

**MARTYRED CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS OF CPI(MAOIST)**

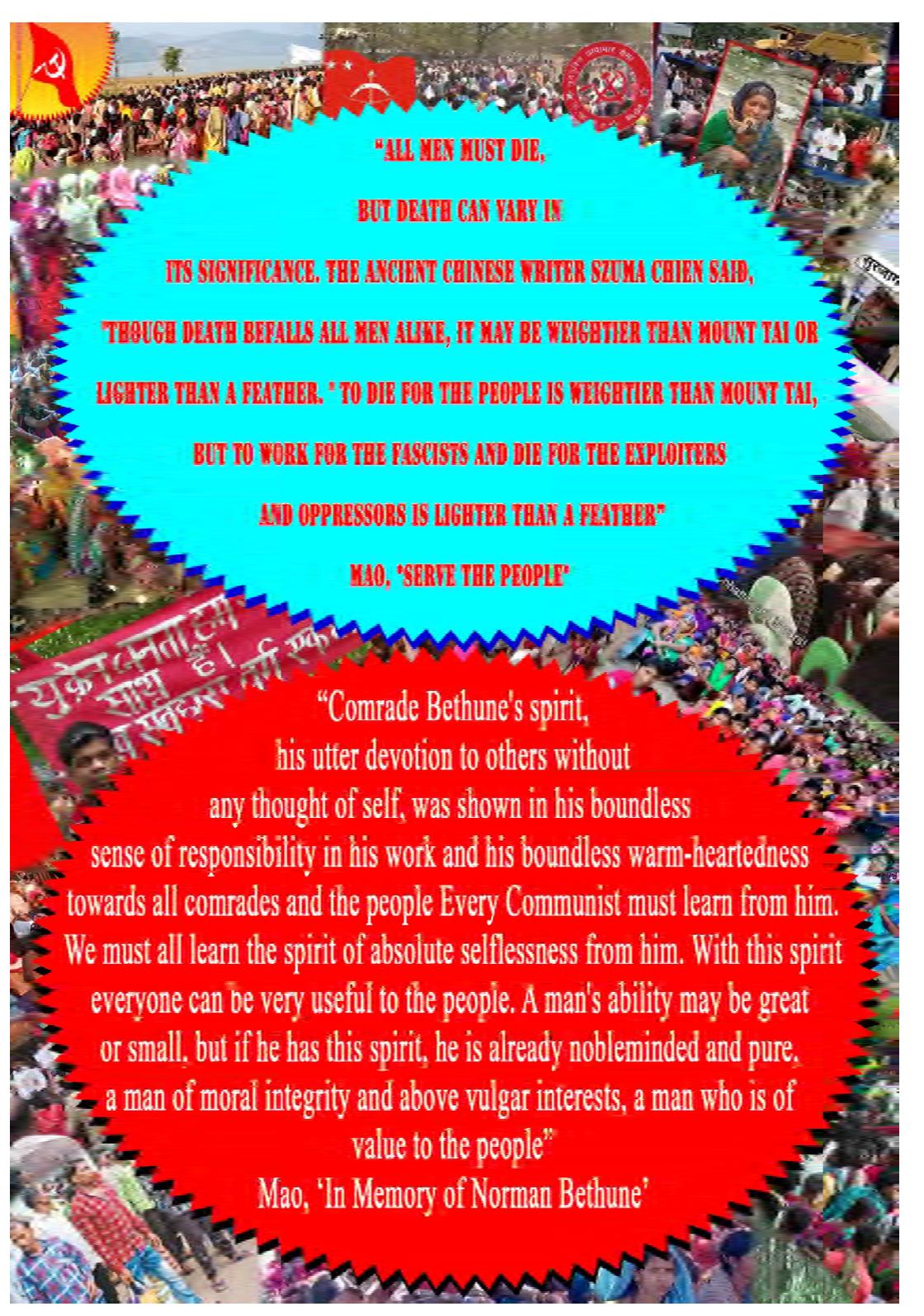
**VOLUME-2**



**ADVANCING  
THE REVOLUTION  
WITH GREAT SACRIFICES**



**CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
CPI(MAOIST)**



**"ALL MEN MUST DIE,  
BUT DEATH CAN VARY IN  
ITS SIGNIFICANCE. THE ANCIENT CHINESE WRITER SZUMA CHIEN SAID,  
'THOUGH DEATH BEFALLS ALL MEN ALIKE, IT MAY BE WEIGHTIER THAN MOUNT TAI OR  
LIGHTER THAN A FEATHER.' TO DIE FOR THE PEOPLE IS WEIGHTIER THAN MOUNT TAI,  
BUT TO WORK FOR THE FASCISTS AND DIE FOR THE EXPLOITERS  
AND OPPRESSORS IS LIGHTER THAN A FEATHER"**

**MAO, 'SERVE THE PEOPLE'**



**"Comrade Bethune's spirit,  
his utter devotion to others without  
any thought of self, was shown in his boundless  
sense of responsibility in his work and his boundless warm-heartedness  
towards all comrades and the people Every Communist must learn from him.  
We must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With this spirit  
everyone can be very useful to the people. A man's ability may be great  
or small, but if he has this spirit, he is already noble-minded and pure,  
a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of  
value to the people"**

**Mao, 'In Memory of Norman Bethune'**

**ADVANCING  
THE  
REVOLUTION  
WITH GREAT  
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**MARTYRED CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
MEMBERS OF CPI(MAOIST)**

**VOLUME-2**

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

## Foreword

The Central Committee of the CPI (Maoist) is releasing the second volume of the life histories of martyred CC members on the occasion of the 18th Foundation Day Anniversary of CPI (Maoist) on 21st September, 2022 in English. We bring forth the life histories in brief of Eleven CC comrades martyred after 2015 in this compilation. 4,576 comrades became martyrs in the past 18 years with the objective of accomplishing New Democratic Revolution in India, as a part of World Socialist Revolution. 856 of them are heroic women warriors. On the occasion let us pay humble revolutionary homage to the martyrs and pledge to make relentless efforts and fight until the last drop of blood to make true their dreams to establish a new society free of exploitation and oppression, i.e., Communism.

Comrades CM and KC played a great, vanguard role in laying revolutionary theoretical, political and organisational foundations by creatively applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) to the concrete conditions of India. The Naxalbari Armed Agrarian Revolutionary struggle made impact on each and every sphere of Indian society. It changed its historic dynamics. Since the Naxalbari rebellion of 1967, 14,800 comrades sacrificed their valuable lives all over the country in the process of defending the path of Protracted People's War established by the founders of our party and great leaders of Indian Revolution Comrade CM and Comrade KC, to take it forth and enrich it. There are 1,169 women comrades out of them. There are 41 members of the CC and front rank leaders including Comrade Charu Mazumdar and Comrade Kanhai Chatterjee in the process of New Democratic Revolution in India. The life histories of Ten CC members martyred in ten years since the emergence of the united party were published as a compilation on the occasion of 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the party. We now publish the life histories of 11 CC comrades martyred in the later period.

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In the past 7-8 years since 2015, there were several considerable developments in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal society due to imperialist globalisation policies in the imperialist-capitalist system and domestically due to the policies of the central government and the various state governments in the leadership of the Hindutva fascist BJP that represents the comprador ruling classes in the country. Especially neo-colonial exploitation and oppression intensified day by day. Consequently, financial and economic crisis consistently continued both at the international and domestic planes and deepened. This further sharpened the fundamental contradictions.

With lives turning miserable owing to economic crisis, unprecedented discontent is brewing among the various oppressed classes, sections and oppressed nationalities. People are taking up militant and long term struggles. The governments are mercilessly trying to suppress these struggles and are trampling the nominal democratic rights. In fact, imperialists and their comprador rulers are making planned, intense attacks on revolutionary, democratic, progressive, secular, patriotic, national liberation forces so as to deprive these large scale people's struggles of proper leadership and to continue their exploitation and oppression non-stop. Especially the Modi government at the centre is very aggressively acting in the interests of imperialists and comprador ruling classes. It is instigating Hindutva fascism, fake patriotism and national chauvinism in the name of 'new India' and is cruelly crushing voices of protest.

In this background, Hindutva fascist Modi government and the various state governments that represent the Indian comprador ruling classes intensified counter revolutionary war manifold to eliminate the revolutionary movement in the leadership of our party and mainly the leadership of our party, in the dictates of imperialists, especially US imperialists. The centralised, strategic offensive of the central and the state governments was a continuation of the several counter revolutionary political, military, reformist, psychological campaigns, especially 'Operation Green Hunt' and later 'SAMADHAN'.

Since 2015, two comrades Yogesh (Kuppuswami Devraj, Tamilnadu, along with Comrade Ajita) and Deepak (Milind Teltumbde, Jeeva,

Maharashtra along with another 26 members of the party and PLGA) were martyred in the counter revolutionary attacks. Nine Comrades Vijay (Sridhar Srinivasan, Maharashtra), Bijay (Narayan Sanyal, West Bengal), Arvind (Devkumar Singh, Sujit, Nishant, Bihar), Tapas (Patit Pavan Haldar, West Bengal), Ramanna (Ravula Srinivas, Narender, Dandakaranya), Chintan (Narendra Singh, Bihar), Haribhushan (Yapa Narayana, Lakmu, Telangana), Sahebda (Purnendu Shekhar Mukherjee, Ambarda, West Bengal) and Ramakrishna (Akkiraju Haragopal, Srinivas, Saket, Andhra Pradesh) died of ill health.

Comrades Vijay, Bijay (Narayan Sanyal), Tapas, Chintan and Saheb were put to inhuman conditions and mental torture in prison for a prolonged period. Few comrades were put to physical tortures. Yet a few other comrades were not provided proper nutritious food and medical facilities in old age. Thus, their services to Indian revolution stopped mid-way. Comrades Vijay, Arvind, Ramanna, Haribhushan and Ramakrishna fell seriously ill and could not avail proper medical care in time owing to brutal repression and met untimely death. Comrade Yogesh became a martyr in Neelambur fake encounter and Comrade Deepak in encirclement offensive in Pareva-Mardentola on the direction of comprador ruling classes. Comrade Deepak was encircled and murdered in a strong trap of special intelligence gangs and special police and Commando forces. This compilation comprises the life-histories of these eleven CC comrades.

All these comrades were not only moved to see the growing misery in the lives of oppressed people in the existing exploitive, oppressive, unjust society but also delved into the reasons. They felt that the path of Naxalbari is the correct one to destroy the three big mountains standing on the shoulders of oppressed people and were attracted to revolutionary politics and revolutionary party. They became part of the revolutionary movement from various democratic classes, social sections and various nationalities/states/areas. Comrades Bijay and Saheb are senior leadership comrades of Naxalbari generation and the rest of them joined the party in various periods. Most of them had higher education. But they did not utilise it in personal interest and dedicated their lives for the great ideal of establishing a new society by eliminating exploitation, oppression and suppression in the

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society. Few comrades did not have formal education but learnt through study and in the process of class struggle and achieved political maturity. They thus led the movement.

A Naxalbari..., a Srikakulam..., a Sonarpur..., a Kanksa... emerged from a state of nothing. In the later period, these comrades played a prominent role in igniting the sparks in the respective areas or in turning them into wild fire. They gained expertise in politically mobilising the worker, peasant, middle class and other such oppressed classes and oppressed social sections and in building and developing class struggles. Wherever they worked such as in the Party, People's Army and United Front, they handed over great experiences to the party and the people. They stood in the forefront in developing practical tactics in developing the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, anti-government class struggles as armed struggles, in building and developing people's armed forces, in building, widening-intensifying guerrilla war and in developing red resistance areas, guerrilla zones and guerrilla bases, with the objective of establishing liberated areas. They played the main role in enriching the theoretical, political, organisational and military line of the party. They made efforts to develop revolutionary professionalism in Indian revolutionary movement.

When we read their life-histories, we get the history of Indian revolutionary movement in our mind. We understand the process of advancement of revolutionary movement that persisted overcoming several ups and downs, ebbs and flows, twists and turns and fore-steps and backsteps that the movement faced. We remember the heroic stories of several class struggles, people's movements and people's spurts that came as a wave in various states and in the areas of revolutionary movement against imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalist class and big landlords and the central and the state governments that represent these classes. We understand their role as the central leadership in taking up tactics to overcome it and to advance Indian revolution when there were temporary setbacks in the movement. Our bright hopes on the future of Indian revolution raise high.

The martyred comrades strived a lot to solve the various theoretical and practical problems that came forth in the Armed Agrarian

**8 ★ Advancing the Revolution with Great Sacrifices**

Revolution in Protracted People's War in India at various times. Their proletarian characteristics and personality developed along with that of the movement. In the process of revolutionary practice, they constantly developed an understanding on the theory of MLM. They preserved it firmly. They guided People's War in the light of theory. They creatively applied the theory to concrete conditions in their area. They thus gained rich experiences and ability in working among the various social conditions, the various democratic classes, social sections and revolutionary activities in various spheres and in working at various levels. They believed in people and revolution, working all through their life for it and made a lasting impact on the revolution.

The martyrs represented various revolutionary generations. They provided leadership at various levels starting from the days of the great Naxalbari rebellion up to the CPI (Maoist) that emerged in the entire legacy of the revolutionary movement post-Naxalbari. When the revolutionary movement suffered temporary setback in the beginning of the decade of 1970s, the comrades established contacts with the various streams of revolution that continued independently after undergoing splinters in it. They firmly stood for the unity of genuine communist revolutionary streams in India. These streams turned into a big flow and CPI (Maoist) emerged as the single centre of guidance for Indian revolution. Thus, the lives of the martyrs are closely entwined with the Indian Communist movement, especially that since the beginning of Naxalbari. We can learn about the various times of the movement, the histories of the revolutionary movements of the respective Special Areas/Special Zones/States, its development, its special characteristics and their role in those from a study of their life histories.

The martyred leaders demonstrated their preparedness, commitment and decisiveness in preserving armed agrarian revolutionary war and in advancing it. They were prepared to do any amount of difficult work or make any kind of sacrifice to serve the oppressed classes and social sections. They had firm determination and great courage in countering the enemy theoretically, politically and militarily. They stayed underground, shed non-proletarian ideology

and wholeheartedly faced the entire difficulties and difficult conditions. They led Indian revolution, especially as the in-charge, members of various Regional Bureaus, the in-charge of various Special Areas/Special Zones/States and as the secretaries of those committees. Few comrades also led guerrilla war as members of the Central, Special Area/Special Zonal/State Military Commissions, as the in-charge and members of various commands.

Few comrades stood undeterred and unsubdued even in terrible conditions in prison. On the contrary, each and every obstacle, hardship, turn or crisis steeled them further. They resolutely stood amidst intense enemy attacks and in the situation of difficult condition in Indian revolutionary movement and temporary setback and steadily led the movement until their last breath. They not only formulated tactics to counter the enemy offensive but also made efforts to strengthen the movement through this and to overcome the obstacles.

The martyred CC members stood firm in condemning, exposing and in mercilessly fighting against the revisionists inside the communist party and revolutionary movement, distort Marxism, serve the exploitive ruling classes and distress the interests of the people. They held aloft the great legacy of Comrades CM and KC who took up non-compromising struggle against the right and 'left' opportunist trends and against disruptors and traitors.

As members of the CC they shouldered the higher level tasks adopted by the party and provided firm leadership in formulating tactics, policies and plans and in implementing those in practice. They had intense class hatred towards the exploitive classes and immense affection towards the broad masses. They had enormous belief in the Marxist principle that people, people alone are the makers of history and that leaders are not the heroes. They learnt through leading and guiding the people. They took the interests of the people as theirs. They understood the welfare of the people as theirs. They firmly implemented mass line. They lived an ordinary life. They demonstrated great modesty. They held aloft the teaching of Mao that "countless revolutionaries sacrificed their lives for the interests of the people. Our hearts pain on their memory. So then, do we have any personal

interest that we cannot sacrifice? Is there any mistake that we cannot rectify?". They personally declassified themselves, rectified their mistakes, proletarianized the party and the movement and were always ready to advance it. They implemented the method of self-criticism-criticism. They gained the affection of their cadres and oppressed people by practicing such great Communist values.

As Mao said, one can easily do a good job in life. But it is very difficult to do all good. It is easy to live a revolutionary for some time. But it is very difficult to live revolutionary all through one's life and die a revolutionary. The martyred leaders in Indian revolution lived and worked in varied conditions and in the process of death they stood high in fulfilling this utmost difficult task.

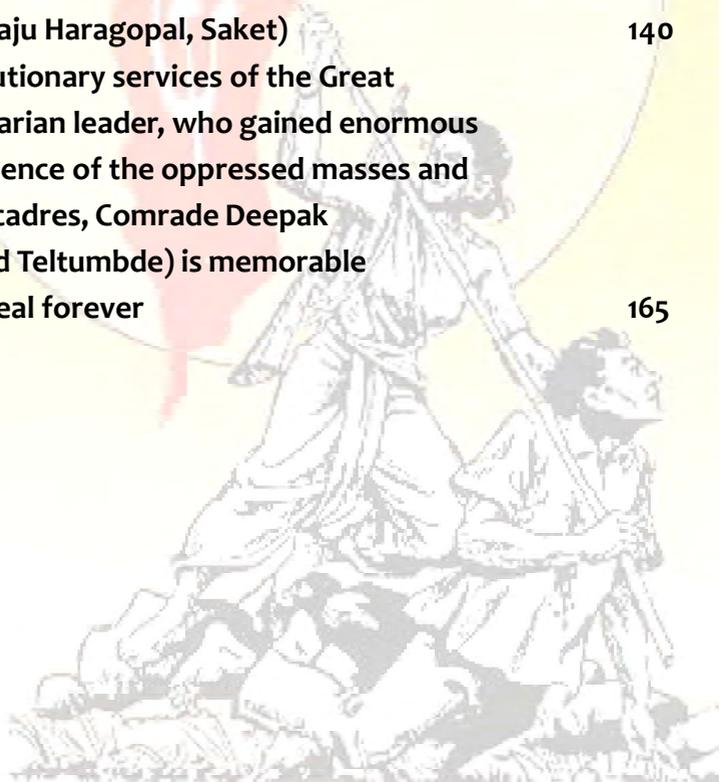
The martyred CC comrades held aloft the proletarian red flag and unflinchingly and daringly faced the enemy. They demonstrated firm commitment towards revolution even at the face of death. They stood high in the arena of war. We learn many things when we study their life style of maximum fulfilment and the way they laid down their lives. We can certainly gain a far fetched sight when we understand their experiences, gain command on those and learn through their lives. We can daringly face the enemy. If we gain inspiration from the lives of the martyrs and their martyrdoms, it shall definitely transform into a great objective force. It will make the world upside down. The memories of our beloved leaders shall always provide inspiration to the party cadres and the people.

The lives of great leaders of revolution who led the party are a great source to provide deep knowledge and clarity about revolution in India. The valuable lessons in their lives provide the necessary foundation to know about the Protracted People's War, to preserve it, to propagate, continue and advance it. Therefore, let us widely study the life histories of these martyrs, so as to advance the Indian revolutionary movement. Let us always practice their ideals in the illumined path they travelled. The real homage to them will be to hold aloft the red flag drowned in their blood, intensify class struggles-mass struggles-people's war and to make efforts all through our life to advance it.

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**Comrade Sridhar Srinivasan**

## **Comrade Sridhar, Inspiring leader who gave Firm Leadership amidst the Ups and Downs of the Revolutionary Movement**

Comrade Sridhar Srinivasan (Vishnu, Vijay), Central Committee Member of CPI(Maoist) and former Secretary of the party's Maharashtra State Committee, passed away at 9.45 am on 18 August 2015, minutes after undergoing a massive heart attack. He breathed his last among the party leadership comrades and cadres and PLGA guerrillas in one of the Maoist movement areas. He was only 57 years of age. His demise was quite sudden and unexpected as he was not suffering from any life-threatening illness and a recent check-up did not detect any serious problem with his health. But six and half years of harsh prison life following his arrest in 2007 took its toll. It is a testimony to his indomitable revolutionary spirit that no consideration of health could dissuade him from taking up the arduous journey to join his comrades in a movement area when the opportunity finally presented itself after waiting for it for one and a half years since his release in the end of 2013. It was in the midst of this journey that he passed away. Several leadership comrades, a large number of comrades from different committees and many PLGA units working in this area of movement performed his last rites with party honours. It was a moving moment for all the comrades present there. They paid him revolutionary red homage with heavy hearts and held memorial meetings. His lifelong contribution to India's new democratic revolutionary movement and his untiring service to the country's oppressed masses was fondly remembered. They recalled his proletarian qualities and took pledge to keep his communist ideals alive by advancing the protracted people's war.

## **The making of a revolutionary**

As an inseparable part of the objective situation of revolution in the country, in addition to the existence of a revolutionary working class party, a favourable social environment such as a democratic environment in the family with liberal-progressive ideas can play a significant role in moulding a person into a revolutionary. Comrade Sridhar grew up in such an atmosphere in a family which was quite unconventional in its outlook. He was the youngest of five siblings in this urban middle class family. His parents inculcated the habit of reading in all their children from early childhood. Encouraged by his parents, Sridhar developed an unquenchable thirst for knowledge from his childhood and became a voracious reader. Influenced by his elder brother, he also developed keen interest in mathematics and the sciences, particularly astrophysics. While his parents were very concerned about their children's education, they gave the children the freedom to pursue the lives of their choice. So treading a very different path from his siblings, when Sridhar dropped out of college to join the revolutionary movement as a Professional Revolutionary (PR) in the newly formed Marxist-Leninist (ML) party in the city of Bombay (Mumbai), his family did not stand on his way, even though they did not support his choice. In fact, they came forward to support him on several occasions during his long revolutionary life when he was in need of such support.

## **Playing a vital role in the revolutionary movement of Maharashtra**

Maharashtra and the city of Mumbai holds a special place in Indian revolution. It is a crucial economic centre of the ruling classes and is considered to be the country's financial capital. It has a large concentration of the labouring classes. While the state has an illustrious history of militant working-class and peasant movements, it has also been a fortress of entrenched revisionism as well as Brahmanical Hindu-fascism. It also has a glorious legacy of militant Dalit movements and Adivasi revolutionary movement. With all its peculiarities, Maharashtra and Mumbai had always posed special challenges for communist revolutionaries. When the dark clouds of Emergency imposed by the fascist Indira Gandhi regime cleared up in March 1977, an upsurge of

political mass movements including those led by various Marxist-Leninist streams erupted in the country. It is in this post-Emergency political situation that Marxism became a topic of hot debate within the student community.

Inspired by the Naxalbari movement, many Marxist study circles sprouted in Bombay city. One such study circle took shape in Elphinstone Government College in south Bombay. Sridhar was a second year student of Arts in the college where he was pursuing his Bachelor's degree. He got drawn into this study circle. Soon he was deeply influenced by MLM and Marxist-Leninist politics and began not only to actively participate in it but started organising the students of different colleges as an activist. Students began rallying under the banner of Vidyarthi Pragati Sangathan (VPS). By 1980, VPS had grown rapidly with several full-timers and activists. VPS militantly fought back the goons of student organisations affiliated to the Congress and Shiv Sena parties in various colleges in the course of carrying out their programmes. Comrade Sridhar was one of the leaders of the historic takeover of Bombay University by the college students against fee hike in 1979. At the peak of the state's revolutionary student movement VPS had units in most of the colleges in the city and its nearby suburbs. Influenced by the student movement led by VPS, a democratic students' organisation was also formed in Goa. This student organisation was guided by Sridhar. It was in 1979 that inspired by the Jagityal peasant movement under the leadership of the APPC of CPI(ML), Bombay City Committee of the newly formed ML party in Maharashtra came in contact with it. In May 1980, the Bombay City Committee-ML merged with the recently formed CPI(ML)(People's War).

The new crisis in which the world capitalist economy got embroiled in from the early 1970s grew more acute in the next few years. Monopoly corporate houses introduced greater modernisation throughout the world by adopting advanced machinery and capital-intensive techniques in order to cut down variable capital to come out of this crisis. The impact of this shift fell most of all on the workers of these countries and all backward countries who suffered job-loss,

wage-cuts and harsher working conditions. Big industrial centres in India such as Bombay and its large textiles industry too were affected by these global economic changes. Some larger textile mills that underwent modernisation by collaborating more closely with the modern technology and capital of imperialists prospered, while a large number of them which were unable to make this transition became bankrupt and closed down. These closed-down factories became the sites of a thriving real-estate business. This rendered a large number of mill workers jobless and created havoc among all workers. They bitterly opposed the lock-outs, closures and retrenchment by getting organised under the banner of Trade Unions (TU) , particularly the TU led by Datta Samant – the main militant TU leader in the city. In such a volatile period, revolutionary work in Bombay spread rapidly. Work expanded to the slums and among the workers. Naujawan Bharat Sabha (NBS) was formed in 1981 which gained a name for itself due to its extensive propaganda and agitation work. As the work expanded among the workers, a Trade Union named AMKU was formed in 1981. AMKU and NBS wholeheartedly supported and joined the historic textiles strike of Bombay in 1982 and participated in many militant mass protests of the textile workers and others. They became the rallying point for the most militant and forward-thinking section of the textile workers. Comrade Sridhar was one of their organisers who contributed to the advancement of the movement. He was involved in militant actions during the strike period. Upcoming dynamic cadres like him, however, faced the ire of a few rightist leadership elements of the party in Bombay who labelled these actions as “militant economism”. Nevertheless, facing several daunting adversities, the strike became one of the most militant struggles of the time in the country on which the state unleashed ruthless repression.

Besides Bombay, workers got organised under the banner of AMKU in Maharashtra’s Thane, Bhiwandi and some other industrial centres and peripheral areas. Gadchiroli Adivasi peasant movement too had begun in June 1980 under the leadership of the party, just before the outbreak of historic textile mill workers’ strike in Bombay. After Bombay City Committee merged with CPI(ML)(PW), the Maharashtra comrades

with the guidance of the CC prepared a Vidarbha Perspective to expand revolutionary work in cities like Nagpur, Chandrapur, Balharshah and the rural areas adjacent to those with a strategic view to build Protracted People's War in Maharashtra. Keeping this perspective in mind, Maharashtra State Committee started sending PRs to Vidarbha. To propagate agrarian revolutionary politics among the peasantry, particularly the landless and poor peasants of Vidarbha, VPS organised 'Go to Village' campaigns. During one such campaign in early 1980s, Sridhar along with ten to twelve other students were arrested in Sironcha of Gadchiroli district by the police. His mother travelled all the way from Bombay to bail out the arrested students. Sridhar was once again arrested with other students on their way to attend the 1<sup>st</sup> District Conference of the revolutionary peasant organisation (the present Dandakaranya Adivasi Kisan Mazdoor Sangh – DAKMS) in Kamlapur village of Maharashtra's Gadchiroli district in 1984.

Internal struggle broke out in the party in early 1985 about certain ideological-political questions and organisational issues, as a result of which CC functioning got paralysed. In this backdrop to resolve this serious problem, as a part of holding plenums of all state units of the party, Maharashtra state plenum was organised in 1986. In the plenum, serious differences came to the fore between the comrades in the Regional Committees and the State Coordinator of Maharashtra (CCM) who was in the CC majority group. At about this time in early 1987, Maharashtra state unit got separated from CPI(ML)(PW). The second state conference was held in this backdrop in September 1987. The conference rejected the documents presented by the State Coordinator and adopted alternative documents prepared by Sridhar and some other comrades. A new State Committee (SC) was elected for the first time and Sridhar became its Secretary. The main call of this conference was to strengthen and expand the party by building mass organisations, widening the class struggle and recruiting the advanced elements who came forward in the process into the party. The conference resolved that though the decision to dissolve the CC was incorrect, it should not rush for unity with CPI(ML)(PW) by deciding the issue on the basis of a majority but should maintain fraternal relations with all the state units

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of the party. It also decided that the state units of revolutionary mass organisations which were constituents of the all-India Mass Organisations like AIRSF and AILRC should make every effort to work actively and strengthen these organisations in the state.

But this internal crisis of the party had badly impacted the comrades of Maharashtra who joined the movement during the rapidly growing influence of Naxalbari revolutionary politics and militant struggles of the early 1980s and demoralised a lot of them. Some of them moved away from the movement disillusioned, while several others who remained lowered their level of activity. Owing to this the mass organisations especially in Bombay became weakened. As a result, most of the plans for growth and expansion prepared after the state conference became non-implementable. In spite of this, Sridhar along with some comrades did not get demoralised, stood firmly by the party line and fought all the wrong tendencies. He stood in the forefront of the comrades who remained steadfast even amidst such a difficult period. The comrades who continued in the party decided to safeguard it by courageously swimming against the tide and strove hard to build the movement in the state.

### **Fresh attempts at building the movement**

Maharashtra State Committee found itself in a new situation in the late 1980s when subjective forces became weak, state terror on the Gadchiroli revolutionary Adivasi movement intensified and there was no CC to provide guidance. In this situation they were compelled to abandon the rural work in the Vidarbha Perspective area. The SC and the comrades who continued after the party internal crisis prepared the western Maharashtra rural perspective with the aim of building base area by building the rural movement. The perspective laid down the outlines of a plan to initiate work by keeping Nasik district as the centre. This region had a strategic importance and provided many favourable conditions. The political, organisational work was started in the late 1980s and continued for about four-five years. Even though serious efforts were put, mass base was developed in preliminary form and experience was acquired to some extent, the movement could not be continued amidst growing state repression due to the arrests of

some comrades who were responsible for mass work, the backing out of two state leadership cadres from the area and due to the scarcity of forces to allot for this work.

Comrade Sridhar shifted the main area of his activity to the Vidarbha region in 1992 to guide the coal mine workers' movement and other movements. He led two action teams to punish police informers in urban areas of Vidarbha. A Special Plenum of the Maharashtra State was held in September 1992 to take some crucial political and organisational decisions and resolve some important questions raised at the Plenum of 1986. In this plenum, the delegates adopted the documents presented by the SC after rejecting the alternative documents presented by some leading comrades.

For the first time after the dissolution of the CC and the separation of the Maharashtra unit from CPI(ML)(PW) in early 1987, APSC delegation and Maharashtra delegation re-established relations in late 1988. Since then a cordial relation was maintained between the two state units. In September 1990, a central plenum was conducted with the delegates from the AP, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu State units and a COC of the CPI(ML)(PW) was elected. The COC continued the relations that were established with Maharashtra State Committee. During this period of cordial relations between the two which lasted for three years, reports on developments in the revolutionary movement were exchanged, the CC crisis along with the principled struggle waged by the Maharashtra comrades against the opportunist CC majority group and the mistakes made by the CC minority group in dealing with the internal struggle and the unification of genuine communist revolutionaries was thoroughly discussed. This commonality of understanding resulted in the Maharashtra State Committee joining CPI(ML)(PW) in 1993. Comrade Sridhar was part of this entire process and played a very crucial role in it along with Maharashtra State Committee.

All state units conducted their state conferences in a run up to the All India Special Conference (AISC) held in 1995. AISC played a crucial role in synthesising the past practice of the party and the movement

and setting new tasks before it. In this conference the delegates from Maharashtra played an active role. In particular, they forcefully kept their consistent position about the wrong process of the dissolution of the CC in 1987 and convinced the entire party. In this aspect Comrade Sridhar's role was very important.

The Ninth Congress of CPI(ML)[PW] was held in 2001. This Congress has a very important place in the history of the Indian revolutionary/ML movement. It was a significant step in advancing the movement as it correctly reviewed the entire history of the party, enriched its strategy and tactics of PPW and developed some policies and formulated new tactics. Comrade Sridhar actively participated in the deliberations of the Congress. He played a positive role in defeating the left-adventurist line that came up in the Congress and in enriching the party line as a part of this struggle. Sridhar was elected to the CC in this Congress. He also became a member of the newly constituted South Western Regional Bureau (SWRB) of the party comprising of Maharashtra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala soon after the Congress.

In the state conference of 2001, enriching and immediately implementing the Vidarbha Perspective was adopted as one of the main tasks of the party in the state in the new conditions. To facilitate the implementation of this perspective the CC handed over the responsibility of Balaghat-Gondia division to Maharashtra unit. Till that time DKSZC was guiding the work in this area as a part of the DK guerrilla zone. Sridhar as the State Committee Secretary (SCS) and a CCM took charge of guiding this rural movement. The movement in that division was facing severe state repression and some serious internal problems at that time. Sridhar strove to boost up the morale of the cadres and consolidate the movement. While working in this division, he never asked for any special concessions and facilities as a leader in spite of his ill health. He tried to participate in and share responsibilities in all activities with the cadres which won their hearts and endeared him to them. He put efforts to the extent possible to sustain and steadily advance the movement.

The historic merger of CPI(ML)[PW] and MCCI took place in

September 2004 and the unified CPI(Maoist) was born. A Central Committee (Provisional) of the new party was constituted to lead the revolution and Sridhar was elected as one of its members. Even though the movement in Maharashtra was weak at that time, the growing unrest against the disastrous neo-liberal country-selling policies of the Vajpayee-led NDA government, the threat of rising Brahmanical Hindu-fascism, etc., generated much opposition and brought some social movements closer to the party in the state. The emergence of CPI(Maoist) and the successful Mumbai Resistance (MR-2004) galvanised the revolutionary movement in the country and particularly in Maharashtra. When almost all political parties betrayed the Dalits after the ghastly killing of a Dalit family in Khairlanji by the casteist forces led by the landlords in September 2006, our party supported the Dalits completely and placed the correct policy and path for liberation from caste oppression and discrimination. Due to this the Maoist movement emerged as a ray of hope for the Dalits of Maharashtra. In this political situation they rallied under the banner of the militant anti-caste organisation which expanded rapidly in the state. Units of the organisation were formed in several districts and Dalit students and youth started to associate with the movement in considerable numbers. All these factors contributed to the creation of a favourable condition for the development of the revolutionary movement in Maharashtra in the first few years of the new millennium.

The ruling classes intensified the use of fascist methods including the enactment of draconian laws such as POTA to crush the growing tide of people's movements, persecute the religious minorities and suppress the revolutionary movement throughout the country. The Maoist party and its leadership were targeted, revolutionary mass organisations were banned and fascist campaigns like Salwa Judum and Sendra were initiated in the movement areas in different forms. Amidst this severe countrywide state repression, the Unity Congress-9<sup>th</sup> Congress of CPI(Maoist) was successfully held in early 2007. Sridhar put forward his difference of opinion clearly for discussion and actively participated in the polemical debates in the Congress, criticised the left-adventurist line that emerged in it and contributed to the defeat

of the wrong line. The Congress elected him to the Central Committee of the party. He subsequently became a member of its SWRB. Alarmed by the success of the Congress and the advancement of the revolutionary movement in the country, with the guidance of the imperialists particularly US imperialists the state cracked-down on the Maoist movement even more ferociously. Many leadership comrades at different levels were killed or arrested by the enemy all over the country. Maharashtra too faced the brunt of this counter-revolutionary attack and resulted in the heavy loss of subjective forces. It pained Sridhar to see the movement getting weakened. His own arrest in mid-2007 came as a big loss to the movement of the state.

### **Arrest and prison life**

Comrade Sridhar was arrested from outside his den in a joint operation by the Mossad-type APSIB and the notorious Anti-Naxal Team of Mumbai Police late in the night of 18 August 2007. He faced days of intensive and continuous interrogation and mental torture by APSIB, Anti-Naxal Team and various intelligence agencies of the centre and several states. A few months later when he got the opportunity, Sridhar wrote an analysis of the interrogation sessions, arrest and interrogation methods, latest techniques and devices used in interrogation, methods of spying and tracking down targets employed by the enemy, etc., and sent it to the party. It helped the party understand the enemy tactics better. More than 60 false cases were foisted on him by the police of Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, etc. who are adept at cooking up false cases. With such a large number of cases, the state tried its best to prolong his incarceration. It even managed to convict Sridhar in a trumped-up case based on false evidence and hand down a sentence of six years. He often expressed the anguish of confinement and vividly described jail life in the letters he wrote to his sister. In one of these letters he wrote,

“The most horrible thing in this damn confinement is the loss of freedom and liberty. I always valued these things but now having lost it its value to me has increased at least a thousand-fold. But I am not moping or letting myself get depressed. I am looking at it as a learning

experience (though given a choice I will willingly have forsaken it). The jail has lot of interesting people especially the kind that my life naturally bring me into contact with – drug peddlers and dealers, rapists, petty thieves and cheats, international smugglers and gangland bosses. And also a lot of poor, helpless and mostly innocent people whose only crime was poverty. Life in jail is almost a replica of society and life outside – only in a closed contained and may be more concentrated form. There are the have-nots, the oppressor and the oppressed, the violence, the perversions as well as the good and the noble – all reproduced in all its details. In that sense I cannot imagine that jails can ever play the reformatory role which is advertised in huge wall-written slogans within the jail walls. How can a criminal reform if the conditions which took him to criminal life are reproduced with great intensity day in and day out within the jails?”

While waiting for his freedom, Sridhar continued to educate and inspire young cadres who were in jail with him. Never to rest, he utilised his time in reading books and studying the domestic and international situation. He interacted with different Islamic activists and tried to understand their movement. Early morning hours were spent in writing long letters and political notes to comrades in different jails. He and other comrades carefully studied the charge-sheets, made notes, and helped their lawyers in preparing the defence. While in jail, they helped prisoners in getting bail and small relieves. He also strove hard to keep himself healthy through regular physical exercise.

Sridhar and other comrades of Maharashtra conducted class struggle in the jail for their just rights as political prisoners as well as of other prisoners. For this he participated in many jail struggles and undertook several hunger strikes along with other jailed comrades. In the process he and a few other comrades studied jurisprudence and the legal system, the Indian Penal Code (IPC) and the Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC), etc., and deepened their learning. His long jail life provided an opportunity to closely understand the judicial and penal system peculiar to a semi-colonial semi-feudal country like India – something which very few in confinement seriously undertake. In this way he tried to make the best use of his time in prison. Yet, he

yearned to get back. He was in a hurry to join his comrades in the main areas of class struggle. In one of his notes to his lawyer, he wrote, “It is really frustrating to sit in jail and watch the battle like the blind Dhritarashtra – anxiously depending for the news of the battle on secondary sources. Hope one gets out with sufficient time to be capable of contributing one’s poor worth to the cause of the people. The war clouds are thick on the horizon and it has already begun to pour there. It is only a matter of time before the clouds come and let lose their acid rains on us here in urban areas, at least so it seems sitting in the confines of this cell.”

Comrade Sridhar was released from prison in 2013, after six and a half years of incarceration. It was his wish to go into the main class struggle areas at the earliest. But he had to wait for another one and a half years to undertake this journey due to the high-level of state surveillance, the danger of his re-arrest and the severe repression in these areas. While waiting, he utilised this time in acquainting himself with the developments in the domestic and international situation. Particularly, he tried to clearly understand the changes in the conditions of the revolutionary movement and that of the enemy and to get updated about the current thinking of the country’s intellectuals, writers and different oppressed sections. He also studied the growth of Brahmanical Hindu-fascism in the recent past. Moreover, he busied himself in preparing jail reports and formulating concrete proposals to place before the CC. It is with such painstaking preparations and high hopes for the future of the movement that he undertook the difficult journey to one of the main struggle areas in 2015. He breathed his last in the course of this journey on 18 August 2015.

