

ADVANCING THE REVOLUTION WITH GREAT SACRIFICES

MARTYRED CENTRAL COMMITTEE
MEMBERS OF CPI(MAOIST)

*"Thousands upon thousands of martyrs have heroically
laid down their lives for the people; let us hold their
banner high and march ahead along the path crimson
with their blood!"*

- Mao Tse-tung, 'On Coalition Government'

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

The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it.

— Marx, ‘Theses on Feuerbach’

The abolition of classes requires a long, difficult and stubborn class struggle, which after the overthrow of the power of capital, after the destruction of the bourgeois state, after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, does not disappear (as the vulgar representatives of the old Socialism and the old Social-Democracy imagine), but merely changes its forms and in many respects becomes more fierce.

— Lenin, ‘Greetings to the Hungarian Workers’

A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another.

— Mao, ‘Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan’

Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the people and the sufferings of the great majority at heart, and when we die for the people it is a worthy death.

— Mao, ‘Serve the People’

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MARTYRED CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS OF CPI(MAOIST)



Foreword

CPI(Maoist) is celebrating the tenth anniversary of its formation this year. On this occasion the party has endeavoured to prepare and release a series of commemorative volumes. The present compilation on the martyred Central Committee Members (CCMs) of CPI(Maoist) is a part of this series. In it we have included brief biographical sketches of the fore-founding leaders and teachers of the party and great leaders of Indian revolution comrades Charu Majumdar and Kanhai Chatterji. We also include the life histories of comrades Shyam, Mahesh and Murali, three CCMs of the party who were murdered by the state in 1999. Though they were martyred a few years prior to the formation of the new party, all of them played a significant role in the advancement of India's New Democratic Revolution, contributed to laying the foundations for People's Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA) and worked for the unification of the party. That is why the life sketches of the three comrades will be an essential part of any book on the martyred central leaders of the Indian revolution. This is followed by the life histories of ten CCMs who were martyred in the decade following the formation of CPI(Maoist) in September 2004. They are among the over two thousand martyrs who have laid down their lives under the banner of the unified party.

Marx and Engels set the proletariat on the revolutionary path by equipping it ideologically, politically and organisationally through their lifelong work. Since then, generations of communists in different countries have fought bitter struggles towards seizure of political power through revolution. Defending Marxism from the attacks of the ruling classes and their representatives within the communist movement was a part of this struggle. Lenin and Stalin did it in the course of leading the October Revolution and

building socialism while CPC headed by Mao did the same in guiding the oppressed Chinese people to countrywide victory. In India, comrades CM and KC achieved ideological, political and organisational breakthrough by applying the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao in the concrete conditions of India. Naxalbari armed agrarian uprising was the first practical expression of this epochal breakthrough. It drew a clear line of demarcation with the revisionism of CPI leadership and neo-revisionism CPI(M) leadership. It resolved all the basic questions of Indian revolution in practice and set the country's communist movement on the correct path. This is what made Naxalbari an event of such historic importance – it marked a qualitative leap, a turning point and a new beginning in the Indian communist movement. It influenced every sphere of Indian society and changed the course of its history.

More than twelve thousand comrades across the country have sacrificed their lives in defending, enriching and advancing the line of Naxalbari since 1967. The martyred CCMs of CPI(Maoist) are among these glorious soldiers of India's new democratic revolution. Their life histories depicted in this volume tell us about their great role and contribution in carrying it forward. They entered the revolutionary movement in different periods and in different stages of its development which moved forward traversing a tortuous path. They came from different democratic classes and social groups as well as different nationalities, states and regions of the country. But they were all moved by the enslavement of the oppressed masses in this exploitative, oppressive and unjust social order. All of them were inspired by the struggles of the Indian people for their emancipation from the three heavy mountains crushing their lives and strangulating their free development. They decided to enter the political arena and directly take part in the class struggle. They put serious efforts to address and resolve different theoretical and practical questions that the armed agrarian revolutionary movement was confronted with at various junctures and achieved successes in resolving them. They were subsequently moulded into great communist fighters whose individuality and proletarian qualities flowered with the development of the movement. They were tempered by the twists and turns, ups and downs of the protracted people's war and made unique contributions to it. All their efforts in diverse spheres of revolutionary activity were guided by the beacon light of MLM

which they profoundly grasped, resolutely defended and creatively applied to the concrete conditions of their area of work. In this way they acquired rich experience and exceptional ability in working in diverse social conditions, among different democratic classes and social sections, in different fields of revolutionary activity and at different levels of organisational structure. In the process of continuously deepening their knowledge of MLM at the crucible of revolutionary practice, they emerged as ideological, political, organisational and military leaders of the party and the Indian revolutionary movement. They were moulded by the revolution and in turn they left indelible marks on it through their lifelong work.

Together, they represent several generations of revolutionaries who ceaselessly strove all their lives to carry forward the banner of India's armed agrarian revolutionary war by being at its forefront. They provided continuity of leadership from the days of the great Naxalbari uprising to the emergence of CPI(Maoist) – the inheritor of all the positive aspects of the pre and post-Naxalbari communist movement in India. The comrades belonged to different revolutionary streams that charted independent course after the disintegration and splits in the revolutionary movement following its setback in the early 1970s. The martyred CCMs therefore stand for the unity of India's genuine communist revolutionary streams which turned into a mighty current with the emergence of the unified all-India Maoist party as a single guiding centre of Indian revolution. Their life histories are thus closely intertwined with and parallel the history of India's communist movement, particularly since Naxalbari. In studying these life histories we can learn about the movement in different phases of its development with its specific features and histories in different regions of the country.

With their lifelong conscious effort and struggle to defend and take forward the armed agrarian revolutionary war, the martyred leaders showed the preparedness and determination befitting great proletarian soldiers who were ready to endure any hardship and make any sacrifice in the service of the proletariat and the vast toiling masses. They demonstrated unbending resoluteness and great courage in confronting the enemy in the battlefield – be it the ideological, political, military or any other field of class struggle. They led the party, the guerilla army and the masses in struggles against big

landlords, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the imperialists, hitting at the exploitation, oppression and authority of the parasitic ruling classes. Declassing themselves through strenuous efforts in integrating closely with the wretched of the earth, they happily embraced all hardships and difficult circumstances that came up in the course of their underground revolutionary life. Many of them had to spend years of incarceration in enemy prisons and went through severe physical and mental torture. Yet none of it could break their will or make them bow to the enemy. On the contrary, every hurdle, difficulty, downturn or crisis on their path or that of the revolutionary movement steeled them even more. They turned the attacks of the enemy into opportunities for strengthening themselves and the movement to march ahead by overcoming the obstacles.

The martyred CCMs were equally unsparing in opposing, exposing and fighting against the revisionists within the communist party and the communist movement who distorted Marxism to serve the interests of the enemy classes and their dictatorial rule, thereby threatening to cause enormous damage to the people's interest and destroy the revolution itself. Inheriting the great legacy of CM and KC's uncompromising lifelong struggle against right and 'left' opportunist trends, particularly against revisionist trends inside the party, the martyred leaders participated and led the party in two-line struggles against right and 'left' opportunists, disruptionists, liquidators and renegades. They not only defended MLM and preserved the party's correct ideological, political and military line, but also enriched and deepened it in the course of such struggles. With equal revolutionary determination, they fought against revisionism and all manifestations of non-proletarian ideology and practice that raised their head in the Indian and international communist movements.

As members of the party's leading committees, and particularly its highest body the CC, they shouldered higher-level tasks of the party and put persistent efforts in formulating tactics, policies and plans, while providing leadership to their implementation in practice too. Entrusted with the challenging responsibility of steering the country's revolutionary movement on the correct course towards establishing new democracy, socialism and finally communism, they strove to fulfill this responsibility with great dedication and commitment by following the guiding light of MLM.

Their limitless proletarian class hatred against the exploitative classes was matched by their infinite belief in the vast masses. They had deep conviction in the Marxist precept that it is the masses and masses alone, not leaders or individual heroes, who make history. They never forgot that the act of liberating the masses has to be the act of the masses themselves. So they learnt from the masses while leading and guiding them. Their lives are glowing examples of serving the masses; they made the people's interest their own interest, the people's wellbeing their own wellbeing. In their revolutionary practice, they displayed great ideological firmness coming from a deeper understanding of MLM, consistently upheld the party's revolutionary line and remained steadfast in the pursuit of the aims of the party. They persisted in following the mass line, undertook hard work and simple living, displayed great humility and modesty, had the willingness to undertake self-criticism and criticism in order to declass and proletarianise themselves and the party and to advance the movement by rectifying mistakes. Such were their great proletarian values which made them exemplary communists. With such qualities, they won the affection, admiration and confidence of their comrades and the oppressed masses.

As Mao said, it is easy to do a bit of good but most difficult to do good all one's life; it is easy to be a revolutionary for some time but is most difficult to remain a revolutionary all one's life and die a revolutionary. Though the martyred leaders of Indian revolution lived, worked and died in different circumstances, all of them accomplished this most difficult task. The great revolutionary life of comrade Sushil Roy was cut short by the inhuman treatment he was meted out in the enemy prisons during his prolonged incarceration, while comrade Rawoof died of old age after serving the Indian revolution for many decades. Comrades Shamsher Singh Sheri, Parimal Sen and Anuradha died prematurely of illness which could have been easily cured and their lives saved but for the state's brutal repression which did not allow them to avail timely and adequate medical care. Comrades Chandramouli, Rajamouli, Patel Sudhakar, Azad and Koteswarlu, and before them Shyam, Mahesh and Murali, were all murdered in cold blood by the state's intelligence agencies, police and special forces under the orders of their political bosses at the highest level after failing to extract any party secret even after subjecting them to extreme torture.

The CCMs personified the spirit of defiance and courage by boldly facing the enemy till the end; they showed their unwavering commitment to the revolution even in the face of certain death. Holding high the red flag of the proletariat till their last breath, they stood tall in the battlefield and valiantly chose death over surrender. They remained as strong and steadfast as mountains – invincible and unshakable, soaring high above their adversaries and dwarfing their executioners. The manner in which they died therefore has as much to teach us as the manner in which they lived their highly meaningful lives. If we grasp their experiences and learn from their lives, we can gain foresight, draw strength from them and face the enemy boldly. Once the inspiration of their lives and martyrdoms engrosses the masses, it transforms into a material force that can storm heavens and upturn the world. In this way the martyred leaders continue to serve the revolution even after their death. They tormented the ruling classes when they were alive, they haunt and terrorise them even after their death. No wonder the anxious ruling classes make every effort to stop the masses from commemorating the martyrs. It includes their despicable acts of demolishing memorial columns and disrupting memorial meetings. But the reasons which make the martyrs the targets of the enemy also endear them to the oppressed masses who fondly keep their memories alive in songs, struggles and unceasing sacrifices.

The life histories of the great revolutionary leaders of the party are thus a source of profound knowledge and clarity about the Indian revolution. The invaluable teachings and lessons of their lives constitute an indispensable foundation for knowing, defending, propagating and advancing the country's ongoing protracted people's war. For these reasons their life histories need to be widely studied and propagated.

Most of the articles included here have been published previously on different occasions. While the life histories of CM and KC were published in the *People's War* magazine of the party in its first issue, others were released after the martyrdom of the respective comrades and brought out in different party publications subsequently. While basically retaining the articles in their original form, we have revised the texts and made editorial changes keeping in view their compilation in a single volume on the occasion of the

party's tenth anniversary. Some stylistic changes have also been made and typographical errors corrected. It should be noted while going through the life histories that the articles provide only a brief introduction to their rich and multi-faceted revolutionary lives spanning over many decades and therefore many aspects of their lives may not have found mention here. Preparation of fuller and more detailed biographical sketches of the party's two founder leaders and the martyred CCMs remain an important task before the revolutionary movement to be fulfilled in the future.

In presenting the life histories of the martyred CCMs of CPI(Maoist) on the tenth anniversary of its formation, we pay our revolutionary red homage to all the martyrs of Indian revolution and reiterate our pledge to march ahead along the trail they have blazed by holding high the red banner soaked in their blood. On this occasion, we also offer our tributes to the martyrs of the Protracted People's Wars and the World Socialist Revolution as well as national liberation struggles and democratic movements across the world who have laid down their lives in fighting against the forces of reaction.

**Central Committee
CPI(Maoist)**

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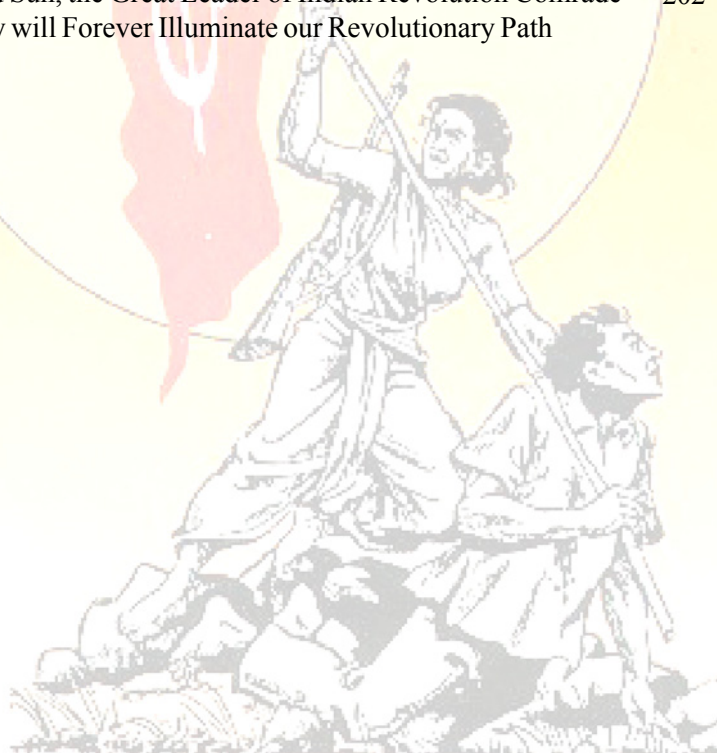
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Comrade Charu Majumdar and Comrade Kanhai Chatterji: Founder Leaders of the Party, Trailblazers and Great Teachers of the Indian Revolution

Ten years back on 21 September 2004 CPI(ML)[PW] and MCCI merged to form the Communist Party of India (Maoist). Comrade CM and comrade KC were recognised as the fore-founders, leaders and teachers of the unified party. Both of them made path-breaking contributions in setting forth the correct line of Indian revolution in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and establishing its validity through concrete revolutionary practice.

CPI(Maoist) is celebrating the tenth anniversary of its formation this year. On this occasion, let us take lessons and inspiration from the great communist lives of our two beloved leaders and teachers. By following their footsteps, let us strive our utmost to take the ongoing armed agrarian revolutionary war and the Protracted Peoples' War of the country to a higher stage. By imbibing their great proletarian values, let us boldly fight back the enemy on all fronts and intensify the task of building Base Areas and the People's Army. By holding high the red banner they have handed down to us, let us further strengthen the three Magic Weapons - Party, Army and United Front - and thereby take the New Democratic Revolution to success and advance towards establishing Socialism and Communism.



Comrade Charu Majumdar

Long Live Comrade Charu Majumdar: Founder Leader of the Party, Trailblazer and Great Teacher of the Indian Revolution

1967. Armed agrarian revolutionary uprising of Naxalbari took place this year. This was the year that laid down the revolutionary line of Protracted People's War (PPW) for the Indian revolution by bringing a decisive break with revisionism and neo-revisionism through revolutionary practice. It marked an ideological and political breakthrough that resolved all the basic questions of India's New Democratic Revolution (NDR). It ushered in an organisational breakthrough by discarding and tearing down the decadent old party structures and all formal relations with it. When the revisionist shackles were broken, the initiative of the masses was released and their creativity unleashed in the class struggle. It thereby set off a prairie fire of revolutionary struggles in several parts of the country, in the process forging a communist party of a new type, building a new army in its embryonic form and establishing new political power in its embryonic form. This path-breaking event shook the entire Indian society and made a lasting impact in all its spheres - polity, economy, culture, values, thought process, etc. within a short span of time. Thus began a new saga of heroic struggle and selfless sacrifice, inaugurating a new chapter in the history of Indian revolution. It was the starting point of the Indian PPW for successfully completing the country's new democratic revolution to advance to socialism and then communism. Comrade CM was its architect and torch-bearer. There is a lot to learn from his revolutionary life.

Childhood and the influence of revolutionary ideas

Comrade Charu Majumdar was born in the year 1918. His father Bisweswar Majumdar was an advocate and a leader of the Congress Party. His mother held progressive ideas. He was the only one that survived out of their nine children. He was a brilliant student. He used to secure 95 per cent marks in school. He came in touch with revolutionary politics from his days in the high school in 1930. When he was 12 years of age, Seva Mangal Singh and Basuram Chowdary encouraged him to take part in political activities. Growing up under the shadow of colonial bondage, CM was inspired by the nationalist revolutionaries who sought to overthrow British rule by the use of armed force. He soon became a member of the All Bengal Students' Association (ABSA) affiliated to the Anusheelan group. He was not convinced by the nonviolent and conformist struggles of the Congress. He dreamt of creating a mass upsurge like the French Revolution or like the movements spearheaded by Italian democratic revolutionaries Garibaldi and Mazzini. The strong anti-imperialist national democratic spirit he inculcated in his youth remained with him throughout his life.

He passed matriculation in first grade in 1936. Later he joined the Edwards College in Pabna (presently in Bangladesh). He came in touch with the Communists in the college. In those days, Communist Party of India (CPI) conducted secret meetings through its district representatives who tried to make the peasantry conscious of their rights and to organise them. This was in preparation of the peasant movement called the Adhiyar movement. He felt that this was the correct path. So he started organising the beedi workers. He left his studies, resigned from the Congress and joined the Krishak Sabha of CPI in late 1930s as an ordinary activist. Since then, he dedicated his life to the emancipation of the Indian masses, playing the role of the architect of the great 'Spring Thunder'.

From the college to the peasantry

Comrade CM toured extensively with the Communist leader Sachin Das Gupta for three months in the villages of Duvvar area. During this time he led an arduous life without proper food, staying only with the poor peasants, and on some occasions, sleeping in open places. The experience

in these three months inspired CM and he realised the importance of working among the peasantry. He understood the people's problems and particularly the lives of the peasants more deeply. He started working as a Party organiser in Jalpaiguri. Due to his distinct capability in understanding the peasant mentality, he won their confidence and affection in a short time. When an arrest warrant was issued on him under the DIR law, he escaped from the enemy and worked secretly among the peasants.

But when he went to Jalpaiguri to attend a Party meeting, he was arrested for the first time. By that time his father too was arrested for his association with the Congress. CM met his father in the jail. Both of them were released after six months. But they were put under house arrest in Siliguri. One rainy night he escaped from the house arrest and joined the movement.

An organiser among the workers

Party sent CM to work as an organiser among the railway workers. This shift from organising the peasants to the work among railway workers helped him have a better understanding about class struggle. He started learning Hindi and developed into a good speaker in a short time. Under his able leadership, the Party in North Bengal could build a strong union among the railway workers. He became a popular mass leader. In the process he became a member of CPI's Jalpaiguri District Committee (DC) in 1942. That year saw unprecedented countrywide political unrest and massive state repression. Many political leaders and activists were put in jail. CM was in jail for six months and was released in January 1943. In the month of May the same year he attended the first Congress of the Communist Party of India as a delegate.

Leader of the Tebhaga movement

In 1943 great famine shook Bengal that laid the foundation for the historic Tebhaga movement of the 1946-'47. After he was released from jail, CM built the movement to seize the crops of the zamindars and moneylenders. He actively participated in the Food Movement and as a leader of the Krishak Sabha, he provided leadership to the Tebhaga armed peasant struggle of 1946-'51. He organized the peasants in Pabgar, Boda

and Debiganj in Dinajpur district in North Bengal. He prepared all the villages as forts to resist police repression. He organised the peasantry with locally available weapons. Women participated in a large number in this resistance movement. It made a great impact on him. He started thinking about the role of the armed struggle of the peasants in revolution. This armed peasant movement brought forward many aspects of revolutionary peasant struggle. He absorbed all these experiences and developed them in the later years.

The State Committee (SC) of the Communist Party and the peasant organisation of Bengal decided to postpone this movement. But the peasant leaders of North Bengal, mainly comrades Madhav Dutta and CM, strongly felt that the movement was to be started without delay. The movement spread like wildfire in no time despite severe enemy repression. But the highest leadership of the Party betrayed the movement. In this process, he grasped the tactics of Indian revolution and developed the qualities of leadership.

‘Independent’ India once more banned the Communist Party. In 1948, CM attended in the Second Congress of the CPI as a delegate. Shortly after this, he was arrested and was imprisoned in the Dum Dum jail until 1951. In jail he got in touch with Kanu Sanyal who was in the Communist movement from his student days. In 1952, after coming out of jail, he was elected as the secretary of the reorganised Jalpaiguri DC. In the same year he married Lila who was his associate in work. He was shifted to Darjeeling district to organize the workers of the tea plantations and also due to domestic reasons.

