

September 21, 2004 after the unification of the two streams which continued separately for nearly four decades, lies in uniting the genuine revolutionary forces. In the 85 year old history of the Communist Party of India and in the 45 year old history after Naxalbari, the party underwent many splits. In these crises the persons and groups that turned renegades by doing treachery to the revolution have been thrown into the dust bin of history. But our party held fast to the unity of genuine revolutionaries and created a glowing history. In today's world it gained recognition as a revolutionary party which is leading the revolutionary movement since a long time. As heirs of the founder leaders of our party, our great teachers and martyrs comrades Charu Mazumdar and Kanhai Chatterji, thousands of comrades are sacrificing their lives for achieving revolutionary aims. Our party with such glorious history would definitely make the dreams and aims of our martyrs come true. It would lead the Indian New Democratic Revolution along the path of victory and would definitely build a society free of exploitation and oppression.

If one has to speak of the revolutionary life history of comrade Koteswarlu, then one would have to speak of the entire Indian revolutionary history after the glorious Naxalbari and Srikakulam movements in the past four decades as their continuation and which includes the Karimnagar-Adilabad, North Telangana, Dandakaranya and West Bengal movements. He was a people's leader who laid down his life for achieving revolutionary aims. His brave martyrdom is written in blood in the Indian revolutionary history. Comrade Koteswarlu is immortal. Fighting decisively with feudalism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and imperialism, defeating them and burying them would be the real tribute we could pay to this great warrior. Let us vow that we would fight till the end to fulfill the aims of this finest son of the international proletariat. Let us go into practice with double the enthusiasm and with Bolshevik determination by filling ourselves with the strength of his memories and ideals. Let us create countless Kotannas by intensifying mass movements and People's War to fulfill the enormous loss to the party and the entire Indian revolutionary movement due to his martyrdom. It was the people and the people's movements that have given birth to comrade Kotanna. It is the people and the people's movements which would create him again and again. He would remain forever in the hearts of the vast oppressed masses.

January 1, 2012



**Red Salutes To  
The Great Leader of Indian Revolution,  
The Beloved Leader of  
The Oppressed Masses and  
Politburo Member of CPI (Maoist)  
Comrade Mallojhala Koteswarlu !**



**Central Committee  
Communist Party of India (Maoist)**

The Indian ruling classes have spun another 'encounter' false story that "near Burisol village in the Kushboni forests of West Medinipur district of West Bengal (WB) state, a hour long fierce gun battle took place between the security forces and the Maoists and top Maoist leader Koteswara Rao alias Kishenji was killed in that firing". Even while announcing that the person who died in this 'encounter' on 24 November 2011 could be Kishenji, the central Home Secretary gloated that 'this was a big blow to the Maoist party'. One day before this, they have circulated in a planned manner a fake story that the place where comrade Kishenji was present in Junglemahal was surrounded by the government security forces and that he had escaped along with his colleagues. On 25<sup>th</sup> morning they made another announcement confirming that the person who died in the encounter was identified as Kishenji. Chidambaram, RK Singh, CRPF DGP Vijay Kumar were afraid even to show his dead body to the world and did not allow media persons to visit the place of the incident. From the facts that only one person had died, that the police did not have even a scratch of an injury, from the statements of the people of neighboring villages and particularly due to the inhuman signs of torture on the body, civil rights organizations and mass organizations have immediately released statements in protest that this was in no case a death due to encounter, but that he was caught alive somewhere and was killed brutally and illegally. It is very clear that the ruling classes which are carrying on a false propaganda that the Maoist movement is the biggest internal security to the country, under the guidance of the fascist ruling clique of Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram-Pranab-Jairam Ramesh that is politically leading them colluded with the West Bengal Chief Minister Mamta Banerji, caught comrade Koteswarlu in a covert operation, tortured him inhumanly and later murdered him.

Comrade Mallojhala Koteswarly who is well known among the party ranks and the people as Kotanna, Prahlad, Ramji, Kishenji, Bimal etc is a topmost representative of the generation after the glorious Naxalbari rebellion. The Naxalbari armed peasant struggle greatly shook the Indian society and roused all the people belonging to oppressed classes and sections. It concluded about the nature of the Indian economy. It once again brought armed struggle on the agenda. It inaugurated the New Democratic revolutionary path which is carried on with armed agrarian revolution as the axis.

Comrade Kotanna was influenced by the politics of Naxalbari and

plans for a campaign to teach theory to the leadership cadres were formulated. He participated in preparing notes on selected topics along with the teachers. Wherever he went he gave the necessary suggestions on selecting topics according to the level of the cadres, on preparing notes, conducting classes and teaching.

Comrade Koteswarlu stood in the forefront in the rectification movement and set up an ideal in correcting his mistakes. He identified his shortcomings in correcting the six wrong trends in the party in 1984 as the state secretary, sincerely presented his self-criticism and stepped back from the post of secretary. He continued as the member of SC secretariat, put efforts to overcome his mistakes with sincerity and won the praise of one and all within a short period. He used to understand deeply the criticisms and suggestions given by his fellow comrades in the party committee meetings, corrected them as was fit for the leadership level and served as a model for the entire party. He used to teach his fellow comrades that everybody makes mistakes but it is the greatness of the communists that they identify them and correct them. He was a communist teacher who practiced and taught that criticism and self-criticism are as natural and necessary for the communists as cleaning the home daily, washing one's face and taking vaccination as a precaution.

## **When A Martyr Falls, Thousands Come Forward To Take His Place**

Comrade Koteswarlu is no more. He was a person of multiple talents. With his martyrdom we have lost a great personality. He was a beloved leader of the cadres. He was an intellectual who gained vast experience in ideological, political and organizational spheres. He was a poet, a revolutionary writer, a soldier and commander of People's War who never put his gun down. He worked day and night for 38 years for the sake of revolution and imparted new experiences in mass movements and People's War. He spread revolutionary fires from Jagityal to Junglemahal and was a communist revolutionary who proved the fact that a small spark leads to a prairie fire. He was a great dreamer. Comrade Koteswarlu shone like a morning star in the Indian revolutionary history. He was a great leader of our generation and a model for the future generations.

The real greatness of our party which was united as CPI (Maoist) on

repeatedly remind the tasks of revolutionary writers. He encouraged the DK guerilla writers and gave direction to the magazine of those writers – the ‘Jhankar’. He wrote under many pen names. Later he permanently took the name of ‘Asidhara’.

He wrote many writings for the party. It was his specialty to respond to various issues in writing. He not only wrote to party magazines but also sent his writings to the bourgeois print media. He countered the attacks of the fake revolutionaries and enemy on party and the revolutionary movement. He showed enormous interest in running revolutionary magazines. Comrade Koteswarlu applied the teaching of comrade Lenin that ‘magazine is an organizer’ throughout his life and gave lot of importance to publishing magazines with better writings. He worked initiative to run magazines like Kranti, Radical March, Karmika Patham, Prabhat, Vanguard, Awami Jung etc. His guidance in starting and running several revolutionary magazines in West Bengal is very great. He studied ideological, political, organizational, military, cultural and social matters according to the needs of the movement and wrote hundreds of articles. He felt that magazines should be brought out in people’s languages area wise in DK. He paid lot of attention to publishing books too. His efforts in establishing Peace Book Centre in Hyderabad in the 1980s are unforgettable.

Comrade Koteswarlu was a good orator. He could speak fluently on any topic. He used to speak in the Telangana language using the nuances in that language in an interesting way. He tried to speak in the languages of the areas he visited. He learnt Koya, Hindi, English and Bangla languages to fulfill the needs of the movement. His speeches enhanced the understanding of the audience and filled them with inspiration.

Com. Koteswarlu was the spokesperson of the East Regional Bureau since 2007. Later during the deluge of Lalgah movement he was in constant touch with the media and stated the stand of the party on several issues. He maintained good relations with the media.

### **A Marxist Teacher Who Molded The Cadres**

One of the important responsibilities taken up by comrade Koteswarlu was education of the cadres. From the initial days he conducted political classes for the cadres and put in lot of efforts for their development. After he took up the responsibility of SCOPE and Central Political School in 1996,

Srikakulam. He immersed himself in the peasant movements in Karimnagar-Adilabad districts, stood in the forefront as one of the leaders of the ‘Jagityal Jaitrayatra and broke the back of the deeply entrenched feudalism. He led the armed peasant revolutionary movement in Andhra Pradesh and guided the people’s liberation guerilla squads in Dandakaranya (DK). As a Central Committee (CC) member, he went to West Bengal as part of the task of extending the revolutionary movement in Northern and Eastern India. He stood with the people till the end in People’s War there and became popular with the historical Lalgah people’s rebellion. He built people’s movements to oppose the anti-people policies of the ruling classes which are giving away the resources of country to the comprador bureaucratic capitalists and foreign corporate companies. His role as a Politburo member was active in the process of unity of revolutionary parties and in developing the party line. His role as the representative of the party in achieving unity among Maoist revolutionaries of South Asia against the expansionism of India would be etched in history.