### **An ideal Communist Revolutionary**

From late 1970s till 2006, starting as a student activist and taking various party responsibilities at different levels – as a PR, State Committee member, Maharashtra State Committee Secretary and CC member – Comrade Sridhar tried to effectively lead the party for over two and a half decades. He stood steadfast in every critical juncture and in all the ups and downs of the movement and firmly defended the party line and strove to creatively apply it. He upheld MLM as the

only scientific ideology of the world proletariat to successfully accomplish the World Socialist Revolution. When wrong ideological and political trends raised their head in the party at the central and state level, he fought against them and contributed to advancing the movement by overcoming them. He stood firm even when the movement faced adverse conditions, particularly in Maharashtra. In CC meetings, lower committee meetings and discussions with fellow comrades, he clearly kept his opinion and did not waste time in unnecessary debates or discussions. He set an example before us with his personal qualities such as extensive reading, adherence to proletarian discipline, firmness, commitment, simplicity, an ever-smiling disposition and warmth in relating to his comrades. He did not hesitate to take up and fulfil whatever responsibility the party entrusted him with a spirit of learning by doing in spite of his health problems. Most of his time and efforts during his long revolutionary life was directed towards developing the party and the working-class, student, youth and anti-caste organisations in urban Maharashtra. Therefore his role in developing revolutionary urban movement will remain particularly significant for the party. In this way, he acquired maturity and emerged as a tried and tested revolutionary leader through decades of continuous political-organisational work.

Though the enemy could prevent Comrade Sridhar from directly participating in the revolutionary movement by keeping him behind bars for several years at a crucial period, as a true member of the apex body of our party he continued to be preoccupied with the development of the movement outside. He thought seriously how best to contribute to it from within the jail and after getting released. Not surprisingly, by the time he came out of jail, he already had in mind the outlines of a good plan for the present juncture regarding his role in the movement. Just at the time when he had won his freedom from the clutches of the enemy and got into a position to contribute to the Indian revolution at a higher level, death cruelly snatched him away from our midst.

All the people in the world live for themselves, but only some live and die for the vast majority of the society, the oppressed multitudes and the whole humanity without thinking about themselves

or their narrow self-interest. Though it had been the case in every class society, this applies even more to the present era. At a time when imperialist culture and values promoting self-centredness, selfishness and individualism hold sway, we do not find people like Comrade Sridhar in large numbers who dedicate their lives to the oppressed masses and the struggle for their liberation. It is not so important in what class, caste, nationality or gender one is born. What is more important is the cause for which one lives and dies; whether one fights for this cause for a short period of one's life or persists in it till the last breath. Comrade Sridhar exemplified this with his life. For over three and a half decades he led the life of a committed revolutionary, worked untiringly for the development of the new democratic revolution in Maharashtra and India, willingly went through all hardships that came in the way and gave the highest sacrifice by laying down his life. Though he is no longer with us, Comrade Sridhar has left unforgettable memories with all of us – be it his comrades, family or friends. Everyone who knew him will cherish and value these memories. His work and his memories will continue to serve the oppressed and their struggle for liberation. The CC on behalf of the entire party, PLGA and the revolutionary mass organisations pays Comrade Sridhar its red homage on his martyrdom and takes pledge to hold high the banner of socialism and communism by learning from his proletarian values, his lifelong commitment to MLM and his steadfastness in facing all trying circumstances on the protracted path of revolutionary struggle.

***Let us take forth the Ideals  
of the Martyrs Who laid  
down their Lives For the sake  
of Emancipation of the  
Oppressed masses of the  
Country***



Comrade Kuppu Raj

# **Beloved Son of the Proletariat, the Courageous Leader of the Oppressed Masses of our Country, Comrade Kuppu Raj**

In the Karulai forest (Mallapuram district) of Western Ghats of Kerala the state repressive machinery such as the central Para-military forces, 'Thunderbolt' Commando force of Kerala and STF Commando force of Tamilnadu quenched their blood thirst by shooting down our beloved leader and CCM Comrade Kuppu Raj on 24<sup>th</sup> November 2016 along with WGSZCM Comrade Ajitha. The ideals of the martyrs shall continue to inspire the new generation.

## **Early days of Comrade Devaraj**

Comrade Raj was born in a poor and oppressed Dalit family as a first son of Duraisamy and Ammini Ammal in Settippatty village of Krishnagiri district of Tamilnadu. His forefathers shifted to Bangalore from Tamilnadu. Although he was a brilliant student in school days, due to his poor family condition he was unable to continue his higher studies. His father expired early and the burden of the whole family came on the shoulders of young Comrade Raj. After completing his ITI course, he worked as a technical worker in L&T Company in Bangalore. He had a family of wife, children, brothers and sisters. As a worker, he organised other workers and fought against the exploitative management of the factory. In fact even before the party came into contact, he was working among workers with revolutionary politics like many others. There he understood the necessity of proletarian revolution, a revolutionary party and an army comprised of workers and peasants in the leadership of workers.

## **Beginning as a Revolutionary Activist in Karnataka**

Inspired by the Naxalbari Armed Peasant struggle in the 1960s, some intellectuals from the state of Karnataka started working among the masses. One among them was martyr comrade Konganuru Gonappa of Sirahatti village in Karnataka. He started arousing the poor peasants with the politics of Naxalbari struggle. He was killed by the goondas of the landlords. Later there was a gap of ten years. CPI (ML) (Peoples' War) party was formed in 1980. Revolutionary activists and individuals across the country started coming together. Comrade Raj too came in contact with People's War party in 1980, which was operating in Andhra Pradesh, and was attracted by its revolutionary politics. He read a large number of Marxist ideological books within a short period. He understood the importance of a revolutionary party which will fight for the cause of the toiling people. Thus, he was among those who decided to sow the revolutionary politics of the People's War party in the soil of Karnataka. Once he became an activist, his house became the centre of party activities. Consequently, many part time activists developed in Karnataka and they were consolidated into party cells. Yogesh was an active member in one of the cells. He along with the others started political and organizational work among the workers, students and youth. In between 1980-'85 the party cells became active in Karnataka. But there was no leadership committee in Karnataka. In fact, there was no full-timer either. All were part timers. Understanding the necessity of working as a full-timer for the development of the party he soon became a PR in the leadership of Cherukuri Rajkumar (Azad). Comrade Azad was sent by the party as an organiser for the state of Karnataka. By '85, eight activists became Professional Revolutionaries and Raj was a leading person among them. The PRs worked in the cities of Bangalore, Kolar and Mysore among workers, students and youth. They also took up struggles in students, youth and workers. A cultural front was also formed. In fact during the early phase he worked as a cultural activist and became an Executive Committee member of the All India League for Revolutionary Culture (AILRC). He was a good singer and attended many cultural programs in Karnataka and Tamilnadu. The cultural front, party and activists of Mass

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Organizations propagated Protracted Peoples' War, about the movements in AP, Bihar and other such places. They took up political propaganda widely. In this process by '85 a leading team with ideological and political unity was formed in the leadership of Azad. Raj was the key person in this team.

Thus with the initiative of this leading committee, our party and revolutionary politics became familiar all over Karnataka. Many students, youths, women and oppressed people rallied under various organisations. In the First State Conference in 1987 Comrade Azad was elected as State Committee secretary (SCS). Kuppu Raj and Saketh Rajan were elected as members of the committee. This conference adopted a perspective for agrarian revolution. It considered the uneven social, economic and political situation in the state and decided to start the movement in the northern plains of Karnataka bordering Andhra Pradesh. Raj took the responsibility to lead the rural movement as a State Committee Member. He understood that the movement would advance only in direct leadership. In this area one landlord was punished and his land seized. The struggle went on for about two years. Students too were quite active in this area.

They worked among the peasantry in Bidar and Raichur districts. They mobilised the peasantry, started the peasant organisation and took up anti-feudal, anti-State struggles. At the same time the struggle against the Kaiga nuclear plant came up. They extended into the field of students and formed student organisations in the districts of Bidar, Raichur, Chitradurga, Shimoga and Dharwad. The struggle in Kaiga and the work among the students all put together made the party popular across the state. In 1990 the party conducted the Second State Conference. In this Conference they reviewed the struggles. The conference felt that there were a few shortcomings in the anti-feudal struggle, mainly regarding militancy. They took lessons from this experience and decided to consolidate the party and provide direct leadership in order to advance the movement. The Party also conducted a State Plenum in 1993 to rectify the alien class tendencies. In this plenum, the Party took up the task to develop the party to take the movement forward to address the people's problems. Before the All

India Special Conference of the party in 1995, there was a state conference in which Raj took up the responsibility of Secretary of the State Committee. In the special conference he was elected alternate member of the CC.

Comrade Yogesh was elected as a full time member of the CC in '97. In the same period an internal struggle started in the party in Karnataka that slowed down the advancement of the movement. In 2001, the erstwhile People's War held the Ninth Congress and Comrade Raj was re-elected into the CC. The CC also formed the South West Regional Bureau (SWRB) and Comrade Raj became a member of the Bureau. At this time the State Committee proposed to the CC to shift the perspective area. The CC approved the proposal and worked out a thorough plan. The Committee studied the Socio Economic and Political conditions of the Malnad perspective area. Together with Comrade Saketh Rajan, Comrade Kuppu Raj played a key role in starting the movement in the perspective area in the beginning of 21st century. In 2004 Maoist party was formed. Yogesh as a CCM contributed to the formation of the new party. He subsequently became a member of the South West Regional Bureau. He participated in the Unity Congress and contributed ideologically and politically.

In 2007 the Party held the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress. The Congress elected Comrade Raj into the CC and member of SWRB. By the end of that year and a year later, most of the comrades of the RB were either arrested or martyred. Comrade Raj took the responsibility of the three states of Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Kerala. In this difficult situation he was firm and helped the cadre sustain the revolutionary movement.

On the other hand, in Tamilnadu majority comrades including state committee secretary were arrested in Uthangarai in 2002. In this situation, when the remaining state committee members of Tamilnadu were not ready to take the responsibility of secretaryship, he stepped forth. Among those who were in jail, a team under the leadership of ex-state committee secretary, Duraisingavel put forward a line to suspend armed struggle in the name of class analysis and to divide the party. They involved in disruptive activities. Comrade Kuppu, who

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played a leading role against this right opportunistic line, defeated it politically and saved our party. When no party was ready to start armed struggle in Tamilnadu, it was started in November 2007 under the leadership of Comrade Kuppu in Western Ghats area of TN with three squads. In those three squads Varusanadu squad was surrounded and attacked by the enemy. Some comrades were severely wounded in this attack. In April 2008 another attack took place in the area of Kodaikanal on the KC Patti squad, in which comrade Naveen Prasad was martyred.

When SWRB took up Leadership Training Program (LTP), Comrade Raj took up the responsibility and conducted training camps in all three states. The training involved all of our subjective forces starting from the State rank. In this program the cadres were thoroughly educated and could develop a clear perspective about the various issues of the movement. Thus he helped in politically strengthening the party cadres.

### **Role in Ideological Struggle**

In '85 during the period of crisis in Central Committee (CC), this leading team of Karnataka played an active role against the opportunist, disruptionist clique in the CC. Under the leadership of comrade Azad, comrades Raj and Saketh Rajan played a crucial role in this internal struggle. Though the comrades did not have much experience in class struggle, they studied the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and basic documents of the party, revolutionary history of our country and the world and were ideologically and politically sound. They firmly adhered to the Party line of PPW and helped the Party continue with politics of Armed struggle. Their study and the theoretical struggle they waged upon the clique formed a theoretical base for the future party organisation in the state. It also helped the team to later develop into the state committee. The team also helped the AP Committee during the time of repression. With the help of this team the AP Committee could successfully perform certain important tasks and thus developed good relations between these two movements that served mutually.

Due to the crisis in CC between 1985 and 87 the activities came to a standstill for quite some time. There was no centre for coordinating the movements in the states and to guide them. During this period, Azad and comrade Yogesh together worked to maintain the cadre intact. Comrade Raj also played a very important role in maintaining the cadre in Tamilnadu.

There was a second crisis in the Party in the All India level in 1991. In this crisis the KN state committee wrote a document exposing the wrong tendencies of the minority group. They called upon all the cadres to fight against the opportunistic clique in '92. This call was given with the objective that all the cadres in the Party must understand the disruptionist clique and fight them ideologically.

As soon as work started in the Karnataka perspective area, opportunists started throwing stones on it saying that it would not work. They were also against the merger of the two parties and the formation of Maoist Party. In such a situation, Comrade Saketh Rajan was martyred fighting heroically with the enemy. After his martyrdom, Comrade Raj continued the fight against the right opportunist clique, with the help of the SWRB. Majority comrades stood with the Party line. Finally the crisis was solved in the State Conference in 2006. The opportunistic clique left the Party.

A document was released to counter the opportunists in the name of 'Opportunists Never Understand Revolutionary Dialectics'. Yogesh was the main person behind this document. Meanwhile Armed Guerilla squads were started in Madurai and neighboring districts of Tamilnadu. Yogesh took the main responsibility in preparing the perspective and the cadre for armed struggle.

Apart from this, in TN a reply was written in "Porali", to a critique on the formation of CPI (Maoist) by a nationalist organization. In reply to this, we clarified the differences between Marxist understanding on nationality question and politics. The critique actually opposed the basic line of Naxalbari and put forth a right deviationist line. On one hand it behaved as if it extended support to PW and MCCI (through this it pretended to be a fraternal revolutionary

organization), on the other hand, whenever there was an opportunity it attacked our revolutionary path. It also propagated lies and falsehood that our party was organisationally degenerating. They wrote again, at the time of Com. Ravindran's martyrdom. We gave a fitting reply in our magazine, "Porali". In a reply to it, they brought out a booklet. After the Uthangarai incident and subsequent losses to our party, they utilised the situation and launched a serious attack on our party's revolutionary line. The publication of the booklet was brought out in such a way, so as to create mistrust in our party and its political line. It indirectly helped the enemy's efforts to wipe out our party. Apart from this, a circular was issued by that party, purportedly for internal circulation was a compilation of lies and slanders to discredit our party. Soon after this, the SC discussed SOC's mischievous offensive. It decided that a political struggle against SOC was necessary and in addition, it was necessary to grasp our line more deeply. Hence, the SC decided to wage a resolute struggle against SOC's right opportunism. As already mentioned in the introduction of this review, three articles in "Porali", a booklet exposing their political and military line, and an open letter exposing the contents of so-called inner party circular was brought out. This struggle against SOC laid bare their right opportunism. It also helped to deepen our cadre's understanding of our political line. Thus the disruptive efforts of right opportunists was defeated and was exposed the cadres of various ML parties, organizations and other democratic forces in TN. This enhanced the confidence on our political line. It also helped us to win over some political forces. Even within SOC questions were raised about their right opportunism and legalist practice. This political struggle has played its role in the polarization towards revolutionary politics in TN.

During 80s the struggle of Tamil people against the Sinhala racism and fascistic oppression turned armed struggle for separate Tamil Eelam. The erstwhile CPI (ML) PW party in Tamilnadu was the only communist party which supported the liberation struggle of Tamil people. It not only upheld the separate Tamil Eelam demand but also carried out many solidarity campaigns. Comrade Kuppu played an important role in it.

## **Marching Towards Tri Junction Area of Western Ghats**

In 2011 the Party in the South-West region decided to work by concentrating most of our subjective forces in Tri Junction area, the forest area constituting the states of Kerala, Karnataka and Tamilnadu. Comrade Raj was always eager to open a war front in this part of the country. He was constantly studying the conditions of the various parts of the three states. Thus he played a crucial role in starting the movement in the area of Tri Junction. He led the cadres to Tri Junction. Chronic sickness and old age could not dampen the revolutionary spirit of our comrade Kuppu Raj. With diabetes and blood pressure he walked through the dense forests and tall mountains of Western Ghats in the age of 64 during the rainy season with the squads of PLGA. To connect the area of Malnad with the area of Tri-Junction, he crossed big rivers, high elevated mountain range dense forests by walk and faced many encounters with the enemy. In no time the Party became popular among the native tribal populations of the area. The Party led the PLGA to successfully conduct Politico Military Campaign. The squads went deeper into the masses. The governments of the three states became alert. The present movement in Tri Junction is a heavy blow to revisionism, especially in Kerala. The party showed them the right path, in which Devaraj made a dynamic contribution.

Comrade Raj was also dynamic in uniting with other genuine revolutionary communists. He took the responsibility on behalf of the CC to conduct talks with the CPI (ML) Naxalbari group that later led to the merger with our party. Earlier too he conducted talks with the Janasakthi group and succeeded in bringing some of the comrades into the right path. He also held talks with a small Maoist group in Tamilnadu and succeeded in uniting them with us. Comrade Raj took keen interest in running magazines of the Party and the mass organisations. He was also serious about documenting the necessary developments that helped the concerned committees.

There is one more important thing about Raj. He had played an important role in supplying Arms and Ammunition for the ongoing people's war. He also had a role in grenade manufacturing.

Comrade Raj belonged to an oppressed class, the oppressed Dalit community. He was fluent in English, Malayalam, Tamil, Kannada and Telugu and the local Adivasi language. The Indian Revolution lost a prominent leader. He ideologically and theoretically took up bitter internal struggle and was steered in it. He led the movement with little subjective forces and relatively less experience with great courage and strong will. He mingled with one and all and developed a democratic atmosphere among the cadres and the masses and gained their confidence. He thus stands forever in the minds of all of them.

From the day of joining the party till the last breath Comrade Kuppu had been a proletarian intellectual possessed with communist values. This is a great leadership loss to Tri-Junction and to the all India movement. Continuation of leadership and its role are the most important things for any revolution.

Western Ghats have the potential to hand over a new experience to the Revolutionary Movement in the country. So the Central and the state governments conspired, caught Comrade Raj and Comrade Ajitha and killed them in a fake encounter. The loss of Comrade Raj is a heavy loss to the Party that began to consolidate the masses in the area of Tri Junction. The people of Kerala never forget Verghese, martyred fifty years back and his sacrifice for the people. People wish to continue the movement as per his ideals. So, as soon as the party approached them, they became actively involved. Now they would never forget Raj.

Neither any oppression, opportunism, disruption nor any set back could deter the revolutionary spirit of our beloved comrade Kuppu. He always upheld party's political line. There were no political compromises in his life. He determinedly fought against opportunism and revisionism. At the same time he did not show any hesitation to unite with revolutionary forces and parties. He never refused to shoulder responsibilities to develop revolutionary movement. He is a model of hard work and dedication.

Such a revolutionary had passed away from us. Proletariat of India had lost its beloved leader of Indian revolution. Though he is not

present among us today, the speeches given by him and the songs sung by him reverberate all over the forest of Western Ghats. Political and military classes took by him are ringing in the ears of his students. He was a selfless personality. He took up whatever the Committee decided as his task. Raj would be remembered in the Indian Revolution, mainly in the Western Ghats and also in AP, Telangana, Dandakaranya, Bihar and Jharkhand. His ideals shall be alive forever. His commitment, hard work, sacrifice would certainly take the party forward. Comrade Raj's unwavering commitment towards the objective would serve to overcome the present losses for future cadre. One can learn from him how to "swim against the tide".

The work style, the will, the dedication, the courage of Comrade Raj are exemplary to all the cadres of the Party. One could become a good Communist worker in the path he laid. This would be the actual homage to the great martyr. Together with his comrades he upheld high the red flag in the Western Ghats. However much the repression and loss, the movement shall certainly advance to eliminate the exploitative ruling classes. Like the thunder of the South-west monsoon. the storm of the movement will roar ahead and attain People's state power and establish a new democratic state and advance to Socialism and then to Communism.



**Comrade Narayan Sanyal**

## **Comrade Bijay (Narayan Sanyal), A genuine communist leader of Naxalbari generation will continue to inspire us to firmly and daringly advance in the path of PPW**

Comrade Narayan Sanyal (Bijay, Prasad), veteran communist, Politburo member of our Party and one of the last of the Naxalbari generation of revolutionaries passed away on 16 April 2017 in Kolkata due to cancer at the age of 80. He was made to suffer nearly nine years of imprisonment by the enemy on fabricated charges and was released on bail only in November 2014 due to his advancing age and failing health. He was still fighting several serious charges foisted by the police in various states at the time of his death. Prolonged confinement and wilful neglect by the Indian government in providing him medical care in prison had exacerbated the ailments he was suffering from at the time of arrest. It is the Indian government which is squarely responsible for creating the conditions of his untimely death. With the demise of Comrade Bijay, our CC, Party, the revolutionary movement and the country's toiling masses have lost one of their beloved leaders who selflessly served them for nearly half a century with nothing but the interests of the oppressed masses and the revolution in his heart. His demise is a great loss to our Party, the Indian revolution and the people. The CC of our Party pays its humble red homage with a heavy heart to our beloved Comrade Bijay da and pledges with clinched fists to continue the revolutionary class struggle until its final victory to realise the aspirations for which he lived and died. Our CC extends its condolences to his family, friends and comrades who were familiar with him throughout the country. The entire Party, PLGA and revolutionary mass organisations across the country will pay revolutionary red homage to this exemplary communist, learn from his proletarian

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qualities, gain inspiration from his lifelong dedication to the path of Naxalbari and vow to realise his dream for a society free from exploitation and oppression.

### **Early political life**

Comrade Narayan Sanyal was born in a middle class educated family in West Bengal in 1937. He was inspired by the anti-colonial struggle, Partition of India and the communist movement, particularly the Tebhaga movement in Bengal during his childhood. He was influenced by communism at an impressionable age and became an activist of the Students' Federation during his student life. Soon he became a member of the Communist Party of India (CPI). After completing his graduation, he took up a job in a public sector bank. He continued his political work as an activist of the bank employee's union affiliated to the CPI, the leadership of which was neck deep in revisionism. The Great Debate launched by the CPC led by Mao against the Khrushchev revisionist clique of CPSU stirred anti-revisionist struggles in the Communist Parties of the world. In India too, genuine communists started to question the revisionist leadership of CPI and an ideological struggle ensued, which became sharper during the Indo-China War. Comrade Bijay followed this debate in the international communist movement with much interest. He supported the CPC and joined the revolutionaries within the CPI. When the party split and CPI(M) was formed, he became a member of the new party with the hope that it would decisively break with revisionism and tread a revolutionary path. But CPI(M) leadership soon proved to be right-opportunist in its programme and practice. Genuine revolutionaries like comrades CM and KC launched scathing criticisms against it. The historic Eight Documents of Comrade CM in particular had a galvanizing effect on the followers of the revolutionary path who upheld Mao Tse-tung Thought and the CPC. Comrade Bijay was greatly influenced by this bitter ideological struggle in the CPI(M). The struggle intensified in the backdrop of the GPCR and the growing revolutionary crisis in the country, culminating in the outbreak of the glorious revolutionary peasant uprising of Naxalbari. Comrade Bijay firmly supported CM's revolutionary line and hailed the revolutionary peasants of Naxalbari. Breaking all ties with CPI(M), he jumped

into revolutionary activities. He became a member of the newly-formed CPI(ML). Soon after, Comrade Bijay gave up his bank job and became a Professional Revolutionary. To expand the flames of Naxalbari and with a perspective of building base areas, the leadership of CPI(ML) sent him to rural Bihar in the late 1960s to organise the peasantry reeling under feudal oppression. The tremors created by Naxalbari had already fuelled the anti-feudal struggle in Bihar and comrade Bijay fully immersed himself in this struggle. Hundreds of comrades were martyred in the attacks by the landlord's goons and the police during 1969-1972 throughout the country, while thousands were arrested as a part of severe state repression. He stood firm upholding the line of Naxalbari in this difficult situation and fought back the revisionist line that raised its ugly head. He firmly led the fight against the splittist, right-opportunist and liquidationist line of Satyanarayan Singh (who was a CCM and PBM of ML Party) and boldly upheld the line of Naxalbari in 1971-72. After SNS's betrayal of the Party and the movement, Comrade Bijay became the Secretary of the Bihar State Committee. But due to his arrest within a short period in 1972, he did not get the opportunity to guide the movement for long in Bihar and develop it.

### **Role in the unity of revolutionary forces and the formation of CPI(ML)PU**

After his arrest, Comrade Bijay was first lodged in a jail in Bihar and later in Bengal. He faced brutal torture in police custody, but remained firm and inspired others to boldly face the enemy. Along with several other leading comrades, he and other revolutionaries withstood many attacks orchestrated by the jail authorities. With them, he led many struggles of the jail inmates on many demands including for the rights of the political prisoners. Comrade Narayan Sanyal built close relations with like-minded comrades in jail like Comrade Parimal Sen [(Ajay), who became a CCM of CPI(Maoist)] and Comrade Ajit [who became a member of West Bengal State Committee, CPI(Maoist)] and some other leading cadre. They collectively reviewed the revolutionary movement led by the CPI(ML) so far and developed similar ideas on some basic issues. Based on this, they came to an understanding about uniting with genuine revolutionaries on a common basis if any

genuine Party was already functioning. In an atmosphere when right-opportunists were carrying out ruthless attacks on CPI(ML)'s line, CM's role, splits, disunity and demoralisation stalked the revolutionary camp after the martyrdom of Comrade CM and setback of Naxalbari, Comrade Bijay played a very important role in making efforts to unite the genuine revolutionary forces from jail and rebuild the movement.

After Emergency was lifted, Comrade Bijay and a large number of comrades came out of the jails. He and like-minded comrades soon made earnest efforts to hold talks with the genuine revolutionary groups and individuals to unite on the basis of the line adopted by the Eighth Congress of CPI(ML) and on their past review of the movement. But those efforts did not bring the desired results. They realised that their efforts would not materialise much unless they developed the revolutionary moment on the basis of their review. This realisation led them to hold a Conference in November 1978. Three important documents that dealt with the historic significance of CPI(ML), on Unity, and on the 'line' of annihilation were adopted and a new Party CPI(ML) (Party Unity) was formed in this historic Conference. A COC to lead the Party was elected and Comrade Bijay became its member. The Party decided to build a revolutionary peasant movement in South Central Bihar with a strategic view. Work among the peasantry also began in Nadia and Murshidabad districts of West Bengal.

After the formation of the Party Unity, the COC continued the unity efforts with other revolutionary groups. The first unity was achieved with the Communist Kranthikari Sangathan (CKS) in 1980 which led to the formation of CPI(ML)(UO). A section of the erstwhile COC, CPI(ML) led by comrades Sharma and Appalaturi merged with UO in January 1982 to form CPI(ML) Party Unity. The Bihar faction of the CCRI(ML), an organisation mainly active in West Bengal, united with PU in 1988. A section of CPI(ML)[CT], known as the Co-ordination Centre (or Sangram group) of Punjab united with the PU in 1990. Comrade Bijay played the main role in all these mergers.

### **Role in developing the revolutionary movement**

Strengthened by the mergers, PU worked with a perspective to

develop the agrarian revolution in Magadh region of Bihar. A considerable section of the Party's central leadership concentrated on this task. Comrade Bijay led this effort from the front by being in the field. Learning from the experience of revolutionary peasant struggle of Naxalbari and applying the mass line, a powerful anti-feudal struggle was built up in Koel-Kaimur, Jehanabad and Aurangabad region. Party units were formed, workers' and peasants' organisation (MKSS) was established, a peoples' militia was built and guerrilla squads were formed to resist landlord's goons and the state's armed forces. The movement was strengthened by recruiting members from mass organisations and the militia into the Party and the guerrilla squads which were expanded by seizing arms from landlords and the police. To consolidate the gains of the movement and advance, Party education was imparted. Similarly, peasant revolutionary struggle was developed by the Party in the plains of Bengal by fighting against CPM's social fascist rule, particularly in Nadia, Murshidabad and Malda districts. A section of the PU leadership concentrated in advancing this movement and it emerged as an important area of class struggle led by the PU.

In both Bihar and Bengal, along with anti-feudal struggle, by learning from past experience, political mobilisation was done against imperialism, feudalism and on other people's issues. In Patna city, Kolkata Krishnanagar, workers, students, youths, women and other oppressed sections were organised in worker's, student's and youth fronts. A women's front was developed in rural areas. The rural revolutionary movement was developed in some pockets of Punjab and of Srikakulam and Vijayanagaram districts in Andhra Pradesh. In this way, the Party developed a revolutionary movement in eastern India with a mass base in rural and urban areas. In the planning and execution of all this work as a member of the Party's COC, Comrade Bijay played a crucial role.

### **Role in leading the Party in internal struggle**

Just when the conditions were maturing for the movement to advance by summing up the past experience and formulating new higher-level tasks, a right-opportunist line was brought forward by the then Party secretary Ashok. The advocates of this line asserted that

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there were fundamental changes in the semi-colonial and semi-feudal relations due to the development of capitalist relations in agriculture, making agrarian revolution and PPW obsolete. But they failed to substantiate their claims with a Marxist analysis or to place any concrete strategy and tactics to carry out their line. This revisionist line threatened to liquidate the revolutionary character of the Party and all the gains it had achieved so far. This ideological-political struggle came to a head in the Party's Central Conference held in 1987. Comrade Bijay resolutely led the struggle against this wrong line to defend the correct line and safeguarded the Party. As a result of this, the erroneous line was defeated at the Conference and the line of Protracted People's War with agrarian revolution as the axis of the New Democratic Revolution was reaffirmed. The Party achieved unity on a higher basis. Ashok and another COCM deserted and Comrade Bijayda became the Party Secretary. He ably led the Party as its secretary from 1987 till 1998 when it merged with CPI(ML)(PW) to form a new unified Party, the CPI(ML)[PW].

#### **Role in merger and in the unified party**

As the Secretary of PU Comrade Bijay consistently upheld the understanding of the Eighth Congress of CPI(ML) that genuine communist revolutionaries should unite on the basis of a common review of the past. Unity talks began between CPI(ML)(PW) and CPI(ML)PU in 1995 based on similar understanding of important domestic and international developments and continued. As a part of the unity process, PU's Central Conference was held in 1997 where eighteen years of the movement led by the Party was reviewed. Some vital questions on the party line were raised in a Critique Document placed by a COCM during the Conference. The two-line struggle that followed led to the enrichment of the PU's political line and some valuable and correct criticism made by the critique document was incorporated in the POR by the Conference. Comrade Bijay played an important role in conducting this two-line struggle in the correct method and contributed to the successful conference. It had played a most important role in achieving unity between PU and PW. After nearly three years of unity process and reaching a common understanding on all basic ideological, politi-

cal, organisational and military issues the two parties merged to form CPI(ML)[PW]. Comrade Bijay played the main role on behalf of PU in leading its delegation and putting forth its positions with a desire for unity. After the merger, the united Party began preparations for the Ninth Congress to be held nearly thirty years after the Eighth Congress of 1970 held under Comrade CM's leadership. As a senior comrade and a PBM, Comrade Bijay was deeply involved in the preparations, in drafting Congress documents by summing-up the movement and in conducting the Congress held in 2001. When a left-sectarian line came up in the Congress, he played an important role as an elder comrade of the CC in defeating it. He had an important role in the successful completion of the Congress. As the PB in-charge from the CC, Comrade Bijay guided the South West Regional Bureau of the Party along with the SWRB Secretary. When a right-opportunist line raised its ugly head in Karnataka, he fought it back with other comrades and defeated it. When new revolutionary forces emerged in Assam, he helped to consolidate them by imparting ideological-political education and played an important role in expanding the Party there. He also maintained relations with a few national liberation organisations of the North-east.

As a veteran comrade who was part of the revolutionary movement since Naxalbari and a CCM and PBM of CPI(ML)[PW], Comrade Narayan Sanyal played an important role in leading the new Party. He had the experience of the benefits of unity and the harmfulness of disunity for the revolutionary movement and the Party leading it. With the PU-PW unity, a large majority of the ML forces in the country were united. But the ongoing clashes between PW and MCC in Bihar (later referred to as the Black Chapter in Party's history) worried him seriously. With sincere efforts from both sides and the fraternal Parties, MCC and PW successfully stopped the clashes with a self-critical attitude. It paved the way for the resumption of bilateral relations in 2001 which led to unity talks. On behalf of the CC of CPI(ML)[PW], Comrade Bijay played an important role in the unity talks with MCC and preparing documents for the united Party with enriched understanding, leading to the merger of PW and MCC and the emergence of CPI(Maoist).

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This made him extremely happy. He became a CCM and PBM of the new Party and played an important role in the task of formulating its new tasks and in expanding the movement. A new Regional Bureau called the Central-Eastern Regional Bureau comprising of North Chhattisgarh and Odisha state was formed to carry out the expansion work in a planned manner. Comrade Bijay became the secretary of this RB. Unfortunately, he was arrested within fifteen months of the merger and even before the RB could become functional.

### **Prison life, release and open activities**

On 28 December 2005, Comrade Narayan Sanyal was abducted from Raipur by the SIB of AP Police with the connivance of the local and central authorities and was produced in a district court in AP only in the evening of 4 January. Numerous cases were foisted on him in several states including the attack on Chandrababu Naidu at Tirupati (AP), Operation Jailbreak in Jehanabad (Bihar), raid on Homeguard armoury in Giridih (Jharkhand), Madhuban multiple raid (Bihar), wiping out of 24 CRPF personnel in DK (Chhattisgarh), and so on. A local court in Chhattisgarh convicted him in one of the fabricated charges along with civil rights activist Dr Binayak Sen and businessman Piyush Guha and pronounced life imprisonment. The conviction and prolonged confinement, however, failed to break his revolutionary will and spirit. He remained firmly committed to MLM and the revolutionary line of the Party in prison and set an example of resilience for any communist to emulate. But the lengthy prison life, the difficult conditions of the jail and lack of adequate medical care took a severe toll on his health. When he was released in November 2014 after nearly nine years behind the bars, his health problems further aggravated. In spite of this, without bothering about his health, Comrade Bijay soon got involved in open activities as a top-ranking veteran leader of the Party. In spite of his failing health, he placed some proposals before the CC to advance the movement and expressed his willingness to take up a share of the responsibility. In this way, he made all efforts to contribute to the revolutionary movement and gave his best till his last breath. He succumbed to cancer and passed away on 16 April 2017 in Kolkata amidst his family members, comrades and friends.

The loss of our beloved Comrade Bijay dada is a matter of profound grief for the CC, Party, the revolutionary movement and the oppressed masses of the country. His lifelong contribution as a steadfast communist, his role in the unity of the genuine communists and the PU-PW and PW-MCCI merger, his role in the CC and the Party will continue to inspire us. His indomitable spirit, youthful enthusiasm, initiative, sacrifice of everything he had for the liberation of the masses, remaining firm on MLM and the basic line of the Party without ever wavering, fighting and defeating right and 'left' opportunism, strong desire for unity of communists, integrating with comrades and the masses, his unbending communist resolve while in prison and the enthusiasm he displayed after release from jail will be etched in our memory for long.

Comrade Bijay personified great communist qualities. He never hankered after any recognition for himself. He maintained close and friendly relations with his comrades and the oppressed masses. He led a life of plain living and hard struggle. He had deep interest in studies and his knowledge was wide-ranging. He was always frank, straightforward and pointed in expressing his opinion. He refrained from expressing himself without study and investigation of an issue under discussion. He always respected democratic centralism and collective functioning. He followed the opinion of the majority even when he was not in agreement with any issue. He was always ready to contribute and extend help to his comrades as an elder comrade in the CC. He remained unmarried to dedicate his whole and sole to the revolution.

With all these qualities, Comrade Narayan Sanyal easily won the recognition, respect and love of his comrades and the oppressed masses as a veteran leader of the Indian revolution. His five-decade long revolutionary life, his communist qualities and his sacrifice will continue to inspire all of us. Just as the outbreak of Naxalbari armed revolutionary peasant uprising completes its fiftieth anniversary, Comrade Narayan Sanyal too left us after five decades of relentless revolutionary struggle. A comrade like him is an ideal before us. Our CC calls upon each and everyone in Party, PLGA and the revolutionary mass organisations to learn from him and imbibe his communist qualities to boldly advance

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the Protracted People's War to victory by fighting back the attacks of the ruling classes and imperialists and the Brahmanical Hindu-fascist forces at their service by taking inspiration from Comrade Narayan Sanyal. Red-red salutes and humble homage to our beloved comrade Bijay dada! We pledge to continue in the path of PPW by surmounting every hurdle to fulfil the dreams for which he lived and died.

I hold that it is bad as far as we are concerned if a person, a political party, an army or a school is not attacked by the enemy, for in that case it would definitely mean that we have sunk to the level of the enemy. It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work.

Mao, 'To Be Attacked by the Enemy Is Not a Bad Thing but a Good Thing' (May 26, 1939)



Comrade Devkumar Singh

## **Comrade Arvind (Devkumar Singh, Nishant), an efficient organiser and a daring leader of Indian Revolution**

One of the leaders of Indian Revolution, member of the Polit Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPI (Maoist) Comrade Devkumar Singh (Arvind, Sujit, Nishant) died out of serious ill health on March 21st, 2018 at the age of 68.

Laying life for the sake of people and for a change in the society is heavier than the Himalayas. The life of such people will be especially ideal. There are certain general features and certain particular features in the life of every revolutionary who lay down their life in the movement. They are ideal to all the revolutionaries and also help bolshevise the Party. The life-history of our beloved leader Comrade Arvind too is a great mine of such revolutionary experiences.

Comrade Arvind was born on November 24th, 1950, in a middle class peasant family in Sukalchak village, under Karouna police station in Jehanabad district of Bihar. Mother Avinashi devi, Father Ramnarayan Singh had three children of whom he was the eldest. He had wife, two sons and one daughter.

Comrade Arvind did B.Sc (Science) in Patna, the capital city of the state. From 1967 itself he joined student organisation and was active in the student and the youth movement that rose in 1974 in some areas of Bihar and was spread in other parts of the State when he was in graduation. In 1975 during emergency period he led many militant struggles and was attracted towards the revolutionary movement in this process. He joined the Communist Kranthikari Sangathan (CKS) along with a few other revolutionaries. CKS was merged in the erstwhile PU party. Comrade Arvind developed as one of the leaders of the CC in the erstwhile PU party. Later when PW and PU merged he worked as a

member of the CC of the united PW. He worked as a member of the CC and the CMC in the united party, CPI (Maoist) formed with the merger of the erstwhile PW and the erstwhile MCCI. In the fourth meeting of the CC in 2013 he was coopted into the PB and continued in this responsibility until his martyrdom. He had been suffering with diabetes and BP for a long time. Three years back his eyes were severely affected due to chronic diabetes. Lastly he became a martyr due to heart attack.

The life of Comrade Arvind since he entered politics in 1973-74 until his martyrdom was full of struggle. He stood on the side of the progressive, revolutionary section in every step and turn. Over four decades of his revolutionary life is inseparably entwined with the revolutionary movement of Bihar-Jharkhand and Indian Revolutionary movement. It handed over many experiences. We cannot separate his life from the political situation, the class struggle, the mobilization of lakhs of people in the anti-feudal struggles, the strategy and tactics the revolutionary movement adopted in the area, state and the regional bureau he worked, the ideological struggle against revisionism for a correct path, the ideological struggle against the wrong line that came forth opposing the correct Party line, the extension of the revolutionary movement from a small area to the vast rural area and strategic areas.

### **From democratic politics to revolutionary politics**

The international and domestic situations were turbulent in the 1970s. Imperialism that was unleashing neo-liberalist type of exploitation, indirect rule and control all over the world after World War II was caught in severe crisis by the beginning of 1970s. This was expressed in the form of intensification of exploitation and oppression of the ruling classes on the oppressed people of our country. The conflicts between various groups of the ruling classes for shares in exploitation reached a serious level. It was the time of Congress rule in the leadership of Indira Gandhi. It violated the fundamental rights of the people. The anger among the students and youth on the problems of education and unemployment reached a peak stage. Students and youth like Arvind were full of hatred towards the autocratic rule of the government. As a result, Democratic movements rose against the rule

of the autocratic rule of the Indira government. Lakhs of students and youth participated in these movements in a militant manner along with the various ruling class opposition parties fought for their electoral purposes. Arvind worked in these movements by participating as a dynamic activist. He developed an understanding towards democratic politics and gained experience in conducting militant movements. But the quest of persons like Arvind for a correct line did not end.