From Jalpaiguri to Darjeeling

After he came to Darjeeling, Siliguri became the center of his activities. He led the reorganisation of the Darjeeling DC, a process which later helped gain the support of the majority of comrades for the revolutionary line he formulated. During this time he studied the Chinese revolution and became a follower of Mao’s line.

While he was working in Siliguri, he came in touch with many persons that later led the Naxalbari movement. Jangal Santhal, Babulal Biswakarmakar, Souren Bose and Kanu Sanyal were some of them.

He did not confine his work to the peasantry but also concentrated on

organising the workers of tea plantations, built a trade union and was its president until 1962. He was also the president of the Rikshaw Workers' Union.

Towards the correct path

The Tebhaga and the Worli struggles were not developed into armed agrarian revolutionary struggles. The Telangana struggle was betrayed and the leadership fell in the mire of elections. Due to these reasons, his ideological and political differences with the Party leadership intensified in 1957 after the Fourth Congress of the Party in Palghat in 1956. He started speaking out his opinions openly. By the Fifth Congress in Amritsar in 1958, he lost confidence on leaders like Ajoy Ghosh, Bhupesh Gupta and Pramod Das Gupta. He expressed his opinion in the DC meeting after the Congress. Since then, he concentrated on moulding the Party according to his ideas.

After the demise of Com. Stalin, when Khrushchev revisionist clique gained power in the Soviet Union, genuine revolutionaries all over the world led by the CPC, carried out a non-compromising ideological and political struggle against modern revisionism of the CPSU. This Great Debate in the International Communist Movement also had reverberations in India where genuine revolutionaries waged a struggle against the deep-rooted revisionism in the CPI leadership and later against the neo-revisionism in the CPI(M) leadership. They took up constant inner-Party struggle. In this background, the Communists in North Bengal decided to consolidate the Party in a few selected areas in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts with the aim of building base areas. They handed over the responsibility of writing the related Party documents to CM. A five member committee was formed under the his leadership. In 1962 he sent his document mainly based on the China line to the SC. The then SC secretary Pramod Das Gupta ordered expulsion of CM and his associates on seeing this document. But the secretary of the Calcutta DC Ganesh Ghosh was favorable to this document. So these orders were temporarily kept aside.

In 1962 Indian government with the instigation and support of the US imperialists as part of its world hegemonic designs to surround socialist China attacked it and declared Emergency in the country. It instigated

thousands of bourgeois intellectuals to provoke the masses with a national-chauvinist frenzy. The popular CPI leaders of this time chose to prostrate before the government. As the war started CM took the correct stand. He criticised the national-chauvinism as well as the centrist and indifferent attitude in the leadership. He was arrested on 17th November 1962. After he was released from the jail in November 1963, he went to the Party office and threw away the photo of revisionist Dange showing his hatred for modern revisionism.

He contested in the assembly by-elections in Siliguri as a candidate from the Communist Party as per the instruction of the Party and due to the pressure from the comrades. He used the election campaign for the propagation of revolutionary politics and for moulding the people according to his ideas.

Struggle between the revisionist and the revolutionary path

CM joined the CPI(M) when it came into existence in 1964. But he did not have any illusions about the neo-revisionist centrist character of the leadership of this Party. In no time he realised that this new Party is nothing but old wine in a new bottle.

CM was suffering from cardiac asthma for a long time. In February 1964 he had a severe heart attack. Due to this ill health he could not attend the Seventh Congress held in 1964. But in the State Conference of 1964 he openly declared his differences with the Party. He was clear that ideological and political struggle through documents and discussions alone would not achieve the necessary result and that they would have to develop alternate movement and line in practice. Though he was suffering from severe ill health, he allotted time to study about Communism and Mao Tse-tung Thought and to write articles.

Depending on the positive and negative experiences of our country, the Chinese Revolution and also the Great Debate and the theoretical study and class struggles of the Indian revolutionary movement, CM developed the revolutionary line. The opinions of Comrade CM between 1965-'67 came to be known as the historic Eight Documents in the later period which created the ideological and political basis for the revolutionary line. In these

documents he explained, among other things, the importance of organizing armed agrarian revolutionary struggles that would lead to the building of a United Front. He firmly felt that once started, it would spread like a prairie fire. With this firmness he began making preparations for a great movement parallel to the struggle in the ideological and political front. Meanwhile war broke out between India and Pakistan in 1965. He was arrested under DIR Act once again. This time he suffered from severe ill health in the jail. The doctors thought he would not survive. He was shifted to the PG Hospital in Kolkata. In May 1966 he was released from the hospital.

After he came out of jail, he placed his ideological, political line documents before the Siliguri Sub-Divisional Committee which accepted them in June. 18 members out of 19 voted for these documents. In the Darjeeling DC, 18-19 members out of the total 26 voted for the documents.

After a few days of the formation of CPI(M), a secret organisation with the name of Committee Against Revisionism started functioning internally in Kolkata and surrounding areas. Comrades Sushital Roy Choudhuri and Saroj Dutta and other such comrades organised this committee. The committee circulated certain secret documents and pamphlets. It conducted secret classes and discussions in the party. CM sent a comrade to contact them and held discussions. By the end of 1966, a statewide coordination committee was formed.

In this decade of the '60s, many movements broke out concurrently in various parts of Bengal. In order to provide a conscious leadership to these movements, CM gave a call to build a Party within the Party violating the Party form. This call spread well into many areas of West Bengal.

When the top leadership of the CPI(M) received CM's Eight Documents, they hurried to maintain their Party hierarchy and vested interests. The secretary of the West Bengal SC rushed to North Bengal and met him. He threatened CM to withdraw his line and documents. But CM refused to do so and challenged the party to serve him a Show Cause notice. By that time the SC held a meeting but concluded without taking any decision. An ever intense two-line ideological, political struggle broke in the SC. In October 1966 a CC member of CPI(M) Harekrishna Konar criticised CM for indulging in anti-Party activities and that they could suspend him and dissolve the Darjeeling DC. CM replied that none could stop him by pressure or threats

from practicing the correct line. Then he announced that they were going to form an alternative revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party.

The historic Eight Documents

Comrade CM's historic Eight Documents which appeared between January 1965 and 1967 laid the ideological-political basis for the qualitative rupture of the revolutionary stream with revisionism within the Indian Communist Movement and paved the way for the outbreak of the great Naxalbari uprising. These documents were a creative application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought in the concrete conditions of India. These are historic in the sense that a sharp departure from parliamentary cretinism began to take place and revolutionary politics was resolutely put forward combating revisionism which was well entrenched in the communist movement in India until that time. A brief look at some of the major points mentioned in these documents can throw some light on this bitter struggle that laid the basis for the new Party.

The first of these documents appeared as early as in January 1965 under the caption: 'Our Tasks in the Present Situation'. In this, he stressed the need for secret organization and on carrying forward the agrarian revolution by boldly arousing the peasant masses.

Again, in an article written in August 1966, he pointed out: "This Party leadership is refusing to take the responsibility of the democratic revolution of India and as a result of that they are resorting to the cunning tactics of modern revisionism, that is, the path of being revolutionaries in words and an appendage of the bourgeoisie in deeds. .. the revolutionary party can come up only through the destruction of the present party system and its democratic framework. So to abide by the so called 'form' or "constitutional frame work" of this party, means to render Marxist-Leninists ineffective and to co-operate with the revisionist leadership."

In another article entitled 'Take this Opportunity', he wrote:

"In the present era, our main task will be on the basis of three main slogans. First, unity of workers and peasants. Secondly, the revolutionary resistance movement, armed struggle. Thirdly, the building up of a revolutionary Party."

“The basic three points are, (i) worker-peasant unity under the leadership of the working class, (ii) consciously establishing armed struggle on mass base, and (iii) firmly establishing the leadership of the Communist Party.”

In his last article during this period entitled ‘Carry Forward the Peasant Struggle by Fighting Revisionism’, he laid the theoretical foundations for the united front in a lucid manner thus: “The main cause of success of the Russian revolution was the correct application of the tactics of the united front. The question of united front tactics is equally important in India too. But the tactics of India’s democratic revolution will be different in form. In India also, in Naga, Mizo, Kashmir and other areas, struggles are being waged under petty-bourgeois leadership. In the democratic revolution, therefore, the working class will have to march forward by forming a united front with them. Struggles will break out in many other new areas under the leadership of bourgeois or petty-bourgeois parties. The working class will also enter into alliances with them and the main basis of this alliance will be anti-imperialist struggle and the right to self-determination. The working class necessarily admits this right, together with the right to secession.”

He also explained how the slogan of unity given by the present ruling classes means unity for the exploitation by monopoly capital: “The slogan - ‘Kashmir is an inalienable part of India’ - is given by the ruling class in the interest of plundering. No Marxist can support this slogan. It is an essential duty of the Marxists to accept the right of self-determination by every nationality. On the questions of Kashmir, Nagas, etc., the Marxists should express their support in favour of the fighters.”

CM emphasised that without agrarian revolution and without liberated areas nothing can be achieved for the masses. In the present situation agrarian revolution shall be the immediate task. Without fulfilling this task nothing can be achieved for the peasantry. Making efforts for agrarian revolution without making efforts for destroying state power would be definitely revisionism and nothing else. If the peasantry arise politically in an area, we have to take up the task of destroying state power. This is called the liberation of the peasants. The immediate task of the peasant movement is to fight to build liberated areas. What is it that we call a liberated area? We call an area liberated when we destroy the power of the class enemies and where peasants are emancipated. An army primarily made up of peasants is necessary for

establishing such a liberated area. It means we need weapons. For this purpose the traditional weapons of the peasants help in the initial stage. Later we seize the weapons from the class enemies forcefully. Along with these, we have to make sudden attacks and get weapons. Where we conduct a campaign for seizing weapons, that area will be liberated soon.

Thus, many of the aspects of the revolutionary line of the new Party that was to be formed can be found in CM's Eight Documents that were written in the course of the ideological-political struggle within the CPI and CPI(M). They served as the theoretical foundation for the historic Naxalbari struggle. These documents also served as the political and ideological basis for the founding of the new Party and the further growth of the revolutionary movement. Not only that, he also played a role in the international debate in the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism. He was one of the first to categorise the Soviet Union as social-imperialist. He, together with some others, laid the foundation for taking the experiences of the GPCR to the other countries.

A leader of the historic Naxalbari uprising

For four months, starting with the Peasant Convention on March 18, 1967, the peasants of the Siliguri Sub-Division in Darjeeling district rose up in revolt. In fact, the groundwork for the armed uprising was laid in 1965-66 itself when the 'Siliguri Group' of the CPI(M) brought out a series of leaflets that called on the peasants to initiate guerilla war in the Terai region. Bows and arrows and some rifles were collected in 1966. In late 1966 a Revolutionary Kisan Committee was organised in Siliguri. From the beginning of 1967, the peasants entered into skirmishes with the local landlords in Naxalbari, Kharibari, Phansidewa and other such places. They formed peasant committees, armed themselves and took up a campaign of land and crop seizure from big landlords (*jotedars*). On March 3, 1967 a group of peasants planted red flags in a plot of land and harvested the crop. A sea of red flags struck terror in the hearts of the landlords and the countryside reverberated with the slogan "*March forward along the path of armed peasant revolution!*" Any resistance by the landlords and their gangs was smashed and their lands and foodgrains were confiscated. By May 1967 it assumed the form of an armed peasant uprising against the state. On May 23rd, a police Inspector

was killed in Jharugaon village and on the 25th, nine women and children were killed in police firing. The uprising continued until July when a massive and brutal offensive by the central paramilitary forces succeeded in suppressing the movement.

Though the uprising was suppressed within a short period, it assumed tremendous significance in the history of the Indian communist movement. It became a watershed in Indian politics. The struggle began a new chapter in Indian communist movement. A great discussion started on the revolutionary line in India not only in the Party but also among the Indian masses. It is not an exaggeration to say that Indian politics was never the same again after Naxalbari, for its impact left no sphere untouched. The spark of Naxalbari soon became a prairie fire engulfing vast tracts of rural India like Srikakulam, Birbhum, Debra-Gopiballavpur, Mushahari, Lakhimpur-Kheri, and so on. The armed peasant movement spread to over a dozen states in the next few years.

The CPC hailed the Naxalbari uprising as the ‘Spring Thunder over India’. On June 28, 1967 Radio Peking described this as “the front paw of the revolutionary armed struggle launched by the Indian people...” In an editorial on 5th July 1967 the *People’s Daily*, the official organ of the CPC, described the “rebellion of the peasants of Darjeeling area” as “a revolutionary storm” and as a “development of tremendous significance for the Indian people’s revolutionary struggle.” It correctly observed that “the Indian revolution must take the road of relying on the peasants, establishing base areas in the countryside, persisting in protracted armed struggle and using the countryside to encircle and finally capture the cities.”

It also called upon the revolutionary communists in India to “boldly arouse the peasant masses, build up and expand the revolutionary armed forces, deal with the armed suppression of the imperialists and reactionaries—who are temporarily stronger than the revolutionary forces—by using the whole set of the flexible strategy and tactics of people’s war...”

It prophesied that “the spark in Darjeeling will start a prairie fire and will certainly set the vast expanses of India ablaze. That a great storm of revolutionary armed struggle will eventually sweep across the length and breadth of India is certain.”

The revolutionaries within the CPI(M) in West Bengal held a meeting in Kolkata and formed the 'Naxalbari Peasants Struggle Aid Committee', which was to become the nucleus of the new Party. By placing armed struggle once again on the agenda of the Indian revolution it became a clarion call of the Maoists in the subcontinent.

Naxalbari also showed the path of armed struggle to the people of the country in practical terms. It not only made a clean break with revisionism in theory but also showed the way in practice. Thereby it also laid the seeds for the people's war and the path of seizure of power by armed force. '*Naxalbari Ek Hi Raasta*' became the slogan of all the genuine revolutionaries of India and even of the whole of South Asia. The spark of Naxalbari set aflame the fires of revolution in Srikakulam, Birbhum, Debra-Gopiballavpur, Mushahari and Lakhimpur-Kheri. The states of West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab, U.P. and Tamil Nadu saw a big spurt in Naxalbari-inspired struggles and Maoist formations sprouted in nearly every state of India. It not only shook the entire country but also the entire subcontinent which assisted in bringing breakthroughs by the genuine ML forces by starting NDRs in Bangladesh and Nepal and also greatly influenced the oppressed nationalities of the Northeast. The Naxalbari uprising is an inseparable part of the worldwide revolutionary great upsurge in the decade of 1960. In all these, comrade CM was the pathbreaker, founder leader and teacher of the party and all the oppressed masses.

Thus, comrade Charu Majumdar played the principal role in building the great Naxalbari movement that brought forth the Indian revolutionary line. He tried to make it successful by not confining it to Naxalbari but coordinating with struggles that developed soon after it countrywide. He established contacts with the leaders of those movements in different states. The first step to coordinate these relations was the formation of an All India Coordination Committee of Revolutionaries (AICCR) with the representatives from seven states in a meeting on the 12th and 13th of November 1967 in Kolkata. The Committee issued a declaration in December 1967 in *Liberation* magazine. Peking Radio highlighted the formation of AICCR and broadcasted the declaration too. After six months, the AICCR decided to issue a new declaration according to the changed situation and changed the name of the committee to All India Coordination Committee of Communist

Revolutionaries (AICCCR). Comrade Sushital Roy Choudhuri was the convener of this committee. The revolutionaries started publishing *Liberation* magazine in English and *Deshabrati* magazine in Bengali. State Coordination Committees were formed in 13 states under the leadership of AICCCR and led the armed agrarian revolutionary movements in these states. The AICCCR that guided these movements countrywide under the leadership of comrade CM resolved to form a new kind of Party to lead the Indian revolution. This was formed on 22nd April 1969, on the birth centenary of Lenin. Comrade CM was the first General Secretary of CPI(ML).

As the leader of the CPI(ML), he toured different states of the country. He played a dynamic and most important role in building state units and guiding the revolutionary movements in several states directly. He gave concrete guidance in advancing the revolutionary movements in Srikakulam, Lakhimpur-Kheri, Birbhum, Gopiballavpur etc. In the numerous articles he wrote since Naxalbari struggle, he addressed the peasantry and the peasant guerillas, the students and youths, wrote about building revolutionary workers and students movements, building power organs and on national and international situation. He wrote scathingly opposing the right-opportunism of TN-DV and later against SNS. He also wrote about the mistakes that occurred in guiding the movement from the leadership and he started to rectify them. Under his direct leadership AICCCR, AICCCR and CPI(ML) documents, particularly party programme and constitution of the 8th Congress of CPI(ML) laid down all the basic positions of the Indian revolution. These are still basically relevant and are a treasure for the Indian revolution which provide the basis for its advancement.

Though he was suffering from severe ill health he continued to guide the revolutionary movement. Finally, he was arrested on 16th July 1972 in a house in Kolkata. After 12 days he died on the 28th July due to the atrocities by the police in the lockup with the orders given by the fascist ruling classes. This was a serious loss to the Indian Revolution. After his martyrdom, the Central Committee of the CPI(ML) ceased to exist. CPI(ML)(PW) and CPI(ML)PU of the CPI(ML) stream continued the revolutionary legacy of Comrade CM and by fighting right and 'left' opportunism. In August 1998 the two Parties merged into one CPI(ML)[PW]. Inspired by the path comrade CM illuminated, they held high the flag of the People's Democratic Revolution

of the Indian proletariat and the oppressed masses and surged forward on that path. The slogan '*Naxalbari Ek Hi Raasta*' echoed all over India.

The countrywide revolutionary upsurge led by the new Party suffered a temporary setback by early 1970s. Though it was a great loss it brought immense and invaluable experience to the revolutionary camp about the application of PPW in the concrete conditions of the country, paving the way and laying down the basis for the emergence of several short and long, small and big upsurges in the revolutionary movement in the later period. With his resolute struggle against revisionism and unflinching commitment to the revolutionary path, CM has taught the necessity of continuously waging an intense class struggle in the form of internal ideological and political struggle between correct and wrong lines. He will always be remembered as a leader who greatly influenced the politics of the country, especially its revolutionary politics, as a revolutionary who brought a historic turning point in the Indian communist movement, and as a teacher who paved the path for the liberation of the Indian oppressed masses and the country from the clutches of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. He shows the direction the working class and the broad Indian toiling masses have to take for their liberation from all kinds of exploitation and oppression. He is ever inspiring and alive in the hearts of the Party, army and the masses as a great teacher of Indian revolution, as a revolutionary of exceptional political firmness, as a comrade with clarity about the theory of revolutionary political and military line. He will always be remembered as the great revolutionary leader who laid a strong foundation for the building of the Maoist Party and an army with a strong mass base and one that fights courageously and daringly for the emancipation of the people and the country. Along with Comrade Kanhai Chatterji, Comrade Charu Majumdar will always be remembered as one of the two fore-founder leaders of CPI(Maoist), trail-blazers of the Indian revolution and great teachers of the oppressed masses of India. ★



Comrade Kanhai Chatterji

Long Live Comrade Kanhai Chatterji: Founder Leader of the Party, Trailblazer and Great Teacher of the Indian Revolution

Comrade Kanhai Chatterji is one of the two great leaders, teachers and founders of our party, the Communist Party of India (Maoist). It is an immortal name in the history of the revolutionary communist movement of India.

Comrade Kanhai Chatterji emerged as an extraordinary and front-ranking leader, drawing a clear-cut line of demarcation with revisionism on every question, including ideological, political and organisational matters, and presenting the line of armed agrarian revolution and Protracted People's War (PPW) for the Indian revolution during the tumultuous decade of the 1960s, while waging intense struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism as well as its followers in India.

Early years

Comrade Kanhai Chatterji, widely known as comrade KC, was born in 1933 in an affluent family in a village called Baruikhali of Barisal district in present Bangladesh. During his student life itself the intensifying anti-colonial movement against the British Raj had a tremendous impact on him, and stirred his mind with hatred and anger against colonial exploitation and rule.

At merely 15 years of age, he passed his matriculation examination, securing a position among the first ten in Kolkata and took admission in the

science department of Ashutosh College. However, the partition of the country, communal riots and the drama of transfer of power and such other events of that time left a deep imprint on his mind, and he understood that all that had transpired was not good and that it should be opposed. Therefore, he made up his mind to get associated with leftist student politics and student movement. He then resumed his studies by taking admission in the commerce department of Shyamaprasad Mukherji College, stopped taking money from home and began to earn his own livelihood through tuitions. While studying in college, he took active part in the student movement on various issues and came to be known as a leader of the student movement. At this time, he developed an urge to deeply understand Marxism-Leninism and began studying available articles of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. His interest was thus aroused on topics such as armed struggle, worker-peasant unity and the path of Chinese Revolution. At the same time, he began establishing relations with the toiling and working masses in Ballygunj-Kasba-Tiljala and other localities of Kolkata, and integrated with them by staying in their bastis. Later, while participating in student politics and the student movement, he became a member of the undivided Communist Party. On completing M.Com., he decided to discontinue his studies and to actively take part in politics.