That is why the feudal, comprador capitalist ruling classes with the full support of the imperialists targeted comrade Koteswarlu specifically and resorted to shameless conspiracy to murder him. This murder is part of that conspiracy. His legs which walked from Telangana to Bengal were hacked. One of his two eyes (right one) which dreamed of advancing towards World Proletarian Socialist Revolution by successfully completing the New Democratic Revolution (NDR) in India was pulled out of its socket. His body, each atom of which had given the slogan of ‘Long live Revolution’, was turned into pulp. Bullets pierced his body everywhere turning it into a sieve. Various kinds of injuries were inflicted all over. His voice which had constantly exposed the enemy’s fascist nature was cruelly silenced. The finger of his hand which had written for the people using his pen as a sword was cut off. His feet were burnt on an electric heater. Pieces of flesh were cut off from his body. Finally they fired a bullet through his mouth, his jaw came off and his brain came out from behind. Not respecting even the constitution written by themselves, they tortured him cruelly for hours together in a secret place and killed him in a cowardly manner. But comrade Koteswarlu bore all that. He is a staunch revolutionary. He is a fighter who protected the secrets of the party with his life and did not surrender to the enemy. He was a soldier who had defeated the enemy even in the face of death.

The enemy may be temporarily gleeful by eliminating him physically but it

is impossible to eliminate the party line to which he adhered to, the creative efforts he put to develop it, his revolutionary aims, ideals and dreams and his memories which are spread far and wide and forever from Jagityal to Junglemahal. It is impossible to eliminate him from the hearts of the people and that of the People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA) that are fighting with the inspiration of his aims. The aims, theories and ideals which he believed in are burning in the hearts of the millions of oppressed masses. His tireless and long revolutionary life would serve as an inspiration for the building of alternate people's power, for establishing liberated areas and finally for the liberation of India.

People, democrats, intellectuals, Martyrs' Friends and Relatives Committee and his friends and relatives brought his dead body from Junglemahal to Peddapally with boundless love and respect. In Peddapally thousands of revolutionary masses participated in the funeral procession by defying the dragnet of the police and paid tearful tributes to their beloved leader. They condemned the murder by the central and state governments and the slogans "Long live the Revolution" and "Comrade Kotanna Amar Rahe" ("Comrade Kotanna is immortal") rent the air. CC is sending its deep condolences to mother Madhuramma who is giving a call to the people to follow the path of his son even while crying inconsolably for her son and to all other family members, friends and relatives. CC is sharing its grief with the party ranks, revolutionary masses and all of his friends who are immersed in a sea of sorrow after his martyrdom and is vowing that it would fight till the end to fulfill his aims.

### **A Childhood Filled With Patriotic And Progressive Ideas**

Comrade Mallojhala Koteswarlu was born on November 26, 1954 in Peddapally town of Karimnagar district in Telangana. He was the second child of mother Madhuramma and father Venkatayya. His childhood and study up to high school (HSC) were completed in Peddapally. He was full of patriotic feelings since his childhood. He wanted to become a soldier for defending his country. His patriotic feelings attracted him towards RSS for some days. He used to wear *khakhi* shorts and attended the *shakha* every day carrying a lathi. But he could not continue with them for long. He understood about their communal politics and sham patriotism and distanced himself from RSS. He took armed training by joining NCC while studying in high school. From his childhood he used to give special attention to physical fitness. He

### **A Warrior Who Used His Pen And Voice Against The Enemy**

It was a specific characteristic of comrade Koteswarlu that whatever he wrote or spoke used to be thought inspiring. His pen created many eloquent poems. He was a sensitive person, his responses were emotional. In a daily routine which knew no rest, he worked overcoming all pressures. He always was in the forefront to work. He expected the same from his colleagues. He used to encourage comrades to bring out their talents, capabilities and strengths to the full extent and motivated them to use these for the movement. He not only wrote but also made other comrades write. He explained the shortcomings in the writings, criticized and encouraged. This was a specific characteristic of comrade Ramji. Particularly he encouraged women comrades to develop into writers and gave suggestions and help to them. He wrote dozens of poems. It is difficult not to find similes of fishermen, streams, bows and Godavari in his poems!

When comrade Japa Lakshma Reddy was murdered by the police in Karimnagar the long poem he wrote in the name of 'A son' indicated the deep bond between them. While returning from the Kamlapur conference held in 1984 in Gadchiroli, he attended a marriage ceremony of the guerillas for the first time. The poem he wrote after hearing the responses of the villagers there shows the bond between the guerillas and the people. It was the forte of his pen to write poems with the content of the discussions in the meetings he was attending. He enthused many by reciting several extempore poems during the celebrations of the formation of CPI (Maoist). He toured in DK at end 2008 and while returning to Junglemahal he wrote the poem named 'Wooden Stake' (about the thousands of booby traps laid down by the militia using wooden stakes). This shows how he got inspired with the resistance struggles of the people. The number of instant poems he wrote in his letters to his comrades according to the situation or highlighting the bond between them are many! His comrades used to joke that he was a 'poet who wrote poetry with two hands'. Poetry stanzas, new literary usages and phrases dotted his letters and made them an interesting read. That is why comrades preserved those letters preciously.

The suggestions he made for the workshop of RWA (Revolutionary Writers Association) held in Alakurapadu in 1984 and the ideas he shared with them



Since the days he joined the party he tried to bring all those who were close to him into the fold of the revolutionary movement. He brought his younger brother also into the revolutionary activities. Comrade Ramji gave encouragement and help in molding him into a revolutionary activist and leader. He married a full time activist in the revolutionary movement in 1984. He helped her a lot. His encouragement in her development as a prominent leader in the revolutionary movement is great. Theirs was an ideal couple and they had to live apart in very far off places due to their responsibilities. They could not meet so often amidst the cruel offensives of the enemy but they worked giving top priority to revolutionary interests. The letters that he wrote to his mother in newspapers sent a revolutionary message to her and to all the mothers like her and tried to explain to them the condition of the movement with a human touch.

### **An Ideal Leader Who Stood In Support Of Women Comrades**

Theoretically comrade Koteswarlu believed that in this exploiting society women are carrying an extra burden than the men and that their liberation is linked with the liberation from exploitation. He wished that women who are fighting exploitation must in their daily practice fight against patriarchy consciously. The letter he primarily drafted on behalf of the DKFC in 1991 about the problems faced by women in the party is an important letter to be studied always and implemented. He put a proposal before the party that women guerillas who were victims of patriarchal oppression and anemia in the society and who are suffering from malaria in the guerilla life must be given 'special food' and got it sanctioned. This indicates his broad outlook. He always taught that party must encourage women separately and make them excel instead of making them compete with men, from promotions in revolutionary practice to military drills in the ground.

Comrade Ramji paid attention to taking interviews of some leadership women comrades working since a long time in the revolutionary movement and in publishing them in various party magazines. These were useful in imparting their movement experiences to the readers along with being an encouragement to the women comrades working in the party.

used to exercise regularly. He used to go for training in wielding the lathi.

His father had democratic and rational ideas. His mother lost three sons before and so she looked after the remaining three sons with lot of affection. Her husband lost his youth and all property in the freedom movement. Madhuramma never complained and shared all the difficulties. The difficulties the family faced in raising the children had a deep impact on Kotanna. His father worked as a clerk in his old age and had to silently bear the authority of the *Velama* land lords like Rama Rao who dismissed him from the job using some false pretexts. Mother went to the fields to cut grass, milked the cows and sold the curds and milk without even giving them to the children to eat and used the money for their education, all of which Kotanna never forgot. He frequently participated in the agricultural works at home and made friends with the laborers whole heartedly by keeping aside caste differences. His childhood was spent among difficulties.

### **Youth Opened The Doors For Entry Into Politics**

The political atmosphere at his home where people belonging to all parties, particularly the communists discussed politics led him towards progressive ideas. The atrocities of the Razakars of the Nizam made the blood of the children boil. The children did not understand all the things that the elders discussed. But the children followed all their discussions with lot of interest. As their father had the habit of bringing home the books of famous progressive writers, the children became familiar with that literature. Kotanna's thinking advanced towards progressive ideas as he hated patriarchy, feudal values, social inequalities, bad habits and evils. He learnt sincerity, respecting others and social values from his parents. He was an intelligent student and passed HSC in first class. During those days he was severely ill with typhoid for 40 days and one of his ears became permanently disabled due to this.