In those days the Naxalbari peasant struggle in the leadership of Charu Mazumdar had a great influence all over the country. But by that time the Naxalbari Armed peasant revolutionary struggle suffered a temporary setback after the martyrdom of Charu Mazumdar. CPI (ML) suffered a severe blow due to serious enemy repression and due to the ideological and political differences that emerged in the party. In this situation there were serious discussions about what tactics to adopt to re-build the movement. Persons like Arvind were active participants in the discussions in Bihar. They opposed the right revisionist line that came forth in the ML camp. On the other hand there was a strong influence of Comrade Jowhar who led the historic Bhojpur peasant armed struggle in Bihar in mid 1970s. With these two influences, people like Comrade Arvind entered revolutionary politics by considering the line of Charu Mazumdar to be correct and by keeping faith in it. They took the stand to rectify mistakes in these movements. Some of them joined CKS in 1977-79. This was the first step in the revolutionary life of Comrade Arvind.

In a reply to a question in an interview by the principal correspondent Brajesh Mishra of 'Delight of Bihar' on the 4<sup>th</sup> of April, 2005, Comrade Arvind said about his entering revolutionary politics, "I have been participating in movements against the system full of exploitation, atrocities and in movements against the government since my school life. I also played my role as a soldier in the movement against the Congress government in 1965-68 and in the people's movement for 'Complete Revolution' against the system in the leadership of Jayaprakash (JP) between 1974 and 1977....but what happened finally? Both these unarmed, non-violent movements of the people were attacked by the violent state-machinery of the

autocratic rule of the Congress and killed thousands of people.....It imposed 'Emergency' in the country and violated the fundamental rights of ordinary people. It suppressed the freedom of press and turned the whole country into a jail. What was the outcome of these two unarmed people's movements? The leaders openly betrayed the people's movements. Both these movements, especially the failure of the JP movement instilled in me the trend towards Marxism-Leninism-Maoism....I studied it deeply....I concluded that without the proletarian leadership and the main role of the worker-peasant people, the people cannot achieve victory in the struggle for a change in the system. Without an army there is no value for the people's voice. It is possible to change the system not through parliamentary path but only through an armed revolution. After more consideration I saw clearly that it is only Naxalism which believes in changing the system through revolution.....I got associated with the worker's movement in Dehri-on-Sone (Rohtas) area. There were good successes in developing the workers' movement.... In those days the comrades of the CPI (ML) Party Unity contacted me.... That is why the JP movement is my first negative teacher which brought me to the positive path of Naxalism...".

### **As the leader of Armed Agrarian Revolutionary movement**

After Emergency was lifted, hundreds of Communist Revolutionaries were released from jail all over the country. At that time the revolutionaries were divided into small groups and each group declared itself as the actual heir of CPI (ML). In that situation most of the revolutionaries released from jail started to join some or the other group they found correct. A few revolutionaries in the Bengal jails who considered the path of Naxalbari to be correct felt that they have to rectify the tactical mistakes and tried to revive the old relations. They started work among the people of basic classes. They discussed with various revolutionaries with the single agenda of uniting the genuine revolutionaries, in the leadership of Comrade Narayan Sanyal and other revolutionaries. In this process they held a Conference in November 1978 and established CPI (ML) (Party Unity). They mainly decided to build revolutionary peasant movement in the South Bihar Central zone with a strategic view. A section of the CKS in the leadership of Comrade

Arvind came into contact with the CPI (ML) (Party Unity). Both these groups merged in 1980 and formed the Unity Organisation (UO). This organized into the CPI (ML) PU together with a few revolutionaries of Punjab in January 1982. This was a second step in the revolutionary life of Comrade Arvind.

In the decade of the 1980s, the PU party concentrated in Magadh, Koel-Kaimur areas of Central and South Bihar where the social and geographical conditions were favorable for armed struggle. But the class contradictions reached their peak stage in Magadh region. In this area, a rich section of the Kurmis that released the Thekari estate from traditional upper caste landlord's iron hold emerged as small landlords and reactionary rich peasants and established their control. This section used cruel casteist feudal autocratic power to exploit and oppress the poor and landless peasantry of the Dalits and Backward Castes. The Bhumi-hars had control in other areas. The movement in the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan in 1974 mainly attracted the middle and rich peasant youth of the Kurmis. The PU Party prepared its first cadres in this area from the few militant youth who broke away from the illusion of this movement. The party started revolutionary activities in Jehanabad depending on them. Arvind was one of them. In this way, as a result of people like Comrade Arvind joining the PU party in their search for a correct path and leading this party in their own Magadh area where they were born and brought up, it helped the initiation of anti-feudal class struggle and armed agrarian revolutionary struggle in that area in this subjective situation. The movement developed to a considerable level in hundreds of villages in Jehanabad, Aurangabad and Patna districts by mid-1980.

Party demonstrated the consciousness of daring and self-sacrifice in developing the movement in Bihar, considered as the fortress of feudalism. It mobilized thousands of peasants against the cruel landlords and their private armies like the Bhumi Sena. Initially the movement centred round issues like self-respect, wages and bandit gangs. The landlords started organising private armies by organising their strength. The counter-revolutionary Kurmi landlords got organized under the banner of Bhumi Sena and started brutal attack to suppress

the mass base of the movement. Naturally people's anger erupted against these cruel landlords committing atrocities on the oppressed people. There were militant people's resistance struggles. The party formed regular red resistance armed squads to advance the struggles of resistance in 1981.

Comrade Arvind was a great agitator. He roused peasantry through his speeches. He inspired thousands of peasants for militant struggles. The peasants chased away the landlords in his leadership. They attacked the private armies of the landlords and punished them with class hatred. The peasants mobilized in a big way and wiped out Ram Parvesh, Dukhan Singh of Sikaria village that was the centre for class struggle and cruel landlords like Raja Yadav, bandit gangs of Pekhan who were responsible for the Kansara and Rampurchai massacres. Mazdoor Kisan Sangharsh Samiti (MKSS) and its leader Comrade Arvind played the main role in this. Comrade Arvind gained the confidence of the peasantry as an efficient peasant leader. He had a prominent role in mobilizing the Dalits in successful retaliatory actions on the private armies against the massacres of the armies of the upper caste landlords on them in places like Pipra, Ruras, Bigha, Belchi, and Bhagodih of the Magadh region and also in seizing more than 50 weapons from them. The development and expansion of the revolutionary movement shook the foundations of the landlords. Feudal power started to disintegrate. Since 1984 the leaders of the local Bhumi Sena started to surrender to the MKSS. The peasantry fined them. Sena had to accept conditions like lifting of police camps, withdrawing false cases on the activists and other such things.

The state government deployed thousands of police and Paramilitary forces in camps in Gaya sub-division to suppress these struggles and started a big offensive. In 1983 the police scattered the MKSS conference near Maduva. In 1985 the first state level police operation (Operation task force) started. In 1986 the state police fired in Arwal on the 19<sup>th</sup> of April on the state conference of MKSS bringing back the memories of Jalianwalabagh massacre. Twenty-three peasants were martyred and 70 injured in this incident. The police killed an activist of MKSS in the first encounter a few days before this conference. Around

forty thousand people, activists and leadership comrades all over the state were arrested, tortured and put in jails. Additional police camps were turned into torture camps. Against this repression, lakhs of people were mobilised like a great wave facing the Operation task force, protecting the Party and armed peasant forces and many militant people's resistance movements were conducted. This became the main form of struggle. The people demonstrated their consciousness in all places against the state. The people's protest demonstration reached such an extent that the state Assembly was gheraoed in 1987 against Alwar massacre. The government had no other way but to withdraw STF temporarily. A few days before the Assembly gherao, the government banned MKSS for the first time.

Few new aspects came forth in the Jehanabad movement. The people's movement took place especially in a legal form. Though the movement was limited to a small area the mass organisations made remarkable attempts with a strong will to organise their units from the village level to the state level. At that time there were active village committees of the MKSS in more than half of the villages in the area of the movement. By 1985 there were 2000 activists and twenty thousand members in MKSS. There were village defense squads in more than 200 villages. Almost at this time four to five armed guerilla squads were functioning. The activities of the armed squad were connected with the people's movement and the open mass organization with the formations of secret organization. The policy of destroying the upper caste reactionary landlord elements by achieving the unity of all the oppressed classes and organizing the oppressed people of various castes on class basis was implemented. Forms of struggle like elimination of selected leaders of Bhumi Sena, economic blockade on cruel Bhumi Sena landlords (ban on cultivation of lands, non-cooperation movement of the tenants, seizing the selected crops or destroying them and other such forms) and people's courts were implemented everywhere. Better results were achieved from these tactics. The lower sections of the Kurmi peasantry were separated from their reactionary caste leaders through the armed resistance with the help of the armed squads. By propagating the politics of seizing

power from the beginning and forming tactical united fronts based on broad mass base the movement was conducted on various social and economic problems. This led to the historic people's uprising in the entire Magadh region.

The experiences of Jehanabad helped the party rank and file and people's guerilla forces in the leadership of Comrade Arvind and other comrades to create an upsurge in the agrarian revolution in the undivided Palamu district of the strategic and broad Koel-Kaimur region. It is that area of the plains of central Bihar which extended to Gaya-Aurangabad in the north, Chatra-Hazaribagh in the east, Sarguja (Chhattisgarh), and Sonbhadra (Uttarpradesh) in the south and which contained big estates with hundreds and thousands of acres in the hegemony of cruel Rajput and Brahman landlords. After work was started in Palamu district from 1978, the movement extended to four blocks of this area by 1985. Two squads were working there. In 1984 Comrade Krishna Singh was martyred. The movement that emerged in protest against his murder demanding punishment to the murderers gave a momentum to the advancement of the agrarian revolution in Palamu. People's struggle speedily broke out on issues like just wage rates for agricultural laborers, bonded labor, feudal oppression and other such things in six months in 'Japla' (Hussainabad) area. Armed squads were formed with the available weapons to counter the attacks of armed gangs of the landlords. One year later the movement spread from Japla to Mohammadgunj, Hydernagar, Hariharaganj, Bistrampur, Chattarpur, Nabinagar (Aurangabad). Struggles erupted like waves. There were struggles for land, crops and against usury. There was an increase in the militant people's movement against the reactionary gangs levying 'Rangdari tax' from the people engaged in collecting forest produce. In Bistrampur area the movement developed through the fierce armed conflicts with the landlord's 'Krishak Sevak Samaj' army and spread to Panki, Majwimon and Garhwa areas in 1987. In Panki area there were large scale people's struggles on issues like land, wages, rights on forests and forest produce, right to collect mahua and against the landlords and forest officials. In some places the people seized rifles from the police collectively and participated in many heroic

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attacks on the landlords.

The second conference of the Party in 1987 decided to pay attention to land struggles. Thereafter, occupying the lands of the landlords and distributing them to the landless, poor peasantry spread like a movement in Central Bihar. After the leaders of the Krishak Sevak Samaj were wiped out and it was destroyed, the big landlords among the Rajputs organized the Sunlite Sena. The party implemented by combining the tasks of strengthening the village committees and conducting military actions. Through this the reactionaries were put down. The revolutionary peasantry held people's courts, imposed economic blockade, seized cultivable lands and attacked the paddy and wheat crops of the cruel landlords. There was a great struggle in Sigsig. The revolutionary peasantry destroyed the go-downs and kacheries that stood as symbols of feudal power. The Sunlite Sena failed due to the relentless blows by the movement. Reactionary organisations like the Kisan Sangh, Savarna Liberation Front were wiped out. People in all struggle areas consciously participated in programmes to boycott the parliamentary elections. Thousands of police forces had to be deployed for holding elections in these areas. The movement extended to the whole of undivided Palamu district and some areas of Rohtas, Bhabua, Aurangabad, Patna, Bhojpur and Buxar districts. In the same way, There was a people's uprising in Koel-Kaimur region too in 1988-1990. Some more guerilla squads too were formed during this time.

The government implemented the carrot and stick policy of giving the allurements of awards and the threat of punishment along with reform programmes and payment of money to crush the agrarian revolutionary struggle growing on a large scale in this way and conducted Operation Rakshak and Operation Siddharth in Jehanabad and Operation Agnidoot and Operation Devdoot in Palamu. The people could stop the reform program with the slogan of 'irrigation facilities instead of roads'. The people's guerilla forces took up tactical counter offensives with the support of militia and could put a stop to the military operations of the enemy.

The favorable geographical condition of south Palamu, relative political vacuum and the sharp contradiction between the landlords and the vast masses not only contributed to the development of the resistance movement but also created favorable conditions to develop the movement to the stage of guerilla zone.

**Efforts towards forming guerilla zones through the anti-feudal struggles with the aim of establishing liberated areas**

As Comrade Mao said, in the New Democratic Revolution of any semi-colonial, semi-feudal country, armed struggle shall be the main form of struggle and army shall be the main form of organization. Comrade Arvind's role in building the movement and developing it to the next step with this understanding was very vital. The forces that came forth in the agrarian revolution were consolidated in the party units. Armed peasant squads were formed from MKSS and people's militia. Though initially only temporary armed squads were formed in Magadh region of Bihar, party formed armed peasant guerilla squads in Magadh zone in December of 1981 and conducted a military training camp. Though the squad members were temporary the squad conducted their activities regularly and so they functioned as regular squads. In this way the formations of regular squads and temporary squads spread in all areas. Before 1995 militia members used to be more in number in the guerilla squads. Gradually the number of guerilla members rose and the number of militia members reduced. In addition to the development of the movement, Comrade Arvind made great efforts to explain the importance of professionalism in the armed squads and to rectify the shortcomings and weaknesses in understanding this. Thus there was progress in the efforts to build regular squads constituted by regular members. These squads played a decisive role in the development of armed peasant movement. In fact without these squads the movement could not have gone one step forward. In the process of intensification of armed agrarian revolution in Jehanabad and Palamu, the armed squads played a decisive role in re-building the mass organisations affected due to the repression campaigns of the government and in protecting the mass base.

Since the enemy's weaponry is our source of weapons, weapons were seized from the landlords and reactionaries right from the beginning. The armed forces seized weapons from the police for the first time in 1980 itself. Comrade Arvind played the main role in formulating and implementing an appropriate political, organizational and military program in the state conferences of the party in 1987 and 1993 to raise the political and military level of the armed squads, to purge the bad elements from the squads and to apply the policy of carrying out actions by the squads on the basis of decisions of the concerned party committees.

In 1987 'Command Committees' were formed under the Regional Committees of the party to develop the military capabilities of the armed squads. Later in 1993 they became the Sainik Sanchalan Team (SST, meaning military administrating teams) that was a regional level military command system. SST was first formed in Magadh and later in Koel-Kaimur. In 1994 there was a full-fledged military training camp and later too many camps were conducted as per the necessity. With this concentration on the military sphere the capability of the armed squads gradually increased. This was seen clearly in the actions carried out by them. The armed squads achieved success in big attacks in the plain areas too. In the Assembly election boycott campaign in mid-1990s, these squads eliminated a few policemen and seized weapons thus demonstrating their capabilities. Police camps in Bihar were attacked for the first time during this. Our armed squads also conducted some counter-offensive actions on the government forces. The SSTs played a good role in this. In 1997 Military Affairs Committee was formed.

Comrade Arvind used to think much about advancing basing on the progress in developing the anti-feudal revolutionary peasant struggle into a struggle against the state armed forces. By realising the necessity to develop the movement into a higher stage, he discussed in the Party about developing guerilla zones with the aim to establish base areas. He made some concrete proposals for this. As a result of the efforts of the Party, anti-state armed struggle emerged as the main struggle in Bihar in 1995.

Joint Coordination Committee (JCC) was formed in the leadership of the central Home Ministry in June 1998 and Joint Operational Command (JOC) was formed in 2000 April with Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Bihar and Odisha to eliminate the People's War advancing in the leadership of various Maoist parties of the country. With this, the offensive of the mercenary armed forces of the government on the revolutionary movements throughout the country intensified. The Bihar State Committee assessed that Koel-Kaimur-Magadh developed into a guerilla zone by 1995. In 1994-2000 there were 9 ambushes and 10 raids and 60 policemen and a few leaders of the landlord's private armies were wiped out. They seized 176 weapons from them. As per the decision of the Central Committee after the formation of united PW, Tactical Counter-Offensive Campaign (TCOC) was conducted in Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, North Telangana and Dandakaranya in coordination during the elections in 1999. Large movement and resistance came up in these four states against the killing of the members of the Central Committee Comrades Shyam, Mahesh and Murali by the enemy in a covert operation. A year later People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA) was formed as the embryo of the people's army on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December, 2000 that was a long time dream of the people of India and Comrade Arvind played an important role in its formation in Bihar-Jharkhand. The PW Congress in 2001 assessed that the stage of the movement in Koel-Kaimur-Magadh is at guerilla zone stage. It took up the immediate task of establishing guerilla bases in this area with the aim of forming base area. In order to fulfill this task it took up countrywide TCOC as a part of which TCOC was taken up in Bihar too. Guerilla war was intensified through the TCOCs in the purview of the state. In this way Comrade Arvind played the main role in many vital decisions in developing guerilla war and the Party line.

#### **Comrade Arvind's role in developing People's War-Guerilla war**

The united party, CPI (Maoist) placed four main tasks before the party. Comrade Arvind continued as a member of the CC in the united party and became a member of the CMC and the ERB. Comrade Arvind made serious political, organizational and military efforts to fulfill these tasks, utilizing the favorable condition to intensify the armed agrarian

revolutionary guerilla war after the formation of the united party. The united party recognized 80 per cent of the total area under BJ SAC as guerilla zone. In the leadership of ERB, the BJ SAC selected many places and made efforts to establish guerilla bases with the aim of establishing base area. It made efforts to bring uniformity in the party, to relatively further consolidate the party committees, to strengthen Special Area Military Commission (SAMC), Regional Military Commission (RMC) and PLGA formations, to form zonal and sub-zonal commands, to intensify the armed agrarian revolutionary guerrilla war and to rectify the alien class trends in the Party and PLGA. The party committees strengthened to an extent. The PLGA formations strengthened. This helped to advance the movement at the ERB and SAC level in a more systematic manner and to coordinate the movements of various areas in a better way. The movement advanced in the red resistance areas with slogans like 'land to the tiller', 'power to Krantikari Kisan Committee (KKC)' and with the slogan of 'power to revolutionary people's committees' in the guerilla zones. A favorable condition was created for the formation of 'Revolutionary People's Committees' as units of people's state power.

The successful Unity Congress-Ninth Congress of the CPI (Maoist) in 2007 January gave the immediate, main and central task of "Strengthening the three weapons of our revolution and advancing the guerilla war qualitatively into higher stage of mobile war and transforming PLGA into PLA in order to establish base areas in strategic areas". "Unite DK and BJ, transform them into base areas" has become a popular slogan among the party cadres. As a part of fulfilling the central task, after the Unity Congress East Regional Command (ERC) was formed in the leadership of ERB in which Comrade Arvind too became a member. He actively led many TCOCs for BJ Special Area Military Commission and Bihar Regional Military Commission, directly led many centralised (TCOC) operations, guided a few other actions and contributed his share to intensifying and extending guerilla war.

After the formation of the united party, the hope of the people of India about the victory of the revolutionary movement increased. The Party and PLGA made efforts for advancing the revolutionary movement as per this. The Party strengthened all over the country. It gained the

support of the Maoist parties at the international level. Apart from leading the historic Lalgarh struggle, and the land struggle Narayanapatna, it led separate Telangana and anti-displacement struggles. By conducting tactical counter offensives in DK, BJ, Odisha, Bengal and AOB it shook the enemy.

The PLGA forces in the leadership of the party in the BJ Special Area carried out heroic tactical counter-offensive actions against the mercenary armed forces of the government, eliminated the leaders and goondas of private armies of the landlords, cruel big landlords, usurers, many leaders and goondas of the state-sponsored counter-revolutionary TPC, JJMP, PLFI, JPC, Santi Sena, Nagarik Suraksha Samiti, Sendra and other such gangs. People's movements and resistance struggles were conducted against state violence, many people's problems, especially on the problem of displacement under various united fronts. These enthused the vast masses and also made a very good impact on the political scenario of the country. In this whole process Comrade Arvind strived relentlessly to fulfill his role of responsibility in the area.

Since mid-2009 the central and the state governments launched the counter-revolutionary war on the people – 'Operation Green Hunt' in a bid to eliminate the countrywide revolutionary movement. Thousands of various levels of leadership, cadres, PLGA commanders, fighters, militia and revolutionary people along with the central and the state leadership martyred in the intense enemy offensive before and after its initiation. Hundreds of party cadres along with many CCMs and SAC members were arrested. A few turned traitors. In spite of this, the People's War advanced in the leadership of our party fighting back Operation Green Hunt. A few actions with mobile war characteristics were conducted while advancing the guerrilla war in DK and BJ. Especially the movement developed in waves in the BJ SAC area until 2011. A few RPCs in the village level and one or two in the area level were formed and started functioning. But the movement had to face serious losses in the fierce war between revolution and counter-revolution and there was a heavy reduction in the subjective forces. This made a serious negative impact on the party and the movement.

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The fourth meeting of our Central Committee of our party held in 2013 assessed that the countrywide revolutionary movement was going through a difficult situation and especially with the loss of many leadership comrades and the reduction of the mass base the BJ movement fell into temporary setback. In such a difficult situation too the leadership, activists, commanders and fighters working in the field and the people stood in the forefront to bolshevise the party and are making efforts to bring the movement out of the state of temporary setback.

The party and the people of Bihar-Jharkhand got tempered in the past four to five decades of class struggle and people's war. In this process they fought back many repressive campaigns of the enemy and defeated them. Depending on this experience Comrade Arvind stood in the field with unwavering courage and revolutionary confidence and made efforts to intensify and extend guerilla war until his last breath in spite of his severe ill health in order to overcome the difficult state of the movement. Movement extended to a few new areas. Through the small, middle and big tactical counter-offensives conducted unitedly by the party, PLGA and the people in difficult situations; by damaging the police, Para-military and various commando forces to an extent through small, middle and big tactical counter-offensive attacks; conducted together by the party, PLGA and the people in difficult situations; by mobilising in various economic and political struggles for *jal-jangal-zameen-izzat-adhikar*; on the problem of displacement; against state repression; and especially mobilising thousands of people and people's militia in resistance struggles against Operation Green Hunt; the aggressiveness of the enemy was contained and the revolutionary movement could be sustained. Efforts were made to fight back the enemy's psychological war through revolutionary propoganda. In spite of facing the three phases of Operation Green Hunt especially after the revolutionary movement facing a difficult situation since 2013, and in spite of facing serious repression as a part of the 'SAMADHAN' strategy (2017-2022) of the enemy at present, people's war is being able to sustain fighting back the enemy offensive amidst severe losses. Education was imparted

to cadres of various levels to bolsheivise the party. Zonal plenums were held and proper syntheses made, the conditions were properly assessed, proper tasks were formulated and new leadership teams were elected. This filled the cadres with new enthusiasm. Due to the creative implementation of active self-defense tactics of the Party and PLGA in the direct leadership of Comrade Arvind as a member of ERB and ERC, there were many tactical counter-offensive actions on the enemy forces in 2013-2017. This instilled self-confidence not only in the party and the PLGA but also in the vast masses.

### **Firmly standing by the basic political line of the party in the internal struggles of the Party**

Comrade Arvind also had an important role in the theoretical struggles of the PU party against the CPI (ML) Liberation which existed as a strong group in Bihar in the 1970s and the '80s and many such opportunist groups in the ML camp.

Comrade Arvind firmly upheld the party line in the internal struggles of the party. There were two main internal struggles in the history of Party Unity, one in 1987 and another in 1997. Mainly the CC secretary of the erstwhile PU party Ashok placed a resolution with a rightist line in the second conference of the party in 1987. He brought forth a document that our country is not a semi-feudal society but turned into a capitalist society and so it is necessary to leave the line of Protracted People's War. The party with a majority in the leadership of Comrade Narayan Sanyal rejected this wrong line and protected the party line and the party and advanced the movement. Comrade Arvind was one of those who stood at the forefront along with Comrade Narayan Sanyal.

Coming to the issue of the internal struggle of the party in 1997, the Bihar state conference reviewed the failures in advancing the movement in 1985-86. Then the Central Organising Committee (COC) of the PU party did not accept this review. As a part of the efforts of the PU party to unite with the erstwhile People's War, when the movement of 18 years was reviewed in the central conference in 1997, the struggle between these two lines emerged again. Comrade Arvind led the

alternative line in this internal struggle which was centred round the party line. In spite of the majority in the Bihar state conference accepting the alternative line that was presented in the form of critical paper of Bihar, the majority in the central conference did not give its approval. But it included certain valuable and correct criticisms of this critical paper in the Political Organizational Review. In this way this critical paper of Comrade Arvind played a vital role in enriching the political line of the PU party and also to identify and rectify the ideological, political and organizational weaknesses. It also made a positive impact on the unity process of Party Unity and People's War.

### **Prepared the Basis for the unity of revolutionaries**

The movements that developed in Andhra Pradesh, Dandakaranya and Bihar in the decade of 1980 provided a basis for the unity of genuine revolutionaries in India. Comrade Arvind played his share of role in this. With the understanding that without building strong revolutionary movements following the correct political line, unity of genuine revolutionaries is not possible, Comrade Arvind built strong movements in Magadh. He made efforts to strengthen the revolutionary line. He took these two movements as invaluable experiences in Indian revolutionary movement during the time of fraternal relations with MCC party and the efforts for unity with PW (1995-98). He tried to learn from them. Thus Comrade Arvind handed over great revolutionary experience to the Indian revolutionary movement for achieving unity of revolutionaries. This brought out a turn in the erstwhile PU party. This formed the basis for the merger of PW and PU parties. Thus he played an important role in the merger of two important parties – PW and PU in the CPI (ML) stream that emerged with the inspiration of Naxalbari.

The nearly three years of armed clashes between the united PW after the merger of PW and the PU and the MCCI inflicted serious losses, which was identified as a dark chapter in the history of Indian revolutionary movement. By making determined efforts with a self-critical attitude, the Central Committees of the two parties put an end to this dark chapter by keeping faith in the belief that genuine

revolutionaries can achieve genuine unity on the basis of correct theory and practice and on the basis of deep self-criticism, without giving chance to any opportunist compromises and by learning from each other. Comrade Arvind was one of those who made such correct efforts. He was mentally very disturbed with the clashes between the two parties. This paved the way for the unity of the two prominent streams of the Indian revolution – MCCI and PW – and the formation of CPI (Maoist).

**Comrade Arvind was one of the best high level commanders of the Party**

Comrade Arvind was one of the best high level commanders that the Indian Revolution gave to the oppressed people. He played a very important role in developing guerilla war in Bihar. He made efforts by concentrating on developing armed struggle as the main form of struggle, the people's guerilla units of guerilla squads, platoons and companies into the main form of organization as per the party line and the decision of the Central Committee. After the formation of CPI (Maoist) he actively fulfilled his responsibilities as a member of the CMC and the ERC. His role was very important in defeating the many offensive campaigns of the enemy to eliminate the revolutionary movement, in intensifying guerilla war in the forest, mountainous and plain areas and formulating and implementing appropriate tactics with the objective of developing guerilla war into mobile war in Bihar-Jharkhand. He directly led many heroic, brave guerilla actions like ambushes, raids and encounters, guided many actions and played the main role in their success.

Comrade Arvind used to overcome any hurdles that came in the way of conducting guerilla actions with patience and by displaying limitless initiative, strong determination, perseverance and courage, a sense of self-sacrifice and presence of mind and made them successful. He heroically led and coordinated the PLGA forces in many encounters between the enemy forces and PLGA forces and gave appropriate response to the enemy offensives. He protected our forces to the extent possible, directly commanded in giving blow to the enemy

forces.

Comrade Arvind made serious efforts to develop the objectives of mobile war by developing guerilla war to a high level through concrete guerilla war actions. Jehanabad jail break, Bhandaria, Dhardharia, Amuvatikar and many such guerilla actions stand as examples of this. He provided direct leadership to the first company formed in Keol-Kaimur area of the Bihar region under the purview of ERC. He handed over many new experiences in guerilla war through relentless efforts. By developing active self-defense methods in conducting political-military camps, he placed a model for the party and the PLGA. He not only formulated military plans but provided direct leadership in their implementation. He was constantly in the field with the PLGA Company and directly led the Party and the PLGA and so became one of the main targets of the enemy. Hundreds and thousands of enemy forces engaged in the hunt to eliminate him. In spite of this he never used to bother about the enemy offensives. He never showed his back to the enemy. The PLGA forces in his leadership conducted many daring counter attacks against the enemy's counter-guerilla operations to eliminate him and the enemy forces were eliminated to an extent. Dumra encounter (Latehar, 2008), Borha counteroffensive action (Gumla, Lohardaga, Latehar border, 2010), Piri Makanpur counter offensive action (Latehar, 2011), Operation Octopus Break (Palamu, 2012) and the Karamdih encounter, the attack on helicopter as a part of it, the Chemo-Saneyya encounter, Civil-luru Kerakona encounter (Gumla, 2013), Bhorvakhanda Rajgarh counter offensive action (Latehar, 2013), Kumadi Borha counter offensive action (Gumla, 2014), the action against enemy ambush near Champi Path-Bans pahar (Gumla, 2015), Sanayi Tanger Ghaghra counter offensive action (Gumla, 2015), the action against the enemy ambush near Dubchahi Khaira (Latehar, 2015), the action that fought back the enemy's 'Operation Prachanda' in Budha pahad (in the border of Garhwa-Latehar districts of Jharkhand and Balarampur district of Chhattisgarh, 2016), counteroffensive action in Budha pahad (2017), etc. can be cited as main and very daring counteroffensive actions.

When the problem of supply to develop guerilla war was very serious, Comrade Arvind played a special role in the preparation of Improvised Explosives, in developing many kinds of mines and in the mine warfare. He deeply studied about the explosive material and gained a grip on them. He directly and successfully conducted many dangerous experiments in the preparation and use of the explosives. He conducted many training camps in the East Region and one training camp in the Central Region for the PLGA forces on the preparation and use of explosives. He made available notes on it. Comrade Arvind had a very important role in inflicting serious losses to the enemy forces by successfully experimenting the IEs and devices on them using the new knowledge and technique developed by him.

He fulfilled his responsibilities as one of the in-charge comrades of supplies in the CMC of the CPI (Maoist). Even in the difficult situation after the enemy targeted and damaged the supply mechanism of the party, he put serious efforts to send supplies to the guerilla forces, especially to the Central Region, He even engaged his friends and relatives for this purpose. After the Enemy continuously targeted and damaged the supply mechanism of our party, he put relentless efforts to revive it. He was a high level revolutionary commander and leader who never got scared when faced with defeat and made constant efforts to achieve victory by keeping confidence in the fact that defeat is temporary and the final victory is to the people.

Comrade Arvind was arrested two times. He always faced enemy repression. At the time when he was in the hands of the enemy, he faced mental tortures with great courage and protected the party secrets. He became underground immediately after his release from jail, reached the party ranks and led the party.

**Comrade Arvind's life is an ideal for the Party and the oppressed youth of India**

If we look at it in its entirety, Comrade Arvind's life history is one in which he never allowed despair to come near him in spite of facing any number of ups and downs, ebb and flows, twists and turns in the protracted people's war, in spite of witnessing so many of his comrades

getting martyred in front of his eyes, and made relentless efforts by keeping great confidence on the people, Party and the world proletariat. His services are unlimited in developing People's war, especially in concretely applying the Party line in India. In spite of his serious illness, he was underground till the end by remaining in the strategic area itself and provided direct leadership to the party ranks and PLGA forces. He was martyred amidst them. He is a selfless proletarian fighter, commander and leader dedicated to the revolution. He was a leader who got integrated with the people and party cadres and gained their confidence. The extent to which he gave firm political leadership to the party, to that extent he uplifted the spirit of the people and the cadres with his jovial nature. By sharing the experiences of his vast revolutionary life with all his comrades, he used to inspire them. He took up study on special issues. He lived a plain communist life. His ideals are exemplary for the cadres, PLGA commanders, fighters from the top to the bottom, the new generation cadres and the people of various oppressed classes. The Indian Revolution lost a great leader with his martyrdom. However, he shall live forever in the Indian Revolutionary movement, in the International proletarian movement and in the hearts of the oppressed people. He shall continue to inspire all of them forever.

Come! Let us uphold the ideals of Comrade Arvind as one of the leaders of Indian Revolution and as one who made invaluable services to the revolutionary movement! Let us advance in the path he showed to overcome the difficult situation of the revolutionary movement and develop the revolutionary movement to a higher stage! Let us pledge to fight ceaselessly till the establishment of Socialism-Communism by making successful the New Democratic Revolution successful to realise his dream.



# Comrade Patit Pavan Haldar (Tapasda), a Genuine Communist Revolutionary leader

(The photo of Comrade Tapasda was not available and so we are unable to give it here. We shall definitely add it after we obtain it)

“Life is a very beloved property for a human being. We can gain it. I lived my life with a best objective, fighting for the liberation of the toilers. By the time we die we must live in such a way as to say that my drop of blood is also a part of that of the toilers in which the red flag is dripped”.

Comrade Patit Pavan Haldar (Tapas), a member of the Central Committee of the CPI (Maoist) who lived with such a consciousness at the age of 57 left us forever. Our beloved Comrade Tapasda became a martyr on 4<sup>th</sup> September, 2019.

## **In the path of revolution in childhood and youth**

Comrade Patit was born on 8<sup>th</sup> February 1962 in a middle class family in Ramachandrapur village of Piyasada area of Hugli district in the state of West Bung. He was unmarried.

He was inspired with the flame of Naxalbari struggle that spread to the nook and corners of India including West Bung. It questioned whether to live a life of slavery or to break the chains to win the world. Comrade Patit’s young heart was ignited. He stepped forward at a young age of 13-14 with the dreams to break the chains of slavery. He reminded that if the students and youth do not learn to question at a young age they will be left with nothing but slavish life.

He came in touch with Comrade Kanhai Chatterjee at a very small age. He started to study the basic Marxist theory along with dialectical materialism. He identified with Maoist politics. He decided to dedicate his life for these politics. So, he did not need schooling.

### **First training in class struggle in Howrah-Hugli-Medinipur**

He started propagating Agrarian Revolutionary politics at a young age in Janai, Begampur, Aatpur, Baruyi Pada, Shiaakhala, Bheempur, Pero and other such remote villages of Hugli district in West Bengal.

At that time the erstwhile MCC was leading struggles in the vast area of Hugli-Howrah district on demands of 8 hour work, hike in wages, patriarchal harassment, health services, irrigation, rise in crop rate, repair of roads and other such things. He became part of these agitations. He built a militant struggle against the Power loom started by few rich persons in Begampur area of Hugli district against handloom workers. Few persons inspired with the struggle became activists with whom a squad was formed. The campaign for boycott of elections also showed a good impact on the people. Basing on these activities the Howrah-Hugli-Medinipur Zonal Committee was formed.

Comrade Tapas had a remarkable role in building Agrarian Revolutionary struggle in 1980-90. He worked under the provisional Bihar-Bengal Special Area Committee. He strived to study the entire experiences he gained through the process of formation of People's Army and liberated areas and the particularities in the various struggles. Whenever he came across a problem he strived to solve it.

### **Remarkable role in internal struggle**

At the end of the last decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century MCC witnessed an intense internal crisis in its Central Committee. A small section of the CC started a conspiracy against the fundamental line of MCC in the name of two line struggle. Party named it B-B clique. The opportunist alliance brought forth an opportunist line totally against the Maoist line of MCC formulated in the leadership of Com KC, in parts of West Bengal, Bihar and Jharkhand. Revolutionary people held a struggle with revolutionary determination in the leadership of MCC and fought it back within a short time. Subsequently a section of Bharat-Badal clique turned into middle men for the police. Few others degenerated politically. Presently we see them at times in the role of supporting the revolutionary movement in the leadership of CPI (Maoist).

The role of Comrade Tapasda during the internal struggle in MCC

was very positive and remarkable.

### **As a leader of West Bengal revolutionary movement**

He shouldered the responsibility of reorganizing the party in West Bengal. In his able leadership Agrarian Revolutionary Program once again began and advanced in a planned manner in Howrah-Hugli-Medinipur Zone. The Kolkata City Committee was reorganized. North Bengal Zonal Committee also was formed. BBM Zone came to be a struggle zone once again. Leadership will be tested in crisis and the development of class struggle. Com. Tapas had a distinct and important role in this stage. Revolutionary areas were rebuilt in Howrah, Hugli, Kolkata, North Bengal, Birbhum and other areas in his leadership. Those struggles advanced through reviews of committees. The conspiracy of Bharat-Badal clique was exposed and identified to have been standing in the way of these struggles. After the Bharat-Badal clique was expelled from the erstwhile MCCI a convention was held and West Bengal State Committee was formed. Comrade Tapas was elected a member of the committee. Under his leadership the committee adopted a program for struggle and took up the task of forming guerilla squads. It took up several programs of armed resistance in the rural and urban areas.

### **A genuine communist of proletarian outlook**

Comrade Tapas was friendly with the new leadership comrades. He was never seen to be angry. He tried to look into the problem and tried to solve it as per Marxian method. He never considered himself to be a big leader. He believed in Mao's theory that 'Correct ideas come from struggle for production, class struggle and Scientific experiment' and practiced it always. He examined each and every issue according to the criterion of the theory of dialectical materialism. Through this he could find out the direction of the issue and suggest accordingly. Comrade Tapas had a simple life style. He demonstrated great attention towards the working class. He normally took shelter in the houses of landless peasants. He wore ordinary clothes and used an ordinary vehicle for transport.

### **Dedicated life style for the unity of revolutionaries**

Keeping in view the situation after CPI (ML) split into different

groups in the decade of 1970, Comrade Kanhai Chatterjee used to say that the high level revolutionaries of MCC and CPI (ML) shall unite and definitely form a united Communist Party. Comrade Tapasda kept this always in his mind. He paid importance to achieve unity of communist revolutionaries. He played an efficient role in the success of the meetings of unity talks with various ML groups since the decade of 1980. After the expulsion of Baa-Bha clique Comrade Tapasda held talks in equal status with various revolutionary groups. He played a distinct role in the efforts to form the united party in the leadership of the CC. He showed a big heart in this regard. He never allowed sectarianism and arrogance.

He had a distinct role even in the formation of the new united CPI (Maoist) party on 21st September 2004 with the historic merger process of CPI (ML) (PW) and MCCI. He was elected CC member in the new party. He was later elected Secretary of WB State Committee as a part of the unity process in West Bengal. He successfully completed the process of merging various Zones. He continued the effort of forming various zones basing on the proletarian theory.

### **Held aloft the Red Flag in tortorous prison life**

Within 8 months of the formation of unified party he was arrested together with Comrade Varunda in 2005 May in Konnagar area of Hugli. He was in prison for a long period of fourteen years. He was in the forefront in struggles in prison. The court gave a hearing on three comrades in 7 months with a nominal enquiry. Comrade Tapas and Comrade Santosh Devnadh were given life sentence. Prolonged prison life did not lower his conviction in the party or in revolution. He never allowed opportunism. He did not surrender to sugar coated pills. He was affectionate towards all the comrades in jail. He provided all the working class prisoners with daily necessities and not only to those of his party. He gave his hard earned money for travel charges to the poor prisoners who obtained bail.