Initial phase of party life

In 1953, he began party work in the Ballygunj-Kasba-Tiljala industrial area of Kolkata, which abounds in slums of workers. In this course he built a mass organisation called “Civil Rights Committee”, through which, while taking up various issues related to the problems of the people in order to build a movement, he first stepped up efforts to establish closer ties with the working masses of the area at large. In just a few days, he could develop closeness with the people of the area and became quite popular. At this time, conspiracies were hatched to incite riots among Hindus and Muslims. Comrade K.C., having waged struggle against this all along, remained quite popular among the Muslim masses as well. In the year 1962, at the behest of the USA, the reactionary Nehru regime launched an attack on the then socialist China. This event triggered a new debate within the undivided Communist Party. Besides this, there was already a two-line debate on the

question of betrayal of the Telangana struggle by the leadership and on the path of armed revolution versus the parliamentary path. At just this time comrade K.C., along with some other comrades, commenced a powerful ideological-political struggle against the well-known revisionists ensconced in leadership positions of CPI. In 1962 comrade KC was arrested under the “India Defence Act.”

The imprisoned revolutionary section of the party came to an understanding that the just cause would be to raise the banner of revolt against the revisionist and traitorous leadership from within the jail itself. A profound debate ensued, centred on the questions related to the line, such as the path of Chinese revolution i.e., the path of Protracted Peoples’ War or the line of area-wise seizure of power; the line of boycotting elections and building the People’s Army and Base Areas. The process of drawing a clear-cut line of demarcation with the revisionist line began.

Rupture with revisionism

Around this time, the communist revolutionary sections in the country were to a great extent inspired by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution conducted under the leadership of great Mao in order to defeat the followers of the capitalist road in China and to strengthen socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Imbibing the call of the Cultural Revolution - “*Destroy the Philosophy of slavishness!*” Comrade K.C. took a decision to completely break off relations with the revisionist party. In comrade KC’s view, an uncompromising struggle against revisionism and drawing a clear-cut line of demarcation with revisionist views and path - these are the two processes through which it would be possible to achieve a decisive break with revisionism.

As an inseparable part of the process of drawing a line of demarcation, comrade K.C. bitterly opposed the draft document of the Seventh Congress of the CPM held in 1964, and also presented an alternative document in the Kolkata District Conference prior to the Congress. Finally, comrade K.C. termed the documents passed in the seventh Congress of the CPM as revisionist.

Soon after the revisionist Seventh Congress of 1964, a revolutionary centre was founded at comrade KC's initiative with comrade Amulya Sen and comrade Chandrashekhar Das and some other comrades. As a weapon in the struggle to be waged against the revisionist line, a secret bulletin came to be published since March 1965, by the name, '*Chinta*'. Later in 1966, as some more comrades joined this secret and revolutionary centre and as the need was felt to further widen and broaden the struggle against the old revisionist and CPM's neo-revisionist lines, it became apparent that an organ would have to be published. With this necessity in view, since mid-1966, '*Dakshin Desh*' (the same *Dakshin Desh* that was a registered magazine brought out by some local leadership of the CPM in South Bengal that had joined the revolutionary centre led by comrade KC in the struggle against the party's revisionist line) was henceforth published as a weapon to conduct a theoretical and political debate against revisionism.

In 1967, the great Naxalbari revolt broke out under the leadership of comrade CM. Analysing the significance of the great Naxalbari struggle, comrade KC firmly asserted that it was in the course of development of the struggle of two views and paths, and the international theoretical struggle that the great Naxalbari uprising led by comrade CM and the other various factions of communist revolutionaries had emerged. The very torch of armed struggle that was inflamed by the communists and revolutionary masses, when they took to the path of the Chinese Revolution as demonstrated by the great leader and teacher of the revolutionary people of the world, comrade Mao Tse-tung, but had been put off due to betrayal by the revisionists and the weaknesses of communists themselves, had been set aflame once again in a conscious and enlightened way by the communist revolutionaries and the masses of Naxalbari under the leadership of comrade CM.

KC's talks with comrade CM

During the course of discussion that took place between comrade CM and comrade KC soon after the great struggle of Naxalbari, both opined that the comrades who have come out in favour of the Naxalbari struggle should join a Coordination Committee instead of remaining without any organisation. Besides this, the talks between comrade KC and comrade CM included some basic topics, such as the Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution;

the revolutionary style and method of work; the need to draw a clear-cut line of demarcation with the revisionist road on every aspect; the importance of building armed struggle, Peoples' Army and Base Area in the countryside in order to capture state power; the importance of building a revolutionary party in the true sense while uniting the revolutionaries in words and deeds and so on. On virtually every issue, there was mutual agreement between the two.

Quite naturally, comrade KC took a decision to have the *Dakshin Desh* group led by him join the coordination. Comrade KC then said, "On the basis of a correct policy and work-style, and in the course of carrying out revolutionary work, establishing unity among the genuine revolutionaries, and dissolving one's independent centre, gradually uniting under a single centre - in very brief this is our objective."

It was then that comrade KC wrote some important articles on the Character of the Indian State; the Two Stages of Revolutions; the importance of Protracted Peoples' War and Area-wise Seizure of Power and Building a Peoples' Army and Base Area in the countryside; the Nationality Problem in India and the Duty of Communists; the Importance of Inspiring Worker-Peasant Women with Revolutionary Politics and Building a Women's Movement and other questions. In 1968 itself comrade KC presented two articles, "*Some fundamental points regarding the Nationality Problem,*" and "*We must Inspire Worker-Peasant Women with Revolutionary Politics, A few words about the Women's Movement.*" These are very important even today.

It is well-known that in April 1969, the CPI (ML) was formed under comrade CM's leadership, and that the *Dakshindesh* group did not join it at that time owing to some differences of opinion. However, even after this, comrade KC said quite clearly, that "Our insistence has always been and still remains to dissolve independent organisation and unite under only a single centre." He also said, "Only in the course of correctly resolving the definite problems that appeared while establishing unity can true unity be built. Only in the course of exposing the opportunists and resolving in a correct method all the differences that cropped up on various basic questions and while gradually stepping up our mutual cooperation in actual work can

we gradually proceed towards unity in the course of practice on the basis of a correct policy. In this way, we can also gradually pave the way for organizational unity. The opportunists will certainly oppose this. We must face this opposition with courage and confidence. This is the correct course to gradually establish unity between the revolutionaries of the CPI (ML) and the Maoist Communist Centre”.

It is also well known that under the direct guidance of comrade KC and under the leadership of three founders — comrade KC, comrade Amulya Sen and comrade Chandrashekhar Das — on October 20, 1969 the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) was given a concrete organizational shape.

Great contributions in the evolution of the correct revolutionary line for the Indian Revolution

A basic document written by comrade KC some time before the formation of the MCC, that is since May 1969 regarding “Strategy and Tactics” became the basic political foundation of the erstwhile MCC. *“It is essential to draw a clear line of demarcation in all respects with revisionists”*- this opinion of comrade KC came forth for the first time in the concrete shape of this basic document. Later, another invaluable article by comrade KC aimed at taking ahead the practical work of Indian Revolution in accordance with the document on strategy and Tactics, that is, the work of building a Peoples’ Army and Base Area, published in 1970, got established as the orientation of our practical work - *“Get Going with Armed Agrarian Revolution; Hasten the Work of Building an Army and Base Area.”* In MCC, this document (*Dakshindesh* and *Lal Pathaka* Special Issue No.1) was considered the basic documents, and as regards practical work it was this document that was followed. The greatest importance of this document lies on the aspect that if one has to really advance the Indian Revolution, one must not do work here and there in a spontaneous manner, but it is most essential to select such areas, which are called Strategic Areas that would be most conducive to building an Army and Base Area. With this perspective (i) Assam-Tripura Area as the first and (ii) erstwhile Bihar and western parts of West Bengal comprising a vast Special Area were selected as the second Strategic Area for the organisation’s work.

In the light of these strategic concepts, comrade KC, through this document on building the Peoples' Army and Base Areas gave concrete shape to the study of the mutual interrelationships between Agrarian Revolution, Peoples' Army and Base Area, and MCC's concept regarding their resolution and the related concept regarding the military line.

It has been spelt out in this document that "Without Agrarian Revolution it is not possible to build a Peoples' Army. Then without a Peoples' Army, a Base Area cannot be established. So also, without a Base Area it is not possible to sustain a Peoples' Army, and then without a Peoples' Army and Base Area, it is also not possible to take the Agrarian Revolution to its culmination."

Another invaluable treasure for us and for the revolutionaries at large is another important article by comrade KC on the question of drawing a clear line of demarcation with the Parliamentary views and line of India's old and new revisionists, entitled '*Struggle with Might against Parliamentary Politics and Capitulationism; Raise Aloft the Banner of Agrarian Revolution and Protracted Peoples' War*'. (Lal Pathaka-12)

It was to translate this thinking into reality that comrade KC raised the slogan, "*Best Revolutionaries Go to the Villages!*" Thus, with his initiative began the process of sending the larger section of the best among the Professional Revolutionaries of the urban areas to the countryside.

A specific aspect of comrade KC's revolutionary life was that along with conducting theoretical polemics, he also got immersed in practice wholeheartedly to build the actual struggle in accordance with a concrete plan and correct method. From the very beginning, he was directly involved in the work in Sonarpur and 24 Parganas, and even later when his physical condition deteriorated and health was failing him, then too he remained engrossed in the armed peasant struggles of Cachar in Assam, in Tripura, Kanksa in West Bengal, and in Bihar's Gaya and Hazaribagh of present Jharkhand. His successful attempt at linking up the movements of a backward nationality, that is, linking them with the orientation of Peoples' War, was an important contribution to the Indian Revolution. Preparing solid leadership from the basic classes, that is from among poor and landless peasants and from the people of a nationality was his special contribution. In particular, conducting

a revolutionary peasant movement with the orientation of “*Land to the True Peasants!*” and “*Political Power to the Revolutionary Peasants Committee!*” in order to draw a clear line of demarcation with the revisionist current on the question of aims-objectives, agenda and organisational forms of the peasant movement was also among his specific contributions.

Moreover, he analysed correctly the mutual relationship between strategy, and tactics, and the importance of viewing tactics as a part of strategy – subordinate to and contributing towards it; and of viewing even the tactics related to day-to-day work as a part of the strategic line. On the question of mass movement, he came out with a correct analysis of the clear-cut specificities of the demarcation between the mass movement equipped with an orientation of Protracted Peoples’ War and conducted with the aim of seizing power, and the mass movement conducted without such an orientation. He gave much importance to building a mass movement equipped with the orientation of Protracted Peoples’ War and conducted with the aim of capturing state power in semi-colonial and semi-feudal India where uneven development in the political and economic sphere is a concrete specificity.

While taking up a joint programme along with many, he stressed that, “while uniting all the possible forces based on a common agenda of struggle centered upon peoples’ (National and International) immediate problems and fascist attacks on the people, we should patiently and in accordance with the mass line unceasingly conduct struggle against every expression of the parliamentary and revisionist current (whatever form it may appear in), and at the same time we must increase our independent work and independent initiative a hundred times more.”

In the past, whenever MCC faced setbacks during struggle, comrade KC was very adept at creatively applying the laws of dialectical materialism to deeply analyse the situation and determine the causes for the setback in the struggle, the positive and negative aspects of the struggle and the necessary tasks for the present. Especially, when the organization faced setbacks in the struggle at Sonarpur, Kanksa, Hazaribagh and Assam-Tripura, comrade KC deeply reviewed all those aspects, showing again and again the road the revolution must take and what should be the method of work for advancing the struggle once again. MCC thus became capable of taking the setback in

its stride and advancing once again. Actually, when comrade KC concretely analysed any problem, including the national and international situation, he always applied the method and outlook provided by dialectical and historical materialism. In the light of extraordinary enlightenment and intellect, theoretical knowledge and experience, at every twist and turn of the situation, he displayed newly emergent subjective prowess and constantly helped advance the revolutionary struggle.

An exemplary model for all revolutionaries

Comrade KC, throughout his entire life, believed in living a simple life and also in doing hard and laborious work. Indeed, his was a communist life, rich in proletarian values, that has always remained a source of inspiration for the revolutionaries in our country.

Comrade KC was a friend, leader and teacher of India's proletariat and the exploited and the oppressed nationalities and people.

Raising the banner of revolt against revisionism since the time of the Seventh Congress of the revisionist CPM in 1964, in the process establishing a revolutionary centre first as the '*Chinta*' and '*Dakshin Desh*' group and then establishing the Maoist Communist Centre in 1969 and then remaining engrossed in the activities of the MCC until he breathed his last in 1982 - such was the short but highly meaningful life of our beloved leader comrade KC.

To commemorate comrade KC's martyrdom would indeed mean learning from his life and work and taking inspiration therefrom so as to be as firm and capable in taking the Indian Revolution ahead towards final victory. Along with comrade Charu Majumdar, comrade Kanhai Chatterji will always be remembered as one of the two fore-founder leaders of CPI(Maoist), trail-blazers of the Indian revolution and great teachers of the oppressed masses of India. ★

Comrades Shyam, Mahesh and Murali: People's Leaders who Emerged from Persistent Class Struggle and Died for the Liberation of the Oppressed

On December 1st, 1999, at about 1.30 pm, a murderous gang of Andhra Pradesh Special Intelligence Bureau (APSIB), acting on the information provided by traitor Govinda Reddy, raided a shelter located near Sarakkigate Bus Stop in Banashankari area of Bangalore, Karnataka and captured three prominent leaders of Indian revolution and members of the Central Committee – comrades Nalla Adi Reddy (Shyam), Y. Santosh Reddy (Mahesh) and Seelam Naresh (Murali). The AP police then airlifted these comrades to Hyderabad on the same evening and subjected them to brutal tortures throughout the night in a vain attempt to obtain party's secrets from them. The next morning, i.e., on 2nd December, these police hounds again airlifted these three comrades to Koyyuru forest area of Karimnagar district and murdered them in cold blood. While the DGP of AP H J Dora directly led this operation, AP chief minister Chandrababu Naidu co-ordinated it from behind the scenes in cohorts with the BJP-led government at the centre and the Congress government in Karnataka.

The three leaders not only laid the foundations of the revolutionary movement in AP but also emerged as among the foremost leaders of the Indian revolution. They unflinchingly laid down their lives under the shadows of the red flag, blazing the path of the Indian revolution with their unparalleled sacrifice. The unique and unprecedented successes achieved during the ten glorious years of CPI(Maoist) shows that by taking inspiration from them, the oppressed masses continue to advance on the path of fulfilling the great cause for which they valiantly embraced martyrdom.



Comrade Shyam

Flag Bearer of the People's War and Great Leader of Indian Revolution Comrade Shyam will Live On Forever

Nalla Adi Reddy, who was popular among the revolutionary ranks as Comrade Shyam, was the proud son of Karimnagar-Adilabad movements. His revolutionary life developed step by step, bringing further glory to these movements, rose to become one of the top leaders of the Indian revolution, and standing as a true revolutionary throughout his life, won a place among our hearts as an eternal hero. His life is an epitome of all the revolutionary qualities and a model for all of us to follow.

It was around early 1970s that the reverberations of Spring Thunder over Naxalbari began to show their impact among the students of Karimnagar district. That was the period when teachers and writers sang full-throated revolutionary songs. They enthused new generation of students and youth through their new forms of democratic and revolutionary art. Comrade Adi Reddy was studying at a nearby college in Jammikunta when the new generation started acquiring latest ideas in the wake of Naxalbari.

Comrade Adi Reddy was born in a middle-peasant family of Kothagattu village located at about 10 km from Huzurabad town on the Karimnagar-Warangal road. Huzurabad and Jammikunta towns have more daily contacts with Warangal city than with their own district headquarters, Karimnagar. In those early days revolutionary ideas reached Karimnagar through Warangal. From then onwards, the new generation that entered the revolutionary movement never looked back and went on living with class struggle as its very breath and laid the path for Indian revolution through North Telangana.

A student leader who sang the song of people's war

Comrade Shyam along with fellow comrades awakened the oppressed masses of Karimnagar district, giving a song and dance performance that urged them to arise and advance forming a people's army. He was just about 20 at that time. That song struck a chord in the hearts of the most oppressed masses who for generations together were living like serfs under the shadows of feudal terror. This song travelled from Karimnagar to Adilabad and on its onward march it mobilised and organised the adivasi masses of DK, turning itself into a song of the Guerrilla Zone (GZ), which advanced the Karimnagar-Adilabad movements to a higher stage. That song echoed the birth pangs of a people's army. It sowed the first seeds for a liberated area and became etched in the history of Indian revolution. Comrade Shyam grew up amidst this entire historical process marking his own imprint on it. Comrade Adi Reddy belongs to a new generation which took up the politics of Naxalbari-Srikakulam struggles during the period when these movements suffered setbacks. He was one among those who started treading the path of mass line in the early days after the revolutionary movement faced setbacks.

During the period of 1973-'74, a new generation of students, influenced by Naxalbari politics started treading the revolutionary path. During 1974-'75, as a part of the efforts for the formation of AP Radical Students Union (RSU), comrade Adi Reddy conducted extensive propaganda not only in the educational institutions in and around Jammikunta but also in many institutions in Adilabad district. He mobilised and led a large mass of students for the formative conference of RSU held in 1975. Comrade Adi Reddy from his early days never hesitated in offering criticisms, when he found any shortcomings among his fellow comrades. Noticing the vacillations of his elder brother, who was going back from revolutionary politics, he made serious criticism against him. Along with other comrades he took up the responsibility of building the revolutionary movement. His room was a centre for all the revolutionary students of Jammikunta and it was at his place that all of them used to meet for chalking out their various activities.

Comrade Adi Reddy was one among those students from Huzurabad who participated in the protest demonstrations led by great Telugu

revolutionary writer Sri Sri against World Telugu Conference. When AP Civil Liberties Committee (APCLC) held a meeting in Huzurabad town under the presidentship of Comrade Sri Sri in 1974, he worked as a volunteer. That was one of those early public meetings in which he took up responsibility of an artist also by enacting cultural programmes along with fellow comrades. At that time revolutionary politics did not yet reach Karimnagar villages on a wide scale. Those were the days when “left” line was dominating the Party and debates just started about the pros and cons of formation of mass organisations. At that time Karimnagar district had neither party organisers nor any direct contacts with the party. In those days the revolutionary movement was getting new blood infused into it through the understanding and initiative of students and youth, who were taking up programmes to the extent of their knowledge. All those town students actually hailed from the villages; as a result they were all well aware of the feudal oppression that was going on in the rural areas. They saw with their own eyes the sufferings and hardships of the peasants, agricultural labourers, women, dalits and other sections of the vast oppressed masses. The song about these oppressed masses rendered by these young comrades turned into a mighty force. First, it helped in the propagation of revolutionary politics in village after village and thereby it influenced the youth in the villages. Moreover, in the same period the politics of mass line began to replace the sectarian methods at various levels.

Beginning of underground life as a professional revolutionary

By early 1975, the political and economic crisis in the country intensified and as a result mass movements grew. By that time though many struggles that shook the entire country in the wake of Naxalbari met with setbacks, while some others were still going on in various places in a scattered way in the country. Those were the days when the advisers from the World Bank and government officials were busily drawing up sham land reform schemes to counter the influence and impact of the wave of Naxalbari and other revolutionary struggles which enthused the masses with the politics of seizure of state power centring around the land question. Those were the days wherein massive movements in Bihar and Gujarat, countrywide worker’s movements and other movements broke out under bourgeois and petty-

bourgeois leadership and they influenced the students, youth in such a way that they started playing a much more militant role in all these movements. Those were the days when people were being prepared for another round of struggles by propagating revolutionary politics among the people through open activities. By then itself, i.e., by 1974-'75 some new generation comrades took up underground work. Comrade Adi Reddy decided in 1975 to work as a professional revolutionary, and was implementing the programmes party entrusted him with.

On 25th June, 1975 dictator Indira imposed an internal Emergency on the country, and launched a fascist onslaught all over the country not only against the revolutionary movement but also against the parliamentary opposition. Comrade Adi Reddy and some other comrades boycotted their degree examination as a mark of protest against of this fascist onslaught, left their studies and directly entered the battlefield. Thus began the underground life of comrade Shyam and from then on he never even for once looked back.

As soon as he started his underground life, comrade Adi Reddy was sent to Jagityal peasant area for organising the peasant masses there. Then he was popularly known as comrade Raghu.