It was 1969. Those were the days of the 'Spring Thunder'. Exactly at the same time another spark was lit. The slogans of 'Jai Telangana', 'Andhra Go Back' and 'Mulki policy must be implemented' rent the air. These slogans firstly made the students stand in the forefront in the struggle. Later workers and employees joined. The movement went on militantly. Nearly 400 youngsters laid down their valuable lives in that movement. Our party supported this movement from the beginning and participated in it according to its strength. Where the party had strength it consolidated the people and

led them. Young Koteswarlu (though not in party relations at that time) was among the thousands of youngsters who jumped into the movement. He participated in several militant actions. It was the politics of struggle for separate Telangana which gradually led comrade Kotanna towards revolutionary politics.

## **The First Steps In An Inspiring Revolutionary Life**

Comrade Kotanna joined in pre-university course (PUC) in Karimnagar. The revolutionary message of Naxalbari and Srikakulam had already reached his college. Kotanna became familiar with revolutionary politics and he joined a young revolutionaries' group. He passed PUC with good marks and joined BSc (Mathematics). Already by then his home had become a shelter to many revolutionaries and a centre for revolutionary activities.

By 1972 the revolutionary tide of Naxalbari and Srikakulam suffered a setback. Comrade Charu Mazumdar one of the founder leaders of our party was arrested in Kolkata due to information given by a traitor, unyieldingly faced the tortures of the police for twelve days and was martyred. He earned a place in history as the great leader of the revolutionary path of New Democracy in India. Between 1969-72 several party leaders comrades Saroj Dutta, Panchadi Krishnamurty, Vempatapu Satyam, Adibhatla Kailasam, Dr. Devineni Mallikarjun, Dr. Chaganti Bhaskar, Tamada Ganapathy and several brave women like Nirmala, Ankamma and Saraswati laid down their lives in the fascist onslaughts of the enemy.

With the setback of Naxalbari, the number of renegades and traitors in the party increased. Left and right opportunist paths led to many splits in the party. However, genuine revolutionary forces under the leadership of the Andhra Pradesh State Committee (APSC) sincerely directed an ideological struggle against the left and right lines and put efforts for reuniting revolutionary forces based on the document 'Let us review the past and advance the armed struggle' (Self-Critical Report – SCR). As a result, the doors for building revolutionary mass organizations opened. Party leadership first built the writers organization and then the revolutionary students organization. It encouraged the formation of the civil rights organizations.

During this course, comrade Kotanna's relations with the revolutionary party leadership and Literary Friends gradually strengthened. He conducted militant programmes along with his group of student friends. He took up the

on ideological, political matters and played a glorious role in developing the party line and in defending it while constantly carrying on his theoretical study. He was a Marxist ideological warrior who firmly fought back all kinds of reactionary theories. In this course, he put tireless efforts in enriching 'Strategy and Tactics' document along with all the documents of our party.

## **Comrade Ramji – A Combination Of Affection, Warmth And Fondness**

Comrade Ramji was not only a leader to the party ranks and the people but also a loving and caring person. He could mingle with people of all ages, from all kinds of social backgrounds, with women and men alike. It was his unique characteristic to be affectionate with everyone from the depths of his heart wherever he may be. In his 38 year long revolutionary life he won the affection and love of thousands of party cadres developing innumerable bonds of affection with them. He not only enquired about the needs of the cadres but also remembered them responsibly and fulfilled them. He not only identified a person's talents and the jobs to be given to them but also identified in which field they would shine. Wherever he may be, he gave them the necessary help and also responsibly saw to it that they got the necessary literature. He made it a point to meet the comrades available. He asked and got from his close associates and guerillas micro level information about their experiences in PW and RPCs. Everybody used to feel that they have met their much-loved political teacher who loved them in turn whenever they met him. Everybody used to love him as a leader who taught them many things, who identified their weaknesses, encouraged the good things in them and motivated them. When it was not possible to meet the cadres, he wrote letters to them.

He paid special attention to provide medical care to the comrades who got injured in the battles with the enemy. He used to provide them with work suitable to their physical condition and filled them with self-confidence with words of encouragement. He shared the grief of comrades who have lost their life partners in the cruel war of the enemy, wiped their tears and told them to keep confidence on the revolution, party and the people. Many comrades still remember his words of encouragement and confidence even to this day! Several comrades who are facing problems try to overcome them by remembering him or by reading his letters again and again to fill themselves with revolutionary spirit.

propaganda means. He strongly felt that our guerilla zones must provide themselves with these.

Nearly 160 revolutionaries including warriors of People's War like comrades Umakant Mahato, Sasadhar Mahato, second Sidhu Soren, the supreme commander of the Sidhu-Kanu militia, who fought bravely with the enemy, wiped out nearly 70 security personnel, injured another fifty and seized 82 weapons in the resistance actions led by them in Lalgurh movement and leaders of Lalgurh People's Revolt like Lal Mohan Tudu spilled their blood in Junglemahal for the liberation of the people. Comrade Koteswarlu was greatly inspired by all these sons and daughters of the struggle and he followed in their steps till the end.

### **A Firm Revolutionary Who Stood Resolute In Internal Struggles Of The Party**

Comrade Koteswarlu stood resolute with the revolutionary side in the internal struggles which arose in the party on various occasions and firmly opposed the left and right opportunists and the liquidators. As an ideological warrior, he fought back the attacks of the various kinds of revisionists and the opportunists. He put his maximum efforts to politically oppose the crisis created by opportunists such as KG Satyamurty in the erstwhile PW in 1985 and to keep the party united and stand firmly on the revolutionary line. Even on the occasion when Kondapalli Seetharamaiah, the Party Secretary himself became a victim of opportunism and created another crisis in 1991, comrade Kotanna stood firmly with the revolutionary side. Due to this internal struggle, KS along with opportunists like Bandaiah and Prasad were expelled from the party and new young leadership came to the fore. In the ideological struggle against right opportunists in AP in the 1980s, in constantly conducting ideological and political struggle with the neo revisionists in West Bengal and in defeating the opportunist politics brought forth by the WBSC Secretary Manik, the role of comrade of Kotanna is very great. He put efforts to solve the various problems which arose in the West Bengal state unit by conducting plenums. Lot of his efforts went into formulating documents and booklets during such ideological struggles and in conducting debates in various magazines. After the merger of the two parties in 2004, he put in lot of efforts to establish strong unity among the party ranks who came from both the erstwhile parties in WB. On the whole, comrade Kotanna had a good grip

programme of boycotting sham independence on August 15, 1973 for the first time in his college and participated militantly in burning the tri-color flag. This incident created a sensation among the student community all over the district. In this course he was arrested while conducting revolutionary activities. This was the first arrest in the long revolutionary life of comrade Koteswarlu.

### **Unhindered Revolutionary Journey**

While comrade Koteswarlu was in his last year in BSc he actively began spreading progressive, democratic student activities all over the district. The Manthani, Peddapally junior colleges and the Jammikunta Adarsh degree college were getting transformed into revolutionary student centres. His relations with the Literary Friends of Warangal already began deepening. Literary activities increased with Karimnagar as centre. 'Vidyullatha', a magazine and 'Maro Jhanjha' and 'March' poetry collections were published. Civil rights organization in the district took birth. Comrade Koteswarlu developed vast relations with progressive and revolutionary intellectuals, lawyers and communists of the old Telangana struggle period who were still honest. He knew by heart "Mahaprasthanam" of Sri Sri. They subscribed to progressive and revolutionary magazines at home and other revolutionary literature also found place in their home. He made his mother read Maxim Gorky's novel 'Mother' and described Pavel's as a great character. In those days apart from the impact of Naxalbari and Srikakulam struggles, the impact of Vietnam revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China were also great on the youth. Comrade Koteswarlu was an active representative of that young generation.

In 1974 comrade George Reddy was murdered by the communal forces in Osmania University. His sacrifice was an inspiration to the revolutionary students. In October 1974 Radical Students Union (RSU) was formed. On February 23 and 24, 1975 APRSU held its first conference in Hyderabad. Koteswarlu mobilized students on a huge scale for this.

Revolutionary and progressive student organizations including RSU, intellectuals, prominent lawyers like Pattipati Venkateswarlu and KG Kannabiran and civil rights organizations rallied on a huge scale for the annulment of death sentences pronounced on revolutionary sympathizer comrades Bhoomai and Kista Goud belonging to Adilabad. Comrade

Koteswarlu participated actively in this. Ignoring these protests the ruling classes cruelly hanged both of them at midnight on December 1, 1975 during the dark days of Emergency.

The whole country transformed into a prison during the Emergency period starting from June 26, 1975. Civil and democratic rights were crushed. Revolutionary party activists and leaders went underground in large numbers in Karimnagar, Adilabad and Warangal districts. Those who were caught by the police were tortured in various ways and put in jails. Along with comrade Surapaneni Janardhan of Warangal Regional Engineering College, Murli Mohan, Anand Rao and Sudhakar were killed in a fake encounter in Girayipalli forests in Medak district. Many revolutionary writers, poets, artistes, democratic intellectuals and lawyers were put in jails. It was really a testing period for the new generation which went underground after the setback of Naxalbari. The trying conditions of those days tested their revolutionary commitment and involvement. Comrade Koteswarlu was one of those revolutionaries who faced such difficult conditions.