The fascist state harassed him in various forms in the 14 years of prison life and tried to murder him. Jail officers neglected treatment to Comrade Tapas when he caught severe diseases and even heart attack. The little treatment he got was only through the struggles of

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the prisoners. Kolkata High Court released him after a prolonged prison life. His health deteriorated severely. He died within two months after his release. In fact for the past ten years one who is released from prison dies within 6 months to one year. US intelligence agency CIA, Israel MOSSAD and India's RAW conspired to this kind of offensive against communist revolutionaries. In fact such deaths are nothing but the conspiracy of imperialists and comprador ruling classes. We can end such conspiracies only through resistance struggle.

Comrade Tapas is no more. But we have the path he showed since his youth until his martyrdom. Let us imbibe his selflessness, sacrifice and consciousness and the simple life and high ideals in the path he stroved. We can thus advance the revolutionary movement to make true his dreams for New Democracy and Socialism-Communism. No force in the world can stop this dynamics of history.

Comrade Tapas stands as an inspiration for all the communist revolutionaries and anti-imperialist, anti-feudal forces. Revolutionaries shall root out imperialism, feudalism, revisionism and all kinds of reaction with this inspiration. He is more dangerous to the enemy as a martyr than he was alive.

*Comrade Bethune's spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his boundless sense of responsibility in his work and his boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people. Every Communist must learn from him. We must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With this spirit everyone can be very useful to the people. A man's ability may be great or small, but if he has this spirit, he is already noble-minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of value to the people.*

*"In Memory of Norman Bethune" (December 21, 1939)*



**Comrade Ravula Srinivas**

# **Comrade Ramanna (Ravula Srinivas), The people's leader of Indian Revolution Who surfaced from the furnace of class Struggle of Dandakaranya and gained the Tremendous affection of the people!**

Comrade Ravula Srinivas became a martyr due to severe ill health at 10 pm on December 7<sup>th</sup>, 2019 at the age of 55. The revolutionary life of the Member of the Central Committee, the Secretary of Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee (DKSZC), the President of the Coordination Committee of the Dandakaranya Kranthikari Janatana Sarkar (Revolutionary People's Committee) and the beloved leader of the oppressed people Comrade Ravula Srinivas (Ramanna, Narender) stretched over a period of 36 years, is entwined with each and every turn in the development of the Dandakaranya movement. Known as Ramanna and Narender he was a beloved revolutionary leader who gained enormous affection and respect from the revolutionary masses and party cadres and was a warrior steeled in class struggle. He provided the best services to the revolutionary movement of the country, especially to Dandakaranya. He creatively applied the political, military line of our party to the concrete conditions of our country, especially Dandakaranya and handed over valuable experiences.

His prolonged revolutionary experience in class struggle, his merits, his memory power that could easily remind things of decades ago, his political, organizational, military effort, his affectionate relations with the people, the way he identified himself with them shall be distinct aspects for everyone to learn and are ideal for revolutionaries. One should imbibe these that contribute a lot to bolshevise oneself and the party and to advance the revolutionary

movement.

By 1979 the Andhra Pradesh government unleashed cruel repression on the peasant struggles in Karimnagar and Adilabad and on the revolutionary movement that was expanding all over the state. With a protracted view to sustain in this repression and advance the movement the Andhra Pradesh State Committee formulated the Guerilla Zone perspective in 1980 with the objective of establishing North Telangana as a guerilla zone and the adjacent Dandakaranya as the rear area and liberated area. As a part of this objective it sent 7 guerilla squads in June-July 1980 to Adilabad, Gadchiroli, to Bhadrachalam and Venkatapur of Khammam district and Manyam agency of Visakha-East Godavari districts. In this process Comrade Ramanna started his journey of people's war in Dandakaranya in June 1980 as a member of Bhadrachalam guerilla squad at the age of 17.

### **The Radical who learnt revolutionary political lessons in Warangal district, the bastion of struggles**

Comrade Ravula Srinivas was the sixth child of mother Vamma and father Ramalingam of Bekkal village in Bhairanpalli panchayat of Maddur mandal in Siddipet district (earlier Warangal district) of Telangana. It was a lower middle class peasant family. The area witnessed intense armed struggle of the heroic peasantry of Telangana in the leadership of the joint Communist Party against the Rajakars of Nizam rule and later against the Nehru-Patel army. Hundreds of warriors laid their lives in the struggle with great courage and dare in this revolutionary soil. The fathers and fore-fathers of Srinivas too were part of this heroic fight. Srinivas was inspired and imbibed great revolutionary spirit from the memoirs of the struggle in the minds of the elders.

Srinivas got in touch with revolutionary student politics in his high school in Doolmitta a neighboring village. He was born in the area of revolutionary struggles and in a family of revolutionary tradition that imbibed revolutionary spirit in him and led him to join the Radical Students' Union (RSU) in 1981-82. He served as a member of the Executive Committee of RSU and participated in several student

struggles. It was the period when the impact of the surge of Karimnagar and Adilabad peasant struggles were spreading all over. Struggles were going on against the hegemony of landlords in his native village Bekkal in the leadership of Radical Youth League (RYL). His elder brother Comrade Ravula Parasuram was influenced with revolutionary politics and was already actively working in RYL. In this background Comrade Ravula Srinivas participated in 'Students! Go to village' campaign in 1982-83. He mobilized thousands of peasantry to attend the state conference of the Ryot Coolie Sangham (RCS-Peasant Labor Organisation) in Karimnagar in 1983 through 'go to village campaign' in Maddur, Cheryal and Jangaon mandals. He was commended as a dynamic activist in the village campaign. He later participated in the political classes conducted by the Warangal district Party Committee that enhanced his political understanding. He was prepared to leave his studies in the 8<sup>th</sup> class to become a full time activist. The Warangal district committee in the leadership of secretary Puli Anjanna gave him Party membership in 1983 April. The committee explained the needs of the movement to Srinivas and sent him as a member of guerilla squad to Bhadrachalam in Dandakaranya.

### **Comrade Ramanna efficiently led class struggle as a Commander of Guerilla squad and as an Organiser**

Martyr Comrade Chandranna (Venkateswara Rao) was the commander of Bhadrachalam squad at that time. He introduced the forest life and people to Comrade Ramanna. In 1983 December another squad extended Kunta area from Bhadrachalam to expand the movement. By that time there were no revolutionary communist politics in Kunta area of Bastar. Comrade Ramanna worked as a member of this squad that extended to the new area where the language, culture and food habits of the local tribal people were not at all known to them.

Few who were not prepared for the rigorous guerilla life amidst enemy repression in the new area with only a primary mass base in Dandakaranya, politically became weak and dropped from the movement. But Comrade Ramanna stood steadfast along with the other comrades. He drank whatever the people gave and ate whatever they

brought in leaves and mingled with them. He learnt their language, understood the tribal culture of custom, festival, worship, marriage and ceremony. He studied the exploitation and cruelty of the landlords and the gentry of the villages and the class relations of that time. Atrocious rangers, forest guards and Daphedars alleged the tribal people of crimes in the name of forest acts formulated by the British colonialists. They beat them, foisted false cases, imposed fines, imprisoned them, looted the houses, ate goats and hens, committed sexual assault on women, indulged in atrocities on the people of the new villages and did all such things. They forced bonded labor on the tribal people without minimum payment just like the British rulers to cut timber and bamboo, to grow nurseries and plantations, laying of roads, for the Reserve forest, construction of lines and other such works. The evil gentry, patel (representative of police department in the village), sarpanch (village representative of the local government) and kotwal (one who gives the reports of the village to the government) collaborated with the forest revenue department officers and terribly exploited the people. The people had severe anguish against the exploitation and atrocities.

Our guerilla squads took up revolutionary propaganda to muster the people against these. They learnt the local tribal Dorla and Muriya languages, translated few Telugu revolutionary songs into the local languages and took up wide propaganda among the people. They organised the people in struggle committees and organisations and took up people's struggles against the exploitation and atrocities of the forest and revenue officers and for a hike in tendu leaf and bamboo labor since 1983. They punished certain cruel forest officers with the participation of the people.

By 1984 December the movement spread in the Bastar division with squads working in National Park, Kunta, Basaguda and Madded. The Madhya Pradesh government selected SAF personnel of the state experienced in suppressing bandits in Chambal and formed and deployed the anti-Naxalite raatwaala battalion. It set up 40 new police camps in Bastar area by the end of 1984. Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh governments took up joint attacks in

the leadership of the central government. During this joint attack there were combing operations, arrests, imprisoning with false cases on TADA and so on, encounters and several forms of repression in Bastar division to suppress the movement. In 1985 the Andhra Pradesh state government launched undeclared war on our movement. Since the beginning the revolutionary movement in Dandakaranya advanced amidst severe repression, fighting back police attacks and our squads wiped out diehard informers with the help of the people.

In 1983-84 few comrades raised a discussion that there was no feudalism, no feudal class exploitation and oppression in Bastar and that therefore we cannot organise the people and take up anti-feudal class struggle. The then Andhra Pradesh State Committee clarified that India is a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country, that when we see with the dialectical historic materialist view we can understand that there are feudal relations and feudal exploitation and oppression with certain particularities in the tribal society and so the understanding and arguments that we cannot make class struggle in Bastar are not correct. With this political clarity our squads began to organise the people in Dandakaranya Adivasi Kisan Mazdoor Sangathan (DAKMS) since 1984. As people's struggles and class struggle grew, revolutionary Mass Organisations spread and strengthened in Bastar. Comrade Ramanna was active in this effort and took up responsibilities as the Deputy Commander of Kunta squad in 1985 January.

The first Party Conference of Bastar division was held on the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> of January 1987 that elected the Divisional Committee. Later in February the first state conference of Dandakaranya Zone was held. Comrade Ramanna was a delegate in this conference. Forest Committee (FC) was formed as a State level Committee in this conference. This was a U-turn in advancing the Dandakaranya movement with the objective of establishing liberated area.

When the commander of Kunta squad was arrested in 1987 March Comrade Ramanna took up the responsibility. At the time, the Kunta squad organised the people in the present Kunta, Kishtaram, Kerlapal areas. In 1987 June police ambushed the Kunta squad in which the deputy commander of the squad Comrade Erranna was martyred.

Comrade Ramanna courageously fought back this night attack and saved the squad.

DAKMS Range Committees were formed since 1986 and the first divisional conference was held in 1988. After the conference the revolutionary mass organisations in the leadership of our party took up class struggles against the exploitation and oppression by the gentry and landlords of the villages, against the exploitation of the kabati (wage laborer), for the seizure of the lands that the gentry forcibly occupied and the exploitation by the village gentry in the name of people's panchayat (court). Comrade Ramanna provided efficient leadership to these struggles in Kunta area focusing the land question. Poor and landless peasants mobilized in a large scale in these struggles and seized hundreds of acres of the lands that the landlords and the gentry forcibly occupied.

In this process our squad assassinated Kalmu Deval, the diehard landlord, village gentry of Pentapadu and member of janpadh (block), an evil for the people that stood in the way of the revolutionary movement, in the leadership of Comrade Ramanna with the cooperation of the people. After this action few of the anti-people gentry and landlords of the Kunta squad area were alarmed and fled from the villages. Some others surrendered to the people. After this the people brought forth all the problems of land including those created by the gentry in a big way before the party. Our Party seized the land that the gentry forcibly occupied in the leadership of Comrade Ramanna, annulled all the old decisions of the gentry and distributed the land among the people conforming to class line. It solved the land problems that arose between the villages. It later took up struggles to occupy the lands of the gentry and the landlords. It distributed lands to the kabatis also. The struggles stopped the misappropriation of the gentry in the panchayats and the fines they imposed.

With the punishments to a few forest officers who unleashed severe exploitation and oppression on the people, with the cooperation of the people, attacks on the merchants of Erraborre and Chintalnar and seizure of their property and arms and other such actions put a stop to their atrocities. Revolutionary enthusiasm and confidence

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in the Party enhanced among the people.

With the support of the squads and organisations and the influence of the struggle Muriya tribal people migrated from Dantewada and Jagadapur areas. Thus 30 new villages and new hamlets in the old villages appeared in 1984-89. With a reduction in the exploitation and oppression by the forest revenue officers people became well organised in the mass organisations. Forest was cut and 25 thousand acres of land was brought under cultivation in nearly 120 villages. With the successes in the anti-feudal armed agrarian revolutionary class struggles since the end of 1987, Comrade Ramanna followed the mass line and creatively took up organizational work in mobilizing the people in struggle and in consolidating them in the revolutionary Mass Organisations, in Militia and in Party Primary Units.

As the revolutionary mass organisations gained strength in fighting against the evil gentry and landlords of the villages, women increasingly participated in the revolutionary movement. The women and men were organised in DAKMS in the village and range level. Struggles began on issues like patriarchal oppression, sexual violence on women, forcible marriages, divorce, high expenditure for marriages and other such things. Thus the women overcome to an extent the feudal shackles of the tribal gentry and started to oppose forcible marriages. Along with the political work of our party the effort for struggle and organisation also rose and women started to get recruited into the squads. This was mid-1988. In the guidance of the FC the Bastar division party committee launched the Kranthikari Adivasi Mahila Sangathan (KAMS) from mid-1990. The squad in the leadership of Comrade Ramanna made special effort in mobilizing the women in various economic and political struggles, in enlightening them to fight against patriarchal ideology and organizing them in the mass organisations, in the making of KAMS organisers and in recruiting them into the guerilla squads.

### **Role in fighting back aggressive repression – ‘jan jagaran campaigns’**

The ruling classes and their governments were alarmed with the advancing revolutionary movement in Bastar. BJP that won the

Legislative Assembly elections in Madhya Pradesh in 1990 mobilised people's enemies against the revolutionary movement from August and led a large scale counter-revolutionary campaign in the name of 'jan jagaran' (meaning people's enlightenment). The campaign was unleashed with the strategy to distance the party from the entire people like 'we cannot wipe out the squads that are like fish in the water without draining the water'.

With the intensification of class struggle - land struggles against the landlords and against the unjust usury of the merchants, they realized that their foundations are shaking. The BJP government mobilized such anti-people elements in the villages, put forth the comprador political leaders and government officers and continued the 'jan jagaran campaign'. It put in the forefront the people's enemies like the diehard landlord and leader of the Congress party Mahendra Karma. They made attacks in the name of 'jan jagaran' meetings with the support of the exploitive government. They threatened the people and the members of the organisations to 'resign from organisations, not give food to the squads and immediately inform the police'. They forced the people to eat cooked rice dipped in goat's blood. They imposed fines to those who do not come to the meetings. They severely beat the leaders of the sangh and forced them to eat faeces. They committed atrocities on the members of woman's organisation. The police and these people's enemies together forced hundreds of sangh leaders to resign. The goons of Majji Masal, evil gentry of Kutru area picked up Gumsa of Morrivadugu, killed him with arrows and took the dead body to the police station. They created severe fear and terror among the people.

The Forest Committee formulated tactics and guided armed retaliation to resist the cruel jan jagaran repressive campaign, to efficiently advance the anti-feudal armed agrarian revolutionary class struggle and to resist the growing repression and police attacks. Comrade Ramanna was part of the implementation. The Divisional Committee (DvC) mobilized the guerilla forces and took up retaliation in Platoon formation. Comrade Ramanna was a section commander in this special platoon. Our guerilla forces conducted attacks on the anti-

people gentry, landlords and anti-people comprador political leaders who actively participated in the 'jan jagaran'. Due to the campaign the people were in severe apprehension, organisations were affected and mass base came down. During this time the guerilla forces endured many difficulties bravely, met the people secretly and held ambushes like in Neti Kakileru on the police. They brought the people's enemies to the people's courts, beat them, made economic attacks on their houses and wiped out a few cruel elements. Comrade Ramanna led some of these attacks. Through this retaliation our party could defeat 'jan jagaran' campaign with the active participation of the people. The retaliatory guerilla actions showed a good impact on the people of Bastar division, especially the people of Kunta area.

The COC decided to form Squad Area Committees (SAC) in 1992 to develop collective functioning in the squads and political, military leadership teams. When Kunta SAC was formed Comrade Ramanna took up the responsibility as the secretary. He strived to develop the active role of the people in the anti-feudal class struggle. Since 1988 balala Sangham (children's organisation) was formed along with DAKMS. Paddy cooperative organisations came into existence in the villages as a part of anti-famine struggle. Women were organised in KAMS and the organisation held its range conference in 1991. People were constantly motivated with revolutionary politics that state power is attained only through armed struggle and encouraged them to join the squads. In 1992 October Comrade Ramanna married Comrade Savithri a member of the Kunta squad in Party methods. They have a son.

From 1988 the Forest Committee crossed River Indravathi from the Southern area of Bastar and extended the movement into North Bastar. The FC provided guidance to consolidate the movement that was expanding amidst severe repression by dividing it into two sub-divisions. Bastar Divisional Committee relieved Comrade Ramanna from the responsibility of the secretary of Kunta SAC in 1993 March and handed over the responsibility as the commander of the first military squad in Bastar. The first sub-divisional plenum was held in South Bastar in 1993 May. The plenum elected a three member sub-divisional committee. Comrade Ramanna was elected into the sub-DvC. He was

elected into the DvC in the second conference of Bastar division held in 1995 January. This conference divided the Bastar Divisional Committee into South Bastar Divisional Committee and North Bastar Divisional Committee. DKSZC transferred Comrade Ramanna to North Bastar division in 1995 March to develop the movement.

### **Red star that rose from the people's struggles of Bastar**

Since 1995 Comrade Ramanna became familiar in the Koyilibeda area, the now Raoghat, Pratapur areas and Maad as Narender and mobilized them in various political and economic struggles. Especially he mobilized the people in class struggle against Malgujars, gentry and landlords and seized lands from the Malgujars in few villages. He organised the people against the exploration of Raoghat and Chargaon mines. Along with this he organised the people for a hike in the rates of forest produce such as tendu leaf, bamboo wages, mahua flower and fruit and silk fruit and so on. In 1995 September Comrade Ramanna made efforts to make a successful rally in Narayanpur mobilizing 25 thousand people from nearly 390 villages with the demands to implement 6<sup>th</sup> schedule all over North Bastar division and to not give to lease the 11 B deposit of the Bailadilla mine to Multi-National Corporate Company of Japan and such other demands. He also built Revolutionary Mass organisations, militia and Party cells in the villages. He fulfilled his bit of responsibility to develop class struggle by organizing the tribal peasantry in DAKMS by holding the first conference of DAKMS North Bastar division in 1995 December that elected the DAKMS division committee. He actively participated in forming revolutionary people's political organs with the name of Grama Rajya Committee (GRC) in Koyilibeda, Keskhal and Kondagaon areas of the division in 1996-98. During this time he participated in retaliatory actions. He gave a blow to the informer network in the villages. He strived to develop mass base, motivate local youth and recruit them into the squads.

The secretary of South Bastar division Comrade Ashok, DvCM Comrade Joganna and three others were martyred in the raid in Tallagudem in 1998 March. In view of the losses to the party, especially to the leadership, DKSZC retransferred Comrade Ramanna to South Bastar in 1998 August. During times of repression he was the in-charge

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of Kishtaram AC and a member of the Divisional Committee.

We have been fighting back the authority of the tribal gentry, hierarchs and landlords and the exploitation by the merchants and contractors through class struggle. In this process their authority and power in the villages of Bastar was destroyed and the authority of our revolutionary mass organisations took the place from 1987-88. The All India Special Conference held in 1995 November assessed that the Dandakaranya movement developed into the level of guerilla zone by 1988. It formulated appropriate struggle and organizational forms with the objective to mould the guerilla zone into liberated area. It gave the slogan 'all powers to the GRC'. Thus GRC (Grama Rajya Committee-Village authority committee) came forth as an experience of the political power of the oppressed people in the embryonic form based on revolutionary mass organisations with mass base and as the platform of anti-feudal, anti-imperialist United Front. Comrade Ramanna observed every aspect of forming and developing GRCs with class perspective and trained the cadre. He made efforts with special attention to form Chetana Natya Manch (CNM) squads with Professional Revolutionaries in 1998 and later to make CNM a revolutionary mass cultural organisation.

Comrade Ramanna guided the ACs and the squads as a member of DvC and coordinated mass work and military work in a better manner thus gaining valuable experience as a steeled warrior of class struggle, as a commander and an organiser and developed into a dynamic leader.

The third conference of South Bastar division was held in 2000 September. In this conference South Bastar division was divided into two and West Bastar division was formed. Comrade Ramanna was elected the secretary of the South Bastar Divisional Committee. The third conference of the Dandakaranya Special Zone in 2000 December elected Comrade Ramanna as a member of the SZC. In 2003 March Comrade Ramanna took up responsibility as the member of secretariat of DKSZC and member of the State Military Commission (SMC). He was re-elected into the SZC and the secretariat in the fourth DK Special Zone conference in 2006.

### **As a member of DKSZC**

With the separation of Chhattisgarh state from Madhya Pradesh in 2000 November the exploitive government intensified repression on our movement. It deployed central Para-military forces from 2003 March and made the necessary arrangements with immediate and protracted schemes to eliminate our movement. After elections to the Chhattisgarh Assembly in 2003 November the Brahmanic Hindutwa BJP replaced the Congress party that was in power in the state until then. It speeded up repressive measures together with the UPA government in the centre.

In this background in 2000 December, Comrade Ramanna developed his theoretical, political and military level as a leader of the Dandakaranya revolutionary movement, grasped the political, theoretical importance of the Party, People's Army and the United Front and creatively continued his efforts. On one hand he fulfilled his role in resisting enemy repression and on the other he guided the building of Party Primary Units (PPU) in the village level and the various levels of the Party Committees as a member of the SZC.

Comrade Ramanna developed party cells in quantity and quality and worked to provide the understanding and consciousness through political education for the functioning of the Mass Organisations, People's Militia and Grama Rajya Committees (the present Krantikari Janatana Sarkars) with the party cells as the nucleus. He gave the necessary help and cooperation to the DvC to bring out the South Bastar divisional political magazine 'Pituri' in time. In the process of the development of movement as the Party primary cells were expanding and consolidating he discussed the necessity of another layer of Gram Party Committee (GPC) above the cells to efficiently lead the RPC. The 9<sup>th</sup> Congress of the erstwhile PW in 2001 resolved and included the organizational structure of GPC in the Party Constitution after which Comrade Ramanna made efforts for the formation of GPCs. He was in the forefront to provide a new experience for the movement in experimentally building a few part time Party branches and make them work efficiently in order to expand part time Party membership in the rural area and to mold the party as a mass party. He molded the AC and

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DvC to work firmly however much the level of repression be and guided them. He personally participated in any new formation that came forth and trained the cadre. Such was his functioning.

In 2003 March he was elected as the member of SZC secretariat and took up the responsibility as the Commander-in-Chief of the South Sub-Zonal Bureau Command. He then attended the AC, PPC and DvC meetings of South and West Bastar divisions, analysed the problems that came forth in its functioning, the enemy repression, the changes in the class composition in the village level, the alertness towards class enemies and informer network and discussed in a detailed manner in the committees and provided an understanding. He helped them in making decisions regarding political, organizational and military issues. He efficiently conducted the anti-patriarchy campaign that was taken up all over DK in the ending of 2003 in the South Sub-Zonal Bureau and strived for active participation of women in all spheres and to develop their capabilities. He took up wide propaganda about the emergence of the CPI (Maoist) with the merger of two main revolutionary streams of the country on 21<sup>st</sup> September 2004 as a qualitative leap. He fulfilled his bit of responsibility in sending cadre for the expansion of the movement in Darbha, Manpur (present Rajnandgaon-Kanker Border) divisions in the end of 2004, in the expansion of Darbha division movement and in developing and strengthening the divisional committee.

The counter-revolutionary exploitive ruling classes started the counter revolutionary fascist military campaign 'salwa judum' from 2005 June in National Park, Bhairamgarh areas of West Bastar and from 2006 January in South Bastar to facilitate the path for the domestic and foreign corporate companies to exploit the natural resources in Dandakaranya as a part of multipronged offensive to wipe out our revolutionary movement. They deployed central Para-military forces like CRPF, special task force like Naga and Mizo battalions and commando forces and took up this offensive with a long term plan with total preparations.

Comrade Ramanna discussed in the bureau and later in the SZC meetings about how to retaliate the fascist 'salwa judum' military

campaign and played an important role in formulating a comprehensive program and tactics. He was a member of the Unified Command in the South Sub-Zonal Bureau formed with the aim of defeating 'salwa judum' and participated and guided the resistance. Basing on his wide and deep lively relations with the people he politically motivated the people to fight back the 'salwa judum' repressive campaign and enlightened them that struggle is needed and not surrender. He enhanced the consciousness of the people in the people's meetings emphasizing the necessity of militant people's resistance in order to preserve the power achieved on lands and the RPC formed by destroying the power of the hierarchs as a result of class struggle. He provided clarity to peoples' organisations and cadres about the tactics to defeat fascist 'salwa judum' and instigated their active participation in guerilla war.

The Unity Congress-Ninth Congress of our party held in 2007 February gave the central, main and immediate task of developing Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand as the liberated area. Comrade Ramanna relentlessly strived to fulfill the central task given by the Congress as the secretary of the South Sub-Zonal Bureau from 2007 December. He played the chief role in forming higher military formations of PLGA in support of the Area level RPCs and in strengthening them. He coordinated mass work and military work. He participated in the formation of the divisional level RPC (DKJS) held in South Bastar. The people and the PLGA in the leadership of our party daringly hit back the 'salwa judum' fascist repressive attacks and defeated it by the end of 2008 through people's war. Comrade Ramanna not only provided the political and military guidance for this but also played a role in several military operations.

In a bid to totally eliminate the revolutionary movement going on in the leadership of our party the central and the state governments launched the multipronged offensive 'Operation Green Hunt' as a part of the LIC strategy with the support of the imperialists. Comrade Ramanna efficiently implemented the tactics the CC and the SZC formulated to fight and defeat this offensive.

As a member of SZC secretariat Comrade Ramanna deeply discussed the issues of the three Sub-Zonal Bureaus, the various party committee departments and sub-committees, clearly spoke what he understood and was decisive. He actively participated in implementing PLGA recruitment campaigns, TCOC, party membership campaigns, revolutionary days, bandh and protest programs and provided direct guidance to the party committees. He worked with firm will in allotting sufficient cadre and sufficient leadership for the expansion of the movement to COB area in 2010 and in its implementation.

### **As the fore-runner of Dandakaranya revolutionary movement**

The first plenum of the 4<sup>th</sup> conference of Dandakaranya held in 2011 October reviewed the situation of the movement. The plenum assessed that due to decrease in recruitment into PLGA, the weakening of its war efficiency, drop outs from the party and increased surrenders, people's organisations were affected in considerable areas and mass base came down and therefore the DK movement is facing a difficult situation. It formulated the necessary tactics for the movement to overcome the difficult situation. The SZC elected Comrade Ramanna as the secretary of SZC in this plenum. It was a challenge for one to take up higher and new responsibilities in such a situation. Comrade Ramanna courageously took up the challenge. Few could not sustain this difficult situation and lost confidence in the party, people and the politics of peoples' war. Many politically degenerated, starting from SZC members Sukhdev, Arjun and Aitu to ordinary PLGA members and ran away from the party. Few surrendered and turned traitors. The enemy forces unleashed massacres on the Party and PLGA forces in encounters in Sirmul, Irpanar, Kasnur, Aiyet, Timmem and Sakiler and on people's organisations in Sarkinguda, Edsametta and Thadiballa in which we faced severe losses. In this situation he led the SZC in the constant collective political, organizational and military efforts from the CC and SZC to firmly sustain and educate the cadre and hate surrenders and to bolshevise them. He paid much attention to bring out magazines to develop political and theoretical understanding of the party ranks, especially the official organ of the SZC 'Prabhat' and that of RPC 'Janatana Raj' regularly. He tried to bring the theoretical

magazine of SZC 'Viyukka' in time with the help of the committee members and personally translated theoretical articles into Koya language in a well and easy manner. He was good at playing the role of formulating and distributing party letters and circulars according to the needs of the movement. He acted in a very responsible manner to know the opinions of the party ranks on the same. He prepared all the committees including SZC in running propaganda and agitation. The second plenum of DK in 2015 October re-elected Comrade Ramanna as the secretary.

In 2015-17 Comrade Ramanna led the Maad special command for two years and strived for the political, military and organizational strengthening of the central guerilla base. He concentrated on following the methods of democratic centralism in the party committees, in making the lower committees implement them properly and thus in combining the entire party and the people with the ranks of the leadership. As the secretary he asked the opinions of the members of the committee in a detailed manner, utilized their capabilities and talents, made decisions in the method of democratic centralism and strived to provide collective leadership and to properly conduct the committee meetings. He made efforts to develop secondary rank leadership in all the committees, took up anti-patriarchy campaign in all the units to mould woman comrades as efficient organisers and commanders and to develop them as leaders. He made special efforts to continuously take up leadership training program in a regular manner and in implementing the cadre policy for the development of the leadership forces. He always guided the study, criticism and self-criticism in all the committees in the light of bolshevization for the party to overcome the non-proletarian trends. He paid importance to allot enough guards for the protection of leadership and tried to implement the same. He encouraged the departments in the leadership of SZC, the Cultural Sub-committee and Mahila Sub-committee to function properly and to bring out its magazines.

After taking up responsibilities as the secretary of SZC he studied the problems coming up in the North and West Sub-Zonal Bureaus also and discussed in the committee meetings. He participated to the

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possible extent in the area and divisional plenums to guide in making proper decisions for the advancement of the movement that is facing multipronged offensive of the enemy and discussed the problems in the movement deeply. He efficiently fulfilled his role in assessing the intensity of enemy offensive, the condition of the subjective forces and the movement and in formulating the tasks to be taken for the advancement of the movement in difficult conditions.

### **One of the leaders of Indian Revolutionary movement**

The new CPI (Maoist) that emerged with the merger of two main revolutionary streams of the country developed the correct political, military and organizational path. The exploitive ruling classes shivered at the political mobilization of the people of relatively wide area of the country, strengthening of new party committees, formation of People's Liberation Guerilla Army in the leadership of the party and its increased combat force and successes. Enemy continued fake encounter murders and arrests targeting our party leadership. Our Central Committee faced severe losses. These losses of leadership were a cause for the difficult situation of the movement. The CC decided to strengthen the committee by electing comrades who stood firm in several ebbs and flows of the revolutionary movement for a long time to fulfill these losses. As a part of it, the CC co-opted Comrade Ramanna into the committee in 2013 March. Since then he played the role of an active member in the Central Committee that leads the revolutionary movement of the country until his martyrdom. He participated in the discussion on the relations of production in India in the extended meeting of CRB in 2014. He placed forth his opinions on the class relations and relations of production in DK, his in depth social investigation basing on his profound relation with the people and the experience of class struggle. He contributed to the preparation of the document of the CRB that made clear that semi-colonial, semi-feudal order exists in the country.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> plenum of the 4<sup>th</sup> conference of DKSZ in 2015 October further sharpened the counter tactics to fight back the reactionary 'Operation Green Hunt' multipronged offensive. It also formulated new tactics. It analysed the domestic and international conditions that

were developing favorable for revolution, the strength and weaknesses of our Party, PLGA and United Front, assessed the condition of the overall movement and decided the tasks to advance the movement from the difficult condition. It also elected new comrades into the committee and strengthened the committee. As the secretary of SZC and member of the CC/CRB, Comrade Ramanna played a leading role in taking these decisions. As a member of the CC and secretary of SZC he provided guidance to intensify people's struggles-people's war in the light of the tasks given by the plenum.

Comrade Ramanna participated in the CC/CRB meetings and deeply understood the difficult condition of the countrywide revolutionary movement, the intense enemy offensive, the losses to leadership, the fall of mass base, alien tendencies in our forces, the setback of the movement in certain areas, the surrender and betrayal of CCMs like Jampanna and Sudhakar out of fear for life and other such issues. He clearly stated his opinions in the CC at the time of formulating political, organizational and military tactics to avoid losses and protect our subjective forces from enemy attacks, bolsheivise the party and to advance the movement. Especially he made lot of efforts to allot and motivate the cadre necessary for Telangana and AOB and Odisha movement in the primary stage in the Central Region. He implemented the CRB decision to send forces from DK with the strategic objective of expanding the Maharashtra-Madhya Pradesh-Chhattisgarh (MMC) zone with great spirit. In the background of the expanding of carpet security by the central and the state governments to affect the coordination between the various states/zones, rise in informer network and patrolling he paid importance to the proper functioning of the coordination committees formed for coordination between states/zones and worked for the same.

Comrade Ramanna constantly put up study to develop his theoretical, political level. He observed the economic, political, social and cultural changes in the society on the basis of social investigation, studied the new forms of struggle and organisation for advancing the movement and helped to make proper decisions. He was ideal to the cadres with a firm will in the efforts to develop mass base. As a member

of the CC he made efforts to guide the political, military and organizational aspects to the best of his strength.

### **As a Chief of Guerilla War**

Comrade Ramanna was a daring leader as a chief of the great guerilla war in Indian revolution. He learnt the initial lessons of guerilla war in fighting back the enemy forces in the scores of encounters as the commander of Kunta guerilla squad in 1987, in the retaliation actions against the first jan jagaran campaign in the end of 1990, in the later ambushes in Neti Kakiler, Etegatta and others. The ambush in Linganapalli in 1992 June was the big military action since the movement began in Bastar. 18 policemen died in this ambush. 15 arms including a LMG were seized. Comrade Ramanna not only actively participated in the ambush but played the main role in seizing the arms as the deputy commander of the ambush party. These modern weapons helped to arm our guerilla squads and enhance the efficiency of war. This incident decreased the morale of the police forces. It increased the morale of the revolutionary masses. This enhanced the active role of the people in revolutionary mass organisations and the movement.

He played an important role in temporarily containing the aggressiveness of the enemy through several guerilla actions against the enemy as the commander of the first military squad formed in Bastar division in 1993. He bravely fought against the enemy like an efficient daring commander and provided valuable experiences. Since the beginning he taught the politics of armed agrarian revolutionary politics that people would attain power only through armed struggle. To put it in his words, 'There were 50 encounters all over the Bastar division from 1981 to 1995. The Bastar movement advanced only through fighting back these attacks'. When he taught the history of DK movement he took the example of the history of the Bastar movement. In the same way the movement advanced resisting severe repression that was unleashed all over the division with the names of 'Operation Danteswari', 'Operation Indravathi', 'Operation vajra' and 'aatmasamarpan abhiyan' (surrender campaign) after the Tallagudem raid in 1998.

Comrade Ramanna was one of those who dreamt of forming people's army with the firm belief that the success of protracted people's war lies in the path of liberation of the oppressed masses of India. With the formation of PLGA on 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2000 he took up the responsibilities as a chief of the guerilla forces with great enthusiasm, as a member of the Dandakaranya Special Zone Military Commission since March 2003 and as the commander-in-chief of the South Sub-Zonal Command. He consolidated and armed the PLGA forces and strived to develop its war efficiency. The comprador ruling classes constituted the Joint Operational Command (JOC) in 2001 to wipe out the countrywide revolutionary movement, intensified military offensive together with reforms and unleashed multipronged offensives on the movement as a part of LIC. Party strived to answer these offensives with multipronged tactics, exposed the fake reforms and advanced the movement. Ramanna directly or indirectly lead the Tactical Counter Offensive Campaign (TCOC) several times that has been being taken up since 2001. He was part of the 2001 Kalimela and the 2003 Geedam raids. He led several military offensives of the PLGA against the enemy. He played a remarkable role in the guerilla war by making hundreds of people's militia activists part of war, taught them, wiped out scores of mercenary forces of the enemy, seized the weapons and enhanced the war efficiency of PLGA. As per the decision of the CC and DKSZC he contributed to arm the PLGA in the preparation of 600 twelve bore arms in 2002. Especially he emphasized the importance of the functioning of the area, divisional commands that were being formed since 2004, in conducting people's war and worked for their better functioning.

The PLGA forces conducted scores of attacks in the leadership of the party to wipe out the evil hierarchs and goons leading the counter revolutionary 'salwa judum' campaign. TCOC were taken up to fight back 'salwa judum'. 27 CRPF policemen died in the blast of Mine Proof Vehicle by PLGA forces near Padedda in Gangalur area on 3<sup>rd</sup> September 2005. As a member of SZC secretariat and commander-in-chief of the South Sub-Zonal Command Comrade Ramanna contributed for the effective operation of these guerilla actions.

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The SZC decided to take up TCOC from 2006 January to June to fight back the salwa judum fascist campaign. It formed two Unified Commands in the North and the South Sub-Zonal Bureaus to run the TCOC efficiently. Both the commands took up TCOC to implement CC guidance and the SZC decisions in an integrated manner. As per the decisions of the command we conducted raids on the salwa judum camp in Gangalur, attacked the mines magazine of Bailadilla, the raid on Murkinar camp, the attack on Errabor salwa judum camp and several ambushes and raids in the South Sub-Zone in which we wiped out the mercenary armed forces of the government in large numbers and seized arms. Comrade Ramanna was a part of all these. He held the responsibility as the deputy commander in the Bailadilla attack and daringly fought against the enemy forces in making the raid a success. Few arms and 18 tons of explosive material were seized in this raid. He mobilized more than one thousand people to shift the material to safety. The role of Comrade Ramanna in confiding in the people, grasping that people are the makers of history and formulating a magnificent scheme is always inspiring for us. He guided the ambush in Kotta Cheruvu in which 11 Naga commandoes were wiped out. Comrade Ramanna directly led the retaliation against the Andhra Pradesh Greyhounds forces that penetrated into South Bastar in 2006 August.

The PLGA and the people's organisations conducted several people's struggles and people's retaliation movements and TCOC in the leadership of our party with the objective to defeat the counter revolutionary 'Operation Green Hunt' that the comprador ruling classes launched since 2009 August. He played the main role in guiding the big military operations that started with a big blow on the Cobra commando forces that the ruling classes formed with much ado creating terror among the people, in Singanmadugu in 2009 September followed by Kokavada, Mukaram, Kirundel, Jeeramghati, Nookanpalli, Tahkavada, Kasalpad and Burkapal.

The enemy unleashed new repressive campaigns with new tactics each time they failed in the campaigns in suppressing the people's war. The people and PLGA gave a strong answer to all these in the

leadership of our party through heroic struggles and great sacrifices. Comrade Ramanna strived to defeat the repressive campaigns of the enemy and to protect the guerilla bases and the RPC. With his deep relation with the people and understanding about the area he gathered information about the weaknesses of the enemy through people's intelligence and made concrete plans for the various TCOC and retaliation campaigns. He firmly tried to make the operations successful through deployment of forces, precision in conducting the operation and a clear objective. He also personally took part in reccy in certain important operations. Starting from the Linganpalli ambush he directly and indirectly led many small, medium and big military actions such as the ambushes in Urpalmetta, Thadimetla, Thonguda, Battiguda, Singanmadugu, Minapa, Kasalpad, Irpanar, Eladamadugu, Burkapal, Kasaram, Cholnar, Kondasavali, Sangidi and Keskutul and played an important role in intensifying guerilla war. At the time when the enemy was making attacks and devastating Thadimetla, Morpalli and Timpuram villages he immediately motivated the PLGA forces and personally made a tactical counter offensive against the enemy forces in 2011 March. He played an important role in protecting the lives and properties of the people. As a part of Air defense tactics he encouraged the attacks on enemy helicopters in Kassal, Temelwada, Chintaguppa etc. where the enemy forces were injured. Especially he had a big role in planning the Mukaram ambush and Ranibodili raid that had the features of mobile war, in seizing arms from the enemy forces in a big way with the belief that enemy is the big source for arms, in arming and strengthening the PLGA and in enhancing its war efficiency. He made efforts to develop proper tactics in the guidance of the CC to destroy the expanding carpet security and protect the guerilla bases. He was eager to develop primary improvised artillery. Until his last breath Comrade Ramanna stayed with our military formations and commands amidst heavy military offensives and provided the political and military guidance in order to defeat the 'SAMADHAN' strategic offensive that the enemy has been unleashing since 2017. He untiringly fulfilled his responsibilities in the people's war.

