strike in East India Railway. He organized the Southern Railway Workers and led their historic strike in 1928. After 1930 Singaravelu wrote several articles on topics ranging from materialist philosophy to social reform and politics. His articles in *Kudiyarasu* (Republic) and *Puratchi* (Revolution) – weekly papers of the self-respect movement were read with great interest. Singaravelu was responsible for starting a Tamil Monthly *Pudu Ulagam* (New World) in 1935 and was the guiding spirit in the propagation of Marxist-Leninist ideas in that monthly. Ultimately, his writings and leadership inspired the most progressive section of the self-respect movement and helped them to move towards the Communist Movement. Influenced by the ideas of Communism propagated by Singaravelu, a section of Self-respect movement led by P. Jivanandam,<sup>247</sup> established Tamilnad Self-respect Samadharma Party. Finally the severed their links with the Self – Respect movement of E.V.Ramaswamy Naicker and joined in Tamilnad Congress Socialist Party which was dominated by Communists.<sup>248</sup> Apart from this, the activities of Singaravelu in the trade union movement inspired the workers to join in communist party. Thus, the activities

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<sup>245</sup> K.Murugesan and C.S.Subramanyam, *Singaravelu: First Communist in South India*, People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1975, p.4.

<sup>246</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 8 March 1924, p.4.

<sup>247</sup> P.Jivanandam (1906-1963) was editor of *Janasakthi*, Tamil Weekly of Communist Party of India Tamilnad Committee, from its inception in 1937. He was also an outstanding Tamil Scholar, poet, orator and labour leader.

<sup>248</sup> Eamon Murphy, *Unions in Conflict: A Comparative Study of Four South Indian Textile Centers, 1918-1939*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1981, p.135.

Singaravelu prepared ground for the formation Communist Party in Madras Presidency and also provided the hardcore of seasoned workers who formed part on organized and disciplined Communist Party in Madras Presidency.

The activities of Amir Hyder Khan helped the formation of Communist Party in Madras Presidency.<sup>249</sup> Amir Hyder Khan's activities in 1931-32 had resulted in the formation of some groups who did some active communist propaganda. He established contacts with Tramway workers, and student groups. He used to hold study classes regularly to discuss Communism. He explained them the programme of Communist Party and motivated them to join in the fight against Imperialism. Amir Hyder Khan explained them that Indian National Congress and its leaders were representatives of bourgeois and they did not want to disturb the existing social and economic structure. They want to mobilize masses to show their strength to imperialism and to get benefits to the bourgeois from imperialism.<sup>250</sup> Later Amir Hyder Khan and his associates formed 'Young Workers League' in Madras in 1932.<sup>251</sup> He also established contacts with Manickam and Rajavadivelu and published several leaflets on Marxism. They started a Tamil journal *Munnetram* (progressive) to publish news about communism. *Munnetram* published several essays on the role of bourgeois, middle class and working class in the Indian freedom movement.<sup>252</sup> Amir Hyder Khan also sends some young people to U.S.S.R. to get training in 'University of Toilers of the East'.<sup>253</sup> During this period, Amir Hyder Khan trained V.K.Narasimhan, Bhashyam, Manickam, Venkatraman, Kambhampati Satyanarayana, A.S.K.Iyengar, B.Srinivasarao, Manickam, Rajavadivelu and several

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<sup>249</sup> Amir Hyder Khan was born in 1900 in a peasant family in Punjab State. Later at the age of fifteen he reached Bombay to find out his brother who left home. From Bombay, he reached U.S.A. and joined as a worker in automobile industry. In U.S.A. he established contacts with the Gadar party and became a member of American Workers' party. Within a few years he became a member of Comintern and joined in 'University of Toilers of East' of Moscow in 1926 and was trained in Marxism and national liberation movements. He reached Bombay in 1928 and started working for the Communist Party of India. He reached Madras to escape arrest in the Meerut Conspiracy Case and started work to form a branch of Communist Party of India in Madras Presidency. See, Amir Hyder Khan, *Dakshina Bharatadesamlo Communist Party Prarambham*, also see A.V.Ramanaiah, *Bharata Jatiya Vimukti Poratamlo Vamapakshala Patra*, pp.426-445.