The programmes in these days of darkness (Emergency) went along like this. One had to settle down in a village or a town taking up one profession or the other as a cover and then take up the work of organising the people or to tour an area assuming some profession and then to gradually secretly organise the peasants. One had to choose either of these two methods and then lay the foundation for building the movement. Raghu was entrusted with the responsibility of organising the peasants in an area of Jagityal taluq notorious for feudal exploitation.

Laying the foundations of Jagityal mass upsurge

Comrade Raghu started his new life as a schoolteacher (cover) in Govindapalli hamlet of Gollapalli village. He had the task of organising the stray contacts in Gollapalli, Enugumatla and the nearby Maddunoor villages and to lead them into struggle against the Maddunoor landlord Rajeshwara Rao who was notorious for his cruelty. If this landlord came to know about

any new face in his area, he would finish him off there itself. So, he could neither visit Maddunoor during daytime nor could he meet any party sympathisers in front of others. Moreover, the nearby hillocks and Tallavanam (a forest-like patch of toddy trees) were abound with ferocious wild bears which attacked people even without any provocation. So, under such circumstances one had to move very cautiously, and one could only talk for about ten minutes in the pitch darkness of Tallavanam in hushed tones as any exposure meant certain death in the hands of the landlord. Such a situation beset with risks and hardships at every step and the new life tempered the revolutionary in Raghu. The Party then decided to annihilate that landlord and formed a special squad and Raghu was a member of it. But as the landlord escaped, that squad conducted two more raids seizing the property of an usurer at one place and a gun at another place. Raghu seasoned his guerrilla life with these first raids in his life. From then on he boldly participated in many raids the Party conducted during that period at many places stretching from Mahadevapuram forest to Tapalapur forest area of Adilabad and from the plains of Peddapally to Vadkapur and Korutla in Karimnagar. During these raids he used to instil confidence among his fellow comrades. He introduced village life to all those student comrades who came from towns and who knew nothing about it. During this period he seized every available opportunity to improve his Marxist knowledge. At that time the Party conducted political classes for comrades working in Karimnagar-Adilabad districts. Raghu attended those classes on Marxist fundamentals and party history. Comrades Sitaramaiah and I V Sambasiva Rao were the teachers. Those classes laid a strong foundation for acquiring a proper understanding of Marxist world outlook, of the history of Communist Party of India and of Naxalbari, Srikakulam and peasant revolutionary movements.

Moreover, by the time of those classes the *Self-Critical Report* of the Party was already at hand. Raghu was one of the comrades who got ready to draw up the plan for the future after understanding the ups and downs and the positive and negative aspects of Indian revolution in the light of that document. During this period itself, the Telangana regional conference was held at Nagpur. Comrade Raghu participated in it as a delegate.

Soon the Emergency was lifted and the party once again took up mass work. Raghu was one of those comrades who continued to lead underground

life successfully avoiding arrests by the enemy. As many comrades were arrested during the emergency period, comrade Raghu gathered the remaining comrades of Karimnagar-Adilabad districts, showing much initiative, went deep amongst the masses. He was elected as the secretary of a district level committee set up for the first time with three comrades for co-ordinating the Karimnagar-Adilabad-Nizamabad movement. Later when separate district committees (DCs) were set up in 1979 for each of these districts, Raghu was elected as the secretary of Adilabad DC. He was one of the main leaders who working from the lowest level and advancing class struggle laid the foundations for the Party organisation in Karimnagar-Adilabad districts during 1977-'79.

At that time some comrades started demanding immediate retaliatory action to avenge the martyrdom of comrades Lakshmirajam and Posetti who were murdered by landlords in Sircilla and Jagityal areas respectively and also were forcefully arguing under the influence of the old 'left' sectarian methods. Raghu was one of those comrades who patiently convinced these comrades about their erroneous thinking and who firmly implemented mass line and the tactics the then State Committee (SC) had formulated. Not only that, he was the leader of that leading team which accomplished this task successfully.

Sharp observation, straightforward talk, plain and simple way of life, courageous behaviour, affectionate attachment with fellow comrades, selflessness, preparedness for any sacrifice — these were the characteristics of Raghu who stands out as an ideal before other comrades both in providing leadership to the people and mass organisations with a correct working class outlook and in tempering himself in the class struggle.

Development into a state-level leader

Comrade Adi Reddy was elected to the APSC in the 12th State Conference of AP held in 1980 and in 1982 he became a member of the Secretariat of the SC. He gave direct leadership to Adilabad peasant movement, and the workers' movement of Singareni Coal Fields and the student movement. He was the first one to recognise the need for the formation of a special committee for leading the Singareni workers' movement. He helped the Singareni coal belt committee that was formed

after the historic 56 days strike stand on its own legs. Raghu and comrade Saroja, a RSU activist coming from a worker's family of Singareni, having developed a liking for one another in the course of revolutionary practice, got married in 1982.

1982-'84 was a period of rapid expansion of the Party and the movement all over AP. In that period it gained roots in North Telangana (NT) and DK area. It was the period, when the enemy was preparing himself for the first round of his attacks and police officers were building networks from below. The SC decided that those ruthless police officers who were coming to the forefront with a vengeance in suppressing the people and the movement in a heavy-handed manner should be eliminated. Raghu led the special action team that was formed to annihilate a cruel police officer of Godavarikhani (Singareni collieries) town in Karimnagar district. That was the first attack on police officers. Right from the beginning, our Party is following the method of leaders themselves providing leadership to the armed squads by standing at the forefront. Raghu easily ranks as the frontrunner among those leading comrades who while strictly following the above method, provided extraordinary leaderships to their teams at every turn and who wholeheartedly and without putting on any airs implemented the method, learning and teaching at the same time.

By 1984, at the juncture when a review about the development of the movement had to be made, preparatory work for building Guerrilla Zones (GZs) had to be taken up, new tasks had to be formulated, when discussions without an end were going on the question of GZ in the SC and many political issues such as attitude to be adopted towards the post-Mao developments in China came to the forefront, neither the SC nor the Central Committee (CC) of that time were in a position to solve them. During that period, Raghu played a significant role as one of the team of new leadership who rose from the ranks, studying concrete conditions basing themselves on the Party's tactical line and building the movement.

The second-generation team, that is, the young new team, though was getting tempered in the class struggles going on then, had not yet grown to the stage of providing ideological leadership that suited the level of those struggles. That period can be described as the one in which efforts were being made to understand the challenges of the time and situation and to develop the movement accordingly.

Comrade Adi Reddy Raghu was elected as the secretary of the APSC in its meeting held in May 1984. He ably led the entire Party in the rectification campaign against Six Evils (non-proletarian trends) that the Party conducted during the latter part of 1984. During this period the Party faced its first internal political and organisational crisis and he, as the secretary of APSC, taking a correct Marxist-Leninist stand played a magnificent role in achieving complete unity among the Party's rank and file in AP. Meanwhile, the enemy launched his first offensive campaign against our Party all over AP. Raghu, as the secretary of the SC, played a significant role in the formulation of Party's tactics for countering the enemy's first offensive campaign during the two plenary sessions the APSC held for the resolution of the first internal crisis.

Comrade Adi Reddy, as the secretary of the state unit, put in extraordinary efforts in imparting an understanding to the cadres at district level and below regarding the new tactics the SC formulated under the guidance of the CC in order to ensure that correct decisions were arrived at after taking into account and understanding the concrete conditions in each district and the capabilities of those comrades and seeing to that the tasks were entrusted in accordance with it.

Arrest and jailbreak

Raghu toured and studied the movement in several parts of the state as a part of the efforts for the resolution on the internal crisis and at the same time to ensure that new defensive tactics were implemented properly.

During this period many comrades were captured by the enemy and finally this led to the arrest of Raghu on May 7th, 1986. He was caught by the enemy for the first time after eleven years of underground life during 1975-'86. The enemy inflicted inhuman torture on him in order to forcefully obtain information from him regarding the whereabouts of other leaders. Raghu by displaying the exemplary courage of a true revolutionary, stubbornly bore all these tortures without letting out a single secret. The extent of barbarity of the torture by the enemy can be gauged from the fact that from that day to the day Raghu breathed his last, that is, for thirteen years he suffered from unbearable pain in his limbs. But with his true revolutionary spirit he never allowed this pain to become a hindrance in the way of fulfilling the tasks with which the Party entrusted him.

During his imprisonment Raghu, while recovering his health, concentrated on the study of Marxist-Leninist classics and also improved his grip on the Telugu language. At the same time recognising the fact that it was not possible for him to obtain bail in any case and he was sure to be imprisoned in the various false cases foisted on him, he decided that daringly taking the risk to escape from the jail was the only way out for him to rejoin the revolutionary movement. From then on he started looking for every possibility that might come in his way for escape. He drew up a concrete plan for breaking the shackles and escaping with other comrades who were in jail along with him. He prepared three other comrades and when they were shifted to a jail in Adilabad to face a trial in a case there, he and the other three comrades escaped, disarming the guards and carrying away their two rifles. Thus he rejoined the revolutionary movement in the middle of 1988.

He was once again co-opted into the SC and in August 1990 he was elected as the secretary of AP SC and as a member of the newly formed COC. At that time he adopted the name Shyam. He then extensively toured AP, DK, NT areas to fill the gap in studying the developments during his imprisonment for over two years. He attended the military training camp held in 1989 to update and improve his military capabilities. Meanwhile by 1989-'90 the movement once again gained an upper hand by reviewing the enemy. Comrade Shyam played a significant role in the formulation of the specific tactics that were to be adopted during 1990, when there was a temporary let up in the repression for a period of few months in AP due to change in the political situation at that time.

During this period another crisis arose in the Party. Kondapally Sitaramaiah who was the undisputed leader of the Party until then stagnated by 1987 and increasingly became a hindrance to the collective functioning of the leadership. Moreover, instead of adopting a self-critical attitude he formed a clique and tried by every means to split the Party. During the time his faction was adopting conspiratorial methods for splitting the Party, Shyam worked hard to ensure that the conspirators were defeated and Party remained firmly united. During this time itself he started writing several reports and articles putting into words his ideas after studying and analysing the problems cropping up in the movement from an ideological angle. He also taught as a teacher at the political classes the Party arranged. Shyam gradually showed

his mettle as a teacher, in imparting understanding to the students in an easy way, combining practice and theory.

During the same period, he also worked as a member of the editorial board of the military magazine *Jung* started by the COC. He discharged his part of the duties in moulding *Jung* and *Jung Study Series* in a proper way, discussing his opinions on various articles and reports with other members of the editorial board.

In 1992 the entire new generation leadership of the COC concentrated on the study that was required for the formulation of the basic party documents, especially the political resolution. Comrade Shyam played a correct role, in placing before his fellow comrades in a detailed way his ideas and opinions in the extended meeting of the COC held for the formulation of political resolution and in the preparation of the Political and Organisational Report of the last fifteen years. A special mention should be made of the hard work he put in bringing about a unified opinion on the question of formulation of concrete policies and new tasks after reviewing the practice in GZs. He always used to patiently convince his fellow comrades again and again, whenever his opinions were not accepted but never lost his temper nor displayed any other petit-bourgeois traits.

The preparation of basic documents during 1992-'94, and the study and discussions that took place as a part of it further enhanced his political and ideological understanding. Thus Shyam, who until then spent 18-20 years mainly in practice and providing leadership in the field at every crucial turn, took up at this juncture the task of concentrating on practice-study-practice so as to be able to provide ideological leadership also. The new CC leadership grew up amidst the curses of the liberal intellectuals and vacillating friends who were alleging that after the expulsion of Sitaramaiah the new generation leadership would lift their hands in desperation as in their opinion, none of these leaders had any 'learning'. Proving these 'doomsday' predictions as utter falsehoods, this team grew up as a leadership team that achieved the transformation and the maturity needed in leading not only the movements in AP, NT and DK areas but also to lead the entire Indian revolutionary movement. Comrade Shyam was one of this team.

From 1990 to the moment of his martyrdom in 1999, comrade Shyam

allocated most of his time for attending SC meetings or for field studies in AP and NT areas. In the CC, his work division used to be made allotting him the responsibilities of one of these two areas, shifting him from one area to the other after some time. Till the day of his martyrdom he continued the practice of participating in the plenary sessions and other important meetings of both these areas, of making on-the-spot study of the problems and then sharing his views and ideas with other CC members, by putting them on paper.

When during 1995-'96 period a vicious propaganda was launched against the revolutionary movement and against Marxist theory, Shyam immediately responded to it by putting his ideas into words, thus ensuring that the Party did not lose its initiative and the readers were not led astray by wrong ideas. Moreover he increasingly paid attention to extensive study and continuation of discussions in solving the issues the AP revolutionary movement was facing, the women's movement, caste question and basic issues raised by liberal intellectuals. When the issues of separate statehood for Telangana and of the formation of smaller states once again came on to the agenda Shyam was the leader of the team the CC set up for not only announcing Party's opinion on Telangana issue but also to study and formulate the tactics required for it. He was one among the selected team of comrades who paid special attention to this problem and who adopted the required policies. During this process only, the CC team grew up as a better team that combined practice with study. Shyam's martyrdom in the hands of the enemy was a great loss to the Party at a time when it was still in the process of overcoming its remaining limitations.

Unflinchingly implementing the party line until the last breath

As a part of the preparations for 1995 All India Special Conference, all districts, regions and states successfully held their respective conferences. The then COC decided that as there was a scope for unification with the then CPI (ML) Party Unity a special conference should be held in place of a Congress. The question of unification of genuine communist revolutionaries was an issue that had been cropping up in discussions time and again and several parties and groups all over the country were expressing their opinions about it.

During 1982-'84 when clashes took place in AP between our party and the then Vimochana Group (C P Reddy Group), the then APSC of our party held that these clashes were the outcome of the differences in the basic understandings of the two parties. Shyam was a member of our party delegation which held discussions with Vimochana party for the prevention of such clashes. As early as seventeen years back itself comrade Shyam condemned the class collaborationist policies adopted by C P Reddy Group leaders in villages and their physical attacks against our party. He explicitly told them that the right opportunism in their political line is the root cause for all this. History of the communist movement has clearly provided the negative results right opportunism brought about not only in AP but throughout the country. The experience in AP of the dangerous situation that right opportunism could engender for the revolutionary movement made our party and Shyam wage a continuous struggle against it.

The AP state committee had to take measures to repulse the false propaganda and physical attacks that the revisionist CPI(ML) New Democracy (Prajapantha group in AP) group brazenly started against us. The SC urged each DC and each organiser to try to correct the shortcomings, if at all they actually exist in our camp. At the same time, there was the need for waging an ideological struggle against fake revolutionaries, who while giving the calls for armed struggle were actually steeped neck-deep in right opportunism and parliamentarism and to impart understanding to our cadre and the people about these deviations. Shyam fulfilled his part of the responsibilities by paying special attention to this need and by writing the necessary articles.

Shyam participated in the unity talks held five-six times with MCC delegation during 1990-'95, as a member of CPI(ML) (PW) delegation. He led the talks in an effective way, explaining to them PW's understanding on various issues. He used to place before the other members of the CC his opinions about the unity talks and to extend help to them in arriving at a correct conclusion and thus won the confidence of all other comrades by efficiently fulfilling his responsibility in enhancing the common understanding of the whole team.

The dangers of right and "left" opportunisms became serious in the Indian revolutionary movement and were not only leading people astray, but also caused immense damage to it. So, Shyam took it as a duty to wage

a struggle against these two deviations. He not only got ready for it but also put in hard work to prepare the whole party for this struggle. It is a fact that mistakes do occur in the revolutionary movement. So, wherever he worked Shyam made it a task to implement strictly the party's line that wherever mistakes occur, they should be openly acknowledged and corrected.

In 1998, when some liberal intellectuals of Hyderabad met a party delegation (comrades Shyam and Mahesh), and held detailed discussions with them, the latter pointed out the mistakes in their bourgeoisie democratic ideas. At the same time they agreed before them that there is a need from the party's side for the correction of mistakes that occurred in practice due to the gap in understanding of cadres at various levels. Moreover in order to bring these matters to the notice of party members, they first discussed these issues in CC and then drafted a circular on behalf of the CC.

After 1980, efforts were made by the CPI(ML) (PW) to continuously impart education regarding alien class tendencies arising in the party and to purge the evils from the Party by conducting the process of criticism — self-criticism several times from the top to the bottom and from the bottom to the top as well as rectification campaigns. In this effort he always stood as an ideal model for others to follow. He was always ready to accept mistakes without any hesitation. While criticising other comrades about their shortcomings he used to take special care to help them to the best of his ability in correcting their mistakes.

Along with this, Shyam used to go to the field to ensure that every campaign is conducted up to the grass-root level and used to discuss with committees at various levels offering straightforward criticisms and tried to get the mistakes corrected at proper forums. We need to take as our model the role played by him in taking such a principled stand and winning the confidence of fellow comrades.

He always strictly adhered to correct methods of work and organisation. Whenever he noticed wrong decisions and wrong understandings in lower level committees, he never by himself gave directives to them to correct those mistakes. Instead, he always at first brought these matters to the notice of the CC, and after the CC gave its collective opinion, then only he used to place that before proper forums of the concerned committees. In this respect we all must strive to learn from him who continuously worked

hard from 1977 to 1999 to promote collective work method in opposition to individual style of work, and the method of taking decisions alone.

During the last ten months of his life, he held extensive discussions with DCs, with rank and file of the party and with party sympathisers in various districts of NT and prepared several reports for the CC. Some of them remained incomplete. A rectification campaign was carried out in AP and NT areas as an aftermath of the plenary sessions the two areas conducted during February, '99. The CC and the NTSZC were of the view that shortcomings in NT had to be overcome in order to ensure that the movement advanced while continuing the fight with the enemy and fulfilling its task as a higher stage GZ, preparing the people for resistance amidst severe repression. While he was in NT for the last ten months of his life, comrade Shyam took special care to see to it that this task is taken up in all earnestness by committees at various levels. As a part of the effort to correct the trend of economism and to impart education to the cadres about it, he wrote an article showing how economism got reflected in practice by basing on the experience of the NT movement at that time.

Comrade Shyam was always on the alert in checking the arrangements for self-defence in each and every camp, during journeys and in shelters in towns and in observing the weak points that enemy might utilise for attacks and in offering the needed instructions for rectifying those shortcomings. Even in the case of traitor Govinda Reddy, he brought to the notice of another CCM that his behaviour was changing and that he was not behaving in the way he used to behave in the past. But unfortunately we were unable to foresee that this traitor who was working in the party for more than twenty years would collaborate in the enemy's covert operation to annihilate the top leadership. The party lost comrades Shyam, Mahesh and Murali due to this mistake. The party learnt the lesson by paying a costly price that we should take all precautions keeping always in mind that the enemy will stoop down to every sort of heinous acts for rooting out the revolutionary movement. Though the enemy could murder our beloved leaders Shyam, Mahesh and Murali in this treacherous way, it failed to stop the advancement of the Indian revolutionary movement which has been nourished by the blood of the great martyrs. ★



Comrade Mahesh

Comrade Mahesh: A Promising Leader of Indian Revolution who Emerged from the New Wave of Uprising of the Oppressed Masses

Kadivendi village in Warangal district is the village where war drums of the great Telangana armed struggle were played for the first time. It was the village which gave birth to the first martyr of that great and glorious struggle, comrade Doddi Komaraiah. It is the village which gave birth to many heroic fighters. It is a village that has firmly upheld the banner of revolt against feudalism and imperialism during all these six decades. Comrade Yerramreddi Santosh Reddy (Mahesh) was a beloved son of that historic village. Santosh was a revolutionary leader who could easily mingle with comrades and people irrespective of their ages. He was a leader who was capable of winning over all those who come into contact with him with his powers of persuasion. He had not yet reached the age of forty at the time of his martyrdom.

Right from his childhood he grew up amidst communist politics. He had the chance to closely observe the revisionist and right opportunist leaders and their practice. While studying in a college in Warangal, which was a famous centre of radical students, he led the radical students' movement. Those were the days when the revolutionary students' movement led by martyr comrade Anjanna, gained momentum and scores of activists and leaders were turning into professional revolutionaries. Comrade Santosh grew up as a student leader and as a professional revolutionary within a short time. He then left Warangal and joined the Osmania University at Hyderabad.

Osmania University used to be a stronghold for ABVP. The student movement in the campus stagnated due to lack of proper leadership after the martyrdom of comrade George Reddy who brought revolutionary politics into the campus and led it. Santosh was an efficient leader who broke that stagnation. He was the new generation leader, who not only influenced his own classmates but also the student hostels located all over the city right from university hostels to polytechnic college hostels to the BC hostels of Dilsukhnagar at the far end of the city as revolutionary students' centres and who grew up to meet the demands of the movement while moulding many others into organisers.