## **Sturdy in efficient leadership to the party committees and commands of the People's Guerilla Army**

Comrade Ramanna held the responsibility as the commander-in-chief of the South Sub-Zone as a member of SMC since 2003 March. In addition to this he was the secretary of CyPC of Company-2 formed in 2005 September, the secretary of CyPC of Company-3 formed in 2006 November and the secretary of the Battalion Party Committee formed in 2009 August. Our party worked for the formation of a platoon per each division in 2001 and a platoon in each AC in 2006 depending on the new recruitment. Also the SZC brought forth several guerilla companies under the guidance of the CC since 2004. Depending on the circular released by the CMC on the functioning of party committees, commissions and commands in 2002 Comrade Ramanna concentrated on developing the functioning of the party committees in PLGA. As per the decision of SZC he contributed to build and strengthen Military Intelligence (MI) from 2008. He gained expertise in leading party committees and commands in the military sphere.

He studied the problems faced by the Area Militia Command, the Panchayat Commands and all levels of Commands and strived to make them work better and to develop the tactics of guerilla war with local resources and the combat skills, snipers, booby traps, remotes and mine warfare that enhance the war efficiency of PLGA. He tried to develop them politically and militarily. He helped to select political, military and theoretical articles and in preparing the reviews of encounters and ambushes to bring out the political-military magazine 'Padiyora pollo' regularly. He worked to provide military inspiration and understanding through Koya/Gondi literature to be accessed until the level of the panchayat commands.

In addition to the Sub-Zonal Command he strived to make the Area and the Division Commands function regularly. He participated in the SMC and Command meetings and guided them so as to observe every aspect in a micro level, find the weaknesses of the enemy and give a blow. He tried to develop the commands so as to study the changing political and military conditions, the tactics of the enemy and

to provide leadership to the forces with counter tactics to continuously take up guerilla war. He concretely reviewed the mistakes in the leadership of the Commands in TCOC, ambush and retaliatory actions and provided an understanding to the commanders to take up war operations in a better way in the light of the lessons from the review. He always taught that 'guerilla war depends on the initiative, dare and war efficiency of the local commanders'. Therefore he gave an understanding on the role of commands in the division, area and panchayat levels, constantly trained them in political and military aspects and made efforts to develop military leadership. He studied the losses in the encounters and explained them to reduce unnecessary losses and to courageously resist the enemy without losing arms.

He paid importance to train in closed combat skills to develop war efficiency corresponding to the advancing people's war and the level of people's guerilla army formations and made the necessary planning in the party committees and commands. He creatively implemented the tactics the CC and SZC formulated to take up people's war depending on local limited resources in difficult conditions. The role of Comrade Ramanna is inseparable in defeating the phase wise repressive campaigns of the enemy since the beginning in Bastar especially the 'jan jagaran' (1990), 'salwa judum' (2005-2008), in developing guerilla war to a higher level and in making the ruling classes change their 'Operation Green Hunt' multipronged offensive that they were unleashing with the name of all-out war since 2009. His role as a chief of guerilla war and the political and military leadership is always an inspiration to the Party, PLGA and the revolutionary people.

### **Role in recruiting youth in PLGA**

Our party has been propagating that 'the people can gain nothing without people's army', 'state power comes through the barrel of the gun' since the beginning and encouraged youth to join the squads. Our party started the campaign to recruit into PLGA since 2001. Comrade Ramanna gave concrete guidance to the DC and the AC to motivate the serious activists of the revolutionary mass organisations, militia and RPC and those in the Party Primary Units and recruit them in PLGA and make successful the recruitment campaigns in the South Sub-Zonal

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Bureau as a part of the DK wide campaign in July-August and December of every year. He provided proper guidance to increase recruitment all over DK to overcome the difficult condition that arose since 2011. Especially he concentrated and made efforts to recruit hundreds of comrades in PLGA in the recruitment campaigns each year in the South Sub-Zonal Bureau since 2012 that helped to strengthen PLGA, to build higher formations, to consolidate mass work, for the protection of leadership, to strengthen the various departments and to extend the movement to new areas. This effort continues to inspire the party committees.

### **As a nightmare for class enemies and murderers of the people**

Comrade Ramanna led actions to eliminate the evil gentry Kalmu Deval, Burada Vadde and Korsa Apparao who stood as the enemies of the people in class struggle. He concentrated on targeting the cruel gentry who stood as a support to the state violence in the counter revolutionary 'jan jagaran' campaign and the 'salwa judum' campaign, the Judum leaders, goons, SPOs, traitors, Gopaniya Sainik (Secret soldier), Koya Commandos, District Reserve Guard (DRG) commandos and certain cruel police officers. Comrade Ramanna firmly dealt in implementing the actions with class hatred in wiping off the people's oppressors through several single actions, in giving a blow to the people's enemies by observing their weaknesses with an absolutely micro perspective through the people. He planned and guided action teams to eliminate the evil gentry, class enemies and gopaniya sainiks who fled to Bhadrachalam, Charla and Venkatapuram areas and were working as police agents.

Comrade Ramanna played the main role in eliminating anti-people bourgeois party leaders that stood as the back support to 'salwa judum' such as Budram Rana, Budram Sodi, Zilla Lekham and also Sikha Manji, Gota Chinna, Doggar Mooka and Madakam Somdu. The assassination of Mahendra Karma, the leader of 'salwa judum', an enemy of the revolutionary movement for more than two decades who unleashed cruel repression on thousands of people and indulged in atrocities on women, in the Jeeramghati ambush along with ten policemen showed a good political impact on the revolutionary people

all over the country. In addition to this the assassination of the BJP leader and MLA Bheema Mandavi during the Parliament elections in 2019 and other such incidents created alarm in the Brahmanic Hindutwa fascist enemies and inspired the oppressed people of the country. Comrade Ramanna made a lot of efforts in conducting such military actions. He guided and implemented in a planned manner the assassinations of Koya Commando commanders Ismail Khan, Kartam Surya and others who were aggressively in the forefront in attacking the people, in wiping out the leaders of counter revolutionary 'AGNI', 'Tangya squad' and in eliminating Sivaji, Aakash, Enkal and other such persons who ran away from PLGA and turned to be traitors. He thus became a nightmare to the class enemies and the exploitive ruling class governments.

Comrade Ramanna played a good role in finding out and giving a blow to the diehard informers and coverts who were part of the enemy network. He played an important role in hitting back many networks of the enemy in the South Sub-Zonal Bureau especially the network that caused the Kanchala encounter. He personally participated in punishing the informers. He depended on the deep and extensive relations with the people and those in the Party Primary Units and the information through network of people's intelligence. He observed each and every aspect very deeply, remembered the class foundations of the informers depending on the information gathered and the past history of the families punished and eliminated in class struggle and immediately made a proper analysis and made proper decisions to eliminate the coverts and informer network. He thus protected the local party leadership, Party and the PLGA on several occasions.

### **In mobilizing the people and militia in a militant manner in people's war**

In view of the importance of people's militia that is the basic force of PLGA and its strategic role in the process of transforming PLGA into PLA Comrade Ramanna concentrated on the militia right from the beginning. He was initiative in extensively mobilizing the people in actions such as the attack on the Thakurs the merchants in Chintalnar

by 1500 people in 1988 August and the seizure of six 12 bore arms.

He made the militia and the people participate in large numbers in the retaliation actions with the help of the Area RPC, panchayat RPC and the defense department. He took up the formation and strengthening of militia platoons, Bhumkal militia and GRD, formed party organisation in militia and paid attention to strengthen them. He constantly worked to stop the enemy attacks through the harassment actions on the enemy, the seizure of weapons from the police in the weekly markets, booby traps and traditional traps through the militia and people in a large scale. Due to this effort the people armed themselves in the leadership of the people's militia and continuously set up thousands of spike holes in the several retaliation campaigns taken up in the election boycott campaigns, 'salwa judum', 'Operation Green Hunt' and 'SAMADHAN' that created fear among the police and the Para-military forces that they will have to spill their blood if they step into the area. The people and the militia are participating in big numbers in finding out the weaknesses of the enemy and informing the main and the secondary forces, playing an active role in the attacks on the enemy together with these forces, in creating obstacles to communication and supplies of the enemy through sabotage actions and in destroying the properties of the people's enemies and the central and the state governments. He motivated the people with MLM politics so that they go forward in the legacy of the great 'Bhumkal' struggle for 'jal-jungle-zameen-ijjat-adhikar' by forming organs of alternate revolutionary people's political power. He trained the militia in setting up sentries, posts and constant patrolling to protect the villages, people and people's organisations from enemy attacks. As a result militia developed into a considerable force. There are many incidents in which the militia independently and with an initiative assassinated salwa Judum leaders, SPOs and traitors. Due to the efforts to mobilise the people in hundreds and thousands in a militant manner against the class enemies their participation in people's war rose. The participation of women in militia also rose in a remarkable manner.

### **As a leader of the Dandakaranya Krantikari Janatana Sarkar**

War is the main form of struggle and army is the main form of organisation to achieve revolution. But it is a must to organise the vast masses in mass organisations and various forums of the United Front and take up people's struggles. When he served as the commander of Kunta squad Comrade Ramanna worked to mobilise the people in land struggles with the slogan of 'land to the tiller, power on forest to the tribals' and organised them in various organisations. He worked for the building of revolutionary mass organisations and various forums of United Front and to strengthen them for more than 3 decades. As a result our revolutionary mass organisations took up struggles on several people's issues, against mining, on the problem of displacement and for the hike in rates of forest produce. They resisted the armed gangs that came to attack the villages. They fought for the dead bodies of the martyrs. They conducted many struggles for the release of the arrested, to lift the police camps, to punish the police officers that indulged in atrocities on women and other such demands. They mobilized women in large numbers in these agitations. They observed bandh against fake encounters, protest days, protest weeks and martyrs' weeks. They boycotted the fake elections. They mobilized the people in many open, secret, legal and illegal political and economic struggles such as the release of the comrades incarcerated in jails. They consolidated the vast masses mobilized in these struggles in mass organisations - DAKMS, KAMS and CNM. These organisations registered thousands of members and developed as organisations with a mass character. Comrade Ramanna constantly guided these organisations from the village to the special zonal level so as they worked actively and to hold its conferences in the specified period. He guided the mass organisations to function amidst carpet security. He worked to select activists to organise the vast masses. He trained them, prepared them as organisers and made efforts for the advancement of this sphere. He guided the formation of forums of United Front and to take up people's struggles against state violence, Brahmanic Hindutwa fascism, atrocities on women, displacement and environmental destruction. Especially he provided leadership in mobilizing thousands in the 'nandaraj metta bachao' (save

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nandaraj hill) movement from 2019 June against the lease given to the Adani Company for the 13<sup>th</sup> iron ore deposits in Bailadilla.

The formation of organs of people's state power with the slogans of 'land to the tiller', 'all powers to the gram rajya committees', 'jan-jungle-zameen per Janata ka adhikar' in Dandakaranya started from mid-1995. 'Revolutionary People's Committees' (RPC-Krantikari Janatana Sarkar) started to replace the Gram Rajya Committee (GRC) from 2001. Comrade Ramanna was part of destroying the exploitive state order by intensifying the anti-imperialist, anti-comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, anti-feudal class struggles and people's war and building the organs of revolutionary people's state power, by enhancing the mass base and in developing the guerilla bases since 1996. He trained the RPCs in developing the new people's economic order depending on self-reliance and cooperation. He contributed a lot in linking them with people's war, in increasing production, paid attention to people's welfare, concentrated on the functioning of the departments of the RPC and to develop them as genuine organisations of people's state power. He worked to develop the living standards of the people in the process of development of class struggle. He participated in the formation of area level RPC in South Bastar in 2004 June, in the first meeting of the representatives of Divisional RPC in 2007 June and held them successfully. He worked for the implementation of the central task that our Party took up to develop Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand as liberated areas, to emphasize the importance of it and the relation between the implementation of the strategic tasks in the guerilla bases and these, to develop political, theoretical understanding, to mold all levels of RPC as a collective decision of the committee.

He participated in the meetings of AC, DvC, ARPC and DKJS (Division Krantikari Janatana Sarkar, Division RPC) and discussed the problems confronting the panchayat, area and division level RPCs and provided the necessary guidance. A zonal level workshop was held in 2008 February in which our party formed the Dandakaranya Krantikari Janatana Sarkar preparatory committee to guide and coordinate the RPC formed in the area and divisional levels from the panchayat level.

Later this preparatory committee turned to be the coordination committee as per the suggestion of the CC. Comrade Ramanna participated in the first workshop and its formation. Until his martyrdom he held the responsibilities as the President of this committee for nearly 8 years. He regularly attended the meetings of this committee for coordination and worked for the consolidation of the RPCs, to rebuild those dissolved due to carpet security and for its regular functioning by holding the meetings of the representatives, the Gram Sabhas and elections to new committees.

Since the centenary celebrations of Bhumkal struggle in 2010 there was wide propaganda about the 'foundation day of people's state power', the leveling of lands of poor farmers in the 'land leveling campaigns' that were taken up since 2011 as a continuation to the revolutionary land reforms that the organs of state power took up with the objective of developing new people's economic order and irrigation, repair of the earlier ponds and construction of new ponds and other such works were taken up extensively. Enthusiastic participation of thousands of people in land leveling in the months of January and February all over Dandakaranya every year became a revolutionary tradition. Comrade Ramanna was in the forefront of the whole process. The formation of division level RPC starting from the village level, the formation of zonal level coordination committee and its functioning for a long time is a great experience in the history of Indian revolutionary movement. The RPCs are being formed even amidst the fascist repression unleashed by the exploitive governments and are also fulfilling their tasks as guerilla bases. Comrade Ramanna sent a message to the people on the occasion of February 10<sup>th</sup> (Bhumkal day) every year according to the conditions and made them realise the need of people's state power and the importance of guerilla bases. He gave his last message for the same occasion in 2020 before he took his last breath. The role of Comrade Ramanna is unforgettable in the formation, development and expansion of these RPCs.

**The life of Comrade Ramanna, a warrior tempered in class struggle is ideal to the Party, PLGA and the people**

In his 36 years long revolutionary life Comrade Ramanna

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developed from an ordinary youth into a great revolutionary people's leader and his experiences in efficient functioning of the party committees, PLGA commands and the RPCs are very valuable. He played an important role in developing the three magic weapons necessary for the victory of Indian revolution and to develop them in the concrete conditions of class struggle. He stood as a challenge to the comprador exploitive ruling classes and a symbol of the Dandakaranya movement. He became a nightmare for class enemies. He was a leader that led the movement as an organiser with profound relations with the people, as a leader, as the secretary of the committee, as a chief of guerilla war and steady and fearless in the difficult situation. Let us learn people's war-guerilla war, conducting various people's struggles through revolutionary mass organisations, RPCs and various United Fronts, defeating counter revolutionary 'salwa judum', containing 'Operation Green Hunt' and leading the revolutionary movement facing the present strategic 'SAMADHAN' offensive from his distinct effort.

Comrade Ramanna's life is constituted of the history of dynamic struggle in spite of several ups and downs and twists and turns in the path of Protracted People's War and the martyrdom of a number of comrades in front of him, his hatred towards the escape and surrender of a few unable to bear the difficult situation in the revolutionary movement and losing confidence in the party, people and the politics of people's war and his confidence in the people, the Party line and MLM theory. He provided efficient leadership to DKSZC in the constant collective political, organizational and military efforts from the CC and SZC to bolshevise the party. He relentlessly worked to enhance the political, theoretical understanding of the party ranks. His life is a valuable lesson. The way he identified himself with the people and his profound relations with them are ideal. He had enormous hold on the villages, the socio-economic conditions, class relations and terrain all over Dandakaranya. The cadres felt him a treasure of information and support amidst difficulties. He is very close to cadres at all levels. He helped for the development of woman comrades. He paid special attention towards the welfare of the families of the martyrs and comrades in prison. His simple life style and his style of struggle are

ideal for all of us. In spite of his severe ill health he labored to fulfill his responsibilities and to complete any work in time. He worked untiringly and selflessly with great sacrifice for the aim of revolution, firmly implemented the decisions of the CC/PB and stood exemplary in Party discipline. He held aloft the sacrifices of thousands of martyrs, kept in mind what his elder brother martyr Comrade Parasuram told him and continued their ideals until the end. He took his last breath in the guerilla base amidst the people, PLGA warriors and cadres. Thousands of people walked along in the funeral procession of Comrade Ramanna and bid tearful farewell to their beloved leader. They pledged to take forward his ideals.

Comrade Ramanna is no more. But we have the objective for which he worked day and night. We have the party and PLGA that he worked and built to fulfill the objective. We have his teachings and experience. We have the guidance he provided. More importantly we see the people he loved and confided. His death is a severe loss not only to the revolutionary movement of Dandakaranya but to the Indian revolution. Indian revolution lost one best proletarian leader. However we have the history of revolutionary movement that advanced facing difficulties and losses. Comrade Ramanna lives forever in the Indian revolutionary movement, in the international proletarian movement and in the hearts of the oppressed masses.

Come! Let us hold aloft the ideals of Comrade Ramanna who did uncountable service to the revolutionary movement as one of the leaders of Indian revolution. Let us imbibe the spirit of his ideal revolutionary life and advance the revolutionary movement. Let us prepare thousands of revolutionary inheritors. Let us walk in his path to overcome the difficult situation and advance the revolutionary movement and develop the revolutionary movement to a higher level. Let us go forward defeating the 'SAMADHAN' offensive, preserve and expand the guerilla bases and RPCs with the aim of establishing liberated area. Let us pledge to fight untiringly to make the New Democratic Revolution successful and to establish Socialism-Communism that he dreamt. Let us state that if we dare to fight the people will gain the ultimate victory.

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**Comrade Narendra Singh**

## **Comrade Chintan (Narendra Singh), a Communist leader embedded with Proletarian characteristics**

Member of the Central Committee of CPI (Maoist) Comrade Narendra Singh (Asho, Chintan) laid down his life on the 6<sup>th</sup> January 2020 in a hospital in a town. He was suffering with illness for a long time and was in Coma since 2018. He was 74.

### **Childhood**

Comrade Chintan was the native of a village in the limits of Kesaria police station of East Champaran district in the state of Bihar in a middle class peasant family. He has a brother and a sister. He was unmarried. He had primary education in his village and higher education in Jawaharlal Nehru University in Delhi. He did his Doctorate on the Tharu tribal people living in Bihar-Nepal terai of the Himalayas.

### **Tasted the theory of MLM from studies and stepped into working class movement**

After being granted Ph.D, he did not wish to take up any job. He took up work for the oppressed people to establish an exploitation-free society. During his education he was attracted towards Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. He studied it in detail. After finishing his education he started to work among the workers in Delhi. He was one of the founders of General Workers Union of Delhi. He organized the workers under this banner. During this time, in 1998-99 he came into contact with members of the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC). He started to organize the peasants of villages along with workers. During this time in 1998-99 he got in touch with Maoist Communist Centre (MCC).

### **Starting from a teacher in North Bihar movement, he travelled up to a forefront proletarian leader**

He became part of Bihar party in 2001. As soon as he went to the area he opened four schools by the name 'Jan Shiksha Kendr' (People's Education centre) and started to impart education to the Dalit and tribal children. Apart from formal education the People's Education Centres also imparted education about social change. Some of the students became part of class struggle.

During his research he saw the horrible conditions of the Tharu and Uraon tribal, Dalit and landless peasants of West Champaran and was terribly moved. It is a well known fact that the peasants of West Champaran not only face feudalism but also the dacoits. The people of the area are in terror and despair.

At that time revolutionary work was going on with the perspective of establishing Base Area. He made efforts to build revolutionary movement among the people of the area. He developed mass base, formed the Krantikari Kisan Committee and guerilla squads. In the initial days of his revolutionary work an incident took place. Dacoits attacked the house of a minority adjacent to Sundarpur School. The men of the family were out at work at the time of the attack and two girls and the mother were there. The dacoits attempted sexual assault on them. The women cried out on seeing the dacoits. On hearing them Comrade Asho took a stick and went there along with his students and those present around. He shouted at them - "Stop. Who is that? I am coming". The powerful voice of a red soldier and the resistance of the village people made the dacoits run out of fear. He brought the family the same night and gave shelter in the school for many days.

The incident became a point of organisation and struggle for the people. This forest area of West Champaran developed into a guerilla zone. Land and arms were seized from the landlords, forest was protected, dacoits were chased away, there were attacks on the police and camps and arms were also seized from them. People stopped the cutting of forests by the landlords and the governments and protected them. They chased away the bandits. They made guerilla attacks on

the police and police camps that are constantly indulging in attacks on the people. They seized arms from them.

When the North Bihar committee of the MCC was formed, Comrade Chintan became part of it. Later when 3U (North Bihar-Uttar Pradesh-Uttarakhand) Special Area Committee was formed he was elected as a member of the Committee. When MCCI and CPI (ML) People's War merged to form the CPI (Maoist) in 2004 he became a member of the Central Committee of the united party and subsequently became part of its North Regional Bureau (NRB). With the losses the NRB was dissolved and Comrade Chintan continued to be a CCM of the CPI (Maoist) until his last breath.

### **Good Marxist teacher**

Comrade Chintan was not only a good teacher of formal education but of Marxism. He took the responsibility of educating the cadres of the party. He taught to cadres of the areas of struggle on Marxist philosophy, Marxist economics and politics. His method of teaching was simple and natural. He explained complex things in a simple manner. He applied Marxism to practice and explained it through present examples. He had good hold in English and Hindi languages and also taught grammar of both the languages.

### **Upheld great communist consciousness in prison**

Comrade Chintan was arrested three times in North Bihar in the ongoing class struggle, first in 2005 in North Bihar and the last in Kanpur of Uttar Pradesh in 2010. Each time he was arrested immediately after his release from jail. His arrest in Kanpur was very awful. He was severely tortured. It affected him physically and mentally. In 2010 he lost one ear. He acquired Bone TB in prison. He had BP, Hernia and Piles.

He made true what Nigerian poet and theatre personality Vole Shoyenka said. When he was released from prison after two years Shoyenka said thus about the effect of his prison life – 'What you believe before going to prison you believe even after release. But this belief would be stronger'. In spite of arrest three times and torture, he neither broke, surrendered nor was afraid. He considered the secrecy of the Party more than his life. None of the states reported that there

was any loss to the Party due to him. Each time after his release he became part of class struggle and people's war with tempered determination.

After his release from Kanpur jail he came to Bihar-Jharkhand border area. There was an encounter with the Para-Military. They were firing and shelling but Comrade Chintan was neither afraid nor disappointed. He was physically weak but his voice powerful. He courageously and heroically advanced in the battle. He enthused the PLGA fighters and attacked the enemy. He shouted 'Comrades! Para-Military forces are not lions. The fighters of People's Liberation Guerilla Army are live tigers and live long. Friends, advance and wipe them out'. The young fighters of PLGA took on the enemy with this inspiration and the Para-Military had to step back.

After his release in 2014 he could not take up any serious political responsibility. He gradually lost control on his body and mind. Oppression by the police and in jail deteriorated his body. He lost mental balance. In spite of treatment he could not recover and finally bid farewell to the world on 6<sup>th</sup> January 2020. We lost him forever.

### **Let us uphold the ideals of Comrade Chintan**

Today Comrade Chintan is no more among us. But we have his memory, ideals and his political work. His sacrifice, commitment and dare continue to inspire and guide all of us. His memory continues to make us feel strong. This is his magnificent and unforgettable memory.

Comrade Chintan stood on behalf of the oppressed worker-peasants and oppressed people of the tribal, Dalit, backward and toiling castes. He laid down his entire life for the sake of revolution. He never demonstrated the least character of oppressed caste. He was a Communist of good characteristics.

He had higher education in prestigious educational institution of the country. He could have been a Professor in any University. But he sacrificed a life of conveniences and became a Revolutionary Communist. He served the proletariat like a proletarian. His sacrifice and commitment are ideal and commendable.

The lure for post and money is an enemy of revolution. He was

conscious about it. He even sacrificed his hereditary property and lived like a proletarian in the Party and among the people. He sacrificed his house and family and considered his comrades as kith and kin. He laid down his life among them. In difficulty he approached comrades and not his family. He lived according to his conditions and objectives. He did not compromise to anyone outside the party.

We might not be alive but the world will change. Revolution need not necessarily be completed during our life time. But we have the responsibility to accomplish it and the future generation shall do the rest of the work. He imbibed this and implemented it all through his life.

He had a special feature in life such as, to sustain confidence in revolution and people in the utmost difficult conditions; stick steadfast to the official line of the Party; stay strong on class line-mass line and MLM.

Comrade Chintan was good at self-criticism. When he understood that he went wrong he was least hesitant to admit and rectify it. He followed strict discipline in his daily life. This continued inside the prison and until he went unconscious. Mental shock deprived him the ability of tireless reading, writing and speaking. He was good with his comrades.

Comrade Chintan is a great teacher, popular speaker, educated academician and relentless activist. His proletarian characters made him a strong Communist and unwavering Marxist-Leninist-Maoist. The CC pays tearful homage to our comrade, co-warrior and teacher. We pledge to fulfill his work. We appeal to all the ranks of revolution to take lessons, initiative, determination and commitment from the life and relentless work of Comrade Chintan. Transform the grief out of his martyrdom into strength, the tears into anger. Let us pledge again and again to fulfill the ideals of the martyrs.



**Comrade Yapa Narayana**

# **Comrade Yapa Narayana (Haribhushan, Lakmuda), Lieutenant of People's War, Best organizer and People's Leader**

Comrade Yapa Narayana (Haribhushan, Lakmuda) made relentless effort in the Indian Revolutionary movement for the past 30 years of his fifty years of life and took his last breath fighting with Corona pandemic at 9 am on 21<sup>st</sup> June, 2021. He was a member of the Central Committee of CPI (Maoist) and the Secretary of the Telangana State Committee. He successfully completed the meeting of the Telangana State Committee and was writing the resolutions when he was affected with severe fever. He continued the work guiding the other comrades in it. He had been suffering from Asthma, Bronchitis and Blood Pressure for a long time and had been taking medicines. Along with fever he developed breathing problem and tested Corona positive. He was administered with Corona medicine and was given artificial Oxygen. But he had problem in breathing and finally died out of heart attack. The martyrdom of this young leader with an active role in the revolutionary movement is a severe loss to the countrywide movement, especially the Telangana revolutionary movement. Let us pledge to continue his ideals until the end.

## **The family background and education of Comrade Yapa Narayana**

Comrade Yapa Narayana was born as the eldest son of Rangayya and Punnamma in a tribal family in Madaguda village. He was succeeded by three brothers and three sisters. Comrade Yapa Narayana studied since he was young and encouraged his brothers and sisters to

study. They are well educated. Madaguda is a remote village in the joint Warangal district (present Mehaboobabad district) without road and electricity in spite of which Narayana continued his studies.

His parents brought him up with great love and affection. Although they were poor they sent him to school. He completed BA (graduation) with the help of his parents, friends and teachers. At that time graduates were rare among the tribals. He had primary studies in Madaguda, intermediate in Narsampeta and graduation in Hanamkonda Arts and Science College in 1988. He worked as an agent in LIC when he was in his second year of graduation. After completing graduation he worked as a works inspector in the minor irrigation department in ITDA for some time.

With the class consciousness acquired through his revolutionary ideas and service oriented mind, he took up several social development activities. He built houses for the homeless, provided drinking water facility to people facing shortage of water and solved the fundamental problems of the people. The local people never forget Com. Haribhushan. They always remember the moments he was with them.

Comrade Yapa Narayana is a very active person. He is plump with strong muscles. He has a round face, leopard like walk, active eyes and thick hair. He did hard work since childhood. He continued to work constantly in the party and tempered his body. Therefore his body helped him to strive hard in the military or organisational sector. He was keen in hearing and writing anything he came across and thus understood things deeply. He thus developed a deep understanding towards the line and policies of the Party and formulated tactics in its guidance. He comprehensively utilised his knowledge of class struggle and efficiency to implement the tactics and to prepare the cadres for it.

### **Comrade Yapa Narayana's individuality and political development**

Yapa Narayana is very humble. He was humble towards the seniors and members of the upper committee. He keenly listened to what they said and strived to implement them. He was friendly with the cadres of the lower ranks. He realized their problems in time and helped them a lot to overcome the same. Apart from clearing their

doubts he provided them the necessary guidance in work. He made timely criticism on the erring cadres. He was good at molding the revolutionary activists in the party and gained their confidence. He molded his entire family and childhood friends as sympathisers of revolution. His class and social background contributed very much to make him a complete revolutionary.

He concentrated on political and theoretical study. Although he had pressure of work he definitely allotted time for political and theoretical study. He thus updated himself with the political developments and strengthened his theoretical foundation. He applied the party line to the concrete conditions of Telangana. He placed the stand of the party on the ongoing political developments as the spokesperson of Telangana State Committee under the name Jagan. The people of Telangana became popular with the name and waited eagerly for his statement.

He took classes on political and theoretical aspects to the cadres. He applied the theory to concrete conditions and made illustrations from real life and explained to the cadres. This raised great interest among the students.

Comrade Haribhushan read the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Party documents and policy papers in a regular method while he worked as the Commander of the protection Platoon of the Central Committee from 2000 to 2005. He thus developed good command on theoretical and political aspects. The CC made efforts to develop Comrade Haribhushan and the committee in the Platoon.

Comrade Haribhushan possessed great courage and dare, initiative and determination and made any activity of the party successful. He became a nightmare for the enemy. He developed into a daring guerilla commander in his revolutionary life. He had enormous activity, initiative and utmost skills needed for a guerilla. Thus he could escape from many cruel encounters. The government forces announced him dead in a few encounters. They also took up 'Operation Haribhushan' to end him. But he failed their plans. He escaped from many encounters, developed into a powerful leader and challenged the state in a stronger manner. The Telangana government made

Haribhushan the main target and conspired to end him through coverts or poison. Haribhushan efficiently broke these attempts. He exposed and wiped out a covert.

Comrade Yapa Narayana not only broke through the enemy encounters but also held successful raids on the government armed forces in Telangana and Dandakaranya. He made possible the raids and ambushes that seemed impossible. He is talented in making aggressive attack at the right moment. During the attacks he was good at Command and Control and made everyone participate daringly. He thus achieved several successes in the military sector.

He provided very active leadership to the separate Telangana movement and the democratic Telangana movement after the formation of separate state. He established strong relations with students, workers, youth, journalists and employees who mobilized in the movement. He strongly mobilized these sections into the movement. He built Mass Organisations and encouraged and recruited few of them into the Party and the squads. In the process he gained strength to lead people's movements in the state level. He worked on problems in the tribal areas such as those of indigenous people, mainly for jal-jungle-zameen-ijjat-adhikar, for the implementation of 1/70, the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> schedules and directed the struggles of the tribal people. He worked to solve the contradiction between the tribal and the Lambada people. In his entire effort, he strengthened the unity of the oppressed class as a part of the party policy and continued struggle on the feudal forces among the tribal people. He formed the necessary formations to take up the movement in a militant manner and continued a strong effort. Comrade Haribhushan was in the forefront in implementing the central task of the party to develop Dandakaranya into a liberated area. He coordinated with the Dandakaranya committee and also planned guerrilla actions. He provided the necessary material help, medical and organisational help on such occasions.

The CC realized the leadership characteristics in Comrade Haribhushan. It constantly made efforts to explore those and develop him. It realized him as a developing comrade in the military sector and gave him opportunity to participate in several raids and ambushes. It

assigned him the responsibility as Central Instructor and provided the necessary training. It helped him in theoretical, political and military study. It imparted education to him on formation of committees and work style. It gave him opportunity to participate in various conferences and plenums. He thus participated in the Dandakaranya plenum in 2003 and 2011. He was a delegate from Telangana to the Unity Congress in 2007. In 2005 he was transferred to Telangana in the status of a member of State Committee and was given military and organisational opportunities. It provided him the understanding about the changing political conditions in Telangana and helped him formulate tactics. It constantly helped him to gain command in the Party, PLGA and United Front and develop into the Secretary of Telangana State Committee in a period of ten years.

Given the determination, subjective efforts and qualities of active leadership, he developed as the Secretary of the Telangana State Committee in 2015 and as a Member of the CC in 2018 with the help of the CC. He participated in the CC meeting for the first time in 2020. This happened to be the last and this is an unfulfillable gap for the CC. In this meeting he presented a comprehensive report on the movement in the Telangana state that he is leading. The CC studied the report and decided that the revolutionary movement is in the path of development.

In addition to the entire party, the entire oppressed tribal peasantry was proud to see Haribhushan develop to this level. His development from a tribal background to a genuine proletarian leader in the proletarian party stands as a milestone in the history of revolutionary movement.

### **Revolutionary journey of Comrade Yapa Narayana**

The village where Comrade Yapa Narayana was born and the surrounding villages had the experience of the Telangana armed struggle and the people were introduced to Communist politics. Later communist politics continued in the form of ML groups that gave birth to communist ideology in Comrade Yapa Narayana. But he was not much interested in the parties that took up right and opportunist policies having theoretical and political origins in the heredity of CPI.

As a result of internal struggle of genuine Marxist, Leninist revolutionaries opposing revisionism of the CPI party in 1950s and the beginning of 1960 and the modern revisionism that came forth later in the leadership of the CPI (M), the Naxalbari armed struggle broke showing the genuine path of liberation for the oppressed people of the country.

The Naxalbari and Srikakulam movements created revolutionary enthusiasm among the student, youth and toiling masses. The slogan 'Naxalbari is the only path' resounded. However due to few sectarian trends and severe repression on the movement it suffered setback. It drew proper lessons from these movements and brought forth the path of mass line. Especially the Andhra Pradesh State Committee prepared a 'Self-Critical Report' stating the need of mass organisations and people's movements in addition to armed struggle in the guidance of which the party at that time gave importance to the formation of mass organisations. Thus several revolutionary organisations were formed from 1970-74. The Radical students Union (RSU) formed before emergency mobilized the students. When the party started to work in the villages after emergency, the Jagityal struggle broke in 1978. In 1980 the Central Committee of the CPI (ML) (People's War) was formed. The party prepared the Guerilla Zone perspective and took up formation of guerilla squads with a comprehensive scheme. It on one hand took up formation of Mass organisations, peasant and other struggles in a wide area and on the other it mobilized people in the leadership of the guerilla squads in the rural area and prepared them for guerilla struggles. The struggle that went on from 1980-'88 faced severe government repression and North Telangana and Dandakaranya developed into guerilla zones by 1988. The spate of agrarian revolution in the two places helped the development of the guerilla zones.

With the temporary relaxation in 1990 the party and mass organisations mobilized the people in a big way. During this period agrarian revolution advanced strongly. As a result the Convention of the Andhra Pradesh Agricultural Laborers' Organisation (APRCS) was successfully held in 1990 May in Warangal in which nearly 10 lakh people participated. Bourgeois magazines commented that the meeting was

'first in history'. The revolutionary movement advanced strongly facing several hurdles in 1980. After the Warangal meeting new generation recruited into the movement all over Telangana. This generation played an active role in the revolutionary movement. Comrade Haribhushan entered the revolutionary movement as a youth of this generation and continued his life as a great Communist leader and guerilla war expert.

Since the Jagityal jaitra yatra (struggle), anti-feudal struggles arose in Adilabad, Karimnagar, Warangal and Nizamabad joint districts. The spirit of these movements filled revolutionary consciousness among the students. Hundreds of students joined RSU and took up New Democratic Revolutionary programs. They not only took up several struggles on students' problems but also lent support to the peasant movements. Active students who developed from the student movements led the peasant struggles. They joined the squads and guided the armed struggle. Comrade Yapa Narayana drew enthusiasm from the Naxalbari, Srikakulam and Jagityal armed peasant struggles and stepped into revolutionary politics. He joined RSU in 1989 and took part in students' struggles. He became part of revolution during this time.

By the end of 1980s the party had the main task of rising the consciousness of mass organisations and the people to develop guerilla zone facing the enemy forces and build people's army in Telangana. Party sent many students and youth to the forest areas to achieve the task. Yapa Narayana was one of them. He went to Pakala Kottagudem area on the call of the party while he was working actively in RSU.

His life as Professional Revolutionary started together with Comrade Rajam Koti, Comrade Morampalli Venkanna and Comrade Srisailam. He worked with Comrade Rajam Koti in 1+1 team in the area. He organized the people. He mobilized the youth in the villages and formed youth organisations. He organized the people against right opportunism that became a hurdle to the revolutionary movement. He took up anti-feudal struggles. He especially made theoretical struggle against the anti-revolutionary policies of the New Democracy party that backs feudalism. The New Democracy party conspired in many ways to murder Comrade Rajam Koti and Comrade Haribhushan who opposed their

policies. They picked up Comrade Rajam Koti and kidnapped him when both of them went to Madaguda. Yapa Narayana escaped. Later Comrade Srisailam was also murdered. Comrade Morampalli Venkanna became a martyr in police attack. The spirit of martyrdom of these comrades raised determination in Comrade Yapa Narayana.

Comrade Yapa Narayana joined the squad in 1991 and worked in Nekkonda squad for one year. He was later transferred to Pandava squad and worked until the end of 1998. He developed as a Commander, Organiser and member of Divisional Committee and efficiently held his responsibilities.

By 1992 he met the people in a wide area in the joint Khamman district as a commander and organizer of Pandava squad. New Democracy party was built on the basis of village hierarchs, money lenders and landlords in Illendu, Bayyaram, Narsampeta, Pakala Kottagudem and Gundala areas where Com. Haribhushan worked. They control the people, join hands with the state where they are weak and maintain their hegemony. Their whole practice is a hurdle for the development of revolution. Haribhushan broke the citadel of New Democracy rooted in interclass politics and built genuine mass base.

During this period the New Democracy party entered into armed conflicts with our party. They made physical attacks on the people. They gradually degenerated to the extent of murdering the revolutionaries and vanishing them. Comrade Haribhushan worked for issue based unity with them making struggle against their interclass right politics. He exposed the anti-revolutionary policies of the various ML groups especially New Democracy. He took up correspondence with patience and harmony to solve the problems rising with New Democracy.

Comrade Haribhushan developed in the party in phases in his long revolutionary journey and took up responsibility in the highest committee. He took up responsibilities as a Commander, organizer in 1992 and as a member of the Khammam district committee in 1996. In 1998 November he took up the responsibilities of the first Platoon of North Telangana. In 2000 he was transferred to the protection platoon of the CC and continued up to 2005. He also worked as Central Instruc-

tor for some time. In 2005 he was promoted as a member of State Committee rank and transferred to North Telangana Special Zonal Committee. He was elected as the Secretary of Telangana State Committee in 2015 plenum and as a member of the CC in 2018 November.

He was a delegate in the first North Telangana Special Zone Conference that took place in 1995. He was a delegate and led the Conference of North Telangana Special Zone in 2007, plenum in 2011 and the plenums in 2015 and 2019 after the formation of Telangana state in which he played an active role in enriching the Political and Organisational reviews.

Comrade Haribhushan was one of the three delegates from North Telangana to the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress in 2007 January. He actively participated in the Congress and fulfilled his bit of responsibility in all the vital decisions taken. He later not only creatively applied the central, main tasks and tactics formulated in the Congress in Telangana but also implemented them effectively. This led to a little development in the revolutionary movement in Telangana.