<sup>250</sup> Amir Hyder Khan, *Dakshina Bharatadesamlo Communist Party Prarambham*, pp.23-24.

<sup>251</sup> Report on the Socialist Organisations in Madras Presidency, p.4535.

<sup>252</sup> Kambhampati Satyanarayana, "Viplavodyama Karyakartaga Na Toli Anubhavalu", p.11.

<sup>253</sup> Amir Hyder Khan, *Dakshina Bharatadesamlo Communist Party Prarambham*, pp.33 & 36.

others to become communists.<sup>254</sup> The activities of Amir Hyder Khan among the workers and students attracted the attention of government and he was arrested in May 1932.<sup>255</sup> The Young Workers League became inactive with the arrest of Amir Hyder Khan.

After his release in July 1934 Amir Hyder Khan revived Young Workers League and started work among workers.<sup>256</sup> He established contacts with P. Sundarayya and convinced him to work for Communist Party in Madras Presidency.<sup>257</sup> He also attempted to start a provincial branch of Communist Party of India in Madras Presidency, to coordinate the growing movement in Andhra and to work for the spread of Communist Movement in Tamilnad and Kerala. But in September 1934, the Government of Madras declared Young Workers League as an illegal organization and Amir Hyder Khan was arrested and kept as a state prisoner in before he could achieve his purpose.<sup>258</sup> The arrest of Amir Hyder Khan did not prevent the growth communist ideology in Madras. Some of his followers under the leadership of P. Sundarayya received instructions from the Central Committee of Communist Party of India and formed a provincial committee of Communist Party of India in Madras Presidency in 1934 with local branches in Madras, Guntur, Nellore, Krishna and West Godavari districts.<sup>259</sup> But the arrest and detention of Amir Hyder Khan was a set back to the efforts to function as a co-ordinated group in the manner he planned. Although P. Sundarayya continued this work, with the growing movement in Andhra to which he had to pay much attention the organization of a leading center at Madras, could be accomplished only after the arrival of S.V.Ghate in 1936.

After the formation of Provincial Committee of CPI at Madras, Sundarayya several places and met people who were influenced by Marxism and dissatisfied with

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<sup>254</sup> Memoirs of A.S.K. Iyengar, in *S.V. Ghate: Our First General Secretary*, Communist Party of India Publication, New Delhi, 1971, p.55; K.Murugesan and C.S.Subramanyam, *Singaravelu: First Communist in South India*, p.128.

<sup>255</sup> Report on the Socialist Organisations in Madras Presidency, p.4535.

<sup>256</sup> Amir Hyder Khan, *Dakshina Bharatadesamlo Communist Party Prarambham*, p61.

<sup>257</sup> P. Sundarayya, *Viplava Pathamlo Na Payanam*, pp.69-70.

<sup>258</sup> Report on the socialist organizations in Madras Presidency, p.4535.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.* P. Sundarayya, *Viplava Pathamlo Na Payanam*, p.71.

the Gandhian methods of struggle and formed the branches of Communist Party with them. First, he visited Nellore district and met several of his colleagues who participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement and stayed in jails along with him. He has also met some of the youth who were working in the revolutionary organizations affiliated to *Hindustan Socialist Republican Army* and convinced them to join Communist Party.<sup>260</sup> With efforts of Sundarayya, in Nellore district, Chundi Jagannadham, Basavareddi Sankara Reddy, Alluru Ranga Reddy, Ravi Adisheshaiah, Duvvuri Balarami Reddy and several others joined CPI and a branch of CPI was formed in Nellore in 1934.