Santosh, who was working as professional revolutionary in-charge of the city's student movement, was elected as a member of the Hyderabad city Party committee that was formed for the first time in 1981. From then on he worked very hard along with other members in building not only the student movement, but also the workers, women and democratic movements. In 1984, at a time when the second rank leadership grew up and many more were coming forward to work as professional revolutionaries, the then SC sent Santosh to Khammam as a district organiser entrusting him with the responsibility of rejuvenating the movement there. By that time, many comrades who emerged out of the Hyderabad city movement went to many districts for building the movement. That was the period in which the work of moulding leadership comrades, especially from among the students, bore fruits. As a leader emerging at that time he readily left the city and took up the responsibilities in Khammam.

He re-gathered the broken contacts in the district, improved the old and new contacts and drew up a plan and appropriate tactics for building class struggle. But treachery bared its fangs. The police acting on a tip off provided by a betrayer arrested Santosh in 1985. For about five years, from 1985-'90, he underwent jail life. He utilised this time to temper himself. He not only concentrated on his study and improved his ideological-political knowledge, he also paid particular attention to mould fellow comrades languishing in jails. During that period he led the party units in various jails. The long life in jail did not dampen his revolutionary spirit. Instead, by the time he came out of it, he took up the responsibility of the revolutionary movement as a politically matured leader.

The revolutionary movement in AP, especially the one in NT, got the upper hand after 1989. That was the period the party led the people in defeating the first undeclared war launched by Telugu Desam government. Santosh was one of those rare comrades, who, in spite of being confined to jails, succeeded in sharpening their thoughts and in understanding the problems of the movement, gathering news and experiences of the movement from comrades who came to jails from various struggle areas. He not only worked hard to turn that indirect knowledge into direct knowledge, he once again started his underground life as soon as he came out of jail to further improve his knowledge and reached Khammam. As it was a period when the form of armed squads had taken roots as general form of organisation in NT, he took charge of NT forest area on the border of Khammam-Warangal. It was the period in which he gained the capabilities that were needed for building the movement in the future. He acquired a grip and clarity over the organisational structure by once again re-establishing live links with the Khammam movement and directly understanding its development . In 1991, he was elected as the secretary of NT forest division that was formed for the first time and later he was also elected to the Regional Committee (RC) and worked in that capacity upto '93.

He led the squads in repulsing the armed attacks of the right opportunists launched against us aiming to annihilate our squads. On two occasions when they suddenly attacked our squads, he was with the squads and he personally led them in the successful counter attack. After his co-option as a member of NT RC, he worked hard from 1991 to 1992 to gain an understanding about the movement in the other four districts of NT. He tried hard in the process of its getting the upper hand. During the same period, the party faced its second internal political and organisational crisis and he took a major part in the effort that was made for upholding the correct line in the party.

South Telangana gets an able leader

By that time class struggle was on the rise in south Telangana. The arrest of the secretary of south Telangana comrade Ravi (Appa Rao) and other losses created a leadership vacuum there. Comrade Mahesh was

entrusted with responsibilities for south Telangana region in 1993. He directly shouldered the responsibility for building the movement in Medak district. He became the secretary of the RC and put in special efforts for understanding the whole movement. That was the period when he went to the grass-root levels, understood the movement and the conditions of comrades, and thus got clarity as to from where the movement has to be strengthened and what shortcomings needed to be set right.

Mahesh was elected to the APSC in the plenum it held towards the end of 1993. During this plenum itself comrade Shyam was relieved of the responsibility of secretaryship and comrade Puli Anjanna (Sagar) was entrusted with that responsibility. Comrade Murali was already working as the secretary of NT RC and as a member of the APSC. That was the period when Mahesh grew up as a member of this new team. This too was a period like 1985-'89 when the party was advancing by overcoming the severe repression of the enemy on the one hand and the internal political and organisational crisis created by conspirators on the other. During this period, the then SCS comrade Sagar became a martyr. But comrades Murali and Mahesh who already emerged as the new generation leaders and as the leaders of South and North Telangana movements also shouldered the responsibility of state leadership and displayed their capabilities by further strengthening the movement and the party, thus filling the gap of comrade Sagar's loss. Mahesh and Murali worked in tandem understanding the positive and negative aspects of each other, gaining a clear grip over the movement and developed into able leaders who throughout their analysis passed on the necessary information to both the CC and the SC to ensure that no gap existed in their understanding regarding the movement.

Leading the party amidst white terror

1994-'95 was a period during which party conferences were held at various levels for summing up the movement and learning lessons from it, raising the party through this effectively co-ordinating the movement and to further advance the movement and to get further consolidated politically and organisationally. During this period itself, due to the growing needs of the movement, NT region was separated from AP and a state-level party committee, Special Zonal Committee (SZC) was set up in place of the RC.

In this state conference comrade Mahesh was elected as the secretary of AP SC.

Comrade Mahesh, during the four-five years after his release from jail not only led the North and South Telangana movements, he also shouldered the responsibility for the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad and paid attention to the problems faced by the movement there. He analysed and placed before the SC the numerous problems faced by mass organisations (MOs) urging for their resolution. Thus Mahesh grew up as a red leader of the movement and as the secretary of APSC within a short span of time amidst unrelenting repression.

During this period itself he led the AP delegation at the All India Special Conference (AISC). Moreover, he won the admiration of the entire conference delegation with his role in the conference as a leader with a clear cut political understanding. He was elected to the new CC during this conference. During the last four years he gradually matured as a leader who put in immense efforts in enhancing the understanding of the party through his state's (AP) practice and understanding while fulfilling the twin responsibilities of SCS and CCM and understanding the conditions of the movement very quickly.

He was a capable leader adept at rapidly gaining political and organisational clarity over not only the rural movement but also over the urban movement and movements of various sections in the urban areas. As a result he was able to apply ideological, political, organisational and military points that were needed to combat the attacks against the movement going on at that time in AP and prepared the SC for that task.

He not only gained a clear-cut understanding over the democratic movement, and in particular over the scope, involvement and commitment of the civil liberties movement; he was also able to impart that clarity to the entire movement. A special mention should be made of the extraordinary role played by him in the ideological work that was taken up to answer liberal intellectuals who, without understanding the stand adopted by the enemy tried to put limits on the movement in accordance with their own limitations, and in exposing and defeating their wrong opinions before the people.

Moreover, when a few liberal intellectuals formed a committee named Committee of Concerned Citizens and started issuing statements against mass movements under the name of pointing out the mistakes that took place in practice from our side and on the part of the SC, he gave timely replies to them making our position clear. He was a young ideologist who played an excellent role as the SCS by immediately countering the criticisms made by the above group by interpreting the issue in the light of Marxist-Leninist principles and thus enlightening both the party and the people and ensuring that the party did not lose its initiative.

1995-'98 was the period during which fake Marxists, feminists, conservatives, voluntary organisations (NGOs) and reactionaries under the garb of progressives launched a big offensive against Marxism with various types of arguments. They claimed that Marxism had not paid proper attention on the caste question, women's question, sectional movements etc. and that Marxism was not sufficient for the resolution of these questions. The media propagated these arguments and launched further attacks on the revolutionary movement. The ruling classes and their government not only supported this attack but also launched on a massive scale a programme aimed at creating confusion among the minds of the people by intensifying propaganda war against the revolutionary movement through its pundit laureates, class supporters and through surrendered 'ex' Naxals who obey their dictats. It took some time for the party to understand the intensity of the attack.

Moreover, at that time the party was busy overcoming the internal problems created by Sitaramaiah and it had the priority tasks of not only sustaining the party by combating the second undeclared war of Telugu Desam government but also of intensifying the mass movement and mass resistance, of fulfilment of higher stage tasks in GZs and of expanding the party, which was hitherto confined to AP, NT and DK areas as a countrywide party.

The new CC and the new SCs in the states established during the course of effectively fulfilling these tasks took the initiative in solving other problems as well. By that time, the new secretary of APSC, Mahesh, after the resolution of internal crisis, correctly reflected party's line in the formulation of the tactics to be adopted in AP on caste question, women's question and other

questions and stood in the forefront in imparting understanding about these tactics to cadres and the leaders of MOs. Thus, through the timely initiative taken by him, the party was successful to some extent in placing the party's views before the people and in exposing the poisonous propaganda against it.

Meanwhile, the combating of the second undeclared war and the fresh attack which followed it in '97; the mobilisation and training of new cadres to take the place of martyred comrades at various levels; imparting of education to party committees at various levels for overcoming and lessening the losses and for correcting shortcomings; this became the first task of the party. Along with this, the party also faced the challenge of combating the political and military attacks that the enemy was launching basing on that section and the task of exposing and defeating the efforts of the enemy to hit at the leadership through covert operations in his new fascist onslaught.

Moreover, the exposure of the bankrupt policies being pursued by the Telugu Desam government and its sole leader Chandrababu Naidu, who bowing to the dictats of World Bank and IMF, handed over the state's economy to them, the exposure of policies of 'Vision 2020', which was actually prepared by the World Bank and was touted in a big way by Chandrababu as his own and several other policies like 'Janmabhumi', 'Mahila Janmabhumi', 'administration at people's doorstep' became an important task for APSC. Mahesh led the SC in exposing how these policies would hinder the all-round development of the people and in imparting the understanding to the people that these policies are nothing but anti-people measures which the state government is adopting in order to serve the interests of the imperialists.

Building the urban movement in conditions of unabating repression stood as a challenge before the party. The urban movement and party's secret mechanism were the first victims of enemy's intensified repression. The APSC, under the leadership of Mahesh, tried not only to protect the above two from enemy's onslaughts but also to gain upper hand over the enemy by building the organisational structure and subjective forces amidst repression. It reorganised the Hyderabad city movement, the Vizag city movement and many other urban movements every time after they suffered losses and tried to learn lessons from those experiences.

Comrade Mahesh was a military leader who got ready for the warfare formulating counter-tactics against enemy's tactics and deploying our forces accordingly. His expertise in the military field was one of the main factors behind the success of raids against the enemy conducted during the 1996-'99 period. He displayed an exceptional calibre in creatively applying MLM to the concrete problems facing the revolutionary movement. This was brought out most clearly at the AP State Plenum in Feb., 1999 where he placed before the delegates a concrete programme for carrying out a Rectification Campaign to purge the party of the evils of liberalism, spontaneity, economism, bureaucratic attitudes and subjectivism.

The ruling classes temporarily gained an upper hand by winning over a traitor from within. Comrade Mahesh became a victim of such a treachery. The death of a people's hero does not lead to tears, it reminds us of our duties. Comrade Mahesh was an exemplary leader who stood firmly holding his head high till his last.

Eternal glory to comrade Mahesh, the beloved leader of the people! A leader who grew up amidst unfavourable conditions to suit the demands of the movement in a very short span of time. His name will be etched forever in the history of India's revolutionary movement. ★

How should we judge whether a youth is a revolutionary? How can we tell? There can only be one criterion, namely, whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice. If he is willing to do so and actually does so, he is a revolutionary; otherwise he is a non-revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary. If today he integrates himself with the masses of workers and peasants, then today he is a revolutionary; if tomorrow he ceases to do so or turns round to oppress the common people, then he becomes a non-revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary.

– Mao, 'The Orientation of the Youth Movement'



Comrade Murali

A Dynamic Leader who Emerged from the Class War, Comrade Murali is Alive in the Hearts of the Oppressed Masses

The *Murali* (flute) which for 20 years played the song of the Telangana armed agrarian revolutionary struggle, reaching four corners of the country over the villages of Telangana, over the forest areas on the two banks of Godavari and over the peaks of DK hills fell silent on December 2nd, 1999. The life of comrade Murali who sang the song that vividly told the entire world as to how each and every village in Telangana became a centre of class struggle, was a treasure house of experience, a fountain head of the movement.

Murali is the pride of the oppressed masses of NT. For two decades from 1981 to '99 he led the party, standing firm like a veteran sailor, steering the boat safely along the tortuous channel of struggle amidst mighty typhoons along the course of the movement which faced many ebbs and flows. In one word, his life was the history of blood-ridden Telangana. To say that in NT there is not a village where he did not set foot, there is not a section of the rural masses he did not mobilise, and that there is none in the revolutionary camp who did not hear his name, does not amount to an overstatement but is a simple and straightforward fact.

A peasant leader who grew up among the wretched of the earth

Comrade Seelam Naresh, who started propagating among the wretched of the earth the politics of agrarian revolution by which to achieve state power, placing the land, the plough and the harvest in the hands of the very peasants who tilled and sowed in the early days of Jagityal-Sircilla anti-

feudal struggle, dedicated his entire life for giving a practical shape to that political understanding. The sounds of the anti-feudal struggles of Jagityal, Sircilla awakened Naresh who was then studying in the polytechnic college at Sircilla. Naresh, who took up the responsibility of organising RSU, led the Radical students' movement not only in Sircilla but also in Metpally, Jagityal, Kamareddy and Nizamabad and within a short span of time emerged as a party organiser in Sircilla-Kamareddy area.

At a time when the Sircilla movement was in a weak state due to the martyrdom of efficient comrades like Kandi Latchi Reddy, Ramchandrar etc. in accidents, the youth of Yellareddipeta, Akkupalli, the mass organisations of Ramannapet, Chendurti and Rudrangi and the students of Sircilla were the cadres who sowed the seeds for building the movement of Nizamabad district through Sircilla (Sircilla actually lies in Karimnagar district). Comrade Naresh and Shankar were among the first party organisers who built up the movement, which suffered early losses. They both were the leaders who grew up step by step from the womb of the Nizamabad peasants' heroic struggle. They both participated in the 'Go to Village' campaigns of 1980 and '81 and settled as organisers of Sircilla-Kamareddy areas in 1982. From then on, during the period of eighteen years (1982-1999) Naresh toured Nizamabad, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam (north Telangana forest division) Singareni, Adilabad; in a word, the entire NT, in holding responsibilities at various levels. In fact, he shouldered leadership responsibilities of the movement in the same area for such a long time and who have such a vast experience.

As architect of Nizamabad movement

Comrade Naresh was a youth of just twenty years of age when he took up the responsibilities of the movement as a professional revolutionary. He was already a married man with a child. As his wife who grew up in a traditional way was not prepared for a revolutionary life, he did not continue his conjugal life with her. He was a leader who never looked back in his entire revolutionary life, and who until the end stood and fought with an unparalleled dedication. From 1982-'84, he personally led the peasant movement in Kamareddy area. He was elected to the DC in the first conference of that district held towards the end of 1984 and took up the

responsibilities for other centres along with Kamareddy. He never participated in any open public meeting. Leaving the college he directly entered the battlefield, lived as a steeled and tempered guerrilla in the course of struggle against the enemy, and leading many guerrilla squads, he directly provided extraordinary leadership at every turn in the movement in the GZ. He was an expert, who, strictly following methods of underground work in his twenty years of guerrilla life, won the upper hand in the hide and seek game he played with the enemy.

From 1985 onwards a new campaign of repression was launched by the government. Special armed police and paramilitary forces were deployed on a large scale all over NT and they conducted combing operations and ambushes. During this period, Naresh, holding the responsibility for the movement in the area stretching from Nizamabad in the west to NT forest division in the east across river Godavari, not only personally resisted these onslaughts but also organised fellow leaders and squads in resisting the enemy. During these twenty years he turned into a veteran general, safely bringing out comrades from numerous encounters and ambushes set up by the enemy. That is why even after he became a CCM, he remained the commander of his batch in the retreating batches. That's why the People's War guerrillas had an unshakable faith in him.

During the period of the first undeclared war, Comrade Naresh led from the front and ensured that the cadre and people did not lose their initiative. In the process he took up the task of building mass organisations in Nizamabad district, mobilised the people for various struggles like Tendu leaf collectors' struggle, struggle of hired hands and agricultural labourers for enhancement of wages, the struggle of the peasants for remunerative prices for their produce, the struggle for the occupation of forest lands, the struggle against the atrocities of landlords, struggles against caste oppression and particularly against the attacks on dalits, the struggle against police atrocities in the villages where police camps were set up, etc. In the repression that went on in NT and Adilabad, East Godavari and Visakhapatnam districts which were then part of DK movement, Nizamabad and Adilabad recouped very quickly and countered the government's repression. Though the people took a back step in the initial days, they gathered courage within a few months and advanced under the party's leadership. As there were forest stretches to some extent

in the struggle areas in Nizamabad district, there, from the beginning in each centre, two to five armed members moved along with the party organiser (who led as a commander) in the form of an armed squad. During this entire period Naresh came to understand the minds of the people, got a grip over their condition and became a leader of the masses. From that time onwards, i.e., the period of early '80s belongs to martyr comrades Shankar-Murali. The history of Nizamabad movement shows how leaders emerge out of the womb of the movement.

Youth coming to the forefront in a most militant way is a phenomenon we can easily notice from the history of Nizamabad movement. It is to the credit of Naresh who by mobilising masses in thousands implemented the mass line and brought to the fore several new forms of struggle. He was adept at easily attracting others' attention. He was the epitome of such revolutionary virtues like straightforward talk, mingling with everybody without ever showing the pretence of a big leader, simple way of life, a selflessness of not demanding any privileges though stricken by ill-health, and a revolutionary life without ever showing even a wee bit of vacillation, etc.

In 1987, comrade Murali was elected as the secretary of the DC and as a member of NTRC. The team of comrade Ilanna, comrade Sagar (Rajalingu) and Naresh came up as the new leadership team of NT. But as the first two comrades became martyrs in 1987-88, for some time the RC did not function and the DC worked directly under the SC. During this period as there were losses in the Karimnagar leadership, he was shifted to Karimnagar and he took up the responsibility of Karimnagar DCS. By 1989, new leadership teams emerged in all the districts of NT while countering the first attack of the enemy and mobilising the people on a big scale. The first attack of the enemy was defeated. In 1989 the NTRC was reorganised with comrade Naresh as its secretary.

During this period between 1989-'99, Murali held the leadership responsibilities of the movement withstanding the ebbs and flows of the movement. From that time to the day he breathed his last comrade Murali emerged as one of the party's leadership centre and as a strategic leader formulating counter-tactics that effectively dealt with the tactics of the enemy.

During 1987-'89 he underwent military training to achieve the required techniques for military life. A special mention must be made of the initiative he displayed in countering the daily attacks of the enemy, in formulating counter-attacks and in repulsing the tactics the state's armed forces adopted in the name of counterinsurgency operations. Though suffering from ulcer, he moulded himself and adhered to strict discipline amidst the hardships of a guerrilla life.

At the forefront of massive upsurge

Towards the end of 1989, the Telugu Desam government fell and Congress came back to power which created a more favourable political situation for us. The mass movement under the erstwhile PW's leadership, which gained an upper hand by 1984 stood ready for a new upsurge. The party utilised the changed political situation - though it was for a temporary period - and using new tactics mobilised the people in their thousands and even in lakhs. This displayed before the people of the country the manner in which our movement and our mass base grew through struggles though the enemy was going on propagating that we were finished off.

The seizure and distribution of patta lands of landlords among the landless and poor peasants went on like a mighty movement. Small and big mass public meetings were held everywhere. Finally, we mobilised more than ten lakh people for the Warangal Conference of peasants and agricultural labourers association — a unique event in the entire history of Indian peasant movement. We were able to instil confidence in the oppressed masses that was needed for facing another undeclared war. The villages of NT once again raised the red banner of rebellion at this juncture wherein people caught in the web of numerous new problems were getting ready for further struggles. They got ready to fight the enemy with a better experience. During this period, the NTRC formed squads in all the areas, provided them with firearms, turned the squad organisation into a general form and got ready to face the enemy's onslaught. The organisational form of armed squads became the general form of organisation not only in NT but all over AP. As a result, the party was able to withstand the enemy repression which intensified from the last days of '90. The party was able to turn the upsurge of the masses in to the direction of anti-state struggles. Murali played a prominent

role in all these activities.

In 1990, a plenary meeting of the APSC was held and SC was strengthened by electing new members. Murali, who was elected as a member of that committee, with his immense experience of NT struggle played a major role in formulating the policies for intensifying the class struggle in South Telangana and other struggle areas in AP and for advancing those struggles with GZ perspective. From 1989-'95 he continued as the NTRCS also. During this period the movement faced many ups and downs, the leadership and the movement not only withstood the second undeclared offensive war of the enemy, it also went ahead replenishing the losses and growing into a separate state movement.

In the NT region we completed preparations for GZ by 1989 and began guerrilla war. Comrade Murali was elected as an alternate member to the CC in the All India Special Conference (AISC) held in 1995. In this year, the NT region became a Special Zone and the CC formed it as a Special Zonal Committee (a state-level committee) and he was elected as its secretary in 1997. He became a full-fledged member of the CC.