During the 20 month long fascist emergency period party activists led underground life. They worked under various covers like teachers, village doctors, as persons who washed and ironed clothes etc in the villages to build up mass base. However they never used to have proper party contacts due to repression. They faced many financial problems. They used to pawn or sell their personal belongings like watches and cycles and used that money for fulfilling their daily needs. They used to spend thriftily the money given by revolutionary sympathizers and the small amounts of money lent to them. Any leakage of information about their whereabouts would have led to death. One was reminded of the Stolypin repression days faced by the revolutionary party in Russia. Comrade Koteswarlu was among those who never submitted to the repression. Their revolutionary commitment, involvement, study, dedication to their aims and readiness to sacrifice would remain great ideals to the generation today. 'Telangana Regional Conference' was held successfully with utmost secrecy in Nagpur by the party leadership in January 1977 under such circumstances. 'Path for Revolution' document formulated by COC in 1974 was passed by this conference. This conference was a turning point in reviewing leftist tactics and to go into practice by overcoming them with correct tactics and basing on mass line. Basing on this, party activists concentrated and worked in rural areas as organizers even from the

the movements of the people. They restricted the traffic of vehicles. They resorted to all kinds of horrible acts like pulling away railway tracks, resorting to such inhuman acts like the Gnaneshwari train accident which led to the death of many people traveling in it, resorted to vicious propaganda about the revolutionary movement on a vast scale with the help of media barons, announced surrender policies, established police informers in all villages and planned for murders of leaders by infiltrating covertly into the movement etc. Union Home Minister Chidambaram and Home Secretary GK Pillai resorted to many a conspiracy and scheming to wipe out the Lalgargh movement. To divert people, democrats and those who had illusions about parliament and constitution, they brought forth the proposal for talks. They flooded fake economic reforms in the name of civic action programmes as part of Low Intensity Conflict (LIC) strategy. All these intensified since 2009 June. GK Pillai had openly announced that Lalgargh is a dress rehearsal for the military offensive in Green Hunt.

Comrade Koteswarlu who was experienced in formulating counter strategy and counter tactics to the strategy and tactics of the enemy formulated the following appropriate tactics to fight back the enemy offensives. Harmad goons entrenched in the villages were punished in people's courts. spies sent under various covers were exposed among the people and were punished according to the severity of their crime. Fitting reply was given with people's armed resistance, booby traps and mines to the police and paramilitary forces which sneakily came to attack the villages. Silda showed that the way to provide protection to the people and the people's rule was destroying the additional police camps being established by the enemy. When the enemy tried to restrict the movement, it was decided to expand. The movement was extended to Lalgargh, Ramgarh, Dharmapuri, Kotwali, Madhupur, Palaibani, Gwalthor, Sarenga, Binpur, Jhargram, Lodhashuli, Gopi Vallabhpur, Nayagram and Sankrail. It was decided to utilize the contradictions that arise between the enemy forces. Propaganda war of the enemy was sought to be fought back with revolutionary propaganda war. For this, revolutionary magazines and literature and even the media in the hands of the enemy became propaganda weapons. Comrade Koteswarlu was the in-charge of the 'Agitation and Propaganda Committee' (APC) that was formed under the leadership of the APSC in the beginning of 1980s. From those days till now he formulated tactics by giving appropriate importance to propaganda war and implemented them creatively. He used to feel that revolutionaries must have their own



stopped. Firstly, they proceeded to fulfill their minimum needs on their own. The mass organizations there not only provided education and medical care to the people but have also improved the public distribution system and took it into their hands. The 'people's rule' propagated by the social fascists since thirty years was ended and the oppressed masses began ruling themselves under a revolutionary line. People began building new history with their brave battles and unique sacrifices. Comrade Koteswarlu's guidance was present behind all these.

People dragged to the streets the social fascist goons who resorted to many kinds of violence and atrocities on them since thirty years. People destroyed the party offices that turned into cells of atrocities of these goons, brick by brick with lot of hatred. As these party offices were torture chambers people came in hordes to destroy them. People seized the many kinds of torture implements and the guns in those offices. People's courts punished notorious goons in every village. Comrade Koteswarlu strove to give proper guidelines to these people's courts in accordance with class line and mass line. Till then whether it was a teacher, village *sarpanch*, panchayat secretary, patwari or police – all of them belonged to CPM and they have imbibed the culture of harassing the people. So people revolted against them too. Many of those who participated in the mass struggle joined the people's militia and PLGA. They fought against revisionists with revolutionary politics. Hundreds of activists emerged from people's militia and PLGA. The leadership given by comrade Koteswarlu in this whole effort is prominent.

Within a short period Lalgarh movement was again extended to the revolutionary areas of the 1970s up to the banks of the river Suvarnamukhi and the borders of Gopi Vallabhpur district. Lalgarh reached Kolkata. Lalgarh attracted students from many cities including Delhi, Mumbai, Bangalore and Hyderabad and intellectuals, democrats and well wishers of Adivasis. Lalgarh rallied film producers, poets, artistes and journalists. It drew the attention of the fighting people of North- East states. Solidarity committees of Lalgarh mass struggles came into existence all over the country stating that 'Lalgarh is not alone, we are with Lalgarh'. Comrade Koteswarlu played his role in building this solidarity movement with CPI (Maoist) at the core.

In order to wipe out the Lalgarh People's Revolt, Harnad Vahini, the central and state police forces and special commandos like the Cobras were deployed in their thousands in the villages and the forests. They controlled

emergency dark days. Comrade Koteswarlu was given responsibility for Marimadla area in Sircilla *taluk*. As anger of the people burst forth all over the country against fascist repression of Emergency, Indira Gandhi lifted the Emergency in March 1977.

## Leaving An Indelible Mark In The hearts Of The People As An Organizer

Comrade Koteswarlu who took up responsibility as peasant organizer in Sircilla area was soon arrested. Coincidentally he was arrested on the same day that the Emergency was lifted and so his life was saved from a fake encounter. Within three months he was released on bail.

Several enquiry committees were set up to enquire about the atrocities committed by the Indira raj during the dark days of Emergency. The protest of the people was so huge that even Indira Gandhi had to taste lock up custody for some time. Under such circumstances government appointed the Bhargava Commission for enquiry on Girayipalli encounter. A committee was formed by PUCL under former high court judge of Mumbai Justice VM Tarkunde with nine prominent lawyers and intellectuals. Comrade Koteswarlu was one of the radical students who put serious efforts to keep the collected evidences about that 'encounter' before the Bhargava Commission through Tarkunde Committee.

In August 1977 in the light of the lessons gained from the Naxalbari rebellion, in the backdrop of APSC formulating concrete tactics according to the concrete conditions, revolutionary activities gained momentum all over the state. RSU was strengthening all over the state. RSU emerged as a new force in all educational institutions in the main district and *taluk* towns.

In February 1978, the second state conference of RSU took place in an enthusiastic atmosphere in the premises of junior college in Hanumakonda. Comrade Koteswarlu spoke as a representative of the party there and gave an inspiring speech about the tasks of the revolutionary students in the present political conditions and on boycott of sham elections. Responding to the call of the conference, hundreds of students and youth took the slogan of 'Land to the Tiller' into villages through 'Go to Village' campaigns in summer. Since then 'Go to Village' summer campaigns was established as a revolutionary tradition every year. Comrade Koteswarlu put great efforts in teaching political classes for the students and youth and in sending them to

the villages.

The Radical Youth League (RYL) was formed in 1979 and later in 1981 the Andhra Pradesh Rythu Coolie Sangham (APRCS) was formed and came into existence one after another. Revolutionary activities intensified in the villages. The peasantry which was crushed under bonded labour since generations in the *Gadis* (feudal mansions) of the feudal lords began consolidating with revolutionary politics. The oppressed masses who were crushed under the Telangana land lords were greatly relieved with the politics which encouraged them to live a life of dignity. Revolutionary politics stood in support of the village women who had faced endless atrocities in the *Gadis* of the land lords. Struggles were waged to occupy lands of the land lords, fallow lands and for rise in the wages of the laborers working under the land lords. Each village in Karimnagar district put a brake to the land lords authority. In those days in Karimnagar and Adilabad districts each village was ruled by a brutal land lord. Lothunur Rajeswara Rao, Maddunur Rajeswara Rao, Itikyala Satyanarayana Rao and Mandamarri Madhava Rao (in Adilabad) made the lives of the peasantry miserable. Each one of them was a murderer and a feudal autocrat. Radical students and youth took them head on under the leadership of the party. Comrade Koteswarlu was an important comrade among those who stood as representatives and leaders of this consolidated strength in the district.