Then Sundarayya visited Guntur district and met several people who participated and dissatisfied with the Civil disobedience and who were already influenced by the left literature brought supplied to them by the students of Andhra in Banares. Sundarayya also met some of the students of Banares who returned to Andhra. Sundarayya met Jonnalagadda Ramalingaiah, Pratapa Ramasubbaiah, Durbha Krishnamurthi, Polepeddi Narasimhamurthi, Madabhashi Venkatachari, and Pulupula Venkata Sivaiah in Guntur and formed a branch of CPI in Guntur. Later Sundarayya visited Krishna district and formed a branch of CPI.<sup>261</sup>

In Krishna district, he visited Ventrapragada village and met Kosaraju Sesaiah and Maddukuri Chandrasekhararao. Both of them agreed to join the Communist Party. Then Sundarayya and Chandrasekhararao visited Bhatlapenumarru and met Chalasani Vasudevarao and Jagannadharao. They also agreed to join in CPI. Sundarayya appointed Chandrasekhararao, Sesaiah and Vasudevarao to meet other like minded people in Krishna district and convince them to join in CPI.<sup>262</sup>

Sundarayya met Garapati Satyanarayana, Alluri Satyanarayanaraju, Uddaraju Ramam and Tanikella Venkatachalapathi in West Godavari district and organized a branch of CPI.<sup>263</sup> In Visakhapatnam Sundarayya established contacts with Abburi Ramakrishnarao, Chandra Rajeswararao and Nidamarthi Aswani Kumara Dutt who

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<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.60-61.

<sup>261</sup> Pratapa Ramasubbaiah, *Porata Pathamlo Nenu*, p.90-91.

<sup>262</sup> P.Sundarayya, *Viplava Pathamlo Na Payanam*, p.71.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*, p.70.

were working in CPI under the direct guidance of Central Committee of CPI and sent A.L. Narasimharao, a communist from Guntur district to form a branch a CPI in Visakhapatnam.<sup>264</sup>

In September 1934 Sundarayya formed an organizing committee with Polepeddi Narasimhamurthy, Kosaraju Seshaiyah, Maddukuri Chandrasekhararao, Chalasani Vasudevarao, Tanikella Venkata Chalapathi, Alluri Satyanarayanaraju and Sundarayya as members to organize the branches of CPI.<sup>265</sup> Sundarayya established contacts with the Central Committee of the CPI. He formed a provincial Committee of Communist Party in Madras. Sundarayya was the secretary of the Committee. In 1934 he attended to the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India held in Bombay and became a member of the Central Committee of the Party. According to the directions from the central committee of the Communist Party of India, which directed its members to come out from the Congress Socialist Party, Sundarayya met several people who were already joined in the Congress Socialist Party and convinced them to join in the Communist Party.<sup>266</sup> With the efforts of Sundarayya so many Communists resigned from the Congress Socialist Party and joined in the Communist Party.<sup>267</sup>

During this period, the CPI was following the left sectarian policy advocated by the sixth Congress of Comintern. With the experience of China where the nationalist Kuomintang betrayed the Communists in 1927, the Comintern condemned any connection between Indian National Congress and communists. It informed them to build an independent mass party to lead the masses against imperialism. This left sectarian policy alienated communists from the national movement led by Congress during 1929-34.

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<sup>264</sup> A.L.Narasimharao, "Aptudu Abburi", in Abburi Gopalakrishna (Ed) *Abburi Samsmarana*, pp.19-26.

<sup>265</sup> Parakala Pattabhiramarao, *Rashtra Communist Mahasabhala Samkshipta Charitra (1936-1998)*, (Telugu), Andhra Pradesh Communist Committee, Hyderabad, 1998, p.6; P.Sundarayya, *Viplavapathamlo Na Payanam*, Part – I, p.71 and Kambhampati Satyanarayana, *Andhra Pradeshlo Communist Udyama Charitra*, Part – I, pp.60, 126.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid*; P.Sundarayya, *Viplavapathamlo Na Payanam*, Part – I, p.71.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*, p.77.