The enemy turned the repression which intensified in NT towards the end of 1997 into his third onslaught carried out by TDP government. Though the ban on the party was removed temporarily for a few months, the enemy did not allow open activities, but stopped the massive raids on villages. At the same time special police teams tried their level best to root out the party's leadership. Chandrababu captured power and re-imposed the ban on the party. During this entire ban period comrade Murali visited all the districts in NT and concentrated on the places where his presence was needed. Whenever a special work was allotted to him within the NTSZC, he used to concentrate on it.

He toured Adilabad district, which became a part of NT organisation in 1995, to get a grasp of the movement there. During this period Murali worked hard in reviewing the shortcomings in the plans for the raids and ambushes conducted against enemy's armed forces and in educating the squads about it. Recognising the weakness of our squads and district committees, he guided them in taking special precautionary measures for safely warding off enemy attacks.

On occasions where many losses occurred due to our mistakes in practice, Murali used to personally and patiently convince, instruct and guide the comrades of those areas in overcoming their weaknesses. In this respect he won the confidence of comrades from all levels. Staying in the field itself he provided the specific guidance the leadership comrades were required to provide. Moreover, Murali was the team leader who recognised the need of putting efforts not only on concentrating by himself the points he had to learn and teach during the course of the development of the movement but also of persuading fellow committee members to pay attention in the same way.

In the course of the development of the CPI(ML)[PW], the leadership comrades from top to bottom did not confine themselves to superficial works nor got accustomed to urban life but always were in the battlefield amongst comrades, maintaining live links with the people and directly providing leadership at every turn in the movement. Comrade Murali spent twenty years of his revolutionary life in this way. He was the youngest member (39 years) of the CC at the time of his martyrdom. For twenty years he toured rural Telangana, leaving his footprints on that soil and won an eternal place for himself in the history of the revolutionary movement. ★

As we Chinese Communists, who base all our actions on the highest interests of the broadest masses of the Chinese people and who are fully convinced of the justice of our cause, never balk at any personal sacrifice and are ready at all times to give our lives for the cause... Countless revolutionary martyrs have laid down their lives in the interests of the people, and our hearts are filled with pain as we the living think of them – can there be any personal interest, then, that we would not sacrifice or any error that we would not discard?

– Mao, ‘On Coalition Government’



Comrade Shamsheer Singh Sheri

Comrade Shamsheer Singh Sheri: A Life of Struggle and Sacrifice for the Correct Political - Military Line and Maoist Unity

Comrade Shamsheer Singh Sheri (Sher Singh Sheri, Karam Singh - KS), a central committee member and politburo member of the CPI(Maoist) attained martyrdom on October 30, 2005. The dangerous disease of cerebral malaria combined with jaundice attacked him in the harsh conditions of underground life, aggravated for a long time, and ultimately resulted in his death. Not to speak of party comrades, even comrade Sheri was not aware of his critical health condition till his last days. The party made best efforts to save him. However, the attack of the disease was so terrible that he could not be saved in spite of all the efforts put by his party comrades.

Comrade Sheri was born in village Khokhar Kalan, in the Lehra Gaga-Sunam area, subdivision Sunam, district Sangrur, Punjab. Economically, this was an extremely backward area of Punjab, but an area with a rich legacy of revolutionary movement. It was a stronghold of the armed Pepsu tenancy movement under the leadership of the Red Party. Comrade Teja Singh Swatantar, the most popular veteran leader of the communist movement of Punjab and founder of the Red Communist Party, though not a native of this area, worked for a long time in this area and the people of this area considered him as their own. They reverently call him Swatantar ji even now. The great martyr Udham Singh was also a native of this area (Sunam), who took revenge of the bloody massacre of Jallian Wala Bagh on April 13, 1919 by shooting down General Dyer in the Kaxton Hall of London after twenty one years. The Sikh general Akali Phoola Singh who is well-known as a true, sincere, and expert military commander and a great hero was also a native of village Lehal Kalan of this area. Despite being an army

commander of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, Phoola Singh lashed Maharaja Ranjeet Singh at Akal Takht, the highest religious seat of the Sikhs. None can forget comrade Rahi of village Ugrahan, who despite his blindness devoted all his life to the service of the people and worked as a courier of the Red communist Party. Comrade Sheri not only continued the revolutionary legacy of this area, but carried it to a greater height. The future generations will be proud of him.

Early life

Sheri was born in the end of 1942. He was sixty three years old when he breathed his last. He belonged to a middle class peasant family. His father was Harnam Singh and mother was Punjab Kaur. He had six brothers and three sisters. He was the youngest of all. He was still three or four months old when his father died. He along with his elder brother was married in 1957. At that time he was about fifteen years old. His wife Harbans Kaur, the daughter of Dalip Singh and Gurdial Kaur of village Bhullran, Sangrur district, was barely nine years old. Due to the custom of child marriage prevalent in Punjab at that time, he was bound by the bonds of marriage. But the real beginning of his family life started only a little before he went underground. In the mid 1980s, during his underground life two sons were born to his wife. It is matter of great pride that in spite of severe repression and Sheri staying out of home for over 35 years, his wife unflinchingly stood by him till the end. She firmly stood by comrade Sheri even in the conditions of acute repression and social pressure. She bade farewell to him at the time of his final departure with a garland of flowers, just as she might have done at the time of their marriage.

Sheri passed his middle class examination in 1957 privately and got coaching from Paras Raj Academy at Sunam. He cleared his matriculation from Lehragaga. After matriculation he joined Mahindra College, Patiala for graduation. He did his B.A. Part II from this college. Right at the outset he had a keen interest in literature. During this period he composed several songs and poems which were published in the college magazine. He was a good player of Kabaddi. He fractured his leg while playing Kabaddi. Because of financial constraints and unsatisfactory treatment, he developed disability in the leg. Due to an open clash with goonda elements in Mahindra College he had to migrate to Ripudaman College at Nabha in 1963. He completed

his B.A. from this college in 1964. During this period he came in contact with Darshan Bagi, the first general secretary of Punjab Students' Union (PSU) and a prominent student leader of Punjab as well as other leaders. After that he jumped into the student movement in Punjab earnestly.

A pioneer of revolutionary students movement of Punjab

This was the period when the national liberation struggles the world over were inflicting heavy blows against the world imperialist system like a hurricane. The national liberation struggle of Vietnam was such a phenomenon that shook US imperialism to its roots. The successful conclusion of the Chinese Revolution after the Second World War was another phenomenon that showed the Maoist path to revolution in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. By this time the first socialist citadel of Russia had been usurped by the revisionist Khrushchev clique. This clique had brazenly taken to the path of the so-called peaceful transition. Two centers of International Communist Movement emerged as a result of the Great Debate between the Russian and the Chinese Communist Parties – the Maoist camp under the leadership of Chinese Communist Party and the revisionist camp under the leadership of the Russian party. Because of this, two lines, revolutionary and revisionist, emerged at the international level. The Indian communist movement too got divided into two camps under its impact. After breaking away from the CPI, CPI(M) also upheld the revisionist line. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution unleashed under the leadership of comrade Mao Tse-tung was advancing by defeating the counter-revolution. The earth shaking beginning of this revolution tempered the fresh comrades that were drawn into the fold of communist movement. The tempestuous student struggle of over fifty countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America after the great student struggle of France was directly attracting the student sections into its fold. During these tumultuous years Sheri not only joined the revolutionary movement but also rose to the leading its ranks in Punjab. During this period he got admission in Government College Ludhiana and Khalsa College Amritsar. He was elected the secretary of the Amritsar district committee of PSU in August 1967. At the time of the election of state committee in October 1967, he was elected as its propaganda secretary. After the arrest of Darshan Bagi - the first general secretary of PSU - in December 1968 under PDR, he was elected as the acting general secretary.

When the first manifesto and constitution of PSU was adopted in July 1969, he was working as its general secretary.

Stoking the flames of armed agrarian revolutionary war

It was the period when the great Naxalbari peasant armed uprising broke out in May 1967 under the leadership of comrade Charu Majumdar. It provided the concrete alternative to the revisionist line of CPI and CPI(M) in the form of the line of Protracted People's War, which established itself as the guiding ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) in practice against revisionism. It highlighted the politics of election boycott as against the parliamentary politics which sent shivers to the Indian rulers. The central government under the leadership of Congress and United Front government in Bengal under the leadership of CPI(M), left no stone unturned to crush the Naxalite movement and unleashed a reign of terror. The communist revolutionaries of India continued working under the All India Co-ordination Committee from 1967-1969 in order to build a single party centre and to advance struggles of the Naxalbari type. This Co-ordination Committee decided to form CPI(ML). Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) was organised apart from CPI(ML) under the leadership of comrade Kanhai Chatterji. At that time comrade Sheri upheld the formation of CPI(ML). Obeying the decision of the party, he went underground in 1969-70. He not only upheld the line of armed struggle theoretically but also established himself as an important and influential leader implementing the line of Protracted People's War. After the fake police encounters of some senior comrades in Punjab, he was elected as a state committee member of CPI(ML) in Punjab. He was part of the team that eliminated Sikander Singh, the DSP of Patiala. This action is known to be one of the most successful military actions by the Naxalite movement of Punjab in the period of 1969-70. After this, he was involved in all the military actions in the districts of Patiala and Sangrur.

Although he remained wanted by the police for long during his student life, after these military actions he was more widely hounded by the police. Severe repression was unleashed on the people of his village, his friends, relatives, his wife, his brothers and his contacts in the revolutionary movement. If any native of village Khokhar was ever caught by the police, it considered a duty to torture him. His wife Harbans Kaur and his sister-in-

law Harbans Kaur were both imprisoned for about three months. They were tortured. His brothers Ranjit and Harbans Singh were also tortured. His friends and about eighty to ninety young men were selectively tortured. Apart from the period after the military action in Patiala, state repression was at its height at the time of the attack on the police post of village Dadhahoor in Sangrur, the murder of a landlord at Changaliwala and during the famous student struggle at Moga in Punjab. His wife was prevented from cultivating the land. His landed property was attached by the government. In this situation, his wife armed herself and cultivated the land. It forced the government to exercise some restraint. Even today his land is attached in the government records. His family cannot sell the land, get any loan and power connection. At the time of the birth of his children the police humiliated his wife asking her how these children were born, where did they meet, etc. Not only did Sheri and his family withstand the severe repression of that time, but he did not bow before any police officer or political leader of the state till the last breath of his life. He mostly remained underground and devoted himself to the revolution. He never showed any weakness while leaving his home, nor did he bowed down to repression. He persevered on the path of revolution with his head held high. The repression by the government tempered him further.

Leading the ideological struggle against revisionist line

After the disintegration of CPI(ML) in Punjab, he joined UCCRI (M.L.) in 1974. He worked as a member of the regional committee of this organisation from 1974 till 1982. However, he was opposed to the right reformist line of the UCCRI (M.L.). At that time the process of disintegration started in this apparently strong organisation as well. The majority of the central leadership deviated to the revisionist line and upheld the revisionist Three Worlds Theory, though the minority rejected it. He was one of the important leaders resisting this revisionist attack. He took a clear position on this issue. At the time of the split in this group in 1982 he was one of those who rejected the right reformist line of this organization. He became a member of the leading committee of the anti-CC group. During the first conference of this group in November 1983, the group named itself RCCI (M.L.). Comrade Sheri became the founder secretary of this new organisation.

Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) was founded in May 1984, and RCCI (M.L.) under his leadership upheld it by declaring that “RIM can be relied on for holding the reins of history.”

Two revisionist trends emerged in the communist revolutionary movement in India on the issue of assessing the character of the relatively more developed regions of Punjab as a part of the imperialist policy of Green Revolution. On the basis of such a process of development, one trend advocated the path of socialist revolution and general insurrection by claiming that there was a fundamental change in the character and path of the Indian society. This revisionist trend upheld legal work and participation in the parliamentary institutions. This trend characterised India as economically dependent on imperialism and politically independent or partly independent from it. The second trend, on the other hand, talked of the sum total of the national revolutions. He struggled against both these revisionist trends and firmly upheld the theory of New Democratic Revolution and Protracted People’s War.

Unceasing efforts for the unity of Maoist forces

After the second conference of RCCI(M.L.) in 1992, this organisation was split into two groups. RCCI(Maoist) and RCCI(MLM) was formed as a culmination of this split in 1995. He remained secretary in the 1996 and 2002 conferences of RCCI(Maoist). Under his leadership, RCCI(Maoist) made a commendable contribution in organising the Co-ordination Committee of Communist Parties and Organizations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA) and stopping the clashes going on at that time between the MCC and CPI(ML) [PW] . Under his leadership RCCI(Maoist) and MCC were unified in January 2003. After this unification MCC was renamed as MCCI. He was elected a member of the central committee of MCCI. He played a significant role in the unity between the Organising Committee, RCCI (MLM) and MCCI in September 2003. In the capacity of a central committee member of MCCI, he played a crucial role in uniting MCCI and CPI(ML)[PW] and also in preparing the basic documents (drafts) for the united party, released after the unification. In the first meeting of the central committees of the two organisations held on 21 September 2004, he was elected as a member of the central committee as well as polit bureau of the CPI(Maoist). He made a

commendable contribution in the politburo and central committee meetings in solving the problems faced by CPI(Maoist). Comrade Sheri persevered boldly during the phase of disintegration and setback of the revolutionary movement in the country. He learned from left and right mistakes. In a gloomy phase when many of his comrades returned home, he deeply studied revolutionary literature. Passing through this process he emerged as a mature theoretician. He prepared several documents and many articles which are a precious capital for the revolutionary movement.

Passing through this process, he reached to the conclusion that among the communist party, the army and the united front, the role of the party is central and supreme, and the party line is decisive. If the line is correct everything else can be created. If the party has no army, the army can be built up. If it has no power, power can be captured. If it has no guns, guns can be procured. But if the line itself is erroneous, all can collapse. He firmly held that the pivot of party work is armed struggle or Protracted People's War. United front is built up through armed struggle and for armed struggle. Mass struggle and mass organisations are important and indispensable. They are to serve the armed struggle. Learning from the harsh realities of the communist movement, he concluded that mass and legal struggles cannot be directly converted into armed struggle. The preparation for the armed struggle should be made separately right from the beginning. Mass struggle and mass organisations are to serve it. Due to these views and the practice based on this understanding, his right reformist critics always labelled him as a left-adventurist. But contrary to this wrong opinion, his continuously maturing views ensured that his name came to be known in the forests and mountains of India and of South Asia. Comrade Shamsher Singh Sheri or Sher Singh Sheri thus came to be known as comrade KS (Karam Singh). He is remembered fondly in all the strongholds of the Maoist movement - Bihar, Jharkhand, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, West Bengal, Odisha, Dandakaranya, etc. and of course, in Punjab.

After undertaking deep study and synthesizing his long experience, comrade Sheri realised far more clearly than in his early age that the pivot of Indian revolution is armed agrarian revolution. Comprador bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism dominating the Indian state is dependent on and subservient to imperialism. Imperialism is a power without which the Indian

state cannot survive. So along with the fight against feudalism, the fight against imperialism is also indispensable. He was of the opinion that the attack of imperialist policies in the form of WTO is very dangerous. The problems of the people can be solved only by building parallel revolutionary power. The central slogan of this phase is “power to the peasant committees and land to the real tiller.” He held that the party would confiscate the property of imperialist and comprador capital along with distributing the land of the feudal lords during the New Democratic Revolution. After the New Democratic Revolution in India the next task would be to build socialism. In order to foil the counter-revolutions, hundreds of cultural revolutions would have to be accomplished. He persevered on the red path and won over hundreds of young men to the fold of the Maoist movement.

Comrade Sheri advocated the unity of Maoists not only in India but of the whole world. He held that world imperialism is our common enemy. Working class is an international class. The conditions for its emancipation are the same. Its complete emancipation is linked with the elimination of world imperialism. So along with the unity at the countrywide level, international unity is also essential. Only the communist movement unified at the international level can effectively defeat the fresh challenges of world imperialism. Also, only the Maoist movement unified at the countrywide scale can solve more effectively the internal problems it faced.

Comrade Shamsheer Singh Sheri was a versatile and leading figure of the Naxalite movement for forty years who devoted all his life to the liberation of the workers and the peasants. He had youthful vigour even at the age of 63. He never bowed down to the problems faced by the revolutionary movement. He never submitted to state repression. He always subordinated his personal interests to the common interests. He made relentless efforts to unify the fragmented Maoist movement and achieved great success in his efforts. He played a leading role in uniting the Maoists of Punjab with those of the country and the world. It will not be an exaggeration to say that the life of comrade Sheri was a living history. Revolutionary ranks and the labouring people will always remember him. They will always seek guidance from the life and works of this heroic son of the land and the people, for whose liberation he devoted his entire life. Let us pledge to follow his ideals and footsteps! ★



Comrade Chandramouli

Comrade Chandramouli: An Indomitable Commander of People's War and Leader of Indian Revolution

On 27th December 2006, the CPI(Maoist) suffered a severe loss when the blood-thirsty AP police shot dead comrade Vadkapur Chandramouli, a member of the Central Committee and his life partner comrade Karuna in a fake encounter in the Eastern Ghat region of AP (AOB Special Zone). He was 44 years of age at the time of his martyrdom. This incident was made more tragic for the party as its senior cadres and leaders were at the same time gathering at another location to triumphantly consolidate the unification process by holding the Unity Congress-9th Congress of the party. In fact, comrades Chandramouli and Karuna were abducted by the Special Intelligence Bureau (SIB) personnel of the AP police from somewhere between Raipur and Kharagpur while they were on their way to attend the Congress. Both of them were brutally tortured by the police before they were murdered. But both of them withstood the inhuman tortures inflicted on them without revealing any information that would harm the party or the revolutionary movement, including the details of the historic party Congress that was just about to begin. They defended the party with their lives. In this way, both of them displayed their exemplary courage and spirit of self-sacrifice that only great communist revolutionaries can possess.

A great leader with multifaceted capabilities

Comrade Chandramouli (Navin, Balakrishna - BK) had worked in the revolutionary movement for 25 years. He was a young CCM and a top

commander of the PLGA. He had multifaceted capabilities – a good organizer of the cadres of the party as well as of the revolutionary masses. He closely intermingled with the people and was concerned about their wellbeing and thereby won the love of the masses. He moulded himself according to the needs of the revolution by leaving the habits and customs of the old society. With these exemplary proletarian qualities he became the best organiser of the Vadkapur area within a short time after he became a professional revolutionary. As an outstanding and courageous military commander who always led the guerilla fighters standing at the fore front, he was a political teacher who imparted education to the cadres of the party; he was a good military instructor, both in theory and in practical exercises-maneuvers; he was a good poet who penned many poems and songs on revolutionary life; he was also a good student all through his life. He had a perpetual thirst to know and grasp MLM more deeply and thoroughly so as to be able to solve the complex problems of the revolutionary movement. In one word, apart from being a member of the CC and CCM of the CPI(Maoist), he was an outstanding military commander, a comrade quite capable of enthusing, arousing and leading the new generation of cadres of the party and fighters of the PLGA forces, apart from the senior cadres, forward on the path of Peoples’ War!

25 years of dedicated revolutionary life

Chandramouli’s revolutionary life of 25 years is the exemplary story of a cadre who started his revolutionary life as a student organizer activist and party activist and grew up along with the revolutionary movement to become one of the top leaders of the party – a CCM and a member of the Central Military Commission (CMC) – through dedicated and steadfast revolutionary practice, through study and by bringing forth all his capabilities in advancing the Peoples’ War, raising his level as and when time and the situation demanded, all this with the sole aim of serving the interests of the oppressed masses of the country.

He was born in a backward caste rural artisan carpenter family of Vadkapur village in Peddapalli taluq of Karimnagar district in AP – an area which witnessed the eruption of a mighty wave of anti-feudal, anti-imperialist

struggles of the peasantry in the late '70s and early '80s under the leadership of the CPI(ML)(PW). Enthused and aroused by this peasant upsurge and student movement as an activist of RSU he was in relation with the party in the year 1981. At that time he was pursuing his studies in a junior collage (Inter/+2). Soon he started organizing the students under the leadership of the Radical Student Union. He actively participated in the 'Go to Village' Campaign — an annual summer campaign the party organized for revolutionary students — in '81 itself. He became a professional revolutionary in 1982. From that time on, till the moment of his martyrdom, his entire life in the intervening 25 years was a life dedicated solely to the cause of achieving the victory of New Democratic Revolution.

Emergence as a good leader capable of turning adverse conditions into favourable ones

In the year 1982 Chandramouli was appointed as a squad member in Peddapalli tehsil of Vadkapur area and in 1983 he was promoted as a party organizer in that area. He soon organized and led many peasant struggles by mobilizing the peasant masses. By 1985, the entire rank and file of the party of the Karimnagar district was so impressed by his hard work and leadership capabilities, that they unanimously elected him to the DC, even bypassing some of his seniors, during the district conference. By that time, the state's iron heel campaign of suppression reached the state of an undeclared war. In 1987, he was arrested and kept in Rajahmundry central jail. In a daring action, a Local Guerrilla Squad (LGS) of East Godavari captured seven IAS officers and demanded the release of Chandramouli and some other imprisoned revolutionaries. He was released by the government and he rejoined the movement. The party, as a part of its tactics to counter the state's onslaught by extending to new areas, decided to shift some cadres to the DK and some areas in AP.