As a result of these peasant struggles, production relations in the rural areas were shaken to the core. Democrats, revolutionary intellectuals, lawyers, teachers and employees with progressive ideas in the state stood in support of these struggles. As part of solving the principal contradiction (against feudalism) the vast oppressed masses began consolidating in the Telangana villages. Teachers and employees federations began rallying actively on their genuine demands. Comrade Koteswarlu had deep relations with the employees and gave them guidance about their issues with the understanding of the party. He established relations with the lawyers in all the *taluk* centres including the district sessions court and gave lot of attention to the cases of the party activists and the peasants. Comrade Koteswarlu participated actively in all the open activities and led them. Soon, under his leadership second rank leaders like Sayini Prabhakar, Daggu Rajalingam, Bayyapu Devender Reddy (all of whom were martyred later) and others developed and came to the forefront.

made. Later they came to the fore in the form of Green Hunt multi-pronged offensive.

## **Leader of Lalgarh Mass Movement Who Held Aloft The Legacy Of Naxalbari**

At the end of the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century ‘Lalgarh’ came to the fore as the beloved battle cry of the revolutionary masses. From end 2008 to end 2010, for nearly two years Lalgarh was on everybody’s lips. It won the accolade of the proletariat of other countries of the world. ‘Lalgarh’ became popular as the heir of Naxalbari.

Lalgarh people fought with the state to protect their lands. The state fascist police fell like a pack of wolves on the people who stood firm in the struggle for land. Murders and atrocities became a daily routine for the police. The people there, particularly the Santhal Adivasi masses formed the ‘People’s Committee Against Police Atrocities’ (PCAPA). Under the leadership of the committee people consolidated in their thousands. They firmly demanded that the police officer who resorted to violence and atrocities on their women and children must apologize. They closed all the roads leading to their villages to stop the police from entering. Young men and women dug whole stretches of roads. They fell trees and blocked the roads. The struggle did not stop at this. They fought against police atrocities by further consolidating themselves and gave them a fitting reply.

The exploiting state system came to a complete standstill in that area for some months. The Junglemahal area was the border forest area of Medinipur, Purulia and Bankura districts. Hundreds of villages in that area turned into a battlefield. People were the soldiers in that battle. People’s militia took up the task of defending the people. Thousands of people’s militia armed themselves. Students, women, peasantry and youth consolidated in the form of Sidhu-Kanu militia as heirs of that glorious history. (Sidhu and Kanu were brave Adivasi brothers who revolted against the British imperialists in the freedom struggle). The struggle which began as a struggle against police atrocities gradually developed into militant struggles on all the genuine issues of the oppressed masses. They fought against price rises. They demanded fair prices for their crops. They demanded that police camps be lifted from educational institutions, that fake encounters be stopped and that Green Hunt military offensive be withdrawn. They demanded that building of SEZs must be

not surrender. Students, intellectuals, workers and democrats came forth in support of the Nandigram struggle. Pro-people forces came to Nandigram from various areas including Delhi, expressed their solidarity for their struggle and stood with them. As part of the anti-SEZ struggle, people inaugurated several new forms of struggle in Singur and Nandigram. They took up all forms of struggles right from an ordinary protest form of struggle of the masses like 'Arandhan' (not lighting the cooking fire) to armed resistance. In Nandigram people established on a war footing factories producing country guns. They fought face to face with the armed goons of the CPM and with the police and CRP forces. Nandigram turned into a battlefield. Finally, the left front government under Buddhadev had to yield to the mass struggle of Nandigram. Chemical hub had to retreat from Nandigram. Tata's Nano shifted to Gujarat from Singur. People emerged victorious. Behind these successes was the effort of the vanguard of the proletariat and it was led by comrade Koteswarlu.

By the time of celebrating the anniversary of Nandigram people's victory, Lalgah revolt came to the fore with its own unique characteristics. Jindal entered Lalgah with his investments. Buddhadev Bhattacharya and Ram Vilas Paswan invited Jindal with red carpets. The central and state governments deployed their state machinery in full gear in order to facilitate the loot of people's properties, particularly the mineral wealth of Junglemahal people. But Junglemahal resisted. The convoy of Jindal, Buddhadev and Ram Vilas Paswan had to taste the mine blast of PLGA guerillas as they did not heed to people's requests. Later as the police forces unleashed severe repression on the people, their anger erupted and a great revolt began. November 13 gained a place in history as Lalgah struggle day.

By the time Lalgah mass struggle burst forth, huge upheavals occurred in the economies of the world and our country. A new crisis in US, the bubble of unpaid housing loans burst. This led to severe financial crisis. The economies of several 'developing' countries including India got caught in the quagmire of imperialist crisis and are gasping for breath. No amount of bailouts and wealth are sufficient to come out of this crisis. They want new resources. As part of this search it became their immediate agenda to loot the resources lying under the ground from Surjagarh to Lalgah. But they understood that it is not possible to loot these resources according to their will without wiping out the Maoists in that area. So new suppression and annihilation plans were

## Kotanna As The Leader Of The 'Jagityal Jaitrayatra' That Turned The Course Of History

September 9, 1978 was the second death anniversary of Comrade Mao. Jagityal town was packed to the fill with thousands of peasantry. The premises of the junior college was bursting with people. Peasants belonging to more than 150 villages in Karimnagar, Adilabad and from border villages of Nizamabad district reached the venue of the Jagityal meeting. They all came for land. The slogan of 'Land to the Tiller' mobilized them. They challenged landlordism. They were all peasants who were prepared to end the atrocities of the *Gadis* of the land lords. They were peasantry for whom each day is filled with unbearable bonded labor and criminal taxation. Comrade Kotanna was one of those seated on the stage. He was one of the main speakers there. The deluge of masses which converged from hundreds of villages gained a permanent place in history as 'Jagityal Jaitrayatra' (Victory March of Jagityal). Comrade Koteswarlu earned an eternal place in the hearts of the sea of masses that attended that meeting.

More than 60 hard core land lords abandoned their *Gadis* and fled to the towns due the political atmosphere created by the Jagityal Jaitrayatra. In hundreds of villages land lords prostrated before the peasantry. Peasantry stopped giving 'fire and water' to the land lords. Social boycott of the land lords in the villages became famous as 'fire and water bandh'. In villages where the writ of the land lords ran large, where the word of the land lord was the law, this was a struggle form where peasantry in rags and the *Mala*, *Madiga* ('untouchable' castes in AP) bonded labour who were crushed under the heels of the land lord, that is, oppressed masses belonging to all castes came together and boycotted the land lords. In the villages the wives of land lords had to clean the courtyards and the cattle sheds. They used to sweat profusely after cleaning the whole house with the broom. There was nobody to milk the cows, nobody to shave the beards or wash the clothes. Hundreds of acres of crop lands lay fallow as there was no one to plough them. This was the essence of this struggle form.

The RCS challenged the land lords in each village and asked them to pay back the taxes they had imposed on the peasantry in the various panchayats (village courts) they conducted on family issues, caste issues etc. The Telangana land lords complained to the then Chief Minister Chenna Reddy

and asked him to control the situation. 'State' entered. Chenna Reddy government proclaimed Sircilla and Jagityal *taluqs* as disturbed areas. Special armed police forces entered the villages to protect the *Gadis* of the land lords. In this process land lords in Jagityal area killed the peasant activist Posetti. With this the peasantry were left with no way but to fight back the state violence.

In 1978, peasants of Raghanedu village of Peddapally *talua* arrested the land lords who did not accept their demands. In those days this incident created a big sensation as 'Raghanedu Kidnap' and fear gripped the land lords. Comrade Koteswarlu led this. He used to bring to the fore new struggle forms with the participation of the people and according to the aspirations of the people. He proved many times that it was from people's movements that struggle forms would take birth. In the conditions where villages were surrounded by the *khakhi* forces and were kept on toes at the point of the gun, comrade Koteswarlu once again went underground. But within a few days he was arrested near Rachapalli village in the same *talua*. Within a few days he was released on bail and went underground again. There were many instances in his revolutionary life where he escaped deftly from the police dragnet.

By then the unemployed youth and peasantry got consolidated in many villages in the district. In the manner of the *Guthapala Sangham* (Lathi organizations), *Gram Raksha Dalams* (village defence squads) were formed in hundreds of villages. *Gram Raksha Dal* were formed in Palthem, Dungalurti, Kukkalgudur, Raghanedu, Bayyaram, Ramayyapalle, Takkalapalli villages in Peddapalli *talua* and dozens of villages in Manthani, Jagityal, Korutla, Metpalli, Huzurabad, Husnabad *taluqs*. The *Gadis* became abandoned and the authority of the land lords evaporated. Villages glowed red with red flags and revolutionary songs.