Telangana was forcibly annexed in the state of Andhra Pradesh formed in 1956 November without considering the feelings of the people. The capitalists of the south coastal area were dominating Telangana areas for the past decades. In this background the demand for separate state of Telangana came forth against the discrimination, exploitation, self-respect and self-rule. The demand for separate state of Telangana took the form of a movement first in 1969. At that time the movement temporarily came to a halt with the repression unleashed by the central and the state governments and also the betrayal of Chennareddi. The movement took a turn with the Warangal declaration in 2009 December. Comrade Haribhushan contributed a lot in molding this historic background favorable to the revolutionary movement.

The party formulated a program for separate democratic Telangana and went among the people. This once again brought a big spate in the movement in 2009. This made an impact all over the country. Osmania University was the centre for these movements. Joint Action Committees were formed in many places starting from the village level to the

state level in ten districts of Telangana. Students, intellectuals, poets, artists, writers, lawyers, doctors, workers, teachers, employees, especially women mobilized in a big manner. Comrade Haribhushan played a prominent role in the creation of this militant people's spate and the formation of separate state.

After the setback of the revolutionary movement in Telangana, landlords, comprador bureaucratic capitalists and imperialists intensified exploitation. Thus contradictions sharpened. Comrade Haribhushan led and mobilized people in several militant struggles against the Polavaram dam project, Medigadda, Annaram, Kantanpalli, Mallannasagar and other such hydro projects that displace thousands of people, open cast mining, the Kavval Tiger zone in joint Adilabad district, electric plants, mining of Dolomite and Granite in Mamidigundala, Uranium mining in Mehaboobnagar district and Bayyaram Steel Industry. Thus our party developed into a stronger political force. Objective conditions were favorable to revolutionary movement, new forces emerged from these militant struggles and became party activists and sympathisers and became part of People's War.

#### **Comrade Haribhushan's efforts as a daring Military Commander**

Party formed the first platoon in 1996 as per the decision of the party to develop special military formations to intensify guerilla war with the objective of making North Telangana a liberated area. In 1998 one more platoon and other squads were formed in the zone. The commander of the first platoon was transferred owing to the needs of the movement and then Comrade Haribhushan took up the responsibility in 1998 November. Since then he participated in several military operations, led them and made special effort in developing the military sector.

The BJP in the centre and the TDP in the state together unleashed the offensive during this period. The two repressive campaigns in 1985 and 1991 were defeated with the heroic struggle of the party and the people. The enemy concretely implemented the LIC offensive from mid-1996. The party achieved many military victories in several ambushes and raids from 1996 all over North Telangana with the objective to defeat this encirclement and repressive offensive and strengthen

the guerilla zone. The enemy was demoralized. These could contain his aggressiveness to an extent. In this background the operations that Com. Haribhushan led made a large impact in fighting back the repression of the enemy.

In 1997 January party conducted a raid on the Karakagudem police station in Khammam district. 16 policemen were wiped out in this raid and arms seized. Comrade Haribhushan was the commander of the stop party in the operation. This successful raid affected the morale of the enemy. In 1999 PLGA attacked the RPF police station in Bellampalli. Police were injured and three 303 rifles and two revolvers were seized. Comrade Haribhushan was the commander of this attack.

He played a vital role as the commander of the raid on Asarelli police station in Maharashtra in 2000 in which few policemen were injured and made to surrender and 20 SLRs, five 303 rifles and a revolver were seized. Earlier to the raid he personally made reconnaissance inside the police station in the disguise of a villager where he established contact with the police men. He thus formulated a solid plan. He crossed the river and made all the arrangements needed to make the plan successful. He explained the plan to the PLGA forces, remembered their responsibilities and enthused the forces. Later PLGA attacked the Asarelli police station in this spirit and achieved success.

In 1998 the Central and the state governments formed the Joint Coordination Committee (JCC) in the leadership of the Central Home Minister and intensified repression on the revolutionary movement of North Telangana. They formed the Joint Operational Command (JOC) in 2000. During this period the fortification surprise attack, encirclement, elimination and repression attacks that the enemy took up affected our squads. The special Greyhound squads of joint Andhra Pradesh made surprise attack on the guerilla squads of our party and affected losses. It became the immediate task of the revolutionary movement to face these forces.

Comrade Haribhushan was in the responsibility of State Military affairs of North Telangana from 2005 to 2015. During this period he made severe efforts for the development of guerilla war.

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Since the Telangana movement setback, there was a decrease in guerilla actions after 2002. When compared with the earlier there were more guerilla actions in the end of 2005 in Komararam, Gundala and Settipalli villages. These actions created apprehension among the enemy forces. Comrade Haribhushan created great inspiration among our PLGA forces in war operations.

He made many plans to attack police stations and made complete preparations to implement the same. He efficiently made preparations of big containers, water tank vehicles to blast directional mine. He worked hard to fulfill the needs of war such as arms and ammunition. His contribution helped a lot in the preparation of big area weapons (Improvised Primary Artillery) also that brought revolutionary changes in guerilla war.

The exploitive ruling classes took up several repression campaigns with the objective to totally eliminate the revolutionary movement in North Telangana (Telangana). Comrade Lakmudada was the target for a few operations. The attacks of the enemy in Bottem in 2016 and Pujari Kanker in 2018 are a part of it. When the enemy attacked in Bottem Com. Lakmudada was ill. But he mustered strength to courageously resist the enemy forces and retreat. He escaped from many such attacks with courage and dare.

He led TCOC taken up to fight back the repressive campaigns to eliminate the revolutionary movement and achieved successes. He made remarkable effort in fighting back the enemy attacks through joint TCOC of the Telangana and Dandakaranya forces.

He led many military actions as the Commander of protection platoon of the CC in 2001. Whenever the enemy forces entered the strategic area the PLGA forces in the leadership of Comrade Haribhushan speedily went and attacked the enemy forces. PLGA made an attack on Bande police station in Koyilbeda block of Kanker district of Chhattisgarh in 2001 that failed. He was the commander of second assault team in this attack.

In 2006 the Telangana forces retreated and made joint attacks together with the Dandakaranya cadres on the police forces. In Goddali

village of Kunta area SPOs came to attack us with information. PLGA saw them, opened fire and chased them up to a distance of one kilometer. At the same time there was an ambush on CRPF forces in Aranpur in which two policemen were injured. This too was in the leadership of Com. Haribhushan.

In 2004 PLGA ambushed the police in Takilod village of Maad division with specific information. Comrade Haribhushan acted as the commander in this ambush in which two policemen were wiped out and three were injured. The same year two policemen were injured in an ambush in the nearby Dunga village that falls under Orcha block of Narayanpur district. He was the leader of these attacks.

The Koraput multiple raid of Odisha in 2004 February was categorized as the prominent raid in the history of revolutionary movement of the country. The PLGA seized 535 arms in this attack. Only one police died in this attack. The incident created much confusion in the enemy. PLGA demonstrated utmost dare and courage and achieved great success. Comrade Haribhushan was the commander of the assault batch that attacked the headquarters. He instilled courage among the cadres and encouraged them.

In 2007 PLGA raided Ranibodili police station in Bijapur district in which 55 SPO and CAF policemen were wiped out. The people were relieved to see the wiping out of these cruel, brutal traitors of revolution who made unceasing attacks on the people. Comrade Haribhushan was part of the attack.

In 2013 police forces came to set up a new camp in Minapa village of Sukma district. PLGA forces encircled the camp for thirteen consecutive days and attacked. Seven police men were wiped out in this attack with the effect of which the camp was withdrawn after 13 days. The forces were attacked on their return in the leadership of Com. Haribhushan.

In 2021 the PLGA encircled 750 enemy forces when two thousand joint forces of the enemy entered the guerilla zone as a part of 'Operation Prahar' near Jeeragudem village in Bijapur. The fierce attack went on for four hours in which PLGA chased the enemy with ultra-modern weapons for a distance of two kilometers. Comrade Lakmuda had a

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decisive part in the core group and command and also provided all kinds of help and assistance.

### **Demise of Comrade Yapa Narayana**

Comrade Yapa Narayana listens to whatever you say with his head bent. When he speaks he looks straightly into your eyes. He rhythmically moves his hands according to his words. He always thinks of helping the others. He is always alert in secret method of functioning. To quote him, 'I wish to do some or the other work always'. He was always engaged in work. His whole practice is for revolution. He does not think of anything except revolution. In the process his health was affected. He used medicines and also did exercise daily. However his health deteriorated. Finally he was affected with Corona and breathed his last due to heart attack. All the plans of the enemy to murder him were in vain. But Corona did not give him a chance to survive. The pandemic created by the imperialists took the lives of lakhs of people all over the country including the revolutionaries. Few revolutionary activists contracted Corona in the second wave in which Comrade Yapa Narayana also became a martyr. We have to eliminate imperialism from this earth in order to fight back such pandemics that became destructive to the humankind. We must bring down the Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeois and feudal classes representing the semi-colonial, semi-feudal society serving imperialism. The real homage to Comrade Yapa Narayana is to accomplish New Democratic Revolution through Protracted People's War in India. We must firmly step forward to accomplish the task.



Comrade Purnendu Shekhar Mukherji

# Communist Revolutionary of the Naxalbari generation, a people's leader in Indian Revolutionary Movement Comrade Saheb (Poornendu Shekhar Mukherji, Ambarda)

Revolutionary Communist of the first generation of Naxalbari Comrade Purnendu Shekhar Mukherjee (Ambarda, Gaganda) left us. Comrade Purnendu was an important member in the Central Committee of CPI (Maoist). He was fondly called 'Sahebda'. He became a martyr due to chronic respiratory disease in Kolkata on 8<sup>th</sup> August 2021 at 5 pm. He was 77. A revolutionary life of 50 years of experience ended.

## **Childhood**

Comrade Purnendu Shekhar Mukherji was born in a middle class family. He spent his childhood in Kalitala of Bansdroni area of Taliganj in Kolkata. His mother died when he was young. His sister-in-law brought him up. He completed middle school in a school in Nakatali-Bansdroni area and joined Charuchandra college in Kolkata. He became a graduate in BA from this college in 1964. He later started working as a metre inspector in the Baliganj department of Kolkata Electric Supply Company (CESC).

## **Went ahead with Communist Revolutionary thought in youth**

It was called turbulent 60s at international and domestic planes. This showed a positive effect on Comrade Purnendu Shekhar Mukherjee. When CPI split in 1964 and CPM was formed, he was an active activist in the party. At the time 'Great Debate' was going on in the leadership of the Communist Party of China against the revisionism of Khrushchev. This led to intense debates and discussion against revisionism in India. When in school he was already intensely

influenced with the heroic narrations of revolutionaries like Netaji who sacrificed for the independence of motherland. He played an active role in the militant food struggle in Bengal in 1966.

### **Divorced from Revisionist thought – Imbided Revolutionary thought**

In mid 1960s, Poornendu started receiving 'Chinta' document being published by Comrades Kanhai Chatterjee (KC) and Amulya Sen. Later came the 'Spring Thunder' of historic Naxalbari peasant struggle. Inspired with this great revolutionary thought he started revolutionary life. He inspired his colleagues in CESC with revolutionary politics. At the time open revolutionary activities were taking place. He participated in those. All the members of his cell collected large amount of money and gave levy to the party. Later, he responded to the call of comrade KC, 'best revolutionaries go to villages' and resigned to his job. He began life as a Professional Revolutionary.

### **Stepped forward steeled in class struggle**

Party immediately sent comrade Purnendu to work in the Mica mines and in the neighbouring rural area of Kodarma range of Bihar (present Jharkhand). After a while he built an activists' group from out of the primary activists. Resistance and agitation against the various kinds of repression and exploitation of the contractors began. Contractor came to know of this through middlemen. Purnendu was arrested in Gaya station while he was returning from a work. He was alleged to have possessed explosive material and imprisoned. He was released 7-8 months later and returned to Kolkata. Then party gave him the work of collecting logistics in support of the Kanksa struggle. He enthusiastically fulfilled this work. He thus became part of the agrarian revolution, the axle of New Democratic Revolution. This apart, he also took up work in Adhaganj, Badaganj and Muhalla in south Kolkata. He developed step by step along with that of the movement.

### **"I know but I shall not reveal a single word"**

Comrade Purnendu was never afraid of the enemy. When he was arrested in 1969 for the second time, he was kept in the infamous police headquarters in Lal bazaar and tortured from the second day. He

was interrogated. He endured the brutal torture without uttering a single word. He only said, "I know, but I shall not reveal a single word". Then a top official of CID came drunk and asked him to say, 'Down with Charu Mazumdar'. But he only said 'Long live Charu Mazumdar'. Then the cruel officer hung him head down to a ceiling fan and put it on. He also kept him beating with the lathi. Comrade Purnendu became unconscious after a while. The police put him in the lock up in that situation and tortured him again and again. Then they understood that he will not reveal anything and sent him to Kal Kotheri in the Kolkata Presidency Central jail foisted with a few cases. He is such a firm and daring comrade who did not reveal a single party secret in spite of the atrocities committed upon him. All of us revolutionaries must follow him.

### **Important role in West Bengal movement**

Emergency was imposed in 1975. Repression and atrocities rose inside the prison. He then led a movement together with the other political prisoners against the prison management. All the prisoners started opposing emergency. The agitation against emergency and the unconditional release of all the political prisoners intensified in West Bengal. Bandi Mukti Committee was formed in various areas. Since emergency was lifted in 1977, the Bandi Mukti agitation intensified further. Then the political prisoners were released on people's pressure. Comrade Purnendu was also released. He immediately started to take part in the movement for the release of political prisoners. His health started to deteriorate in prison. He acquired Asthma. Cough added to his difficulty. He then based on town and started work among students, youth, intellectuals and other professional organisations. He was then a member of the West Bengal State Committee.

### **Firm in the direction of PPW—Important role in unity of revolutionaries**

There was an intense debate in the CC of MCC mainly regarding the word, 'Maoism', on the unilateral ceasefire on behalf of MCC in the armed conflicts with CPI (ML) (PW) and on the arrangement of the photos of comrades KC and Amulya Sen. Then Comrade Purnendu was

on the side of majority in the CC and helped for a positive result in the internal struggle. He later developed a difference with a member in the West Bengal SC not on any political issue but an ordinary one and left MCCI. He formed Revolutionary Communist Centre (Maoist). It worked for a while. Then MCCI approached with a fraternal atmosphere about all the differences he had. Following this he merged RCC (M) in MCCI in 2003. Comrade Purnendu was elected member of the CC.

### **Important role in leading people's struggles in united new Maoist party**

CPI (Maoist) was formed with the merger of CPI (ML) (PW) and MCCI on 21<sup>st</sup> September 2004. Comrade Purnendu was elected CCM in the new party. Later he became part of Central-East Regional Bureau (CERB) formed by the CC. CC handed him the responsibility of consolidating the revolutionary movement in Chhattisgarh. He wholeheartedly accepted it. Three members of the bureau were arrested in 2005-2008. Most of CERB was affected. Then he was working among workers in few areas. In the process CC made him part of the Urban Sub Committee (UCSO) formed newly. It gave him the organisational and expansion responsibilities of urban movement. He was engaged in this work as a part of the committee. He took up propaganda-agitation programs all over the country against the brutal repressive campaign 'Salva Judum' that was unleashed from 2005 to 2008. Comrade Purnendu worked relentlessly to build solidarity movement in support of the people's resistance and people's war to defeat Salva Judum. Later when Operation Green Hunt was unleashed by the exploitive ruling classes of the country, he also took up active effort to muster the opinion of people against it and to build people's movement.

Comrade Purnendu strived a lot to build worker, peasant, student, youth and women's movement. He put a lot of efforts to build and develop a broad women's movement against state violence and domestic violence. He made important contribution in developing people's movement against the displacement problem, against SEZ and in support of the tribal and Dalit peasantry. He worked day and

night to unite people of various sections, the democratic and progressive forces and build solidarity to the historic Lalgarh movement.

In the process when a meeting of this committee was going on, STF police arrested Ambarda along with CCMs Varanasi Subrahmanyam and Vijayakumar Arya in Seetagaon in the purview of Barsoyi police station of Katihar district of Bihar on 29<sup>th</sup> April 2011. He was foisted with several false cases in West Bengal, AP, Odisha, Bihar, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh. There were 10 cases in CG alone. He was kept in several prisons of various states. He stood undeterred with dare in police interrogation and torture. He was in Bhagalpur central jail at that time. His health further deteriorated.

By the time he was released in 2015 he was ageing. Asthma was suffocating him very much. In such condition also he took part in various open activities, especially as a speaker in many meetings on the occasion of the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of great Naxalbari. He greatly propagated about MLM and the political, military lines of CPI (Maoist). He worked to propagate against the counter revolutionary 'SAMADHAN' offensive unleashed by the central government and to unite intellectuals, democrats and progressive forces. He made distinct effort in the agitation for the release of political prisoners and to build civil rights movement. Brahmanic Hindutva fascists attacked and in return foisted cases on the victims in the meeting held on the occasion of the 200<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Elgar Parishat Bhima Koregaon. Intellectuals, writers, artists, journalists, social activists, Professors and advocates were foisted with cases with false accusation of Bhima-Koregaon case under 'UAPA'. Comrade Ambarda built a united forum of progressive, democratic forces for their release and worked hard.

Comrade Purnendu played an important role as a member of CC to consolidate the countrywide revolutionary movement. He frankly put forth his opinions in the CC meetings. He had an active role in several important decisions and resolutions of the CC. He served the people to the possible extent in spite of ill health. He was in such a program a little time before his demise. He not only thought that of

serving the people selflessly but also felt that family bondage should not come in the way to serve the people. For the reason, he did not marry. His body was donated for the study of medical students to the Medical college and government hospital as per his wish.

**The contribution of Comrade Purnendu is unforgettable and inspiring**

The contribution of Comrade Purnendu in Indian revolutionary movement is unforgettable and inspiring. He upheld MLM, Party line and PPW until he breathed his last. He magnificently fulfilled the task of theoretical, political propaganda as a member of the CC. The CC calls upon the youth of the country to imbibe his exemplary values and ideals of revolutionary life and go in the path he showed.

A bright light stopped with his martyrdom. He shall live forever in the hearts of the people and in the cadres of revolutionary struggle. He lived an ordinary life. He was friendly with all. His nature is known to all. His martyrdom created a void that cannot be immediately fulfilled in the Indian revolution and CPI (Maoist). However, several individuals shall be steeled in class struggle and people's war in the leadership of the party and continue his legacy. They shall pledge to make true his ideal of New Democratic Revolution, Socialism and Communism.



Comrade Ramakrishna

## **A Best leader of New Democratic Revolution in India, a beloved leader of the oppressed Comrade Ramakrishna (Akkiraju Haragopal, Saket)**

Comrade Ramakrishna (Akkiraju Haragopal, Srinivas, Saket), member of the Central Committee and Polit Bureau of our Party and the beloved leader of the oppressed people became a martyr due to kidney failure on 14<sup>th</sup> October, 2021. One more revolutionary soul ceased to exist. The untimely demise of Comrade Saket is a heavy loss to our Party, the Central Committee, to the zones in the purview of Central Regional Bureau and the democratic movements of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. Indian Revolutionary movement cannot immediately fulfill the loss. His martyrdom put the people of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana in severe grief.

Comrade Ramakrishna worked with firm determination amidst many ebbs and flows, difficulties and losses with great sacrifice, selflessness, had a simple life style, worked untiringly in the interests of the people for the sake of revolution, was democratic with the cadres, stayed along with the cadres and the people in any difficult situation and possessed several such ideals of a best communist. Let us see in brief his revolutionary journey in view of adopting the ideals of Comrade Ramakrishna, an ideal democrat, mountainous great communist permeating revolutionary enthusiasm and take them forth.

### **Family background of Comrade Ramakrishna**

Comrade Akkiraju Haragopal (Ramakrishna, Srinivas, Saket) belongs to Palnad area of Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh. The area has a legacy of the heroic Palnad war. His family has its origins in Guthikonda village where in 1969 Comrade Charu Mazumdar held a secret meeting

with the revolutionaries of Andhra Pradesh.

Some of the members of the Akkiraju families entered politics and some others became litterateurs. Comrade Ramakrishna's father Mr. Sachidanandarao was from a literary family and did graduation in AC College in those days. He later became a teacher in a high school. Comrade Haragopal was born on 19<sup>th</sup> April 1958 as the second child among six. Mr. Sachidanandarao's family settled in Tumrukota village of Palnad in view of his job. Comrade Haragopal acquired democratic and progressive ideas from his father. He completed his schooling in Tumrukota and became a graduate from SKBR College in Macherla town.

In the decade of 1970s Naxalbari politics was in full swing in the state. Most of the students possessed ideal, revolutionary ideals. Poverty, exploitation, suppression, inequalities and injustice made the students and youth think. As a student with democratic, progressive ideas, Haragopal always thought about solution to social problems. He was attracted towards the politics of Radical Students' Union. After the temporary setback of the Naxalbari Armed Peasant struggle, there was a change of tactics that gained great propaganda for revolutionary politics. Revolutionary politics reached the people through Revolutionary Writers' Association (RWA), Radical Students' Union (RSU), Jana Natya Mandali (JNM), Civil Rights Organisations and such other forms.

Comrade Haragopal joined the revolutionary movement as a full time revolutionary activist under the influence of a member of the District Party Committee Balayya centered in Macherla. He believed that revolution is the ultimate solution for social problems, continued in the path until his last breath and developed to the top most level in the Party.

Armed with Marxist theory Comrade Haragopal paid attention to application of theory to practice since the beginning of his revolutionary life. He tried to assess the facts he conceived from practice with theory. He understood the Marxian teaching that the question whether human thought could realise objective truth was not a theoretical one but practice would decide it and made intense effort to implement the same. This made him stand on the side of the people until the end.

### **As a Radical Student leader**

Comrade Haragopal took part in the 'go to village' campaign that the Radical students took up in 1977. He was a volunteer in the First State Conference of Radical Youth League in Guntur in 1978. As a college student Comrade Haragopal participated in many struggles taken up by RSU. The sexual assault and murder of Dhanalakshmi, lock up death of Philip, assault on Anjamma and murder, struggle against the pollution from Cement factory are few such struggles in Macherla. All these struggles turned into anti-state agitations in the leadership of Radicals and gained the support of broad people. Thus we see that he led people's struggles since his student life.

In 1980s his family shifted to Hyderabad. Comrade Haragopal gave tuitions in Mathematics along with his father. He studied MA (Political Science) in Open University. At the time he was operated for kidney problem. In 1982 he became a Professional Revolutionary as per the call of the Party. He took part in classes held by Guntur District Committee.

### **Primary lessons as a Central Organiser in Guntur district movement**

Comrade Haragopal was one among the leadership comrades who developed the district movement in the path shown by the martyrs of Naxalbari generation of the district, Comrades Bikki Ramulu, member of the APSC Secretariat Comrade Suryam and other martyrs. Since he was a native of Palnad it helped him very much.

The movement in Guntur district gradually revived as a part of the movement in the state. Party worked with the objective to expand the movement that was initially organized among the workers, students, youth and intellectuals of Guntur town to Nallamala forest area. It sent several activists as organisers mainly to the rural areas in Macherla, Vinukonda and Sattenapalli taluks adjacent to Nallamala forest area in early 1980s. They worked as teachers and doctors. Comrade Haragopal was one among them. Comrade Saket was known as Gopal teacher of Gamalapadu among the Palnad people. He resided in the Dalit colony of the village known as Christianpalem. In the process he started to

teach lessons of revolution.

Comrade Haragopal was severely moved with the lives of Dalits. He gave utmost importance to the Dalit question since the beginning of his revolutionary life. He discussed the Dalit question in Dachepalli area with the Dalit people of the area, to ignite the aspiration to struggle among them, to enlighten them that struggle is inevitable to live as human beings and strived to organise them. He established relations with the people of the surrounding villages and Piduguralla area and formed RYL secretly. He took up land problem, hike in wages and other such issues.

Comrade Haragopal organized the people of the villages surrounding Gamalapadu working as contract labor in Durga cement factory. On the other hand, militant struggles of stone workers came forth in the leadership of the party in Srirampuram area. A strong stone workers' federation was formed. These struggles inspired several workers' struggles. In 1985 Comrade Haragopal organized the people, especially the Dalit people in protest to the massacre of Dalit people in Karamchedu and held demonstrations. By the time RSU gained strength in Macherla town. All these laid the basis for the development of revolutionary movement in mainly upper Palnad area. Although Comrade Haragopal did not directly participate in these struggles, his work in Macherla town and Gamalapadu area stood as an inspiring example to the rest of the areas.

He formed party cells with active elements from among the people who came forward in struggles in Dachepalli area. Youth started to join revolutionary politics as full time revolutionaries from the people's struggles and on the other from the youth being trained in party organisation. In this process of development of Party organisation Comrade Haragopal attended the second Conference of Guntur district of the Party in 1985. He played an active role in the plenum in reviewing the district movement and in formulated higher tasks.

After the Conference enemy made several attacks to give a blow to the district movement in the name of the bomb blast in Guntur. Several COs, activists of Mass Organisations and sympathisers were

arrested, the cruel 'TADA' was foisted and terror was created. Few COs and PRs degenerated owing to repression. Balayya from whom Haragopal drew inspiration stepped back out of political weakness. In such condition he took him as a negative teacher and became politically determined. He worked patiently to sustain the cadres.

### **As a member of District Committee**

The plenum of Guntur district in 1986 December elected Comrades Haragopal and Comrade Mastan Rao (also a martyr) into the District Committee. As a DCM Comrade Haragopal guided Dachepalli and Bellamkonda centres and especially looked after the students' organisation in Macherla and Nagarjunasagar towns. He played a vital role in sending a survey squad in 1986-87 with the objective of expanding the movement to Nallamala forest area and in adopting a plan to build the movement depending on survey report.

There were certain important struggles in the district movement in 1988-89. Party prepared the people against the atrocities and exploitation of the forest department on the people of Palnad area. The struggle expanded all over Palnad area. Later many struggles such as the struggle for hike in tendu leaf wage rates, anti-liquor struggle, struggle of the fish workers, for occupying forest lands and waste lands, the struggle for stone quarries, the problems of cement factory workers and so on. Village committees seized the boats of the gentry of the coastal villages in the struggle against their exploitation. All these struggles contributed to consolidate the party in the vast rural area of the district.

By 1989 the party was working in six centres. The activities of the party spread to almost 300 villages. The efforts of Comrade Haragopal played an important role. Many youth inspired with revolutionary politics through these struggles became full time activists in the revolutionary movement. In 1988 October Comrade Suryam (a martyr) was arrested and Comrade Haragopal took up the responsibility of Secretary of the District Committee in February 1989. Since then he worked also as a member of the South Coastal Regional Committee and named himself 'Srinivas'. As the secretary he provided leadership to Guntur,

Tenali and Chundururu areas. With the martyrdom of Comrade Suryam, Comrade Haragopal took the responsibilities of RCS when Rambabu who was the DCS after Com. Suryam and RCM and also RCS degenerated. He was relieved from the responsibility of district secretary in 1993 February and took up the responsibility of secretary of South Coastal districts Regional Committee. He was elected alternate State Committee member in the state plenum.

During this period of Comrade Akkiraju's gradual development – Comrade Haragopal's efforts as the Secretary of the District Committee in collecting funds during the big cyclone that created havoc in the coastal districts in 1990 are unforgettable. During the meeting held on 17<sup>th</sup> July 1990 in the leadership of our Party in Chirala to inaugurate a column in memory of Karamchedu martyrs, on the occasion of massacre of 25 Dalit people in Chundururu on 6<sup>th</sup> August, 1991 and other such, he guided the movement and placed before the people the understanding of the party on caste question in India. Haragopal personally met the victims and shared their agony. Later he formed a guerilla squad in Chundur area and directly guided it.

As a part of repression on the developing district movement SP Meena murdered a squad member of Dachehalli Comrade Koteswararao and member of Mass Organisation in Julakallu Comrade Jaipal. Comrades Esanna (Rajanna), Ramakrishna and Madhavalata were cruelly murdered in the Chandravanka encounter on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1992. Comrade Haragopal worked to develop people's resistance in protest to these murders. People moved in a large scale and destroyed the properties of the government. Enemy attacks, arrests and tortures intensified all over the district after the encounter. Few activists surrendered to the enemy. In such conditions of repression together with martyr Comrade Mastanrao who took up the responsibilities of the district secretary, RCM Comrade Haragopal worked patiently to revive the Mass Organisations and the people. He guided secret functioning of Mass Organisations, mobilized the people on various issues and built people's struggles. He organized the people of Palnad constantly suffering from famine in anti-famine struggles. In 1990-91 he guided in

the necessary manner the struggle on behalf of United Front for the Dommarlagondi lift irrigation scheme as a part of the demand for irrigation in upper Palnad.

As a part of fighting back the scheme of the landlords of Christianpalem, landlords Achireddi and Ankireddi were wiped out in 1993 through which, Comrade Haragopal and Comrade Mastanrao fulfilled their bit of responsibility in applying the angle of armed struggle to Dalit question. This led to the slogan 'if you create Karamchedu we shall create Ramapuram'. As Comrade Saket said, 'addressing them 'eh you Pocha' transformed into 'Mr. Pocha''.

In 1992 party held a Military Camp for Squad Commanders and COs in Guntur, Prakasam and Krishna districts in South Coastal Region in which Comrade Haragopal worked as Instructor. He made distinct efforts to consolidate the squads militarily and organisationally. He made a lot of efforts in enhancing military sense, acquiring weapons, implementing guerilla methods in the squads and to improve the method of work of the squads. He took up formation of PR cells in the squads and worked for political and military consolidation of the party. As the movement was going on in the rural areas of the district, he contributed to revolutionary efforts among students, youth, intellectuals, women and workers in Guntur, Vijayawada, Tenali and other such towns. He made efforts in guiding the urban and the rural movements.

As a part of implementing LIC policy of the US imperialists, the ruling classes in the centre and the state strengthened covert and informer network. In 1991 Imanuel Raju, a Circle Inspector in the Intelligence department turned a Party activist Sai a covert. Then the state committee in the guidance of Comrade Haragopal made a good plan according to which an Action Team assassinated him in a hotel in Vijayawada. This helped in failing some more covert attempts later.

In 1993-1994, there was a spate of struggles to occupy temple lands in all areas of Palnad. This helped the anti-feudal class struggle of the district to develop into anti-state armed agrarian revolutionary guerilla war and the district into a guerilla zone.

### **As a member of the State Committee**

Comrade Haragopal took up the responsibility as a member of the State Committee in 1995. The then Secretary of the State Committee Comrade Suryam was picked up and killed by the police in 1994. His martyrdom extremely grieved all the party activists in the region including Comrade Haragopal. Haragopal kept in mind what Comrade Suryam taught him that sacrifices are inevitable in class war and fulfilled his responsibilities with more determination. Comrade Haragopal inherited his revolutionary characteristics and stepped forth as a leader in People's War.

### **In the responsibility of South Telangana**

A number of comrades became martyrs in the unceasing repression unleashed by the enemy on the party. Comrade Sanjeev (Mekala Damodar reddy) in charge of South Telangana became a martyr 1997 March. Then the party handed over the responsibility to Comrade Haragopal. Despite the martyrdom of so many comrades in heavy repression and being new to the area, Comrade Haragopal started work unhesitatingly with revolutionary spirit and enormous confidence in the people and gained the affection of the cadres in a short time. He accepted several challenges in the process of the movement and solved them. He studied the concrete conditions of the movement in South Telangana like a good student and understood them. Haragopal not only learnt from the cadres, committees and lower level organisations but also believed that people are the teachers. He thus made distinct effort in developing the South Telangana movement according to the objective directed by the party. Comrades who worked in the squads in those repressive conditions say that Comrade Haragopal always gave spirit and courage to the cadres, guided them in a good democratic comradely atmosphere and never distanced from the cadres.

Due to the loss of leadership in South Telangana he continued also as the secretary of the Regional Committee from 1997 to 2000. He made untiring effort to fulfill the task of guerilla zone directed by the Party Conference in 1995. He built People's Militia (GRD) and determinedly strived to expand the organs of village power. He developed

the understanding that revolutionary movement is the real alternative. He worked with unwavering determination for the formation of Guerilla Bases in the guerilla zone by intensifying class struggle in order to destroy the power of the exploiting classes.

He organized the land struggles in landlords' lands since 1995, strengthened them in village level and made efforts to build United Front. Friends of revolution even now remember his efforts. In the process he tried with determination to widen the Village Administration Committee that were newly formed by building people's militia. He formed development committees and cooperative organisations in villages of mass base, started developmental activities, loan facility to poor peasants and other such things in the villages and developed the understanding among them that revolutionary movement is the genuine alternative. He worked with unwavering determination to intensify class struggle to bring down the power of the exploitive classes and formation of guerilla bases in guerilla zone.

With another wave of repression in 1996-97 the movement faced certain severe losses. Ban on Revolutionary Mass Organisations brought open activities almost to a standstill. Then Haragopal built and guided secret organisations along with the open organisations in various covers. He built RSU units in them and guided the revolutionary students' movement. The party held workshops all over the state to develop understanding about secret method of work among the student organisers. Haragopal also made a lot of effort in providing the understanding to the District Committees to strengthen the students' movement in the rural area all over the state.

Party took up tactics of retreating the revolutionary forces temporarily to rural areas in the intense enemy offensive on the urban movement since 1996. Comrade Haragopal gained good experience and expertise in coordinating secret organisations and activities with the activities of open organisations and guiding them with alertness.

When Chandrababu Naidu part of the ruling landlord comprador classes became the Chief Minister by bringing down NTR, the state became a good laboratory for the implementation of the World Bank

schemes. Implementation of LIC program rose. Coverts began in the guerilla squads and there was severe loss to the movement in this unreliable atmosphere. Police organized murderous gangs that made indiscriminate attacks. One such gang of Nayimuddin of South Telangana murdered the leaders of RMOs, subdued the weak leaders of village MOs and created a terror atmosphere. In such conditions Comrade Haragopal stayed with the squads of South Telangana districts, discussed and reviewed them in time and made efficient effort to instill self-confidence and courage in the cadres. The party could identify and root out the coverts that penetrated the squads. Comrade Haragopal's role in extending these new experiences of LIC to the entire party and making them alert are exemplary.

The State Committee adopted a comprehensive 'Education and Rectification' program after a discussion about the non-proletarian trends and wrong methods that arose in the movement, in the state plenum in 1999 January. Theoretical study continued in order to understand the origins of alien trends that arose in the party. There were reviews first in the party committees and later in the guerilla squads. Mistakes were identified and practice was taken up in a new manner through criticism and self-criticism. In the light of this, five villages of strong mass base through class struggle were selected where practice was reviewed in the presence of the people. Rectification program was thus held in all the areas. Comrade Haragopal played an active role in the whole program.

Beloved leaders of our party and members of the Central Committee Comrades Shyam, Mahesh and Murali were murdered in a covert conspiracy by the mercenary police of the Chandrababu government on 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1999. But the party immediately recovered from severe grief. Comrade Haragopal took up the responsibility of the Secretary of the State Committee to advance the revolutionary movement that stood in the forefront in the revolutionary movement of the country.

Our Action team eliminated anti-Dalit, despotic landlord Budda Vengalareddy with the help of the people in the Bungalow of the DSP

of Kurnool district. Home and Panchayat Raj Minister Elimineti Madhavareddy was wiped out in the outskirts of Hyderabad city by our Special Action Team. The guerilla action team also eliminated a despotic police officer Umeshchandra in Sanjeevreddy Nagar junction in the heart of Hyderabad. These daring actions gave a big shock to the government proud of towns as their forts.

### **The distinct role of Comrade Haragopal as a member of the Central Committee and Polit Bureau**

Comrade Haragopal was elected into the Central Committee in the Ninth Congress of the erstwhile People's War Party in 2001. The Congress discussed the shortcomings in implementing the central task and reviewed that the party could not achieve the expected results. It adopted organisational, military and political tasks for future. Comrade Haragopal got down to implement these tasks in the state he was guiding in the new level of responsibility.

Comrade Haragopal took the initiative in adopting and implementing certain tactics to utilize the contradiction between the ruling class parties since 2002. With these tactics and its implementation, although we were less in number party could make an impact as a recognised political force in the state.

The state of AP witnessed much intense fascist rule when the Telugu Desam Party leader Chandrababu Naidu once again became the CM. He agreed to the conditions of the World Bank and started to transform the state into a burial ground. PLGA Special Action team attacked Chandrababu Naidu who was indulging in fascist repression on the people and the revolutionary movement in Alipiri near Tirupati. The attack sent shudders among the ruling classes. Comrade Haragopal played a unique role in coordinating military actions and people's struggles through secret organisations and method of work to protect the revolutionary movement. Two Sub-Regional Commands were formed under SMC. As the secretary of the State Committee Comrade RK supervised all these organisations and programs.

He was successful in exposing the rising fascist repressive attacks, attract the intellectuals towards revolutionary politics and made them

question unlawful actions. This effort gained a respectful place to Comrade Haragopal among the intellectuals of the state. This helped a lot in exposing the traitorous policy of talks that the government took up in 2004 and upholding the sincerity of the revolutionary party. Since then they were worried with the news that Ramakrishna was injured in such and such an encounter in such and such a place in the state and came together to express their protest to the government. This effort contributed to make ordinary people understand the repression on the movement apart from the supporters of the movement.

All the progressive intellectuals raised their voice against the repressive policies of the ruling TDP government. They opined that the repressive measures were not merely the problem of revolutionary party but has become a problem of civil rights and democratic rights of the people of the state. This discussion led to talks with the government. Comrade Haragopal (RK) placed the stand of the party as the representative of the party and leader of the team for peace talks.

The process of talks started with the inauguration of a memorial column of Comrade Charu Mazumdar near Guthikonda bilam on 14<sup>th</sup> October 2004. Comrade RK and addressed a public meeting. He explained that the working class and peasantry can achieve genuine power only through armed struggle and that all the people must be prepared for it and that the peace talks are only a forum in the present stage. He stated in the meeting that they are going to hold discussions about land, self-reliance and democracy for the people. The leader of a party that until then was banned inaugurated the column of Comrade Charu Mazumdar who brought the politics of armed struggle in India and gave a blow to revisionism and firmly declared that power will be achieved only in the path of armed struggle, in front of lakhs of people. This incident stands unique in the history of Indian Revolutionary movement.

The farce of peace talks was exposed in the process of talks. Comrade RK declared the emergence of CPI (Maoist) with the merger of two revolutionary streams in Saranda forest of Jharkhand from Hyderabad.

The state government did not want to continue the political atmosphere in the state and unilaterally ended the talks and took up unprecedented repression since 2005 January. More than 150 leaders and cadres of the party and people lost their lives. After the talks state repression fell heavily on Comrade Akkiraju. This and in view of need of the movement party transferred him to AOB in 2006.

The Unity Congress – Ninth Congress of the Party in 2007 deeply reviewed the AOB and North Telangana movements. It handed over the right and wrong, lessons, the reasons for the losses and the objective to revive the movement. It thoroughly identified the shortcomings and weaknesses in CC and PB and decided to overcome the same. It adopted tasks to advance the countrywide movement, about the formation of base areas, about the development of Army and development of United Front. It decided to intensify guerilla war, to consolidate the party, to strengthen PLGA and to expand the organs of political power in AOB. It decided to sustain the movement in Andhra Pradesh and North Telangana, to protect the subjective forces and to take up strict methods of secret organisation. In the responsibility of AOB on behalf of the CC Comrade Haragopal made intense efforts to implement these tasks in the zone.

**The style of leadership of Comrade Saket, the leader of AOB is ideal and exemplary to all**

Comrade Saket attained enormous experience in directly leading and guiding the people of various social communities of urban, plain and developed areas. AOB was slightly different in this regard but he wholeheartedly accepted the responsibility. He understood the concreteness and particularities of AOB, analysed the present conditions and the future course of the movement and synthesized them. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Conference of AOB Zone in 2006 assessed that the movement was in temporary setback and also adopted tasks for revival. He led the rectification movement to rectify the alien trends that caused the temporary setback, to enhance the theoretical and political level of the cadre and to mold the party through principled struggle.