Accordingly, he was asked to take up responsibilities in the Eastern Ghats region of AP (comprising of the forest and hilly areas of the East Godavari and Visakhapatnam districts) which was then a part of the DK movement. As a true and dedicated communist, he accepted that responsibility without any second thought.

At the time when he took his new responsibilities, the class struggle was intense in the Eastern region and it was facing severe repression. Apart from a savage onslaught by the states' armed police forces, the guerillas of the then CPI(ML)(PW) had to face armed attacks by the cadres of the then right-opportunist ND group. The terrain too was a very difficult one. The people there belonged to different Adivasi tribes and each had its own language. But Chandramouli soon learnt the local languages by firmly integrating himself with the Adivasi masses and cadres. He was able to gain strong roots there by enthusing, arousing and organizing the masses into intensive anti-feudal, anti-state struggles through tireless efforts and dedicated service. He soon gained a firm grip on the conditions in that area through study and practice. As a result of his hard work and practice he was elected as the secretary of the Eastern RC in 1996 in its first founding plenum and in 1997 he was elected to the DK Forest Committee (FC). He displayed exemplary courage even in the face of the enemy. In Mohanapuram village of Addatigala mandal of East Godavari district, the squad was talking to the students of a hostel. The police, getting information of this, came to the place and started firing. One squad member got injured. BK started retaliatory firing, took the injured comrade on his shoulder and retreated to safety. On the way there was a rivulet which needed to be crossed. As they were trying to cross it the police fired on the opposite side. He kept the injured comrade down, fired upon the police, lifted him again on his shoulders and retreated to a nearby hill after crossing the rivulet. In 1998, he was injured in Kopardung encounter in Srikakulam division of AP in which the DIG coordinated the forces engaged in the operation which were deployed through helicopters. While 13 comrades were martyred, BK even in an injured state along with some other comrades who were in the same condition helped around sixty comrades to escape while retaliating in which some policemen died. He led the guerilla forces an attack on Siler police outpost in Visakhapatnam district in 1986.

During the early '90s the revolutionary movement in the East Region had fallen into an organisational crisis. The movement which until then was going on in 5 squad areas got reduced to just two squad areas. The Divisional Committee (DVC) was made dysfunctional. He faced all these difficulties with stoutheartedness. With untiring efforts and utmost dedication he played a crucial role in rebuilding the movement and leading the cadre. Through

such serious efforts the party developed a second rank leadership among the cadres, which soon took over the divisional responsibilities. Then the movement in the eastern region re-established itself with renewed vigor and vitality.

He was elected to the APSC and its secretariat in the state conference held in 1995 when the East region was made a part of the AP state movement. He was elected as the first secretary of the newly-formed AOBSZC in 2001. He was elected to the Central Committee of the CPI(ML)[PW] in its 9th Congress held in 2001 and the CC inducted him into its CMC, responsibilities which he continued to hold till his martyrdom. In 2003 AOB Plenum and in December 2006 AOB Zonal Conference, he played a leading role in solving the problems facing the movement. To advance the movement, he formulated political and military tactics. He made special efforts to involve the people in the movement and in the formation of militia units. Due to his efforts, hundreds of militia units were formed and many activists were recruited from the militia. He played a key role in building up of resistance by the militia and the people against the enemy forces.

To advance the movement in AOB, he stressed on the formation of organs of people's political power. Due to this effort, Gram Rajya Committees were formed in thirty villages before the year 2000. RPCs were formed between 2001 and 2003 and these continued as alternative power organs.

Effort to develop deep ideological and political understanding

Through a lifelong study and practice he strove to develop a deep ideological, political and organizational understanding. He gained a deep knowledge on military affairs through personally participating and leading the PLGA forces in guerilla war for more than two decades. He used to present his views in a sharp, well articulated and brief manner during discussions and debates. He never hesitated to present his views in a straightforward manner. He was in fact a perpetual student, forever trying to gain deeper understanding of the fundamental principles of MLM, with a particular emphasis on applying them to the concrete practice. His method was to enhance his knowledge through study and revolutionary practice and through such a method he constantly developed himself to stay in tune with the development of the party and the People's War.

An outstanding commander of the PLGA

Comrade Chandramouli had a deep interest in military affairs right from the beginning of his revolutionary life. In military field, he made valiant and special efforts in developing raid and ambush tactics and in the formation of action teams. He personally led the PLGA forces in numerous armed conflicts with the state and central paramilitary forces, ambushes, raids and tactical counter-offensive campaigns (TCOCs). He guided various commands of the PLGA in several TCOCs. He particularly played a great role in the arming of the PLGA forces by seizing a large number of weapons from the enemy forces. The PLGA forces obtained hundreds of modern weapons of various caliber and thousands and thousand of rounds of ammunition through such massive military actions like the Koraput, R Udayagiri, etc. Along with these, he led Siler raid, Budigadda raid of Budigadda-Bodipoda twin raids, Lagarayi, Gowrampeta and Donkarayi ambushes, Darakonda short surprise attack, Kalimela raid of Kalimela-Motu twin raids, raids on Ankapalli and Chodavaram police stations and many such big, medium and small attacks on the enemy forces. In 1986, fifty villages were burnt down by the police in the leadership of crucial officer Potha Reddy. This officer was annihilated in 2002 in Visakhapatnam city under the guidance of Chandramouli. He also guided the annihilation of a former revolutionary Lotha Tamma Rao who turned into a reactionary in addition to wiping out some informers during that period. He played a crucial role in all these successful actions from the stage of their planning to execution. These raids shocked the enemy and had a good impact on the revolutionary people of AP. He was so meticulous in his planning, taking even minutest details into consideration, that the guerillas about to take part in such operations were certain that they would be successful. As a commander and military instructor of the PLGA forces he trained several commanders and fighters.

Modesty was his hallmark

Comrade Chandramouli's life is the personification of modesty. His modesty never left him during the entire period of his growth, from the grassroot ranks to the highest committee of the party, the CC and the CMC. He never allowed even a trace of complacency or self-deceit to corrode his

personality. In fact, it was his simplicity and his modesty that endeared him to the party's rank and file, to the fighters and commanders of the PLGA forces and to the millions of revolutionary masses in the areas he worked. Even with ever increasing revolutionary responsibilities which put much premium on his time, he always was ready to spare an ear and time whenever any comrade approached him for advice.

He was a creative writer who had a deep knowledge of the lives of the downtrodden masses. He was intimately connected with their struggles and their emotions as reflected in their cultural expressions. This can be seen in the stories and poems he wrote with the pen names Vanavasi and Manyam. In his last days, he wrote a book titled *25 Years of Manyam Rebellion Marching Forward Towards Liberation* (in Telugu) about the revolutionary movement of East division. In one word, comrade Chandramouli lived a revolutionary life and attained martyrdom in a manner that befits a great communist revolutionary. Standing firmly with the party line, taking a clear-cut stand on political matters, firmly rooting oneself on a mass base, living a modest revolutionary life, leading others by setting a personal example in fearing no hardships and a readiness for self-sacrifice, having a critical approach to problems, showing courage, valor and creativity in military operations — these are the main qualities that made comrade Chandramouli a great communist revolutionary. In fact the greatest tribute one can pay to the memory of this great martyr is to try to emulate him in every ideal he followed and those ideals he set forth in his revolutionary life. ★

What is a true bastion of iron? It is the masses, the millions upon millions of people who genuinely and sincerely support the revolution. That is the real iron bastion which no force can smash, no force whatsoever. The counter-revolution cannot smash us; on the contrary, we shall smash it. Rallying millions upon millions of people round the revolutionary government and expanding our revolutionary war we shall wipe out all counterrevolution and take over the whole of China.

— Mao, 'Be Concerned with the Well-Being of the Masses'



Comrade Rajamouli

Comrade Sande Rajamouli: An Unwavering Warrior and Leader of Indian Revolution

Comrade Sande Rajamouli (Prasad, Krishna, Murali), CCM and Karnataka SCS of the CPI(Maoist), was kidnapped on the evening of 20th on the afternoon of 21 June 2007 by the AP SIB from Kollam Bus Terminus in Keralam, brutally tortured until next evening and murdered him on 22nd night at around 9 pm. The police then left the dead body near Dharmavaram railway station in Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh.

In order to cover the traces of this heinous crime, the story of an ‘encounter’ was promptly fed to the media by Stephen Ravindra, the SP of Anantapur district, notorious for the brutal murder of several revolutionaries in the name of encounters in NT. He claimed that Rajamouli was killed in an exchange of fire between the Maoists and a police party near Dharmavaram railway station. This despicable and dastardly murder by the blood-thirsty, sadist SIB of AP is part of the overall plan of the reactionary ruling classes of India to eliminate the leadership of the CPI(Maoist) which is spearheading the people’s war to liberate our country from the clutches of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism and to usher in a new democratic society. The ferocity of the counter-revolutionary suppression campaign of the imperialist-backed Indian state ever since the successful completion of the Unity Congress-9th Congress of the CPI(Maoist) is seen from the stepped-up military offensive in virtually every state where the Party is active.

At the time of his martyrdom, comrade Rajamouli was playing a pioneering role in leading the incipient people's war in the Western Ghats of Karnataka. He spearheaded the uncompromising fight against the right opportunist splitters who had caused enormous damage to the revolutionary movement in Karnataka. He was one of the youngest comrades in the CC of the CPI(Maoist) elected in the Unity Congress-9th Congress and of merely 42 years of age at the time of his martyrdom. Com. Prasad, a time-tested warrior and true revolutionary with over twenty five years of guerilla life, is an ideal for all communist revolutionaries to emulate. It is the blood of selfless comrades like Rajamouli that has nurtured the revolutionary movement in India, facilitated its consolidation into one countrywide guiding center as CPI(Maoist) and made it possible for the party of India's proletariat to advance the revolutionary movement. They can crush the flowers, but they can't stop the spring.

Early revolutionary days

Comrade Rajamouli hailed from a working class and socially oppressed backward caste family whose forefathers were poor peasants. His father was a coal-mine worker in the Singareni coal fields. He spent his childhood in his village Gudem, Odela Mandal, Karimnagar district, and studied up to 10th Class in Potkapally High School. At about the time he was completing his school studies, around 1979, the flames of the Karimnagar-Adilabad revolutionary peasant uprising began to spread to his village. The area was dominated by landlords whose exploitation and oppression of the peasantry was cruel and rapacious.

By his very class nature he was drawn into the bitter fight against the feudal forces. And so in 1980 he joined the Radical Youth League (RYL) in his village which was spearheading the anti-feudal struggle. As a member of RYL he participated in several anti-feudal struggles against the landlord of his village and he stood firmly in support of the anti-feudal struggles of the peasantry of adjacent villages. Soon he became an activist of the village playing a leading role in the class struggle. In the very next year he participated in the political classes conducted by the party DC for a 'Go to the Village' campaign to propagate the politics of New Democratic Revolution among

the rural oppressed masses and actively participated in it. While moving with a party organiser, Rajamouli was arrested and put in the lock-up for ten days. He was merely of 15 years at that time. After coming out of lock-up, he was soon elected as a district executive committee member of the RYL. He played an important role in successfully strengthening the RYL in his area in the new situation of acute repression. He was trained as a village activist and RYL leader in the midst of brutal repression unleashed by the AP government.

After about two years of training in local revolutionary work, with firm determination and confidence in the politics of NDR and MLM, he offered to become a PR of the party. He was recruited as a professional revolutionary in 1982 as part of the new wave of young generation that joined the party between 1981 and 1983. From then onwards, when he was just 17 years of age, he never looked back.

A model guerilla fighter and party organiser

After becoming a PR he went underground and was sent as a member of an armed squad in Husnabad Area, Karimnagar district. He went to this area with an underground name 'Prasad'. This area was a stronghold of the CPI revisionists who colluded with feudal forces. Landlords and bad gentry were in the leadership of the local CPI and it had been playing a reactionary role for a long time. From the beginning CPI leaders launched physical attacks on the incipient revolutionary Party. Braving these attacks, Prasad integrated effectively with his squad comrades and the masses from the very beginning and gained their confidence. In a very short period he was recognised as a good squad member. In this area he along with his comrades-in-arms actively participated in and led several anti-feudal peasant struggles.

He played an important role in building revolutionary mass organisations and people's militia and party cells in his squad's area of operation. He defended the masses and his organiser from the attacks of the CPI and goons of the landlords. This was also the first place in the state where the government formed the vigilante organisation called 'Fearvikas' with notorious class enemies, counter-revolutionary elements and surrendered Naxalites to suppress the revolutionary movement. Nevertheless, the revolutionary

movement developed in the midst of attacks by the state and the reactionary forces.

In this situation comrade Prasad played a major role in winning over the masses to the side of the Party by fighting against both the revisionists and the vigilante gangs. In that area he served as squad member from 1982 to '84 and as a squad commander and party organiser between 1985 and 1987. In the course of this class struggle, he developed as a good fighter and led the anti-feudal revolutionary peasant movement. This laid the basis and prepared the ground for the armed agrarian revolutionary guerilla war which unfolded in the region.

He played an important role in the guerilla actions undertaken in that area in which notorious landlords and bad gentry such as Prabhakar Rao, Pittala Venkataiah and Bhoomiah, the latter two were affiliated to CPI, were eliminated. The president of the vigilante gang 'Fearvikas' and other reactionaries too were annihilated. The courage, initiative and militancy he showed in participating, leading the fight-back against the enemy was very inspiring for the masses. He became known for his daringness and the ability to frustrate the designs of the enemy even under highly adverse circumstances. This quality he displayed from the beginning of his guerilla life. For example, during the political classes conducted by the AP State Committee (SC) in Vijaywada in 1984, the house used as its venue was raided by the police. While most of the comrades got arrested, he showed a lot of presence of mind and managed to escape by slipping through the backdoor and jumping over the compound wall.

A senior comrade recollected the memories of those times in this way, "the relations within the squad are primarily dependent on the attitude of the commander towards his comrades; if it is formal and authoritative there will be all sorts of problems; if it is comradely and lively and caring then any problem can be solved easily. Comrade Prasad, as commander, could maintain the squad as a disciplined fighting unit with communist values and culture".

He had the excellent quality of deeply integrating with any family of the oppressed masses. From the smallest child to the most elderly, in whichever house he took shelter, he was well acquainted with and affectionate towards

each and every member of the family. In spite of the heavy pressure of work he would make a lot of effort to become one with the family members. In this way he won the affection of all and was able to effectively maintain a network of shelters. Thereby the party was able to operate even under the severe conditions of police surveillance prevailing at that time. Other comrades say that his shelters were so secret, well-built and well-maintained that some of them have remained unexposed to the enemy even to this day.

Emergence as the secretary of the NTSZC

In the period from 1985 to 1989 when the AP government launched its first suppression campaign with the complete support of the central government - an 'undeclared war' on the Party and the revolutionary movement - he played a pioneering role in deepening the mass base of the Party, developing armed resistance of the people's militia and initiating the tactical counter-offensives of the people's guerilla forces against the state's police forces. This laid the basis for the widespread and large-scale mass upsurge of 1990 which culminated in the defeat of the undeclared war of the ruling classes.

He was promoted to the party's Karimnagar DC in 1988. This was the time when repression had reached its peak levels and several DCMs including its secretary were martyred. He became the DCS in 1989. He stood firm through this dark period of repression when losses were heavy, restricting the development of the movement.

When the movement revived, he played an important part in creating the conditions for the peasant revolutionary upsurge that erupted in the early 1990s. He played a leading role in the movement for seizure of land from the landlords in which thousands of acres were seized. With his rich experience, ability and political astuteness in leading the struggle in Karimnagar – one of the storm-centres of the revolutionary movement in AP – and due to the trust reposed on him by the masses and his comrades, he was fast elevated to the higher committees of the Party. He became a member of reconstituted NTRC in 1991. Three years later, he became a member of the APSC in 1994. Between 1992 and 1994, he led attacks on police combing parties in Gazulapalli and Rudraram areas of NT. He was elected to the

NTSZC in the First Conference of the Special Zone, which was separated from AP in 1995. He was also elected as one of its secretariat members. After this when the Party was severely hit by state repression in Nizamabad district he took up the additional responsibility of guiding the movement in this district as the DCS. He played an important role guiding the districts of Karimnagar and Nizamabad until 2000. Comrade Prasad became the secretary of the NTSZC in December 1999 after the martyrdom of comrade Murali, the then SZC secretary.

In 1993, he got married to comrade Padma, the legendary revolutionary woman leader of the 1990s and early 2000s in NT. She became a martyr in a fierce battle with the enemy forces in July 2002. Both these legendary fighters of NT never feared and courageously repulsed every attack of the paramilitary and police forces of the enemy even when all seemed lost. It was the heroic resistance in their leadership, for example, that repulsed a well-planned attack by a contingent of hundreds of paramilitary and Grey Hound commando forces of the enemy on Karimnagar district party conference in September 2000, thereby safeguarding the camp. Comrade Vinod, a member of NTSZC became a martyr in this massive enemy attack while the rest of the comrades could make an orderly retreat.

When the CC decided to intensify the guerilla war he led some of the first raids on police stations in 1996 in order to beat back the increasing attacks of the police and to bring a leap in the armed agrarian revolutionary guerilla war. In fact, soon after 1990, there was a significant change in the situation with guerilla squads emerging as the main form of organisation and guerrilla war as the main form of struggle, and in this development he played a leading role in Karimnagar. He played a significant role in fighting back the second round of suppression campaign unleashed by the state government of AP which saw the massacre of hundreds of youth by the Congress and the successive TDP governments.

His role in resisting the enemy's counter-insurgency tactics through guerrilla tactics and mobilisation of the peasant masses in different forms of organisation and struggle is widely recognised. In this period NT movement spread to wider areas and developed in a well-coordinated manner under the leadership of the RC. As a member of the RC, he led the struggle in

Karimnagar and Nizamabad districts. After the separation of NT from AP and its reconstitution into a Special Zone under the SZC, a decision was taken by the CC to intensify the guerilla war in NT by conducting raids on police stations, police and paramilitary camps and ambushes on these forces under the military leadership of SZC. In the course of implementing this decision, as an important military commander he led successful raids on Pothkapally police station and Sirpur-U police camp in which several policemen were annihilated and arms & ammunition were seized. In this period our guerilla forces became strengthened militarily through counter attacks, political and military training and arming. While leading the guerilla forces, he faced many ambushes and raids by the enemy since 1991 and as a brave and able commander, he led the guerillas in successfully repulsing the enemy attacks and thus saved our forces in every attack of the enemy. His contribution to the development of guerilla war in NT was a crucial one. His influence on the guerilla forces was such that he inspired them, increased their confidence and lifted their spirit in the midst of unprecedented enemy repression. Apart from building the rural anti-feudal struggle in NT, he was also a part of the team of leading members that built a movement among the workers of AP State Road Transport Corporation (APSRTC) in the 1990s.

A political and military leader of the Indian revolution

In the Congress of the CPI(ML)[PW] held in 2001, comrade Rajamouli was elected to the CC and the CMC. He became the military in-charge of AP from the beginning of 2003. In this capacity he made great efforts to step up the training of the PLGA forces in the state and led them in the counter-offensive against the ever-mounting attacks of the government's forces. He was always alert to the danger of infiltration of the covert agents and took every measure to check the police informants who were developed in a big way by the state by pouring in huge funds and through threats and intimidation. He was instrumental in identifying and punishing several informers and covert agents.

He was entrusted with the same responsibilities of CCM and CMCM in CPI(Maoist) formed in 2004. After the martyrdom of the Karnataka SCS comrade Saketh Rajan, he took over the responsibility of the SCS in 2005.

Assuming his new responsibility, he continued the struggle of his martyred predecessor in fighting the right opportunist and liquidationist line that plagued the SC by a minority faction for a long time. By carrying out the two-line struggle in the theoretical as well practical spheres, he successfully united the state unit against the right opportunist splitters and also took leadership in advancing the armed struggle in the Western Ghats. In this way, demonstrating the spirit of a true revolutionary he traversed a long revolutionary course leaving his home state of AP to distant Karnataka, learning from scratch a new language and leading the movement in highly challenging circumstances. It was in the course of carrying out his responsibilities as a CCM and the Karnataka SCS that comrade Rajamouli had to visit Kollam, from where he was apprehended by the ruthless APSIB and subsequently murdered in cold blood.