## Comrade Koteswarlu Takes Up Leadership Of The AP Movement

In Karimnagar district peasant movement began consolidating. Peasantry gradually got used to facing the atrocities and violence of the *khakhis* and to resisting it. The district jail was always crowded with the revolutionary peasantry arrested by the police. The sessions court and the *munsif* court were always crowded with peasantry on whom false cases were foisted by

wing extremism is the biggest internal security threat for the country'. The exploiting Indian ruling classes which kowtowed to the imperialist globalization economic policies brought to the fore several anti-people policies. Special Economic Zones (SEZ) are one of these.

SEZs became a night mare to the people in all the states. Several state governments began giving away the crop lands of the peasants to the SEZs. The exploiting ruling classes praised to the sky the importance of SEZs in the development of the country's economy. But the oppressed masses recognized that they were paving the way for their destruction and waged militant struggles in places like Singur and Nandigram. People opposed the Nano car industry which Tata intended to build in Singur and the chemical hub to be built by the Salem group of Indonesia with foreign investments in Nandigram – both in West Bengal. 'We would give our lives but not our lands' became the battle cry of the people. Our party took up this slogan and stood in support of the fighting peasants in Singur and Nandigram. Comrade Koteswarlu with his vast experience guided the West Bengal State Committee (WBSC) such that they can lead these movements. Party was successful in making the peasantry wage militant struggles for their lands by guiding the mass organizations which joined the BUPC (struggle committee opposing land grab) that was formed as part of united front. Nandigram women consolidated themselves as 'Matangi Mahila Sangathan' for their lands. People, particularly the youth were ready to wage armed resistance and stood in the forefront in fighting back the social fascist goons.

'Marxists' who dedicated themselves to serve the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie (CBB) and the imperialists who stood in their support did not hesitate to turn Nandigram into a graveyard for the sake of lakhs of crores of foreign investment. There is not a single atrocity which they have not committed there. The CPM goons shamelessly massacred the people without any scruples. Atrocities on women were unspeakable. They cut to pieces many young men and women who stood in the forefront of the struggle for their fertile lands and threw the pieces into canals. The dead bodies of several people went missing. They resorted to massacres to douse the flames of mass struggle in Nandigram that were leaping high by November 2007 by mobilizing their goonda vahini in their thousands all over the state. The goons carried the modern rifles of the police and CRP forces along with their own weapons and fired indiscriminately on the fighting masses. But the people did



2004. This was a glorious episode in the nearly four decade long course of history after Naxalbari. The unified party successfully held its Unity Congress-9<sup>th</sup> Congress in 2007 January. This Congress elected comrade Koteswarlu as CCM and he was taken into the PB.

## **Efforts To Develop The Movement In East And North India**

Since the end of 1993 comrade Koteswarlu's revolutionary life was lived mainly in Eastern and North Indian states and was particularly connected with development and expansion of revolutionary movement in West Bengal. Since the beginning of 1994, he strove to develop the movement in Delhi, Haryana, Punjab and UP while making Bengal his main area of activity. After the completion of unity with Party Unity in 1998, he concentrated on developing the revolutionary movement in Bihar-Jharkhand states too. He deeply studied the armed peasant revolutionary movement which was going on under the leadership of PU from the past and put efforts to develop it further to a higher stage. He attended the state committee meetings there, toured the movement areas, intensified class struggle and gave appropriate guidance in developing guerilla warfare. He put special efforts in moulding party members into professional revolutionaries and in making them stick to the movement and the people constantly. After the merger of MCCI and PW parties in 2004, comrade Koteswarlu concentrated mainly on West Bengal as PB member and as member of the newly formed East Regional Bureau.

While fulfilling these responsibilities he continued for some time in CCOMPOSA as the responsible person from the party. He guided the formation of anti-imperialist forums at the all India level. He maintained good relations with the various national liberation organizations and participated in the bilateral meetings with them as the representative of the party. He guided the various revolutionary and democratic organizations and laid the foundations for the building of a countrywide, strong anti-imperialist, anti-feudal united front.

After the merger of the two parties, a very favorable revolutionary situation was created in the country. The formation of PLGA by the merging of the two people's armies doubled the enthusiasm of the oppressed masses. The exploiting ruling classes were worried with the increased strength of the party due to the merger. They unleashed a storm of foul propaganda that 'left

the police. In 1977 after party work was started among the masses with new tactics, comrade Kotanna was elected as the secretary of the joint district committee formed with Karimnagar and Adilabad districts. By 1979 the movement consolidated in scope and intensity and so to lead this, two party district committees were formed. Comrade Kotanna was elected the secretary of the Karimnagar district party committee while Comrade Shyam (martyr Nalla Adi Reddy) was elected the secretary of the Adilabad district committee. Comrade Koteswarlu attended as a delegate the 12<sup>th</sup> AP State Party conference of the erstwhile People's War in September 1980 and was elected into the state committee. Within two or three months time he was elected by the State Committee as its secretary. At that time he was just 26 years old. Since then he led the AP revolutionary movement in the name of Prahlad.

Among the most important decisions taken by the 12<sup>th</sup> party state conference were - developing Karimnagar, Adilabad district peasant struggle to the level of guerilla zone, sending one-third cadre of the party to form squads which are the initial form for the building of people's liberation army with the aim of establishing liberated areas and extending to other districts of Khammam and Nizamabad in North Telangana along with expanding to several other areas. The entire party readied itself to implement them on a war footing. By June-July, 1980, APSC selected 35 young revolutionaries and sent them to DK. With the formation of the peasant revolutionary squads, party took the first steps towards building people's army. The armed peasant movement of Karimnagar and Adilabad districts stood in support of this and comrade Prahlad played a prominent role in this as the state secretary.

## **Kotanna's Role In Developing The Revolutionary Movement While Fighting Back The Fascist State Violence**

The militant peasant movement, student movement developing on a huge scale, the emerging proletarian struggles, the developing democratic rights movements and the newly expanding forest movement were all developing by fighting back the state violence let loose by the ruling classes. In the offensives which were intensified by the police of the neighboring states where the squads have extended, comrade Peddi Sankar laid down his life on November 2, 1980 and became the first martyr of DK.

State shamelessly resorted to massacres to stop the revolutionary movement. The Indravelli massacre took place as part of this. On the occasion of the Adilabad district RCS conference, the Adivasis who carried on the struggle legacy of Komuram Bhim converged in Indravelli on April 20, 1980 to hold a public meeting. Thousands of people reached the meeting venue carrying their traditional instruments like *Tudum* and weapons like knives, bows and arrows. This terrified the *khakhi* police and they fired indiscriminately on the huge gathering. 13 Adivasis died in this massacre and 60 of them were injured. This incident gained notoriety as another Jallianwalah Bagh in Adilabad. The care and dedication shown by comrade Koteswarlu in mobilizing the democrats and doctors for medical care of the injured persons in those firings will always serve as an example for the revolutionaries to follow.

State wanted to close all the roads to Indravelli. But the fact is that so many roads have opened into the forest with this. The plains which were ablaze surrounded the green forests. The workers' *bastis* joined in. Indravelli massacre sparked a fire in the coal mines.

## Active Role In The Development Of Singareni Workers Movement

In 1981, a historical strike of the Singareni workers was conducted for nearly two months. Indefinite strike was conducted demanding the implementation of the 5<sup>th</sup> Wage Board and several other just demands. As a result of the strike, production of electricity fell down drastically due to lack of coal. Industrial production stopped in many industries. Trains came to a standstill. The then Chief Minister Anjaiah had to inevitably bend to the demands of the workers. But as he was adamant that he would hold talks only with the recognized trade unions, party took a new decision with initiative and formed a new trade union. Till then, party had the understanding that it would work mainly in the old trade unions (mainly in the revisionist trade unions at that time) and consolidate its forces in them. But the long drawn strike of the coal mine workers led to the formation of a new trade union named 'Singareni Karmika Samakhya' (Sikasa). Behind this historical decision, the presence of mind, creativity and talent of comrade Shyam who led the Singareni movement from the beginning and that of comrade Prahlad and other comrades are praiseworthy. For nearly two decades Sikasa stood at the forefront in all the

understanding in the organizational and military spheres. It decided to intensify the unity process with the remaining revolutionaries. That Congress gave correct direction regarding intensifying guerilla warfare with the aim of building liberated areas, speeding up the process of forming liberated areas by building guerilla bases in guerilla zones, conducting tactical counter-offensives in the strategic phase of self-defence, fulfilling the tasks of the party in the form of campaigns by concentrating all its forces and developing GRCs into powerful Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs). Majority delegates defeated the left adventurist line which came forth in that Congress and enriched the past experience in the correct revolutionary line. The review of the past practice done by the party in 1980 served as a beacon of light for the later revolutionary practice and the reviews of 1995 and 2001 served as valuable guides for the present practice. It is noteworthy that CCOMPOSA (Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organizations in South Asia) had already been formed by then. The 2001 Congress was held when good relations were being maintained with RIM (Revolutionary International Movement). That Congress opined strongly that the clashes with MCC must be stopped. Comrade Koteswarlu who was once again elected as a CC member in that Congress was taken into the Politburo. Regional Bureaus were formed for the first time after this Congress and he was given the responsibility of secretary of the North Bureau (comprising of East and North Indian states of West Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh, Odisha, Delhi, Punjab and Haryana) by the CC.