With the experiments of LIC, the state targeted AOB with special

concentration. Comrade Saket strived to the best of this strength to face the offensive on the movement by theoretically analyzing the temporary defeat, by learning from the temporary setback, experiences and lessons of NT and AP movements in order to resist and fight it and adopted tactics. He discussed the need of going to higher formations in CRB and formed CRC Company-1 in 2007 in AOB with the allotment of forces from the CC.

Comrade Saket provided political leadership to the Central Command formed with the leadership core in AOB to resist the enemy offensive. Utilising the subsequent condition there were struggles for seizure of coffee plantations in Visakha and East Godavari districts. There was a spate of struggles for the annulment of GO 97 that the government brought forth for exploration of Bauxite. RPC were formed in Kalimela as an embryonic form of people's power. The movement extended to Malkangiri, the borders of Koraput and to some more new areas of Koraput division. Comrade Saket personally participated and guided the efforts.

CC transferred the comrade holding the responsibility of AOB SZC in view of the need of other areas of the movement. Then Comrade Saket took up this responsibility also since the end of 2008. In 2009 the AOB movement was deeply reviewed, Political and Organisational Review was prepared and the 1<sup>st</sup> plenum of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Conference was held. Comrade Saket played a vital role in bringing a unity of thought in the party committees at all levels regarding the tasks to be taken up to solve the problems faced by the AOB movement and provide the proper direction.

### **He gave proper direction to the Narayanapatna Armed peasant struggle**

The people of the area have a great role in making successful the historic raid of PLGA on police headquarters in Koraput district in 2004. In 2006 anti-feudal armed peasant struggle broke in Narayanapatna, in Borigi and Nagulabeda areas of Bangugaon block. The victories we achieved against the armed enemy had a great impact on the people's movement and brought the people of the area closer to the party.

By 2009 the UCCRI (ML)'s right trend leadership could not lead the movement properly. Armed agrarian revolution was advancing with the orientation of people's war in the leadership of our party in the nearby Nagulabeda and Borigi areas and naturally the people of Narayanapatna prepared for struggle stepped towards our party. The CC and SZC combined the revolutionary effort of our subjective forces to the matured revolutionary objective conditions and led it and formulated certain guidelines Comrade Saket took the responsibility of implementing these tasks. He concentrated from 2009 to 2012.

Landlords and money lenders formed 'Santisena' (peace army) with the support of the state. They joined the armed forces of the state and indulged in destruction and massacre. Party understood that agrarian revolution cannot step forward without resisting the offensive. It gave a call to the people to become armed and formed and armed 'Genuvabahini' the village defense squad and people's militia squads. In 2010 CRC Company-3 was formed basing mainly on local recruitment and the forces sent by CRB and the armed enemy was resisted. The party held 'manobal' (meaning morale) meetings to enhance courage among the people to face the offensive and prepared them in several new forms to face the brutality of the state. People continued active armed agrarian revolutionary program with the slogans 'land to the tiller – all powers to Revolutionary People's Committees'. They formed RPC by 2012 and formed the organs of people's state power in the embryonic form. They thus saw the model of alternate political development. A sectarian understanding of considering people of all the non-tribal, Dome (Dalit) castes as enemies in some parts of the area against class line came forth. Then Comrade Saket educated the people and people's organisations about proper understanding that class line-mass line must be followed to isolate the class enemies uniting the oppressed classes of all castes.

Party achieved political victory in the leadership of Comrade Saket in gaining the support of the vast masses for the just struggle of Narayanapatna armed peasantry. The Narayanapatna peasant movement extended support to the anti-displacement people's struggles of

Mali and Devmali and other such and the just people's struggles. The movement was extended to the nearby Bandugaon and Nandpur areas and a strong anti-feudal, anti-imperialist corporate peasant movement continued. Comrade Saket implemented the program and mobilized the CMAS leadership and the people theoretically and politically along the party line. For the purpose he developed local party committees, applied theory to practice, learnt from practice and people, chose the class struggle as a laboratory to learn how to work, personally became part of it.

When the enemy indulged in fascist repression, set up Para-military camps and expanded carpet security, the leader of CMAS Nachika Linga lacked the preparedness to face it and take forth the movement in the path of armed struggle. He adopted right trend and tried to liquidate the people's consciousness. During this time Comrade Saket made a patient theoretical, political, principled effort to sustain him in the movement.

Apart from concentrating on Narayanapatna peasant movement, he guided the anti-Bauxite struggle of Visakha-East district, the struggle for seizure of coffee plantations and the anti-displacement struggle in Devamali of Koraput.

The 4<sup>th</sup> meeting of the CC in 2013 assessed that the revolutionary movement in the country is facing a difficult situation and identified three main reasons for this. It gave a call for bolshevisation campaign to mold the party. Comrade Saket took up the call with revolutionary spirit in the concrete conditions of AOB from the end of 2014 until mid-2016 and provided leadership to make it successful.

**He fought back the right and left opportunist line and politics in the party and upheld the party line**

The 2<sup>nd</sup> plenum of the zone was held in the beginning of 2013 that reviewed the implementation of tasks that the 1<sup>st</sup> plenum formulated in 2009. The plenum assessed that although the movement witnessed certain victories in few sectors, it could not overcome the setback. The plenum discussed the right trend that Nachika Linga brought forth and chalked out a detailed letter explaining the correct direction. Comrade

Saket led the process and sustained the CMAS cadres and the people in the correct line.

Sriramulu Srinivas (Lakmu) an erstwhile SZCM of AOB was arrested in 2008 and spent 4 years in prison. After his release in 2012 he came out with a statement before the 2013 plenum stating that he is leaving the party making false allegations on the party. He violated the Party Constitution and discipline and brought forth a wrong line with left opportunist jargon. The plenum discussed it and released a letter unanimously fighting back the wrong line in the direction of Comrade Saket.

Another member of the same committee Vijay went outside for treatment in 2013 and was arrested and imprisoned. He became politically weak with fear of death and took up right politics. He started a discussion saying that the party must take part in the elections to local bodies and that to utilize it as a tactic thus finding a relaxation amidst enemy offensive. Comrade Saket criticized his right opportunist liquidative politics and gave a strong answer.

During this time the then Secretary of Odisha State Organising Committee (SOC) Savyasachi Panda brought forth a right opportunist line. Then the CC released a booklet fighting it back and upholding the party line in the light of MLM. Comrade Saket played an important role in this.

He thus theoretically and politically fought back the right, opportunist politics, right and liquidative attitudes in left jargon and played a great role in organising the cadres and the people in the party line.

**He applied theory to practice, combined generality with particularity and developed tactics**

AOB is a strategically important area and the task was to take up forming RPC for the formation of guerilla base with the objective of transforming it into a liberated area. A RPC workshop was held with the leadership core of AOB to discuss the hurdles coming in the way of developing them. Comrade Saket identified the weaknesses in our tactics on this occasion, formulated a plan for the formation of GB through depending on the strength of subjective forces, selecting guerilla base area and concentrating leadership in the condition of tempo-

rary setback.

In 2016 a workshop was held with leadership core comrades on 'Social investigation – Our program' basing on the 2015 social, class investigation individual study reports regarding the changes in relations of production and new developments in class composition in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal framework in the past 30 years of class struggle, whether they show an impact on our strategy, changes to be made in tactics and other such things. The workshop realized that there are quantitative changes in the old semi-colonial, semi-feudal social order and distorted capitalist development. Basing on this it finalized the document on 'Mode of production, Relations of production, social investigation-our program' and developed tactics in which Comrade Saket played a vital role.

SZC formulated a plan for field training with the objective to develop party committees at all levels to intensify class struggle basing on the tactics formulated to apply theory to practice and develop guerilla war. Comrade Saket strictly put it in practice, supervised until achieving the objective and provided constant guidance.

Comrade Saket made great political effort in bringing out the official organ of AOB, 'Bolshevik' regularly since 2013 as a political, propaganda magazine regularly. Comrade Saket made great political effort in writing articles on contemporary, international, domestic conditions and on the conditions in the state so as to enhance the political consciousness of the cadres, people's organs and people. He tried to bring the magazine in a new creative method. He selected concrete theoretical articles for education, life histories of martyrs, struggle reports, introduction to guerilla's lives and such others.

Comrade Haragopal made remarkable effort in the theoretical and political sectors. He had a distinct role in the various documents formulated by the Central Committee. He deeply discussed and amended to enrich them. He made a lot of effort together with comrades of his committee in formulating documents in the past five years. He clearly placed the conditions of the movement before the committee and enormously contributed to reach to proper conclusions and to

adopt correct tactics. Comrade Haragopal took up the responsibility as a member of the Polit Bureau in the 6<sup>th</sup> meeting of the CC in 2018. He continued to guide AOB and also held other responsibilities as per the work division.

### **The leader who failed the murderous schemes of the enemy and took forth People's War**

Comrade Saket was transferred from AP to AOB in 2006 in view of his safety. Since then the state targeted him. In 2007 hundreds of Greyhounds forces encircled Visakha and East Godavari districts and took up combing for months together. At the time there were few scattered incidents with the enemy. PLGA failed the enemy's objective and protected the leadership. In 2010-'11 the Andhra and Odisha police forces together took up encirclement attacks in Narayanapatna. But the people and PLGA saved him and he guided the movement. In 2014 enemy targeted cut off area in MKVB division (on the border of AP and Odisha) and conducted area survey, preparation of network and general campaigns. After these preparations they started a heavy military operation in the name of 'All-out campaign' with the coordination of top officials of the two states with thousands of forces. They tried to terrorise the people by encircling and making indiscriminate firing. People were murdered. The scheme was fought back with the active participation of the people and the retaliation of PLGA.

With the failure the state reviewed and brought SIB into the arena with a long term plan. They prepared a strong secret informer mechanism. Enemy studied our strength, our weaknesses, method of work and the movements of the leadership. They made a strong plan and encircled and killed 31 of our comrades in Ramguda on 24<sup>th</sup> October 2016. This stands as the most tragic incident in the history of the party at that time. Comrade Saket broke the encirclement with injuries. Comrades of state leadership, ordinary youth were martyred in the incident. This incident shook the revolutionary movement in AOB. It was an irrecoverable loss to the party.

On the other hand these martyrdoms triggered political ripples in the two Telugu states and other areas. Students from across the coun-

try protested the cruel massacre. People, democrats, intellectuals, civil rights organisations, Mass Organisations, parties and individuals visited Ramguda area and extended solidarity to the struggling people. Fact finding teams released reports condemning the massacre. A political movement came up in AP. The martyrdoms enhanced the political prestige of the party among the people of the country. Those pushed the government and the police mechanism into political self-defense. The state had to temporarily stop murderous attack in the area. The political situation brought the people closer to revolution.

Comrade Saket narrowly escaped from several encirclement attacks until 2020 August. In 2018 January he met with an encounter with the armed forces of the enemy in Tikrapada of cut off area and retreated safely. In 2018 May our forces fought back an attack on the camp in Panipodur village. Soon after helicopters brought additional forces and encircled in a manner where there was no way to escape and also tried to ambush at several places. Thousands of people rose to the occasion and protected the party.

In 2019 there was another encirclement attack in Tiriya village in the borders of Odisha and Chhattisgarh. Six comrades martyred in the incident heroically fighting back the enemy attack in which Comrade Saket and other leadership comrades escaped. In 2020 July the enemy forces arranged GPS trackers in walkie talkie targeting the leadership and sent them through a covert. They could track our forces and made three attacks in ten days. Comrade Saket escaped safely from all these. There were scores of heavy military operations targeting Comrade Saket but he was saved with the help and retaliation of people and PLGA. In spite of the unfavorable terrain in AOB, severe problems of health, Comrade Saket was together with the cadres, studied the problems coming forth in the field and provided guidance until the end.

### **Comrade Saket's efforts with new tactics to rebuild the revolutionary movement that suffered setback in AP**

Comrade Saket was a tempered unwavering Communist amidst fierce repressive campaigns who sustained the test of the times, stood steadfast and stepped forward.

He was relieved from the responsibilities of Secretary of AOB SZC in 2016. As per the work division in the CC he continued to guide AOB until his martyrdom. Revolutionary movement setback in AP by 2006. The enemy boasted of making the state Maoist free. The party formulated new tactics in the leadership of Comrade Saket with the task to rebuild the party in a secret manner. It worked utmost secretly among the vast oppressed people, oppressed social communities and built several democratic movements. The party gave a call to the people of all the areas of joint AP to make successful the just movement of the people for separate democratic Telangana. Comrade Saket made distinct efforts to achieve separate state of Telangana by organising the people, women, democrats, intellectuals, students and youth.

The Indian state has been unleashing utmost cruel military repression on the party and the people in the leadership of the central and the state governments in a bid to eliminate the Indian Revolutionary movement in the name of 'Operation Green Hunt' since 2009 and 'Operation SAMADHAN-Prahar' since 2017. He built a strong political movement by uniting people of all classes, democrats, revolutionary intellectuals, Mass Organisations, left parties, pro-people individuals opposing this repression for a just struggle of the people of joint AP. In addition to the pro-imperialist, pro-comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie, pro-feudal class policies, BJP is cruelly unleashing Brahmanic Hindutwa Fascist policies. Comrade Saket united the people at a broad level and provided leadership to the movements.

Comrade Saket possesses a remarkable theoretical and political understanding which he applied to his enormous experience of class struggle. He could thus guide sectional movements such as those of women, Dalit people, tribal people, students, intellectuals and democrats with the correct direction in the Party line. He fought back the Post-modernist, bourgeois, petty bourgeois theoretical trends that arose in those movements basing on the theory of MLM.

He was a constant reader. He was a student in learning from the people and the cadres and was a teacher. He implemented the three styles of work with commitment that Comrade Mao taught – applying

theory to practice, applying generality to particularity and leadership identifying with the cadres and people.

He developed into a leader of the highest level in the Indian Revolutionary movement but never demonstrated himself great. He lived a very simple life. He was committed to the theory he believed and the ultimate ideal. He never let selfishness. He considered the interests of the people and the revolution the highest. He was part of several turns, ebbs and flows, victory and defeat, difficulty and losses in his long revolutionary life of 40 years. He did not swing to victories and get depressed with failures. He did not place himself in the forefront in victories. He sincerely stood forth in realising his responsibility in every defeat. He followed the correct Marxist method in every problem of the movement and analysed and synthesized it. He was active in internal discussions of the party and would talk in a straight manner.

#### **Comrade Saket's efforts in the cultural sector**

Comrade Saket played an important role in the development of Jana Natya Mandali. He held JNM workshops in which he even played musical instruments. He had a role in discussing the method of functioning and guiding them. He played an important role in drafting the history of 50 years of JNM. When the revolutionary cultural organisation JNM could not work openly in conditions of repression, the State Committee formulated a perspective to guide its work with a higher understanding. Thus formed armed squads of JNM. Comrade Haragopal had a role in developing new understanding regarding revolutionary effort in the cultural sector.

#### **Comrade Saket's efforts in developing the women's movement and women cadres**

As a part of the understanding of the party to build a special women's movement, work began in 1995. Efforts among women employees, intellectuals, students and women workers in slum areas of the cities led to a strong organized movement. Several woman comrades joined the revolutionary movement from this movement. Comrade Haragopal has a distinct role in this effort.

### **Comrade Saket as a life partner and a father**

In his personal life he was successful in molding his family in a revolutionary manner. Sirisha, his life partner was very fond of their only son Pridhvi. When he grew he developed social consciousness and the revolutionary life of his father naturally brought him into the path of revolution. Comrade Saket directed Comrade Pridhvi as a leader of the party. He provided the necessary guidance to Comrade Pridhvi to develop into a good Communist. Oppressed people, class struggle and party molded Comrade Pridhvi into a revolutionary who devoted his life for a change in the society and became a martyr in the Ramguda encounter. The demise of her son put mother Sirisha in severe grief. But she proudly stated that she is proud that her son laid down his life for the sake of the oppressed people. Then Comrade Saket wrote to her sharing grief. 'As long as you think only as the mother of Munna (Pridhvi's party name) you will be in grief. When you feel you are the mother of many children you can overcome the grief'. This message demonstrates the spirit of Comrade Saket. We see the great ideals and inspiration Comrade Saket imbibed in his life partnership from the courageous statements of Comrade Sirisha on his demise.

### **With the ideals of Comrade Saket...**

In severe difficult conditions of setback in Indian Revolutionary movement each and every comrade, especially the leadership comrades must make severe, conscious, individual, collective effort like Comrade Saket. Thus our party can utilize the great opportunities for the movement.

Comrade Saket never hesitated to make hard work, take up risks and challenges and to take up new and higher responsibilities until his last breath. He never stepped aside to take up responsibility for losses. He had a simple and straight life style, easy way of conversation, intense outlook, sharp method of discussion, proper Marxist analytical method. His straight talk and style of writing are meaningful. He always taught Communist human relations and values, lived with the high values and stood as a model for a new human being. Comrade Saket shall continue to enlighten us through his practice of revolution-

ary life as the best proletarian son. The Central Committee of the Party calls upon workers, peasants, women, students, intellectuals and youth to gain inspiration from the revolutionary practice of Comrade Ramakrishna and to join the revolutionary movement in thousands to fulfill his ideals and fight against the fascist exploiting governments with strong determination in order to advance the revolutionary movement of the country to establish New Democratic Society by destroying the semi-colonial, semi-feudal exploiting system.

At no time and in no circumstances should a Communist place his personal interests first; he should subordinate them to the interests of the nation and of the masses. Hence, selfishness, slacking, corruption, seeking the limelight, and so on, are most contemptible, while selflessness, working with all one's energy, whole-hearted devotion to public duty, and quiet hard work will command respect.

Mao, "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War" (October 1938)



**Comrade Milind Baburao Teltumbde**

# **Revolutionary services of the Great proletarian leader, who gained enormous confidence of the oppressed masses and party cadres, Comrade Deepak (Milind Teltumbde) is memorable and ideal forever!**

13<sup>th</sup> November 2021 is an utmost tragic day in the history of the movement. That day there was a heavy encounter between the C-60 Commandos and the PLGA guerrilla company in the leadership of CPI (Maoist) in Pareva forest of Chhattisgarh in the purview of Gyarapatti police station in Dhanora taluk of Gadchiroli district on the border of Maharashtra and Chhattisgarh. The PLGA forces made a fierce fight against the enemy with utmost dare and courage in the leadership of member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) and secretary of Maharashtra-Madhya Pradesh-Chhattisgarh Special Zonal Committee (MMC SZC) Comrade Deepak (Milind Baburao Teltumbde). Cruel, mercenary police forces encircled and attacked them with LMG, UBGL, mortars and other such modern weapons. But PLGA commanders and fighters battled unitedly to come out of the police encirclement that spread up to a kilometer, with the strong determination to protect the leadership. They denied the warnings of the enemy to surrender and fought further strongly. They were undeterred amidst the martyrdom of fellow comrades. Each and every one followed the caution of the commander, utilised the available covers and did not step back at the cost of their lives. Majority of the comrades could break the encirclement by pushing away the enemy forces through advancing in crawling and in fire and movement very near to the enemy covers. They retreated safely with the support of

the people. Twenty-seven comrades became martyrs including comrade Deepak. All of them laid down their lives in the heroic fight with the enemy until the end with the firm determination in the path of Protracted People's War for achieving success of Indian New Democratic Revolution. They stand as great inspiration to the party cadres and PLGA forces.

**The revolutionary journey of Comrade Deepak who attained martyrdom in the heroic fight with the C-60 Commandos up to the end, leading a Guerrilla Company in Pareva**

### **Comrade Deepak's childhood**

Comrade Deepak was born in a landless, proletarian family in Rajur, a mining village in Vani taluk of Yavatmal district of Vidarbha area in Maharashtra on 5<sup>th</sup> February, 1964. The village lies in Wardha valley, a treasure of mineral wealth. Wardha valley is a part of the mining belt of central India starting from Asansol in West Bengal up to Singareni in Telangana. The mining area handed over several best daughters and sons to lead Indian revolutionary movement. Comrade Deepak Teltumbde was the 5<sup>th</sup> among 9 children of Baburao and Anasuya. He has three sisters and five brothers. His parents named him Milind. They earned their livelihood as daily labourers in agriculture and the nearby limestone project. Milind's family was suffocated with the social and economic variations in the unequal society. They were inspired with the anti-caste struggles and the teachings of Doctor Baba Saheb Ambedkar. They worked hard day and night and sent their children to school. They enlightened their children with the consciousness and values to fight against exploitation, caste suppression and to fight. They took to Buddhism when Dr. Ambedkar took up large scale religious conversion in 1956. They believed in Buddhism. They rejected blind beliefs and religious superstition. Milind's father worked hard and had the virtue of self-respect. He was always firm towards what he believed and stood as a pillar for the family and social community. Milind's mother was a straight forward person just like the Mother in Maxim Gorky's novel. She possessed unique wisdom of standing as an inspiration in difficult times. She provided shelter and affectionately

treated many activists who visited her home tired and exhausted. She courageously fought against social suppression since her youth. She brought up her children to stand for what is correct and just, in spite of any number of difficulties. She strived most of her life to feed her family. Although her children grew and earned, she stayed active in helping the family to the possible extent. She not only absolutely supported the revolutionary activities and the social and agitational activities of other children, but also gave possible help to the movement and the activists that met her.

Milind's father was little educated and mother was uneducated. But they saw that all their children had good studies. Milind's sister and two or three brothers also attained doctorates and became Professors. His elder brother is a good academician, writer, social and political activist. He wrote more than 30 texts on various social and political issues. Other brothers are mining workers and activists of Trade Unions.

Milind saw the militancy and social service of his parents, especially his mother and also his sister and brothers. He led a struggle together with his elder brother against RSS in his childhood. School children started to wear black hats as a symbol of RSS with the support of the school administration. Milind's brother mobilised the other students and wore blue markers as a symbol of resistance. Then the administration had to intervene and stop wearing the black hats.

Milind grew in such a family and village inspired by martyr Bhagat Singh and Doctor Ambedkar. He read some of their writings. He decided at a young age that he will travel in their path to fulfil the tasks they left behind such as the liberation of our country from imperialists and casteist feudal exploitation and to work for classless and casteless society. He was deeply influenced with the Dalit Panthers movement in Maharashtra.

After schooling, Milind joined electrician course in ITI in Yavatmal. After passing in this course he first completed apprenticeship in Ballarpur paper mill in Chandrapur district in 1983. He joined the open cast mines in Western Coal Fields (WCL) in Dhopatola near the town adjacent to Sasti village.

## **Introduced to Revolutionary Movement and developed step by step**

Milind got in touch with the erstwhile CPI (ML) (People's War) in 1984. He tried to sow the seeds of revolution in the youth when he was working as apprentice in Ballarpur paper mill. He later started revolutionary work among workers of Dhopatola coal mine area. He went around the nearby villages and organised the youth into 'Naujavan Bharat Sabha'. He developed into an active member and leader of a Trade Union of the Coal mine workers. He became a member of People's War party. He led many militant workers' struggles. He was elected the president of 'Naujavan Bharat Sabha' formed in Maharashtra and led the revolutionary youth movement. Gaining experience in revolutionary activities, Comrade Milind formally became a Professional Revolutionary in 1992. In fact, he was working as full time revolutionary as a leader of TU as per the needs of the party and the movement. His service to revolution, political commitment and development made him the secretary of the Divisional level Party Committee. Comrades Milind and Angela loved each other and got married. Comrade Milind was elected member of State Committee in the Third Conference of Maharashtra in 2000. He took up the responsibilities of the secretary of the committee in 2008. In 2013 he took up the responsibilities as a member of the CC and a part of the Central Regional Bureau (CRB). He also took up the responsibility of MMC SZC secretary in 2017 and continued until his martyrdom.

### **Early impact of Revolutionary Movement**

That was the time when revolutionary movement was spreading in the forest area of Chandrapur district of Vidarbha area from 1980 June as a part of the perspective adopted by the CC of erstwhile CPI (ML) (PW) to develop the revolutionary movement in Maharashtra. Armed guerrilla squads came from Telangana. In 1982, Gadchiroli formed into a separate district. The sacrifice of Comrade Peddi Shankar, the first martyr in the revolutionary movement in DK stood as a great source in inspiring youth like Milind.

In the process, Comrade Milind came into contact with the party within a short time of joining Western Coal Fields as a worker in 1984.

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Migrants in search of lands and especially poor Dalit families of Chandrapur district were in hundreds in Gadchiroli. They had inseparable relations with the workers' families of the coal mines. Thus, the impact of politics of the new revolutionary movement was seen on the workers of Chandrapur. In fact, hundreds of workers' families of Chandrapur and Ballarpur were from peasant families from Karimnagar and Warangal district of joint Andhra Pradesh who were strongly influenced with the worker's struggles in Singareni coal mines. Thus, there was soon the impact of revolutionary politics on the workers of Chandrapur coal mines. Comrade Milind had very close relations with the workers' families. He knew a lot of things from them. Especially, he paid much attention on studying the Singareni working class movement.

People's struggles speedily advanced in the leadership of Adivasi Shethkari Shet Mazdoor Sangathan in Gadchiroli district. Comrade Milind actively participated in the propaganda campaign held on the occasion of the First Conference of the organisation in Kamalapur in the district in 1984 February. State unleashed cruel repression on the conference. Thousands of police encircled hundreds of activists and prominent persons attending the conference and arrested them. Milind was one of those who worked for their release. The conference was held in the forest adjacent to Kamalapur. All these made a lasting impact on his life. He saw his childhood dreams coming true in this movement. He decided to join the movement.

In 1980, the Bombay Marxist-Leninist Unity joined the erstwhile CPI (ML) (PW). The State Committee of the party formed the 'Akhil Maharashtra Kamgar Union' (AMKU). AMKU played an important role in the historic strike of the workers of textile mill in Maharashtra in 1982. Party decided to spread workers' struggles all over Maharashtra with the influence of this struggle. It sent few activists to Vidarbha to organise mine workers in Nagpur, Chandrapur, Vani, Varora and other such places. AMKU politically enlightened, organised the workers in large numbers and led militant struggles within a short span. AMKU gained good recognition among the workers on contrary to the

revisionist TUs. By that time Comrade Milind was working as a worker in Vekoli coal mines. When he got in touch with the party, he immediately joined the newly formed AMKU.

### **Comrade Milind as Workers' Leader**

With the perspective given by the party Comrade Milind began activities among the coal mine workers and youth of Chandrapur. He began to take part in WCL Mazdoor Sangathan activities. He led the formation of district unit of Naujavan Bharat Sabha. As a leader of the coal mine workers/AKMU, Milind exposed the economist, reformist, revisionist politics, bargain and betrayals of AITUC, INTUC and other such workers' organisations. He made a theoretical struggle in 1986 against the workers' leaders who collaborated with the management of the mines that exploited the workers. On May Day, the International Workers' Day, police attacked a meeting in the leadership of WCL Mazdoor Sangathan in Sasti village. They foisted sedition and other cases and arrested 25-30 activists. Milind was one among them who were imprisoned in Chandrapur prison for nearly 3 months.

Immediately on his release Comrade Milind started working with doubled enthusiasm under the name 'Kalka'. He became a member of the party in no time. He started work in AITUC in the coal mines. He led the Samyukt Khadan Mazdoor Sangh and took up many militant struggles. Within a short time, he was elected the Union secretary of WCL in Wardha valley area. This is the mining area spread in Chandrapur from his native village Rajur in Yavatmal and along the Wardha river. Apart from building struggles in Wardha valley and leading them, he also went to other mines in WCL in Nagpur, to Madhya Pradesh and other areas of the country. He participated and coordinated the strikes and struggles of Indian Mine Workers' Federation.

During this time Comrade Milind participated in Akhil Maharashtra Kamgar Union (AMKU). Then AMKU was organising thousands of unorganised workers in Chandrapur. It was organising contract workers in construction of Super Thermal Power Station, Power Station, Paper mills, Coal mine washeries, Cement plants, Mineral Exploration Corporation, Forest Development Corporation and other such heavy

industries, workers in medium kind industries such as Glass, Cement pipes, Tile factories and Chemical processing and workers of small scale industries in the industrial areas of Maharashtra Industrial Development Corporation. Comrade Milind was a member of the State Level Committee of AMKU at the time.

The drivers and conductors of Maharashtra State Transport Corporation worked for 12 hr/day at very low wages. Comrade Milind played leadership role in organising them in the leadership of the State Transport Kamgar Sangathan in Chandrapur, Gadchiroli, Yavatmal, Wardha and other districts. Strike spread and was successful in Chandrapur, Yavatmal and up to Rajur-Wardha-Yavatmal. Comrade Milind came to know that workers were facing problems when they put up the photo of Dr. Ambedkar in bus depot in Pandharkavada town of Yavatmal district. He immediately met the workers and arranged a big photo of Dr. Ambedkar. This can be seen even now.

In 1987 there was a militant struggle demanding the implementation of the recommendations of the fourth wage board for coal mine workers. Comrade Milind led the struggle in Vekoli area. This caused his removal from job in 1988. Milind gained prominence due to his militancy. Therefore, there was an agitation to take him into service. When they were successful in achieving the demand in 1989 the workers celebrated firing crackers.

He led struggles starting from the demand for hike in wages of unorganised workers, against the removal of workers without notice, against not paying compensation to injured workers, against non-provision of the necessary medical facilities for the workers and their families and other such problems. Workers achieved many demands for this. He guided these struggles and gained their affection. He also established relations with the leaders of workers' organisations of Jabalpur of Madhya Pradesh along with Nagpur, Amaravati, Yavatmal of Maharashtra and strived to spread the workers' movement.

Workers' organisations were formed in various kinds of industries in Durgapur, Yavatmal, Vani, Varora, Guggus, Rajur and other such areas from Nagpur to Chandrapur in Vidarbha region in Maharashtra. Milind

played a prominent leadership role in the militant struggle of five thousand contract labourers in the Khaparkheda Thermal Electric manufacturing unit in Nagpur from 1988 September to December. Especially the construction companies unleashed severe, brutal police repression with the support of the state to disrupt the historic workers' strike that went on for three months. Workers stood firm and united for their just demands and against the repressive attacks undeterred amidst police violence and atrocities. Comrade Milind persistently led them instilling courage. Workers achieved success.

The management of the mines and comprador leaders were afraid to see the popularity of Milind. He was transferred to Padmapur mine. At the time there were nominal Trade Unions in Chandrapur. He took up several agitations of the Trade Unions in Ballarpur and Chandrapur and in MSEB (Maharashtra State Electricity Board) in the leadership of contract workers' organisation.

Coal mine workers took up agitation for the implementation of recommendations of 5<sup>th</sup> wage board in 1990. The strike gained inspiration from the workers of Singareni coal mines of Telangana. Vekoli coal mines witnessed daily struggles. Comrade Milind was in the lead in all these struggles. In 1993 there was an important broad workers' seminar in Chandrapur. Students, youth and students from all over Maharashtra took part in it. As the meeting was at its end, the police secretly took away a student leader. The meeting turned into a protest meeting for the release of the student leader. There was a call for bandh. The workers, women, youth, students and intellectuals started a mass hunger strike. The police had to release the student leader owing to public pressure. The meeting later continued up to 12'o clock in the night. The success of this meeting raised the popularity of Comrade Milind.

With new leadership developing in coal mine workers, Comrade Milind handed over the leadership of Ballarpur coal mine area to other comrades in 1995 and went to lead the various coal mines in the Western Coal Fields to advance and expand the movement. The same year AITUC Conference was held in Rajura (Chandrapur district) where he read 21

page secretary report for 7 hours standing all along. His worker colleagues remember it even now. Such an incident was unprecedented until date. In the process, joint struggles developed in Chandrapur and Ballarpur areas. In 1996-1998, these struggles reached a high level. With these activities Comrade Milind turned to be a cause of worry to the central leadership of AITUC.

The central government started attempts to introduce 'new coal policy' to end the coal industry. Comrade Milind studied the policy and held a 'seminar against the new coal policy' in Chandrapur. The police made brutal lathi-charge on the workers in the seminar hall. False cases were foisted on several workers and sent to jail. The seminar stood as an important one for the workers of coal mines in Chandrapur district.

After Milind went underground, he played leadership role in secretly building and making 'Krantikari Kamgar Sangathan' function among the coal mine workers. The organisation secretly built units in the mines and factories. It took up relentless revolutionary propaganda among the workers and linked them with the ongoing armed revolutionary movement in various parts of the country. It led militant actions of the workers. It started a secret magazine 'Voice of coal workers'.

Workers of the unorganised sector cannot avail the minimum legal rights. They face the bourgeois, revisionist Trade Union leaders. The lives of unorganised workers are suffocated with the hire and fire policies of the governments. It is one important task of Indian revolutionary movement to organise them. Comrade Deepak strongly felt that it was very much necessary to organise them so as to advance the Indian revolutionary movement. He gained a lot of experience in this direction in the guidance of the party.

Privatisation of the public sector speeded up since 1991 in the veil of several schemes by aggressively unleashing New Economic Policies in the name of Liberalisation-Privatisation-Globalisation (LPG) and retrenching the workers of the organised sector speedily. The exploitation of labor force of lakhs of contract workers in companies in industrially developed Maharashtra intensified. The process intensified

in all the sectors along with textile mills, coal mines, cement companies, electric plants, paper mill, chemical industries and also among labourers working in forests and road construction. The traditional Trade Unions in the leadership of parties that serve comprador ruling classes did not bother to consolidate these workers.

Milind followed several creative methods with his given experience in consolidating workers of unorganised sector. He determinedly worked with initiative to organise the workers not only in the organised sector but also unorganised sector. He paid attention to organise the advanced forces in workers' struggles in activist groups, party cells and in imparting education to them in revolutionary politics. He practically told party activists working in poor people's colonies that we cannot take up militant struggles of workers without dare, courage and initiative along with revolutionary politics and that we cannot build strong urban movements. He stood in the forefront and gained recognition and affection as an efficient and daring leader.

#### **Comrade Milind as a youth leader**

In 1981, 'Naujavan Bharat Sabha' (NBS) was formed in the guidance of the Mumbai city committee to organise the poor youth in the slums of big towns of Maharashtra. Comrade Milind was later elected as the President of Naujavan Bharat Sabha and worked under the leadership of Mumbai City Committee. Hundreds of youth from many workers' colonies in suburban areas of Mumbai such as Dadar, Andheri, Kurla, Ghokugancha, Bandra, Jogeswari, Virar, Vikoli, Ghatakopar, Mankhurd, Chembur, Bhiwandi until Bodivali and Kalyan organised into the units of NBS. Youth of many colonies organised into the Naujavan Sabha in hundreds. NBS emerged into a big force in Mumbai. NBS formed in Dalit colonies such as Indora, Amaravati and Chaprasipura of Nagpur and many districts of Vidarbha. Comrade Milind took up the responsibility of NBS in Chandrapur district. Several units of youth organisation were formed in workers' colonies in Ballarshah of Chandrapur and also in Vani.

Milind was a favourite leader of the youth of all workers' colonies of Chandrapur. Poor workers and people believed Milind would solve

their problems whenever they approached him. On the other hand, the management of mines propped goondas to suppress workers' strikes and to unleash hegemony. There was a notorious goonda Nagesh in Sasti colony near Baburaopet in Chandrapur district. He was an instrument in suppressing workers' strikes on behalf of the managements of coal mines. NBS was formed in the leadership of Milind in Sasti colony. Nagesh came to know of it. NBS led militant struggles on several problems in Sasti colony.

No one dared to counter the goondaism of Nagesh. The revisionist TUs never bothered to go against goondas. Those only entered a bargain. In such conditions workers had to make a long term strike in Sasti colony. The management brought Nagesh into the arena to affect it. Milind knew of the goondaism of Nagesh and felt he must meet him to ask him stop such deeds. Few workers who knew of Nagesh's mentality objected. But Milind met Nagesh and explained him that what he was doing was against the interests of the workers. Nagesh already knew about the politics of revolutionary party and promised he would not participate in disruptive actions regarding the strike. He expressed regret towards his ill deeds he committed until then. He admitted his mistake and rectified his practice. With the companionship of Milind, 'goonda' Nagesh developed into a workers' leader and a good NBS leader. He developed into a member of the proletarian party and was murdered by the goondas of the exploitive managements. Milind held aloft the martyrdom of Nagesh. He showed his transformation as a model and shared his experience with his comrades. He explained the understanding of the party on lumpen proletariat and used to say that none is born a goonda and that poverty, injustice, inequalities and discrimination in the society turn them goondas. He said that we need to make efforts to transform them with revolutionary politics.

Apart from organising workers and youth, Comrade Milind paid special attention to oppressed communities such as women, Dalit, tribal and religious minority people. He had good friendship with Muslim people. Oppressed women of Indora colony of Nagpur mobilised against the atrocities of infamous goonda Akku Yadav who turned to be

a big danger to women's security in the area near the Nagpur court and eliminated him with their knives and vegetable cutters publicly. The daring deed created sensation all over the country. It provided great inspiration to them that the only way is to fight daringly. Comrade Milind gained a lot of confidence of the daring toiling women.

This was a new history in Nagpur where women themselves wiped out the ill goonda who indiscriminately indulged in anarchic deeds in the protection of 'Khadi-khaki' serving the interests of the political leaders. The city welcomed the women who did what the police and court of exploitive state could not do. There were wide opinions that this deed should not be considered a crime. Several advocates volunteered to stand on behalf of the women. The daring incident of wiping out Akku Yadav in the leadership of revolutionary party in Vidarbha is memorable and shows the correct path to women's question. In this process Comrade Milind gained the affection of the workers, youth, students and women as 'Milind Bhauu' (brother) in their hearts.

Artists of 'Aavhan Natya Manch', the cultural organisation of Maharashtra that became part of the All India League for Revolutionary Culture (AILRC) invited JanaNatyaMandali artist Gaddar to perform in Nagpur and Chandrapur. The Sharad Pawar state government banned the program in those towns. It imposed Section 144. Then Gaddar, Aavhan Natya Manch, IFTU, United Trade Union Centre, AMKU challenged it in the High Court. The High Court lifted the ban on the programs of the artists. The government was taken aback. It took up brutal repression on the programs.

Police made lathi-charge on Gaddar program in Punjabrao Deshmukh hall in 'Dhanvate National College' of Nagpur and stopped the performance. Hundreds of NBS activists and youth held protest demonstrations in several places in Chandrapur in the leadership of Milind. 104 NBS activists were arrested. Activists of NBS and Aavhan Natya Manch, students and workers made a large scale protest demonstration against the repression also in front of the Mumbai church gate Railway station. IFTU, UTUC, Republican Party of India, Janata Dal,

CPI, CPM, Dalit Mukti Sena and other such 20 organisations and parties held a massive public meeting at Akashavani chowk in protest to the police lathi-charge and demanded suspension of the Police Commissioner who instructed the lathi-charge, to lift the ban on Gaddar performances and to withdraw all the false cases foisted on NBS activists. The activities reveal the initiative and the ability of Comrade Milind in uniting various forces in the process of building the movement.

Milind had a prominent role in studying the problems faced by the workers, in organising the workers, intellectuals and students in Chandrapur town area, in inspiring them with armed agrarian revolutionary politics and in militantly advancing the workers' struggles that arose and taken up by united action forums of various workers' organisations in Vidarbha, especially Chandrapur.

### **Party responsibilities**

Comrade Milind until then working as a part-timer left his job and became a full time underground activist as per the call of the party. He became a member of the Vidarbha Regional party committee in 1992. He participated as a delegate in the state plenum in 1994. He was a delegate in the Maharashtra State Conference in 1995. He actively participated in the discussions on the basic documents and on the resolutions on CC crisis and extended considerable support.