During the time of the formation of the Communist Party in Madras presidency that was in 1934 the government banned the Communist Party.<sup>268</sup> Because of the ban on the Party the Communists formed labour protection leagues, press workers unions and agricultural workers unions. They continued their activities through these unions. In the Andhra districts of the Madras presidency P. Sundarayya, Jonnalagadda Ramalingaiah, Pratapa Ramasubbaiah, Durbha Krishnamurthy, Tanikella Venkata Chalapathi, Pulupula Venkata Sivaiah, Pillalamarri Venkateswarlu and Alluri Satyanarayanaraju played an important role in the formation of these unions.

Sundarayya visited several places in Andhra and encouraged the members of CPI to start Labour Protection Leagues all over the province. Pratapa Ramasubbaiah, Durbha Krishnamurthi, and Jonnalagadda Ramalingaiah, Pendyala Lokanadham, Amaravadi Krishnamurthi formed Guntur District Labour Protection League.<sup>269</sup> Later in 1935, Students of Guntur, Makineni Basavapunnaiiah and Moturu Hanumantharao also joined in this league.<sup>270</sup> Guntur district Labour Protection League actively worked among the jute mill workers, bullock cart workers, and workers in slums. They used to teach communism to the workers. Pendyala Lokanadham, a member of this league wrote a poem 'If all the workers unite, there is no dearth for food'. They have also published several pamphlets and distributed them among the workers. In 1935 Darba Krishnamurthi, Jonnalagadda Ramalingaiah and Pratapa Ramasubbaiah prominent members of the Guntur District Labour Protection League were arrested for publishing a pamphlet 'workers – class struggle' and some other plays depicting the exploitation of workers by industrialists with the support of imperialist British Government. They were imprisoned for six months.<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>268</sup> On 23 July 1934 the Government of India declared the Communist party of India, its committees, subcommittees and branches to be unlawful associations under the Criminal Law amendment Act of 1908 on the ground that the aims, objectives and activities of the party were dangerous to the public peace and Law and Order. See Government of Madras, G.O. No. 621, Public (General) dated 17 April 1935; *Andhra Patrika*, 15 August 1934, p.7.

<sup>269</sup> Pratapa Ramasubbaiah, *Porata Pathamlo Nenu*, p.91, Durba Krishnamurthi, *Smrithulu*, p.47.

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*, p.51.

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*, p.53; Government of Madras, G.O.No.3218, Law (General) Department, dated: 11-10-1935: *The Hindu*, 1-8-1935. *Andhra Patrika*, 9 Aug 1935, p.3.



The members of CPI in Andhra received several books from the Central Committee of CPI on Marxism including the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin's standard works and some other books on Soviet Union. They published several articles in Telugu and Tamil on Russia and Lenin in various journals. They also published and distributed *Communist Manifesto* and *Principles of Communism* in Telugu and Tamil.<sup>272</sup> The spread of Marxist literature at various places attracted the attention of police. In February 1935 the police raided the house of P.Sundarayya in Alaganipadu and seized two Telugu books *Amma* (Telugu translation of Maxim Gorkey's Mother) and *Communist Manifesto*.<sup>273</sup>

In Nellore Ravi Adisheshaiah and Chundi Jagannadham formed Nellore district Labour Protection League on 1 July 1935. In August 1935 the C.I.D. of Police conducted raid on the offices of Youth League and Labour Protection Leagues in Nellore and seized some printed Telugu books and handwriting notes Chundi Jagannadham and P. Sundarayya along with 359 pamphlets<sup>274</sup> Later Chundi Jagannadham and Ravi Audisheshaiah were arrested in 1935 and sentenced for 6 months imprisonment.