Comrade Koteswarlu put full efforts for unity between the erstwhile PW and MCCI. By the time of the 2001 Congress erstwhile MCCI had already declared unilateral ceasefire and after the Congress erstwhile PW party declared ceasefire. With this, tensions were released and the clashes stopped. This paved the way for restarting the process of talks between the two parties. Both the parties identified the period of clashes as a 'dark chapter'. In the erstwhile PW CC meeting held in end 2002, comrade Koteswarlu brought forth the proposal that the MCCI was favorable for unity talks and that the process of talks must commence at once. CC accepted this proposal unanimously and with great enthusiasm and selected a highest level high-power delegation with all powers for talks. Comrade Koteswarlu was one of its members. Comrade Koteswarlu played a key role in the bilateral talks which were held in three phases between the two parties in 2003-2004. The positive result of these is the emergence of CPI (Maoist) on September 21,

Party has been putting efforts from the beginning in uniting the revolutionary forces. The All India Special Conference of the erstwhile People's War party held in 1995 deeply reviewed the practice after the 1980s. Comrade Koteswarlu played his role creatively in the unity talks with various revolutionary groups and forces basing on this review.

This conference concluded that 'this is still a Leninist era' regarding the era question. It concluded that the call to withdraw armed struggle in 1977 August was not necessary and that the Three World Theory of the revisionist Dengue clique was a distortion of Mao Thought. It gave clarity about the boom and crisis in the world economy after the Second World War and about active and passive boycott of elections apart from many other issues. Apart from ideological and political issues this conference reviewed the experience of the party in organizational and military spheres too in new aspects and developed a higher level of understanding. It increased the sense of political power in practice and gave clarity about the guerilla zones.

CC formed the SCOMA (Sub-committee on Military Affairs) and SCOPE (Sub-committee on Political Education) in this conference. Com. Koteswarlu was given the responsibility of SCOPE. After this conference, the unity talks between the erstwhile PU and PW parties were stepped up. As a result of the unity efforts taken up by the party under the leadership of comrade Koteswarlu many organizations and individuals working in West Bengal began uniting with CPI (ML) (PW) by 1995 itself. He conducted polemical debates with various revolutionary groups and nationality struggle organizations in a conducive atmosphere on behalf of the CC by basing himself firmly on the party line. He could attract many people into the party with our party politics. In order to achieve unity of thought, action and organization between different forces and organizations, comrade Koteswarlu took up efforts in the direction of unity-struggle and higher unity. This paved the way for unity of revolutionaries.

In this course, unity process of erstwhile Party Unity and PW began. After four years of talks which were conducted in a comradesly atmosphere, these two parties united in August 1998 and formed the CPI (ML) (PW). After the unity of these two parties the erstwhile PW held its 9<sup>th</sup> party Congress in 2001 March successfully. This was a Congress which was held in legacy of the 8<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPI (ML) after nearly 30 years of gap. This Congress further enriched the party line of the erstwhile PW. It gave a higher level

strikes and struggles on the genuine demands of the coal mine workers and became synonymous with the organized strength of the workers. Later Sikasa led to the formation of many more trade unions in Andhra Pradesh. Singareni workers participated in the funeral procession of comrade Kotanna with clenched fists paying red homage to their beloved proletarian leader and vowed to rededicate themselves to fulfill his aims. This shows the revolutionary bond between the workers and Kotanna.

Kondapalli Seetharamaiah (KS), the important leader who put serious efforts to again consolidate the party in the 1970s was arrested in 1982. The APSC planned for an action to get him out of the jail. According to the plan our comrades penetrated the dragnet of the police surrounding him, killed a constable and carried away KS from the hospital and led him safely into the revolutionary ranks. This episode was popular as 'great escape' and filled the revolutionary camp with lot of enthusiasm. Comrade Prahlad was prominent among those comrades who planned for this brave guerilla action.

Revolutionary movement developing under party leadership rendered the enemy sleepless with each passing day. By the end of 1981, a series of fake encounters was started in Jagityal area of Karimnagar district and was extended to other areas too. Outstanding party cadres like Bayyapu Devender Reddy, Haribhushan, Palle Kanakanna, Khairi Gangaram, Ramakrishna, Nageswara Rao and Sayini Prabhakar died at the hands of the enemy. Cruel *khakhi* officials who got awards and rewards for fake encounters got wind of the whereabouts of comrade Prahlad in Hyderabad (state capital) and tried to catch him. He resisted them with his pistol and escaped easily into the sea of masses in the city. Party took the decision to severely punish the hard core police officials who have been particularly targeting the revolutionary movement by intensifying fake encounters. In the course of intensification of class struggle, peasant and student guerillas wiped out cruel police officials like Yadagiri Reddy (Khazipet SI), Buchi Reddy (Peddapally DSP), Komal Reddy (Head Constable) and Lakshman Rao (Kagaz Nagar SI) with their country-made guns. The terrified enemy resorted to murders of civil rights leaders in a cowardly manner. Doctor Ramanadham of Warangal and Japa Lakshma Reddy of Karimnagar were murdered. Lawyer Gopi Rajanna was killed by communalists in Jagityal. With these murders the state laid bare its fascist nature. It was once again proven to the world that democracy, constitution etc are nothing but a sham.

The massacre of the state could not stop the expansion and consolidation of the revolutionary movement. In 1985, 'All India Revolutionary Students Federation' was formed. Revolutionary student organizations which were formed and working in several states came together in the form of a country-wide federation and laid the foundations for a strong student movement. Comrade Prahlad had not only put efforts in building this federation but had given close guidance to its first conference and made it a success.

In the light of the circular titled "Let us defeat the undeclared war of the enemy with a war of self-defence..." released by the APSC, party took some important decisions. Under the repressive conditions unleashed by the enemy, party took up the important tactics of reducing the number of SC members to five, of sending considerable number of cadres to DK as part of protecting the subjective forces, and of newly deploying revolutionary forces in other states of the country, particularly in the industrial towns. As part of this process and according to the decision of the party comrade Kotanna took up the responsibility of guiding the DK movement and went to the forest. Thus he reached the armed guerilla squads and a battlefield of the People's War. He took the name of the brave Adivasi warrior 'Ramji Gond' who laid down his life fighting with the Razakars as part of the anti Nizam struggle in comradeship with Komuram Bhim. From then on he became popular as 'Ramji Dada' among the people and cadre of DK, won their affection and carved a niche in their hearts forever.

### **Inspiring Guerilla Life as a General of People's War**

After comrade Ramji entered PW politics, he used to read deeply and with lot of attention the principles of PW, guerilla warfare, necessity of building a people's army, experiences of China, Vietnam and Russia revolutions, experiences of Red Army, experiences of the world wars, the writings of military experts like Sun Tzu and Clausewitz and the military manuals of various countries. Along with studying them, he used to pay special attention to make the party cadres read them. This indicates the collective spirit in him. He used to pay special attention towards military training. He used to study with great interest and attention the battle experiences of Tamil Tigers, the experiences of Sikh battles and the many battles which were fought in the history of India. He put in lot of efforts to impart these experiences to the cadres by reviewing them in the light of the Maoist military theory. He constantly practiced to develop his military skills and strength.

party in building mass movements in Karimnagar and Adilabad districts changed the course of history. It was as part of developing them into higher level movements that the DK movement has emerged. By the end of 1980s North Telangana and Dandakaranya developed into guerilla zones. Basing on this rich experience, as their representative and their leader comrade Koteswarlu continued his efforts to unite the party all over the country.

Since the time of the formation of AICCCR (All India Coordination Committee of Communist revolutionaries) the erstwhile Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) and the erstwhile People's War party remained independent and were building the revolutionary movement in a vast area. Both the parties gave more importance to bring the unity talks which were being carried on since the beginning of 1980s to a conclusion and to unite the different streams into a mighty one. Even earlier erstwhile PW party had been putting efforts to achieve unity with Party Unity which was a part of the CPI (Marxist-Leninist).