### **Comrade Milind was on the side of correct politics in the internal struggle in the party**

In 1985, the clique of careerists and disruptors said to be the 'majority' in the CC of the erstwhile CPI (ML) (PW) caused crisis in the party. Their revolutionary jargon temporarily confused the party ranks of Tamilnadu and Maharashtra. The sectarian method of the 'minority' group in overcoming the confusion turned to be an obstacle. There was a split in the CC. It became dysfunctional and got dissolved in 1987. In that situation, although Kobad Ghandy who represented Maharashtra in the CC was a part of the opportunist 'majority' clique, there was also the feeling that the party should not split as a small force in the state. Thus, the party ranks continued in his leadership for a while.

Consequently, the Maharashtra unit of CPI (ML)(PW) had to work isolated for a few years. In the process majority members of the State Committee criticised the disruptive methods of Kobad as a part of the opportunist 'majority' group in the CC. Kobad was called back from the CC. In this background the Second State Conference was held in 1987. The Conference rejected the documents introduced by the State Committee/State Coordination Committee in the leadership of Kobad Ghandy and approved the alternate documents introduced by the majority members in the State Committee/State Coordination Committee. In fact, these internal differences severely weakened the party in Maharashtra. Several activists lost confidence that showed a very bad effect on the movement. In such critical conditions Comrade Milind stood on behalf of correct politics with undeterred revolutionary determination. Although he just joined the party, Milind felt that the criticisms of Satyamurthy were unfounded. He was very close with the State Committee leadership in the guidance of Kobad Ghandy and supported them on several occasions. However, he held aloft the party line in the internal struggle in the party. He clarified that he believed the path of accomplishing New Democratic Revolution and later Socialist Revolution to establish casteless and classless society and that Protracted People's War was the only way for this. He proved his revolutionary determination. He made active struggle against the alien trends inside the party. He staunchly opposed the left and right opportunist, disruptive forces and anarchic forces in other such vital times. The Conference elected a State Committee in the place of State Coordinator. Thus, the State Committee started to give leadership to the movement directly and collectively.

In conditions where the CC of the party did not exist, the delegation of the AP SC of the erstwhile CPI (ML) (PW) re-established relations with the Maharashtra SC. AP, Karnataka and Tamilnadu state units took part in the central plenum in 1990 September. Central Organising Committee (COC) was elected in the plenum. Since then COC continued relations with the Maharashtra unit and extended its suggestions. In 1992 September a special state plenum of Maharashtra was held. This state unit united with the erstwhile CPI (ML) (PW) in

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1993 October only after a comprehensive review between the COC and Maharashtra committee. Another plenum was held in 1994 two years later. This plenum took up two tasks – 1. To build peasant movement in the rural area of Nasik 2. To build secret party. At the time Comrade Milind was fulfilling responsibilities in the rank of district committee in Vidarbha area. The 'All India Special Conference' held in 1995 approved the merger of the two parties. Few activists not prepared to go underground as per the decision of the plenum opposed it. However, Comrade Milind wholeheartedly supported the decision of the party along with many of the comrades. He took up secret life with total commitment and sacrifice.

After the merger with the erstwhile CPI (ML) (People's War), the activists of Maharashtra came further under the vigilance of the police. The police started to search for Milind mainly in Chandrapur and the neighbouring areas of Vidarbha. Comrade Milind adopted several new methods of secrecy and worked as a member of the party committee formed to build movement by organising workers, youth, women and students. He built party together with several activists leading militant people's struggles. He has a distinct role in building Mass Organisations and people's movements in urban areas where the enemy is strong and in bringing forth Chandrapur as the central point of an organised force of workers, students and youth by 2005.

### **Comrade Deepak, a Maker and Coordinator of Movements in Vidarbha**

The erstwhile CPI (ML) (PW) further strengthened with the merger of CPI (ML) (PW) and CPI (ML) Party Unity in 1998. The Ninth Congress of the party was held in 2001. The task of developing Dandakaranya into a liberated area is one prominent task. Corresponding to it the task of extension of guerrilla squads/area was taken up. As a part of fulfilment of this task, Korchi and Khobramenda areas of Gadchiroli were brought under the purview of Maharashtra SC in addition to the Gondia-Balaghat-Rajnandgaon division by the CC. The Nasik perspective for rural peasant movement taken up earlier came to a standstill within a short time due to enemy concentration and lack of subjective forces. In the place of this perspective, Vidarbha perspective was adopted in

the guidance of the CC and the party started to organise in a few forest areas of DK.

Comrade Deepak was a delegate to the Third Conference of Maharashtra held in 2000. He very actively participated in the political and organisational discussions. He played a vital role in taking the decision to concentrate on rural work in Vidarbha. He was elected to the SC in this Conference. In the light of the central task of the party, this state Conference adopted new tasks. As a part of it, as per the decision of the CC, the Maharashtra SC took up the responsibility to guide one area of North Gadchiroli, the Gondia-Balaghat-Rajnandgaon division that was a constituent of DK organisation since 2001 July. This is part of the Vidarbha perspective adopted with a strategic view.

A new squad was on track in Khobramenda area of Gadchiroli district to extend towards Chandrapur in 2001 August corresponding to the Vidarbha perspective. A new task came forth. It was to provide leadership to armed struggle in this area, revive, consolidate and extend the revolutionary movement in the rest of the districts, towns and plain areas of Vidarbha and coordinate it with the forest movement. Comrade Deepak strived to the best of his strength as one among the state leadership team to fulfil these tasks.

Special effort was needed to coordinate the urban movement with the armed struggle and to fulfil the various needs of the guerrillas including war material. As a part of the work division in the SC, Comrade Deepak was given the responsibility of urban and rural areas of Vidarbha. Apart from the responsibilities of Vidarbha, he also made efforts to revive and extend the revolutionary movement in Nagpur, Chandrapur, Wardha and other districts.

He met few Marxist-Leninist groups, intellectuals and activists in Nagpur and worked to bring them towards the Party line and into the activities of United Front. He gave new hopes to the forces vexed with the economist, reformist practice of their groups.

He instilled new enthusiasm in them. In view of the importance of the students, youth and intellectuals in revolutionary movement, he made special effort to organise them. He started to form new kind of organisation. He guided new kind of student organisations that took

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up struggles in Chandrapur colleges. He guided the student organisation in Nagpur. Several students consolidated into revolutionary politics. He mobilised students and youth in the political campaign, 'go to villages'. The police unleashed 'Operation Mrutyumjay' to identify and suppress the student activists. The student movement developed amidst state repression.

In 2004 'World Social Forum' (WSF) held large scale meetings in Mumbai. The CC of the erstwhile CPI (ML) (PW) opined that its anti-imperialist programs are a mere consolation; that those are confined to discussions and arguments; that it attempts to put on a human face to the fierce exploitation of imperialism; that it continues status quo and liquidates the struggle against imperialist globalisation; that it searches alternatives within the world capitalist system; it denies class struggle and revolutionary violence; and that it acts as a safety valve to let out people's anger in peaceful ways; that it amounts to an intense danger to the genuine revolutionary, democratic movements in the leadership of Maoist parties and organisations to eliminate capitalist-imperialist system and establish Socialism; and so we need to expose the true character of WSF comprised of various imperialist sponsored organisations, NGOs, Mass Organisations, revisionist, neo-revisionist parties, groups, few Trotskyite forces, individuals and such others. Erstwhile MCCI and few other ML groups too had the same opinion. Several progressive, revolutionary, democratic organisations jointly organised Mumbai Resistance (MR) – 2004 with the opinion that there is a need for an alternate forum to express anti-imperialist revolutionary, democratic politics, to declare the fact that WSF is an organisation that deceives the people. Representatives of mass organisations from foreign countries, large number of revolutionary, democratic organisations, individuals, poets, artists, writers, patriotic intellectuals and lawyers from all corners of the country attended the program.

A managing committee was formed to hold MR-2004. Hundreds of volunteers came from revolutionary mass organisations from all corners of the country. Those from Vidarbha area and all over Maharashtra outnumbered those from the other areas. The volunteers

and the managing committee made a commendable effort to make success the meetings through taking up propaganda campaign for weeks all over the city. Several delegates presented papers proposing policies and programs alternate to imperialism. Many spoke. The program was very helpful as a forum for all of them to establish mutual relations.

The political atmosphere created through MR – 2004 laid the basis to consolidate several anti-imperialist forces that came forth in a broad democratic United Front. Several genuine revolutionary forces and organisations of Maharashtra became close to CPI (ML) (PW). We could establish relations with thinkers and organisations for eradication of caste and the movement for eradication of caste further strengthened in the country. Comrade Milind played a commendable role in standing in the forefront in the managing committee and making MR – 2004 a success.

#### **Comrade Milind upheld Marxist perspective on Caste Question**

Dalits are in considerable number in Maharashtra. Like all over the country hegemony and inhuman oppression are unleashed on them here too. As a result, Maharashtra had been the centre of Dalit movements for decades. In this background, Comrade Milind made deep study into the Party perspective on caste question in the light of MLM. He understood the limitations of Ambedkarism and attained clarity that one cannot hope for emancipation of Dalit people in the rotten society without Marxism. Therefore, he very clearly said that we need to overcome the limitations of movement for the liberation of the Dalit people only through revolutionary politics. He firmly believed that the rotten caste based semi-colonial, semi-feudal system of India is the reason for the Dalit question; that doors will be opened for eradication of caste by breaking these chains of slavery and establishing a New Democratic system; that we need to expose Parliamentarism and that emancipation of Dalit people is possible only through the path of PPW formulated by the founders of Indian Revolution Comrades CM and KC and strived to the best of his strength. Comrade Milind guided Mass Organisations, workers' organisations

and various kinds of struggle forces in the struggles of Dalit people with the revolutionary politics of liberation from caste in the direction of the SC and the Vidarbha Regional Committee and in the direct leadership of martyr comrade Anuradha Ghandy. He played an active role in mobilising the Dalit people in various methods.

Dalit people came on to the roads condemning the atrocities of the Hindutva forces when the beloved leader of the Dalit people, Doctor Baba Saheb Ambedkar's statue was stranded with slippers in Ramabainagar in Mumbai in 1998 by the malign Hindutva forces in a planned manner. The state utterly failed in punishing the Hindutva forces that insulted the Dalit people who insulted Baba Saheb. Inspector Manohar Kadam basing on caste chauvinism and police uniform ordered firing on the people to suppress the anguish of the Dalit people. Eleven people died in the firing. These deaths added to the anger of the Dalit people that went boundless. Entire Maharashtra came to a standstill for four days. Comrade Milind did his part in these struggles in the leadership of the party. Revolutionary poet, singer and one of the leaders of Aavhan Natya Manch and a beloved son of the Dalit people Comrade Vilas Ghogre was terribly moved with the rising attacks, insults and atrocities on the Dalit people in the rotten caste system and committed suicide demanding punishment to the cruel police officers responsible for this incident and expressed his severe protest.

Similarly, the incident in Khairlanji on 19<sup>th</sup> September 2022 gained prominence. There was mass atrocity on mother and daughters of Bothmange family in the village in Bhandara district and the whole family was brutally axed and killed in the day by the hegemonic forces of the oppressor castes for their small piece of land. The brutal incident created big sensation not only in entire Maharashtra but also all over the country. Khairlanji incident once again brought forth the issue of self-respect and land problem on to the agenda. There was large scale protest from the Dalit people, democratic organisations and those for eradication of caste all over the country. The anguish of the Dalit people who were inflamed with social suppression, insults, harassment, untouchability and discrimination broke as a militant struggle in the state. Anti-caste struggles rose high. Hundreds of buses and crores of

rupees of government properties were put to flames by the people with the demand for justice to the Dalit people of Khairlanji against the policies of exploitive ruling class parties supporting caste system. Comrade Milind provided leadership to our forces that were part of the movement in Vidarbha area.

There is a constant flow of spirit instilling Dalit literature in Maharashtra. The Dalit Panthers organisation that emerged with Mumbai as its centre five decades ago gave it the life. Rebel literary cultural movement came forth in a big way. There were many revolutionary forces among those that led it. Comrade Deepak was very close with them and gave the necessary direction in a effective manner on the fundamental problems of the Dalit people.

### **Comrade Deepak's effort as the leader of People's War**

Even before Comrade Deepak entered into the forest movement, he understood the movement as a member of the State Committee. The SC realised that alien trends are rising in PLGA guerrilla squads in 2002-2003 and that those are causing intense loss to the movement and took up a rectification program to strengthen PLGA. It held North Gadchiroli-Gondia divisional plenum in 2002 April and extended the necessary revolutionary theoretical, political understanding. It also took the necessary disciplinary actions on the comrades immersed in wrong trends. Comrade Deepak's role as a member of the SC was very important in the effort to rectify the revolutionary forces through political discussions and imparting education in various forms for nearly two years. His methods of teaching and his amicable nature are ideal.

Comrade Deepak was re-elected into the SC in the Fourth State Conference held in 2006 September. He was a delegate to the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress held in the beginning of 2007. The Maharashtra SC once again handed over the responsibility of North Gadchiroli-Gondia-Balaghat guerrilla area to Comrade Deepak in 2007. He was already suffering from certain problems of ill health mainly knee pain. But he prepared for guerrilla life with revolutionary enthusiasm. Before coming into the guerrilla life, he guided several spheres and all those helped him a lot in the forest and guerrilla life.

When he was in the responsibility of urban movement, he made special effort to arrange logistics for the needs of PLGA guerrillas as a member of the SC.

Comrade Deepak provided direct leadership to the movement since 2007 staying among the guerrillas in the guerrilla zone until he became a martyr. He combined his experience in various spheres such as worker, student, women and youth to armed struggle in leadership. He studied the problems of tribal people, their lives and the distinctness of forests. He provided firm leadership amidst rising police attacks. Although people mostly speak Marathi language he also learnt Gondi language to teach politics to the party cadres in their mother tongue.

Comrade Deepak led land struggles organising the people against the local tribal gentry and hierarchs. He led militant struggles against the anti-people and tribal government policies. He learnt several things from the PLGA forces and taught them to face the rising state violence and police attacks and develop guerrilla war and people's war.

### **Deepak swam against the tide and lead the movement**

When comrade Deepak was continuing in the responsibilities of the forest movement, there was a rise in police attacks in town areas and there were more losses for leadership. Two SCMs were arrested within two months of the 4<sup>th</sup> State Conference. One degenerated. One of them was the secretary of North Gadchiroli-Gondia-Balaghat division. Then comrade Deepak took the responsibility and provided close leadership to the movement. CCM and secretary of Maharashtra State Committee Comrade Vijay (Sridhar Srinivasan) was arrested on 18<sup>th</sup> August 2007. After his release from jail in 2014 he lost his life in 2015 out of heart attack. Comrade Anuradha a member of the CC and a member of the SC for a long time died of ill health. CCM and the secretary of South-West Regional Bureau was arrested in 2007 December. The Regional Bureau became dysfunctional. Comrade Deepak was left alone in the SC. In such difficult conditions he had to take up the responsibility of urban and working class movements along with the forest movement. In view of this he mainly concentrated on preparing the necessary and proper forces to continue the movement.

The central and the state governments intensified conspiracies in various forms other than military attacks to eliminate the forest movement. Several new problems came forth in the movement. Enemy had a destructive covert network. Suresh, a Divisional Committee member turned covert and indulged in disruptive and group actions. Although delayed, Comrade Deepak understood it in the micro level and made a powerful political struggle informing the severity of the danger, without hurting the sentiments of comrades. The effort of Deepak was memorable in exposing the covert deeds along with evidences, save the party from heavy losses, isolate Suresh, expel him and sustain the rest of the activists and their unity. Divisional plenum was held in 2008 to overcome the unreliable atmosphere that arose due to Suresh in the divisional movement. All the political, organisational problems were discussed in the plenum in which the party admitted its responsibility for all the mistakes. It thus sustained the confidence in the cadres. The plenum in his leadership played a vital role in this.

Comrade Deepak took up the responsibilities of the secretary of SC in 2008. The SC was reorganised in the guidance of CC/CRB. It was followed by the state plenum in 2010. While the SC was being consolidated, there were continuous losses that caused unprecedented loss to the Maharashtra movement. A SCM surrendered to the enemy immediately after the plenum. Two more SCMs were arrested out of which one was his life partner Angela. At the same time several party activists also were arrested and the party faced an irrecoverable loss. We lost contacts with towns.

With the total loss of the State Committee, secretary Deepak was left alone. All the activists in towns were jailed. The arrests that started in 2007 intensified and the SC gradually suffered totally. While there were efforts to rebuild it once again suffered from losses. In spite of such repeated developments, comrade Deepak stood firm. He took up all the responsibilities. His confidence in revolutionary politics, people and the party and his determination to swim against the tide steeled him further amidst losses. He shouldered the movement in the state,

revived and developed it, which he felt was an issue of great importance. However, it was left incomplete.

Comrades Deepak and Angela always considered the interests of the revolutionary movement. They tried to the possible extent for mutual development. Both of them faced several difficulties and hardships in their revolutionary journey. Comrade Angela battled several false cases foisted by the fascist state for nearly a decade behind the bars. By the time she was released, the bureaucratic state was making unceasing attacks targeting Comrade Deepak and so he could not meet her. However, they remain ideal with their deeply entwined relation with revolution.

Comrade Deepak saw the movement in Gondia-Balaghat and Gadchiroli as two eyes. In 2013, when the police were challenging that they would soon eliminate the movement in Gadchiroli after it suffered from several losses, he prepared the party to consolidate the people in new forms basing on the party line. The local party committees enlightened and consolidated the tribal people fighting for jal-jungle-zameen and built a people's movement against the proposed mining in Korchi tahsil, Jendepar, Aagri and Maseli. The youth of the area was consolidated with a long term view. They were moulded into the people's militia. They were imparted guerrilla military training in the direction of coordinating legal struggles with armed struggle. On the other hand, the people were mobilised in a big scale along with the sarpanches of panchayats of the villages that would be displaced and effected due to mining. The hunger strike of the people went on for weeks that came to be discussed in Maharashtra Assembly. He guided the party in areas of his responsibility in a new method in organising the people against the scheme of the government that proposed to take up mining in more than 25 places in above 40 thousand acres in Gadchiroli district.

This effort resulted in the formation of Gram Sabhas as per PESA in all the tribal villages of Gadchiroli district. The comprador exploitive governments infiltrated anti-people forces in a planned manner and made the Gram Sabhas corrupt. They dragged them into Parliamentary

politics. They diverted them towards reformism, economism and electoral interests. On the other hand, due to the intensification of police repression, pro-people forces were weakening in the Gram Sabhas and lost initiative. This further weakened the movement. Comrade Deepak made efforts to impart the understanding of the party to the cadres through holding classes on PESA-Gram Sabhas and legal struggles. He taught them that people can achieve their rights basing on revolutionary politics, people's organised force and people's armed strength and build organs of alternate political power and that the people need to be constantly enlightened with the politics that we need to be armed for seizure of state power.

### **Higher responsibilities to overcome the temporary setback and advance**

The 4<sup>th</sup> meeting of the CC in 2013 reviewed that the countrywide revolutionary movement is in a difficult condition and that Bihar-Jharkhand movement is facing temporary setback. In such a condition, one of the decisions of the CC was the co-option of Comrade Deepak into the CC to strengthen it. He provided direct leadership to Maharashtra-Madhya Pradesh-Chhattisgarh (MMC) Special Zone formed in 2017. He worked with great determination to revive and consolidate the movement in Maharashtra.

When Gondia-Rajnandgaon-Balaghat division was formed in 2015, there was also the plan to form MMC into a Special Zone with the objective of making it a liberated area. Then a new division Kanha-Boramdev was formed in 2016 in the guidance of Comrade Deepak. The movement spread up to Mandla in MP and Kabirdham district of CG. MMC SZC was formed in 2017 December. Comrade Deepak took up the responsibility of this committee and led it until the end.

As the spokesperson of the Maharashtra SC he issued press statements exposing the anti-people, traitorous policies of the exploitive ruling classes on the problems of Marathi people and also on the political developments at the domestic and international planes. He stated that the problem of the oppressed Marathi people is linked with land problem and that the youth must come forward to fight in the path of PPW.

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When Kobad Ghandy, once a PBM of the CC and led the MR SC degenerated and wrote a book 'Fractured Freedom' attacking the theory of MLM, Communism and Maoist party, Comrade Deepak opposed it severely. He prepared a critical draft on the subjective left jargon and right practice of Kobad and the anti-revolutionary spiritual idealistic trends and submitted it to the CC. The CC enriched it to make it comprehensive and released it in 2022 May namely, 'Fractured Freedom – a Prison memoir'.

Comrade Deepak had high revolutionary discipline. He was very careful towards health. He never missed his daily morning exercise. Prior to this, he studied Marxist classics for two hours whenever possible. He considered this time very important. He was not normally prepared to spend this time with anyone. He read, wrote notes and discussed it with his comrades with great interest.

Apart from studying the Marxist basic texts, he always strived to creatively apply the theory of MLM to the concrete conditions of the country. He not only placed before the party the theoretical and political aspects he understood but also determinedly tried to explain to the ordinary people and party cadres through articles in a simple manner. He had a deep understanding towards the New Democratic Revolution that is an axle to the Agrarian Revolution in India, an agriculture based semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. He played an important role in preparing a booklet on behalf of the CC exposing the globalisation policies that shattered the lives of the farmers and led them to suicides and explaining the basic reasons for agrarian crisis. He wrote articles on the farmers' struggle against the destructive three farmers' Acts in Delhi. He was very much concerned about the environmental destruction in our country and the world. As per the decision of the CC he took up special study on environment. But the state took away his life before it was completed.

Comrade Deepak was a student in the Leadership Training Program (LTP) held by the South-West Regional Bureau in 2009 with the objective to combine theory with practice, to see practice in the light of theory, to learn from the practical experiences and develop three magnificent

weapons in People's War and the movement. He discussed the problems in the Maharashtra movement deeply. He held political classes to the party cadres in the light of what he learnt in these classes and made efforts to develop them. These classes provided a good base for the cadres.

### **A model for Communists and Proletarian Revolutionaries**

Comrade Deepak shared his feelings and emotions with comrades at all levels. Cadre always remember that in his presence there were very enthusiastic political discussions and that he instils confidence in them in any kind of difficult conditions. He is friendly and affectionate. New comrades always see Comrade Deepak as a friend, teacher and guide. He guided young activists in their personal and organisational matters. He is a teacher with patience. He readily encouraged the students. Apart from imparting knowledge to them in politics he helped them in their entire activities. He had a pleasant sense of humour. He had close relationship with the activists from different social and class backgrounds. He mingled with the cadre and explored the creative strength in them. He paid special attention to see that woman comrades take up higher responsibilities. He is a speaker who created interest in the audiences. He properly analysed the domestic and international developments and spoke in a fluent and interesting manner. In addition to providing proletarian internationalism, class hatred and revolutionary consciousness, he inspired the cadre to practice with a practical view.

He established friendly relations with people of all ages, all classes and all sections. He had relations with academicians and intellectuals. He was close with middle aged persons and elderly persons and had a childish mentality. He spent very happily with children. He and his life partner decided not to have children. He was fond of spending with children of the activists. He identified himself with the people. All these ordinary and attractive qualities made him a real ray of hope for the people in whichever area he worked. People remembered him for a very long time even after he left to work in another area. He stays in their hearts.

Comrade Deepak clearly told his opinions on all matters in the meetings of committees. He never hesitated to make the necessary criticism. He never entered opportunist alliances. He opposed any kind of groupism. He fought against the wrong trends in him and in others. He was also firm in not only criticising but in expressing differences of opinion and in theoretical struggle. But he saw that comradely relations and team functioning were not affected. He also received the criticism from others with the correct spirit. He sincerely tried to further unite with his critics.

Comrade Deepak was militant since childhood and at the same time he was a good expert cultural artist. He sang melodiously. When he was working openly, he performed in the public meetings and cultural meets. He always encouraged new artists to develop their efficiency. In the later period he wrote a stream of poetry under the pen name Jwalamukhi on his comrades who laid down their lives in the movement and on people's problems in Marathi and Hindi. He also wrote in other forms. He also wrote thoughtful and very enthusiastic songs. He was a poet with oral tradition. While he was working among workers, he wrote many songs and poems moving on a friend's motor cycle.

The tell tales of the BJP government in the guidance of the Indian exploitive ruling classes, especially the Hindutva fascist forces are well known, that Comrade Deepak formulated a plan to murder the Prime Minister of the country Narendra Modi and that he made his brother and prominent intellectual, Professor Anand Teltumbde and several other intellectuals part of it. We also know about the propaganda that he was the main person behind the Bhima Koregaon violence of the new Peshvayi that stands as a naked model of Brahmanic conspiracies in the country and that several democrats, writers, artists, advocates and tribal well-wishers are being attacked, their houses raided and they illegally arrested with the allegation that they are involved with the conspiracy. The government imprisoned all of them in Taloja prison branding them urban Maoists, is denying bail without even considering their age and ill health and is pushing them towards death. The death of 84 year old Comrade Stan Swamy is a part of it. The statements given

as the spokesperson of Maharashtra SC under the name Sahyadri reveals the communist humane anguish of Comrade Deepak.

The corporate/Godi media wrote and broadcasted wrong news that the relation with Baba Saheb Ambedkar alone made Comrade Deepak one of the members of the CC of CPI (Maoist). It is a fact that he is a far relative to Baba Saheb. He studied his writings. He understood the deficiencies and limitations of Ambedkarism with Marxist understanding. He developed in a long term revolutionary practice dedicated to the oppressed people of the country, in the light of the theory of MLM. But he did not become a great leader in the revolutionary movement because he was a relative of Ambedkar. In fact, this is a fake story of Brahmanic Hindutva Godi media to cover up his revolutionary effort, dedication, strong determination to struggle, revolutionary will and intellect.

### **Comrade Deepak's service stays an inspiration in Indian Revolutionary Movement**

Comrade Deepak is the son of the proletariat who personally experienced exploitation, oppression, suppression and discrimination in the rotten caste based semi-colonial, semi-feudal system in India. He firmly believed that to arm the people, to form the United Front of the four oppressed classes and to continue Protracted People's War is the correct way for the liberation of the oppressed classes and social sections from the exploitation, oppression, suppression and discrimination in this system to establish a New Democratic system in the light of MLM. He strived to the best of his strength creatively applying the path of PPW in the area of his responsibility, the strategy of concentrating among the peasantry to achieve this objective, transforming them into liberated areas and ultimately encircling the cities. He swam against the tide in spite of any kind of difficult situation, holding aloft and following the ideals of the martyrs. He imparted training to the party cadres. Comrade Deepak was a good organiser and agitator. He had a constant urge to form a strong party, people's army and United Front and he especially concentrated on Maharashtra and MMC Special Zone. He delivered rays of light in darkness. He was a

genuine proletarian leader who created shudders in the hearts of mining managements and the opportunist political leaders as an open people's leader. During agitations his speeches not only enlightened the people but also gave the necessary guidance in practice. His presence instilled great confidence and firm determination for the activists and ordinary people in a struggle. He worked among workers, peasants, student and youth at various levels under the names such as Kalka, Deepak, Jeeva and made a special impact.

The Brahmanic Hindutva chauvinistic state representing Indian comprador ruling classes of India is on one hand serving imperialism, transforming the country as the property of imperialists and on the other making the lives of the people of oppressed classes, sections and nationalities miserable. Comrade Deepak always formulated plans to organise the broad masses against the murderous state. He maintained close relations with them to take those into practice. He politically mobilised, organised, built militant people's struggles and gained their confidence.

### **Possessed theoretical firmness and a firm attitude against wrong tendencies**

Comrade Deepak stood strong and undeterred until his last breath in revolution upholding the revolutionary line of the party. He firmly strived to attain all the qualities necessary to play the leadership role in revolution and to strengthen them. He took up regular study and had a strong theoretical base. This helped him strongly to represent the party line in all forums and to fight against the wrong trends inside the party.

Comrade Deepak had multipronged talents. He played a dynamic role through theoretical, political, organisational, cultural and propaganda effort for the development of revolutionary movement. He worked together with his co-leadership comrades in the CC and CRB to solve the challenges faced by the revolutionary movement. He played an active role in the CC in formulating and enriching several documents and policy papers related to the party. He fulfilled his bit of responsibility in exposing the traitorous document of Kobad Ghandy,

‘Fractured Freedom’. He followed constant study-practice-further study-further practice to fight back the strategic multipronged offensive schemes of the imperialists and comprador ruling classes to eliminate the Indian revolutionary movement. He paid attention to formulate counter offensive tactics time to time to defeat the attack of the fascist ruling classes. He took up guerrilla war actions in a very primary level on the mercenary enemy forces in the areas he directly led, keeping in view the level of the movement and made constant effort to contain the aggressiveness of the enemy and to develop people’s struggles, people’s war-guerrilla war. In a process he learnt from study-practice-experiences, relatively enhanced his theoretical and political level and developed into a matured leader.

Thus, Comrade Deepak played his part of important role in the CC for the development of revolutionary movement in India with strong proletarian determination that the Indian exploitive ruling classes could not tolerate. They made him a main target and formulated schemes to eliminate him. They hunted him for three years. He resisted and safely escaped from the fascist police forces leading the PLGA guerrilla forces in several attacks. Finally, the enemy forces trapped and encircled him on 13<sup>th</sup> November 2021 when he fought bravely and daringly and died a heroic death.

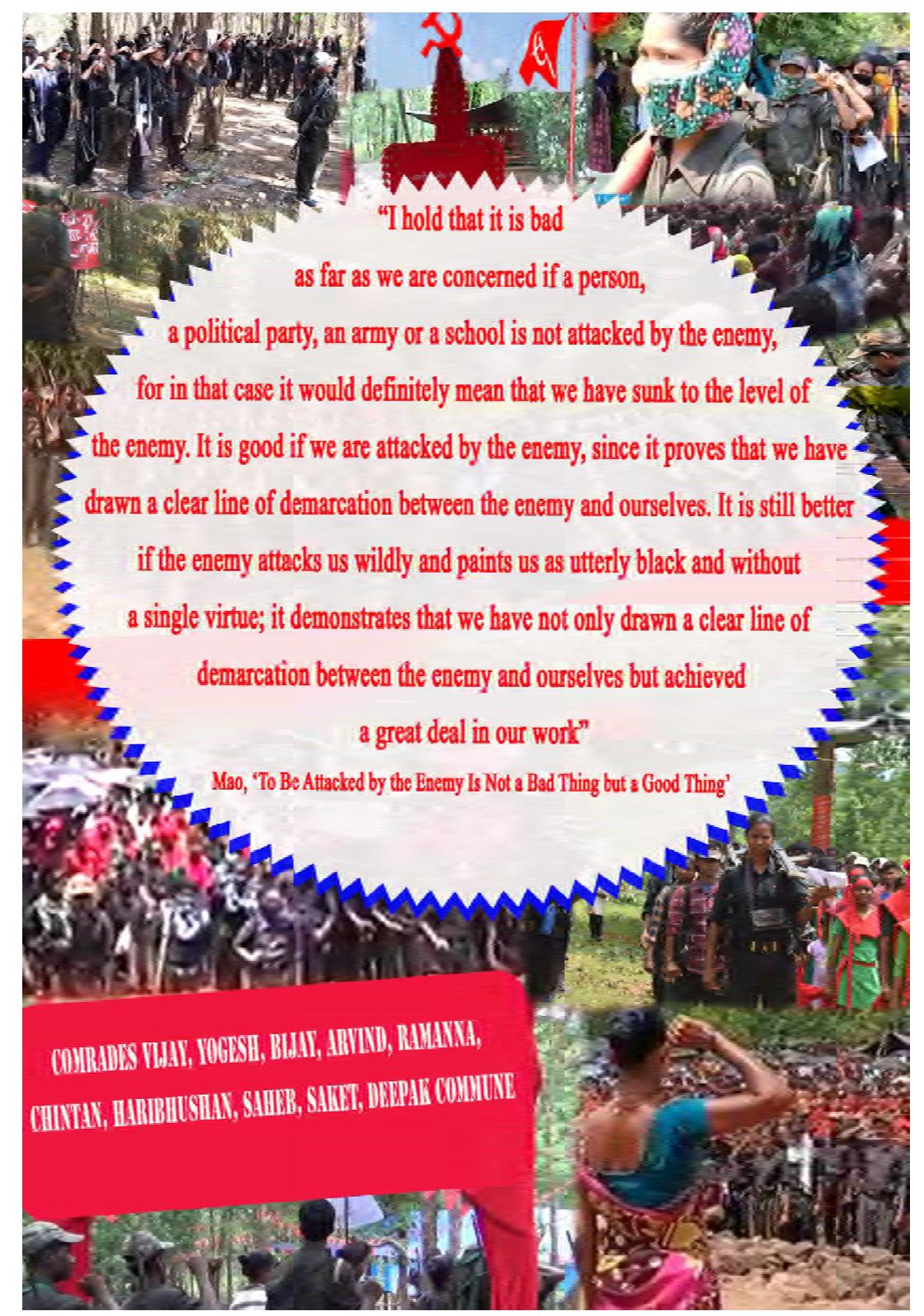
The oppressed masses of India lost a great proletarian leader. The revolutionary movement lost a senior leadership comrade experienced in various spheres. Worker, peasant, student, Dalit and tribal people’s movements are brewing against the Brahmanic Hindutva Fascist government that is working as a reliable agent of imperialism in the country and in this background, the martyrdom of Comrade Deepak who had a good command politically, organisationally, militarily and culturally in the respective spheres is a severe loss to the Indian revolutionary movement. However, the theory and politics he handed over, the ideals he established for revolutionary practice, the comradely relations he had with the cadres, the way he instilled self-confidence in them with his friendship and affection, the intense hatred he raised towards the exploitive ruling classes, his affection, enormous confidence and dedication towards the oppressed people shall always

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inspire the people of India. However much difficult the path of PPW may be, however many twists and turns it might have, these fill hopes in the final victory and illuminate the path. Crores of oppressed people of India shall travel in the path of Comrade Deepak and shall definitely write new history. People's heroes live forever. Oppressed masses shall never let their sacrifices go wasted. Let us pledge to fight until the end for a New Democratic society free of exploitation, oppression, suppression and discrimination and to establish Socialism-Communism holding aloft the revolutionary legacy of Comrade Deepak!

**A Communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against all incorrect ideas and actions, so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual, and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist.**

**Mao, "Combat Liberalism" (September 7, 1937),**



**"I hold that it is bad**

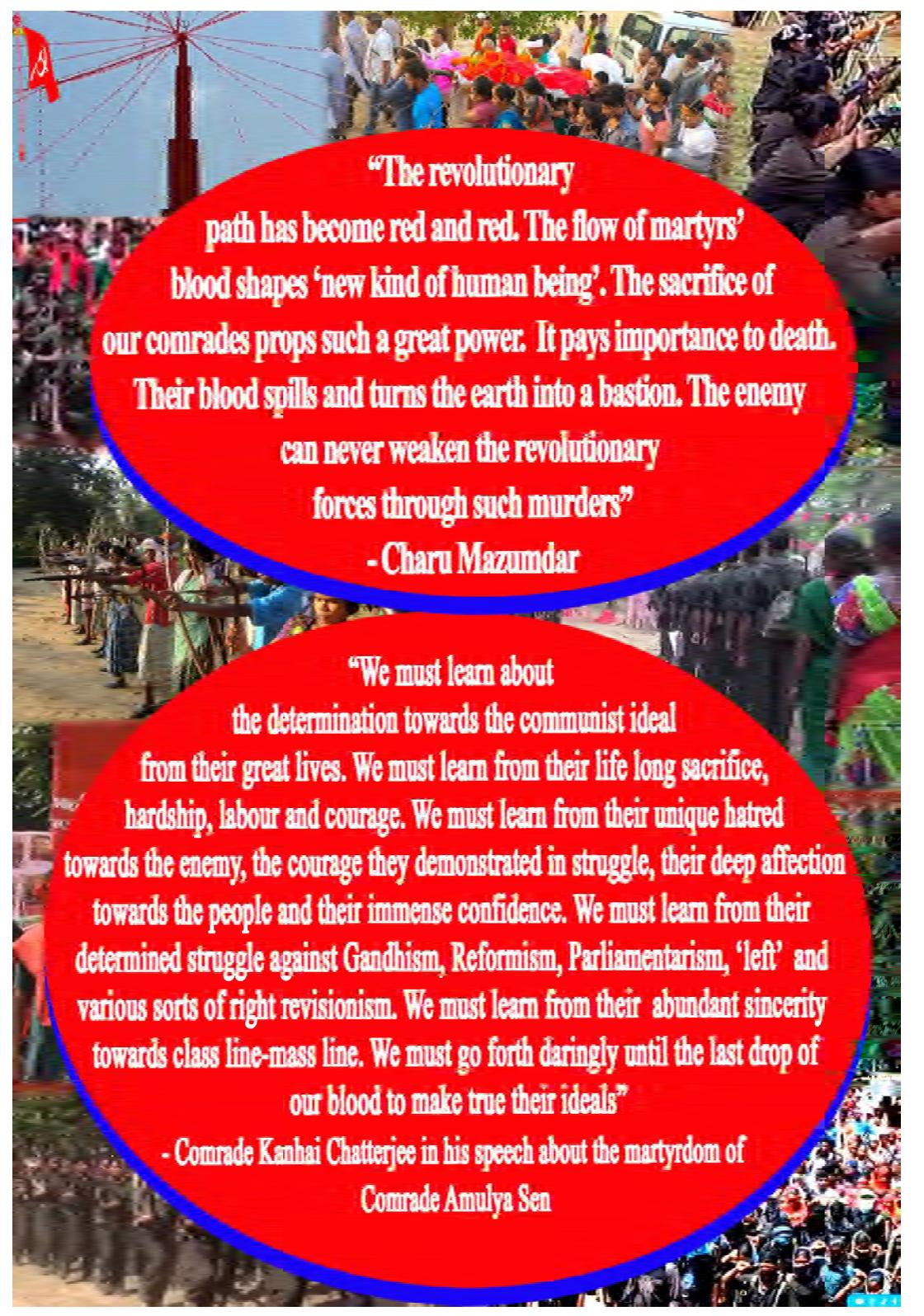
**as far as we are concerned if a person,**

**a political party, an army or a school is not attacked by the enemy,**

**for in that case it would definitely mean that we have sunk to the level of  
the enemy. It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have  
drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better  
if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without  
a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of  
demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved  
a great deal in our work"**

**Mao, 'To Be Attacked by the Enemy Is Not a Bad Thing but a Good Thing'**

**COMRADES VIJAY, YOGESH, BIJAY, ARVIND, RAMANNA,  
CHINTAN, HARIBHUSHAN, SAHEB, SAKET, DEEPAK COMMUNE**



**“The revolutionary path has become red and red. The flow of martyrs’ blood shapes ‘new kind of human being’. The sacrifice of our comrades props such a great power. It pays importance to death. Their blood spills and turns the earth into a bastion. The enemy can never weaken the revolutionary forces through such murders”**

**- Charu Mazumdar**

**“We must learn about the determination towards the communist ideal from their great lives. We must learn from their life long sacrifice, hardship, labour and courage. We must learn from their unique hatred towards the enemy, the courage they demonstrated in struggle, their deep affection towards the people and their immense confidence. We must learn from their determined struggle against Gandhism, Reformism, Parliamentarism, ‘left’ and various sorts of right revisionism. We must learn from their abundant sincerity towards class line-mass line. We must go forth daringly until the last drop of our blood to make true their ideals”**

**- Comrade Kanhai Chatterjee in his speech about the martyrdom of Comrade Amulya Sen**