Pillalamarri Venkateswarlu, Kosaraju Seshaiyah, Maddukuri Chandrasekhararao, Chelasani Vasudevarao, Katragadda Srinivasarao, and Alluri Satyanarayanaraju formed Bezawada Labour Protection League. The Krishna district Labour protection secretly supported the workers strike Vuyyuru Sugar factory.<sup>275</sup>

Tadi Appalaswami and Garapati Satyanarayana formed West Godavari Labour Protection League, and Tummala Venkatramaiah and Polepeddi Narasimhamurthi formed another Labour Protection League in Tenali.<sup>276</sup>

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<sup>272</sup> "Report from the Secretary of Madras Provincial committee of Communist Party of India to the Central Committee of Communist Party of India", Secret File No. 931, dated 1<sup>st</sup> September 1935, Public Department, Government of Madras, in *History of Freedom Struggles, Andhra Pradesh, 1935*, p.2596.

<sup>273</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 11 February 1935, p.4., *Andhra Patrika*, 25 October, 1935, p.2.

<sup>274</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1935, p.14

<sup>275</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 6<sup>th</sup> August 1935, p.2.

<sup>276</sup> Kambhampati Satyanarayana, *Andhra Pradeshlo Communist Udyama Charitra*, p.135.

Press Workers unions were also formed in Madras, Guntur, Nellore, Tenali, Ellore and Masulipatnam.<sup>277</sup> Madras Press Workers Union passed a resolution demanding the release of Amir Hyder Khan who was kept as state prisoner in Presidency jails. The conference was presided over by A.S.K. Iyengar, the President of Madras Presidency Press workers Union. Messers D.V.Nadham, P.Rajavadivelu, P.Manickam, also spoke in the conference.<sup>278</sup>

During this period the communists in Guntur district Nanduri Prasadarao, Polepeddi Narasimhamurthy Kambhampati Satyanarayana (Junior), Pendyala Lokanadham, Jonnalagadda Ramalingaiah and P.V.Sivaiah formed *Friends Home* in Guntur to run the Party activities.<sup>279</sup> All the communists used to meet there every day evening to hold discussions. It was maintained as a hotel. Makineni Basavapunnaiyah, Parvathaneni Venkateswararao<sup>280</sup> and Kolla Venkaiah also joined in this home.<sup>281</sup> By the end of 1936 the members trained several youth to become Communists. After 1937, the Guntur district committee of CPI was able to send some of its efficient members as the organizers of communist movement in other districts in Andhra.

Apart from publication of several books and pamphlets, the Andhra Committee of CPI also started a Telugu fortnightly *Prabha* in April 1935. Gadde Lingaiah, a native of Yelamarru village was the editor of this journal. The government demanded the publisher to deposit Rs.8000 as security deposit and created several obstacles. In spite opposition from the government, the communists were able to run the journal for three months and it was stopped in June 1935. P.Sundarayya, Muddukuri Chandrasekhararao, N.G.Ranga, Kambhampati Satyanarayana, Ponnam Viraraghavaiah, Garapati Satyanarayana, Ravi Ammaiah, and Krovvidi Lingaraju wrote several essays in this journal.<sup>282</sup> *Prabha* published several essays on the exploitation of Zamindars in Krishna district and also criticized the preparations of

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<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*, p.140.

<sup>278</sup> *Andhra Patrika*, 20<sup>th</sup> November 1935, p.10

<sup>279</sup> Yetukuri Krishnamurthi (Ed), *Gunturu Zilla Communistu Udyama Vaitalikulu*, pp.4-5.

<sup>280</sup> Son of Parvathaneni Viraiyah Chaudhary, the organisor of Pedanandipadu No-tax campaign during Non-Cooperation Movement, Venkateswararao died in 1942 by falling in a well while escaping from the police during Quit India Movement.

<sup>281</sup> Telakapalli Ravi (Ed), *Marxist Medhavi, Shramikavarga Yodhudu, Nanduri Prasadarao*, p.52.