At the same time in West Bengal where the movement suffered damages, comrade Koteswarlu started his work with determination putting to use his vast organizational capacity. He was a leader who had won the confidence that he would get good results in any sphere that he starts his work. Soon revolutionary activities began in Kolkata city, in Presidency College and in Jadavpur University. As part of fulfilling the task given by the party Comrade Koteswarlu put efforts to once again consolidate the revolutionary movement in West Bengal which had become the centre of power for the neo revisionist CPM gradually since Naxalbari. The whole world began understanding what a sham the propaganda about the implementation of land reforms in West Bengal by 'Marxists' ('as never before in any state') was and how they have been promising a fake paradise to the people. They were terrified that this was the beginning of their end, that it would shake their seat of power and that Naxalbari revisited the place. The 'red color' of the 'Marxists' who carried on an anti-people rule for more than three decades in West Bengal began paling with the deluge of mass struggles. The role of comrade Koteswarlu in this effort gained lot of prominence. It faced the severe wrath and hatred of the people due to its social fascist rule, its anti-people and pro-corporate policies and with the horrible violence and repression it unleashed on the people. The full scale defeat of it in the May 2011 elections are a result of this.



to fulfill the needs of the PW in guerilla zones.

Under the direction of the CC, comrade Ramji left his own mark on every twist and turn that happened in the DK movement in the past 30 years. Comrade Ramji's efforts in developing the movement there are unforgettable. He applied in Junglemahal the experiences he gained by working directly in Jagityal and DK, and strove to build alternative people's power structure there. On February 10, 2011 he participated enthusiastically in the celebrations of 30 years of DK revolutionary movement conducted by the DK party. He analyzed very deeply the challenges in front of the DK movement in the backdrop of the developing revolutionary situation all over the world and the losses to the revolutionary leadership. That was his last message to the revolutionary ranks of DK.

### **An Ideal Communist Who Strove For The Unity Of The Countrywide Revolutionary Forces**

In end 1993, comrade Ramji took up the responsibility of expanding the movement in North and East India as a member of the Central Organizing Committee (COC). His main area of work was West Bengal. He introduced himself as 'Kishenji' there. He simultaneously took up many responsibilities there. Party gave him the responsibility of rebuilding and developing the movement which suffered damages after the temporary setback of the glorious Naxalbari rebellion in Kolkata city, Nadia, Murshidabad, 24 Paraganas, East and West Midnapore districts. As a member of the delegation selected by the then CC to fulfill the principal task of uniting the party which split into many groups with the setback of Naxalbari, he fulfilled his responsibilities greatly. He studied deeply and widely the political and ideological differences between the small, big groups and parties, which split due to left adventurism and right opportunism in them and remained separated, to achieve political unity with them. He understood them with a broad outlook.

As the unity efforts taken up by the then ML party during the mid-70s did not give any optimistic results, party came to the decision that it must concentrate on building the revolutionary mass movement first basing on the 'Strategy and Tactics' and 'Self-Critical Report' documents of the party. Party also came to the firm decision that carrying on unity efforts again basing on that experience only can lay the foundations to achieve principled unity between genuine revolutionaries. The great successes achieved by the

Comrade Ramji attended the first military training camp conducted during the rainy season of 1981. This camp was held in the forests on the borders of Karimnagar and Warangal districts and he learnt all the skills taught by the instructors with determination. During this training, comrade Gajjela Gangaram, an ex-student of Regional Engineering College and the beloved son of the Bellampally proletariat died as a grenade went off accidentally. Comrade Ramji never forgot the blood-soaked martyrdom of comrade Peddi Sankar as part of the first extension to the forest and the martyrdom of comrade Gangaram as part of the first military training. He paid special attention to taking lessons from them and imparting them to the ranks. Starting from the 1981 camp, comrade Ramji participated in all the main military training camps held in DK till 1989. In the military training camps held in the divisions in 1982, as a political teacher he taught to the guerillas lessons in PW, particularly the military tactics of guerilla warfare. The cautions he taught to the guerillas of those days like 'Light is the night enemy' are still remembered by cadres even to this day. He participated in the central military training camp held in 1983 as a student and political teacher and put in every effort to impart better training to the forces as the APSC secretary. Later the military training camps held in 1987 and 1989 with the initiative of the APSC and the DK Forest Committee (DKFC) were important episodes in the development of the people's army. Some Sri Lanka Tamil nationality fighters who became Maoists participated with proletarian internationalism in these camps as instructors and imparted advanced military knowledge. They taught the military skills necessary for the guerillas. Comrade Ramji learnt all these with great determination. He imparted this experience to the guerillas in Junglemahal as a leader and military instructor and helped in achieving successes in brave attacks on the enemy. The Silda raid conducted on February 15, 2010 where 24 Eastern Frontier Rifles jawans were wiped out can be stated as an example of his military prowess. The slogan 'Eat well, work well' of comrade Ramji is still remembered by the guerilla commanders of that generation.

Comrade Ramji was known for his military discipline. He gave lot of importance to physical fitness and also paid attention in making all others follow it as part of guerilla discipline. Right from carrying the gun to practicing every item in the training ground, he used to make them implement everything as a well trained Maoist military commander. Under the leadership of APSC, the DKFC synthesized the experiences of the guerilla squads and formulated the standing orders for the guerilla squads. Comrade Ramji used to be ideal in

implementing them with discipline as a Maoist guerilla. Whether it were the Eastern Ghats or the Maad mountains, he used to scale them with ease. He used to encourage his fellow comrades and used to compete with them in walking, running and carrying luggage in order to bring out the youthful energy in them. He used to say that guerillas must carry at least 20-25 kilos of luggage apart from their kit and weapons and be able to walk in any kind of terrain and for any distance. He implemented this and encouraged others to follow.

In 1999, CC held deep and wide discussions on the building of the guerilla army. It reviewed the experiences of the squads and the platoons which developed from 1980 to 1999. CC thoroughly discussed the development achieved in PW and the aim of building liberated areas. The formation of PLGA on December 2, 2000 was a result of these discussions. Comrade Ramji played an active role in this. He was present in DK on that day and led the formation of the PLGA in an atmosphere filled with great revolutionary fervor. As a CC member, he creatively explained to the guerillas the CC message and developed a deep understanding among them about people's army. He spoke effectively in the meeting held to celebrate 10 years of PLGA in 2010 December and reminded the need for PLGA to develop its strengths and abilities in all spheres in order to fulfill the central task of the Congress. In his words...

“We cannot strengthen people's army without building strong mass struggles and recruiting people on a huge scale by inspiring them politically. Likewise we cannot sustain the mass struggles for a long period without the support of the people's army...if the enemy surrounds us in one area, we must surround the enemy in another area. We must build struggles in several new areas. We must surround the enemy in country wide struggles...

...where there are only mass struggles and no PLGA, we must strive to build PLGA there. Where there are no struggles, we must build struggles there with the support of the PLGA.”

## **Comrade Ramji's Efforts In Developing The DK movement**

Comrade Ramji concentrated on developing the DK movement from 1986 to 1993 till he took up responsibilities as a CC member. He guided the DK movement as an APSC member from 1986 and became a member of the

newly formed Forest Committee (FC) in 1987. He put untiring efforts in developing DK revolutionary movement as FC member and secretariat member between 1987 and 1993. Though he concentrated more on Gadchiroli, he got involved with the movements of all divisions from Adilabad to the Manyam (Eastern Ghats). He put special efforts to develop the Balaghat division which extended in Central India in 1989. He constantly encouraged the state committee comrades to extend the movement with a long term view according to the needs of the movement. Though he went away from DK in end 1993 for expanding the revolutionary movement particularly in West Bengal along with other states in North India, he had lively relations with the DK movement and followed every military action and the political and organizational changes happening there and studied them.

He played a prominent role in discussing the movement situation in DK in the committees and taking up proper tactics. He paid special attention to introducing organizer system to develop urban work in DK and to implementing it by sending organizers to Chandrapur, Jagdalpur, Raipur, Rajnandgaon up to Sironcha and Alapelli. According to the decision of the FC he brought into implementation the system of organizers in mass organizations to effectively run the mass organizations. He strove to introduce appropriate organizational forms for running of plain/urban movements and for proper coordination between them. Comrade Ramji showed lot of initiative as FC member and later as COC member in laying foundations for people's army by introducing formation of special military squads in 1993 and platoon in 1995 in DK as part of developing the military front particularly. The ideological and political efforts of comrade Ramji are significant behind the resolution of the CC on the formation of Gram Rajya Committee (GRC - the present Revolutionary Janatana Sarkars) and in implementing it in DK.

Comrade Ramji used to think constantly about advancing the guerilla war in DK basing on the DK movement experiences that were analyzed and synthesized by the CC and SZC, about wiping out the enemy forces on a large scale and seizing arms by intensifying the tactical counter-offensives on the enemy, about arming PLGA and the people's militia, about developing PW in all spheres and about advancing the movement there with the aim of building liberated areas. He motivated the party committees and leadership cadres towards taking appropriate decisions. Right from the beginning he paid special attention to establishing special units for manufacturing weapons