Congress leaders to enter into assemblies under Government of India Act of 1935. It also published essays on international politics, rise of fascism. In June 1935 Prabha published several essays on the life Karl of Marx and several essays on the theories of Karl Marx. Muddukuri Chandrasekhararao in his essay criticized the Gandhi-Irwin agreement and depicted it as a compromise between bourgeois and imperialism. The journal also published the biographies of Dimitrov, Lenin and Gorky some of the essays published in this journal on Indian National Movement describing the role of various sections of people in the struggle.<sup>283</sup>

In spite of tireless work rendered by the communists for the growth of CPI through labour protection leagues, press workers leagues and other associations, the left sectarian policy of CPI prevented its spread. The real growth of Communist Party in Andhra started after the formation of United Front with the Congress Socialist Party and penetration of Communists into CSP. The Communists occupied all most all the important positions in Congress Socialist Party. The communists used the banner of CSP to propagate their ideas among the people. The entry of Communists into CSP also helped them to use it as a cover to escape government repression. During this period, the socialists conducted rigorous propaganda work among the people and thousands of young people who were influenced by Socialist ideology have joined in Congress socialist Party. Inside the party also the Communists conducted ideological discussion and majority of Socialists were transformed into communists. By the end of 1939, the communists dominated all most all the Committees of CSP and they have joined in CPI after the expulsion of communists from CSP.

In conclusion it can be said that the beginning of the Communist movement in Andhra was an ideal beginning with middle class intellectuals and educated children of rich peasants. The educated youth and middle class intellectuals, who disappointed by the Gandhian methods of struggle and searching for alternative methods of

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<sup>282</sup> Yetukuri Prasad (Ed), *Tummala Sahityam*, pp.280-281 and P.Sundarayya, *Viplava Pathamlo Na Payanam*, p.76.

<sup>283</sup> Kambhampati Satyanarayana, *Andhra Pradeshlo Communist Udyama Charitra*, pp.150-156.

struggle, were influenced by Marxism. The Marxist literature played an important role in attracting the youth towards Marxism.

Most of the educated middle class who founded communist party in Andhra belonged to dominant communities in fertile coastal Andhra districts. Most of them come from Brahmin, Kamma, Reddy and Raju (or Kshatriya) communities. Their simple lifestyle, Spartan discipline, personal integrity and supreme sacrifice helped them to integrate themselves with the peasant masses.

The people who were influenced by Marxism and became socialists and communists after 1930 can be divided into two groups i.e., the students and Satyagrahis. Most of the participants of the Civil Disobedience Movements of 1930-32 joined in Congress Socialist Party after withdrawal of CDM. The students who studied Marxism and who have not participated in CDM have joined in CPI. Later these students distributed Marxist literature and transformed several satyagrahis and Congress socialists into communism.

The members of these educated middle class who have come from peasant families spread the Marxist ideas among peasants and attracted several peasant youth into CPI. With formation of Labour protection Leagues and Press Workers unions communists maintained considerable hold among the working class. Thus, by 1934 the Communist Party in Andhra became a strong force with middle class educated intellectuals as leaders and with a base among the peasant communities in rural areas and workers in urban areas.

The Formation of Communist Party in Andhra sharpened the differences between the nationalist forces in Andhra. Most of the youth who were dissatisfied with the Gandhian methods of struggle, joined in the Communist Movement. The rigorous campaign made by the Communists among workers and peasants made them conscious about their problems and influenced them to come forward to participate in the movements against exploitation. The formation of Communist Party in Andhra also marked a change in the nature of social participation in the national movement. The participation of workers and peasants in the national movement increased after formation of united front between Congress, Communists and Congress Socialist Party in 1936. The entire new generation mobilised under the banner of Communist

Party confronted with the congress right wing on many issues and supported the left wing congress leadership under the Congress Socialist Party. Thus with the formation of Communist Party in Andhra, began struggle for hegemony within the Indian National Movement between the right wing and left wing in Andhra.