Upholding great red ideals

Comrade Rajamouli will be remembered by his comrades and oppressed masses for his exemplary role in the revolutionary movement of NT. Even being a patient of chronic sinusitis and intestinal ulcer, he worked in the unfavorable plain areas of NT under severe repression. His revolutionary communist qualities, his comradely relationship with one and all, close integration with comrades-in-arms and the people, his simplicity, dedication to the revolutionary cause and selflessness, the daring and militant nature he displayed even in the midst of enemy attacks and encirclement as well as during our tactical counter-offensives, his straightforwardness in expressing his views and differences of opinions in concerned forums – all of this will remain an inspiration for us.

People's heroes like comrade Rajamouli are immortal and have a place in the hearts of the people forever. Their ideals will continue to awaken, inspire, and draw into revolutionary action millions upon millions of the oppressed masses. The ideals and communist qualities of Rajamouli will continue to contribute to the advancement of the revolution and in taking it towards victory. ★



Comrade Parimal Sen

Comrade Parimal Sen: An Exemplary Communist and Symbol of Great Sacrifice

One of the few veterans of the Naxalbari generation in the Party, the CPI(Maoist) Central Committee member, comrade Parimal Sen (Ajay), breathed his last on August 15th 2007. Comrade Parimal Sen, who assumed the name Atin in the 1970s and was later known as Ajay, was 64 years of age. His untimely death was caused by the deadly cerebral malaria with which he got infected in the first week of August as he went to one of the Guerilla Zones of Odisha to attend an important meeting of the Eastern Regional Bureau (ERB). When he came back to the city where he was residing, he was running high fever. Taking it to be nothing more than a bout of viral fever, he took some antibiotics. Moreover, in that serious condition he attended a meeting of his department Central Propaganda Bureau (CPB) and participated in it actively. But by evening he was unable to continue in the meeting as his condition deteriorated. From 13th to 15th evening he was under the medical supervision of doctors. Despite the best efforts of the doctors he breathed his last at about 7.30 pm on the 15th. In fact, due to the existing unjust social system and the pro-imperialist policies of the reactionary Indian ruling classes these diseases devour hundreds of thousands of people every year and comrade Ajay also succumbed to it.

Traversing a revolutionary path

Comrade Parimal Sen was born and brought up in a middle class family with his brothers and sisters. He was first attracted to left politics in his student days when he was doing his M.Com. from Calcutta University. He

took up a job under the West Bengal government in his early life to help his family stave off financial hardship. Like most of the revolutionaries of his generation, he initially joined the CPI. However, inspired by the Great Debate led by the CPC under the leadership of Com. Mao he repudiated the Dangeite CPI and joined the CPI(M). The GPCR in China shook the young generation of communists at that time and he was no exception. Then came the Naxalbari Spring Thunder, which shook CPI(M), the citadel of neo-revisionism. The real character of the CPI(M) was laid bare by Naxalbari. Like hundreds of other real communists comrade Parimal Sen too joined the revolutionary stream. Dalhousie Square, currently BBD Bag, the hub of mainly State government and other private concern offices, was his earliest place of spreading Naxalbari politics under the CPI(ML). The Dalhousie unit of the CPI(ML) had not only led many glorious movements of the Group C and Group D workers, but also played a significant role in coordinating various state units when repression had reached its most ghoulish form and many of the central leadership were either thrown behind bars or murdered by the state.

After joining the CPI(ML) in the late 1960s, Comrade Parimal Sen, our dear Ajayda, worked in the Party Committee in the Dalhousie area of Kolkata. He had played a very significant role from the end of 1972 to 1973 when the setback of the movement rendered many comrades inactive. It was a time of white terror taking the upper-hand with the Congress (Indira Gandhi-led Congress) goons forming criminal 'Pratirodh Bahinis' ('Resistance Armies') in almost all the areas where revolutionary forces had to retreat in 1971-72. The breath of terror was all-pervading in the city of Kolkata.

A determined comrade Ajay along with other committed revolutionaries kept the smouldering flame of revolutionary activities alive in his working area. Later the party broke into two parts on the question of Lin Piao after the 10th Congress of the CPC. Com. Ajay remained in the Mahadeb Mukherjee-led CPI(ML) and became a State Committee Member (SCM) in West Bengal. Later he got arrested in 1974 after he, along with some other comrades, had just dissociated from the Mahadeb Mukherjee group. Disillusioned with the Second CC tactics he along with some other comrades lodged in the Presidency Jail in Kolkata started rethinking the past mistakes made in the course of the movement.

Tortured in jail, with a plastered hand, comrade Ajay was dispatched from Burdwan Jail to Presidency Jail some time in 1975. After a failed attempt at jail escape on 24 February 1976 from Presidency Jail, comrade Ajay along with many other followers of Charu Majumdar were segregated from others and locked-up 24 hours in cells meant for condemned prisoners. A period of brutal repression followed, which continued till the Emergency was lifted in March 1977. Released in the middle of 1977, comrade Ajay refused to resume his state government job on the condition of giving an undertaking that sought to restrict the political work of government employees like him. Rather than succumbing to the gag-order of the government, he left his job and decided to plunge fully into active revolutionary life. While in prison his search for the correct revolutionary organisational form continued and before he, along with other comrades came out of jail in late 1977, a concrete line and understanding took shape. After coming out of prison efforts were made to join any organisation whose line would be close to theirs. But this did not materialise and the comrades decided to form a new organisation since it became necessary to give continuity to the practice already undertaken. In November 1978 the CPI(ML) Unity Organisation was formed with comrade Ajay playing a leading role as a founding member. He was elected as one of its Leading Team members. Some mergers with smaller groups followed. In 1982 the CPI (ML) Party Unity was formed after another merger and comrade Ajay was elected to the WB State Committee. In the Party Conference in 1987, he was elected to the COC of the PU. He worked in various capacities, was associated with the publication of the party organs, and was in charge, from the PU side, for the formation of an all India revolutionary cultural organisation with other ML parties.

Earlier, in 1978-79 he guided the party's student front. He played a prominent role in the heroic peasant struggle in Nadia district. He also worked in Howrah and Hooghly. From Hooghly he developed contacts in the Haldia industrial township and developed some work there. He went to Kharagpur and did some work there as well. In 1978-79, for some period, he visited Bandamunda in Odisha for work among railway workers. Like in the past, he once again boldly fought against right deviation that raised its head in Party Unity in 1987 and helped in the victory of the correct line.

Subsequently, he was elected to the Central Committee of CPI(ML) PU. As a CCM and a senior leader of the CPI(ML)PU, he played a significant role in achieving the unity between the PU and the CPI(ML)(PW). He was a founding CCM of the CPI(ML)[PW]. He served as the head of the Party's education department - SCOPE - for about two years after the 2001 Party Congress of CPI(ML)[PW]. Comrade Ajay served in the publication department for a long time and contributed to the Party magazines. He made efforts for the merger of the new party with MCCI, which culminated in the formation of CPI(Maoist) in September 2004. He took up the responsibility as a member of the Sub-Committee on Mass Organisations (SUCOMO) and Central Publishing Bureau (CPB) after the merger. He was elected to the CC in the Unity Congress-9th Congress of the CPI(Maoist) held in 2007, and was thus leading India's revolutionary movement till his last breath.

An exemplary communist

He was a veteran leader of our Party who had a revolutionary life of almost four decades. He was a product of the bitter ideological-political struggle against the revisionist and neo-revisionist leadership of CPI and CPI(Marxist). Since the beginning of the revolutionary movement of West Bengal in the late sixties, he stood firmly and steadfastly at the time of barbarous repression, in the midst of heavy losses and in the period of long setback of the revolutionary movement in the entire country. He firmly upheld the Party line in the long period of setback, splits and hardships. He boldly faced the cruel enemy. He upheld the red banner of MLM and bitterly opposed revisionism of all hues that reared its ugly head in the international arena and in the communist movement of our country and within the revolutionary Party. Throughout his long revolutionary life, comrade Ajay firmly upheld the bright red banner of MLM and revolution, never compromised on principles and fought spiritedly not only against the reactionary Indian ruling classes and the monster of imperialism, against revisionism in all its varied forms.

He played a notable role in studying agrarian relations in the countryside and could mingle easily with the cadres and masses. He wrote proficiently

both in English and Bengali. An avid reader of Bengali literature, he would always hunt for good books. He had great ideological-political depth rooted in a long period of diligent study of theory of MLM combined with practical experience.

Throughout his revolutionary life he upheld communist values and ideals. He was known for his simplicity, commitment and gentle-mannered nature. He never went into unnecessary arguments even when provoked and would deal with comrades with great patience. Neither his lean physique, ill-health nor growing age ever dampened his spirit or made him shirk his revolutionary responsibilities. He participated actively in many struggles and political debates, but always tried to keep a low profile. Always austere with himself, our dear comrade Ajayda was very careful even about his necessary expenses. He remained a bachelor all his life and without thinking for his own life.

A devoted communist till the end, comrade Ajayda has etched in the memories of his comrades, party, sympathisers and people who had come into his contact an indelible figure, slightly bent forward, with specks and a beaming smile. Throughout his revolutionary life, he upheld communist values and ideals. He will remain an exemplary revolutionary and an inspiration to the rank and file of our Party. His revolutionary ideals and spirit will show the communist way of life and inspire the young generation. Comrade Ajayda's lifelong service to the people and the Indian revolution saw through many periods of ups and downs in the torturous path since Naxalbari. He is no longer with us today, but the movement which he helped to build with such untiring dedication, lives on and surges forward to achieve ever new victories.

Let us pledge to continue the struggle for the fulfillment of the cherished dreams of comrade Ajayda by persisting in the great task of building PLA and establishing base areas and intensifying and expanding the people's war throughout the country to complete the liberation of our country from the clutches of feudalism, CBB and imperialism. ★



Comrade Anuradha

Comrade Anuradha Ghandy: Building Bridges between the Oppressed Social Sections and the New Democratic Revolution

On 12 April 2008 Anuradha (alias Narmada, Varsha, Janaki, Rama) passed away after an attack of falciperum malaria. With this the Indian working class lost one of its ablest and topmost woman leaders who with sheer hard work, deep ideological and political study, and revolutionary dedication rose from the ranks to become a member of the Central Committee of the CPI(Maoist); the oppressed women of India lost one of the greatest champions of their cause, one who, for more than three and a half decades, relentlessly organised them, led them into struggles against oppression and exploitation; the Nagpur dalit masses and workers of the unorganised sector lost a leader who stayed among them, awakening and organising them; and the adivasi masses of Bastar, especially those of South Bastar, worst affected by the genocidal Salwa Judum, lost their beloved *didi*, who worked among them for years sharing their weal and woe; and the students and intellectuals lost a revolutionary role model, who gave up the comforts of a middle class life in order to integrate with the oppressed masses. She is the first Mahila Central Committee Member to be martyred in the history of the Maoist movement in the country.

She was 54 at the time of her martyrdom. She had just returned after spending a week in Jharkhand conducting classes for tribal activists on the question of women's oppression. After suffering from high fever on April

6th, she could not get proper medical attention due to the difficulties of underground life. The local pathologist said there was no malarial infection in the blood and so she was treated for stomach upset. It was only on the 11th after another blood test that she realised that she had falciperum malaria. Though even on that morning she appeared fine, inside, the falciperum bacteria had already affected her lungs, heart and kidney which had already been weakened by systemic sclerosis. Though she was admitted to a hospital immediately, barely within an hour her vital organs began failing. Though she was put on oxygen and subsequently on life-support systems, the end came the next morning. While on oxygen she was conscious and her eyes wide open. The same soft eyes with her depth of expression, though in acute pain with probable knowledge that she was sinking.

The deterioration of her health conditions was catalysed by the fact that she had an incurable disease, systemic sclerosis. This auto-immune disease first affected her hands and slowly attacked the internal organs. Detected two years ago and probably in existence since the last 5 years, it had already affected her lungs and heart. Yet, with her commitment to the masses and revolution she worked with the same ardour as earlier. She rarely spoke of the disease and took on even the most strenuous tasks. Her commitment to the cause of revolution was unshakable, no matter how difficult were its ups and downs. Being with the incipient revolutionary movement right from her college days in the early 1970s in Mumbai, she gave up a career as a brilliant lecturer and dedicated her entire life to the revolution to rise to the rank of a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Maoist). She was the only mahila comrade to be elected to its Central Committee at its Unity Congress-9th Congress in 2007.

In this span of about 35 years of work in the Indian revolutionary movement, she contributed much to its development not only organisationally, but also politically and ideologically. She was one of the founders of the CPI(ML) party in Maharashtra. Though her prime focus was Maharashtra (both the Western and the Vidharbha region) her work also contributed to the building of the all-India organisation and even of the Dandakaranya movement. Even at a relatively late age of over 40, and after

serving as a senior professor teaching sociology to post-graduate students at Nagpur University, she moved to live with the tribal people of Bastar, becoming a part of the armed squads for three years. She was there at the peak of the famine of 1997 in Bastar when her own health had deteriorated under those hard conditions of life.

She started her political life at Elphinstone College Mumbai in 1972 which became the hub of radical left-wing activities in the 1970s, primarily due to her initiation. Earlier she had visited the Bangladesh refugee camps and had gone to the famine hit people with a group of students during the horrible famine in Maharashtra of 1972. Deeply moved by what she saw there, and being a very sensitive person, she began taking part in college activities and social work with the poor. While active amongst students she came in touch with the student organisation PROYOM (Progressive Youth Movement), which was connected to the then Naxalite movement. She soon became its active member, and later one of its leaders. She also worked in the slums through which she developed her first interaction with dalits, the dalit movement and the horrors of untouchability. She was a participant in the radical Dalit Panther movement of 1974 and in the three-month long Worli clashes with the Shiv Sena. Her sensitive nature drew her to the agony of dalit oppression and led her to seek out a solution.

She read voraciously and gained a deep knowledge of Marxism. Later, in the post-Emergency period she became one of the leading figures in the country in the civil liberties movement and was one of the initiators of the Committee for the Protection of Democratic Rights (CPDR). In 1982 she moved from Mumbai to Nagpur and while teaching at Nagpur University she actively participated and played a leading role in the trade union and dalit movements in the region. In the process she went a number of times to jail. With state repression increasing she was forced to go underground. Later, at the call of the Party she went to Bastar to work among the tribals, and on returning she took up the responsibility once again of building the revolutionary movement in Maharashtra. For the last 15 years of her life she worked in the underground building the Party in Maharashtra as well as leading the women's wing of the Party until her sudden and untimely demise.

Early life

Anuradha Shanbag, fondly called Anu throughout her legal days, was born on 28 March 1954. She was born and brought up in an atmosphere of rational and progressive thinking as her parents were one time CPI members who had themselves got married in the undivided CPI office in Mumbai in the 1940s. She was the elder of two children, her brother a noted theatre artist and playwright in Mumbai. In the 1950s, her father was in the Defence Committee taking up legal cases of the communists arrested in the Telangana struggle and later became a well known progressive lawyer in the Bombay High Court. Her mother is an active social worker who, even at this advanced age, is active with a women's group. With the father a Kannadiga and mother a Gujarati and with all the aunts (from the mother's side) at one time in the CPI (an uncle from Aurangabad was till his death a top leader of the CPI), she was brought up in a non-religious, liberal atmosphere from childhood itself. An atmosphere of serious reading, intellectual creativity, and rational thinking, and a pro-poor attitude, was very much part of her entire upbringing. In this atmosphere she excelled academically in both school and college. With a very sharp mind and a quick grasping ability, she topped in studies with ease.

Being a very lively person she would mix very easily with one and all. Though she chose a different path from most of her schoolmates, they still have fond memories of her. She went to the J.B. Petit School not too far from her parent's house. She was a topper throughout her school days. She was also involved in many extra-curricular activities. Particularly she had a keen interest in Indian classical dancing, which she had picked up during her school days. She joined Elphinstone College in 1971 and though she soon became active in student work, she continued her excellent academic record in the college as well. She was a popular mass leader and was able to attract many students to the movement. It was these students organised by her that later went on to build the powerful student organisation in the post-Emergency period, the Vidhyarthi Pragati Sanghatana (VPS).

She went on to do her MA in sociology and later M.Phil. Later she began teaching, first in Wilson College (Chowpatti) and then at the Jhunjhunwalla College (Ghatkopar). Just as she was a good student she was

also a very popular and effective lecturer. She was a favourite amongst her students. That was her nature, whatever task she took up she did with a lot of fervour and diligence. In this post-Emergency period she plunged into the countrywide civil liberties movement for the release of political prisoners and was one of the founder members of the CPDR in Mumbai. She became a public figure and a renowned civil liberty activist throughout the country. In Nov.1977 she married a fellow comrade at a small function involving only the families on both sides. She became a popular Maoist speaker within the countrywide civil liberties movement, which was a broad front of Maoists and all others who had been falsely incarcerated during the Emergency.

It was her sensitive nature and intellectual interest that attracted her towards the worldwide communist upsurge of that time, during her college days. The anti-US movement in support of the Vietnam revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) had a major impact on the youth throughout the world. In India the additional attraction of the youth of that time was the Naxalbari uprising when thousands of students gave up their careers and education and selflessly went to the countryside. All this had a big impact on the young Anu who was already much moved by the famine stricken people she had visited in 1971. The accounts of the Chinese revolution and the GPCR written by western authors inspired Anu and many of that generation. The purity of the self-sacrificing nature of the first generation Maoists, many of whom were killed in the prime of their youth, further acted as inspiration.

Drawn into the revolutionary student movement of that period Anu soon became a committed revolutionary. Since then there has been no looking back. Being a brilliant student she sacrificed a very promising career; though she later married, she sacrificed the desire to have children, so that she would not get distracted from her revolutionary responsibilities. She studied Marxism deeply to equip herself with the tools that could keep her on the revolutionary track in the face of all alien ideas propping up. She always took on the most arduous tasks without any complaint. She never gave a thought for herself, whether health, family or any other personal matter. Neither acute hardships, dangers from the police and government, nor poor health, shook her determination to the cause she had taken up. Even on the

very morning of the day she collapsed, in spite of high fever, she was completing some urgent task she had taken up before going to the hospital. Of course, that morning there was no indication whatsoever that she would never return. But, within hours her internal organs began failing and then she was no more.

Developing as a revolutionary mass leader

During the late 1970s Anuradha was in the forefront of the countrywide civil liberties movement. In the early 1980s, with the formation of the CPI(ML)(People's War), and the spread of the revolutionary movement to Gadchiroli district of Maharashtra, there was talk of the need to spread the revolutionary activities from Mumbai to Vidharbha. Here too she was one of the pioneers, giving up her job in the Mumbai College and her high profile public life and shifting to Nagpur; a place totally unknown to her. With her record as a good lecturer, she soon landed a job of teaching sociology to post-graduate students in Nagpur University. Her focus of activities in Vidharbha was primarily trade union work and amongst dalits.

In the trade unions she worked primarily amongst construction workers and led many a militant struggles. Most notable was the prolonged strike of about 5,000 workers at the Khaparkheda (30 kms from Nagpur) thermal power plant that was under construction. This ended in police firing and curfew being declared in the region. She was also involved in organising the '*molkarins*' (house servants) of Nagpur, workers in the MIDC companies at Hingna (Nagpur), railway workers, *bidi* workers in Bhandara, powerloom workers at Kamptee (15 kms from Nagpur), and other unorganised sector workers. She later shifted to Chandrapur to help organise the coal-mine and construction workers there. Most of these unorganised sector workers enjoyed no basic trade union rights and were totally ignored by the traditional unions. She also developed links for joint activities with other progressive trade union leaders of the region from not only Nagpur, but also from Chandrapur, Amaravati, Jabalpur, Yavatmal, etc. In these struggles she was arrested a few times, and had spent a number of days in Nagpur jail. In spite of her job, she became a renowned revolutionary trade union leader of the region.

Besides this, she was even more active within the dalit community organising and awakening them against caste oppression and for their liberation from this oppressive system. She was in fact one of the pioneers amongst the revolutionary Marxists to have addressed the issue of dalit oppression and caste discrimination at a very early stage itself. She had read Ambedkar extensively and other sociological writings on the caste question. Unlike the traditional Marxists she fully identified with dalits and in fact moved her Nagpur residence to one of the largest dalit *bastis* of Maharashtra, Indora. Though this was a stronghold of most of the dalit leaders and a hotbed of dalit politics, large sections of the youth soon began getting attracted to the Maoists. Particularly the cultural troupes she helped organise had enormous impact. She grew to become the open face of the Maoists in the dalit movement; and became one of the major public speakers at most dalit meetings in Vidarbha. Though vehemently opposed by the dalit leaders, with her deep study of Ambedkar, dalit issues and caste oppression, she could stand her ground, with widespread support from the youth.

She wrote profusely on the topic in both English and Marathi presenting a class view-point to the issue and countering not only the numerous post-modernist trends on this issue but the wrong Marxist interpretations of the *dalit* and caste questions. The most elaborate article on the issue was a 25-page piece in Marathi that appeared in *Satyashodhak Marxvad* (the organ of Sharad Patil from Dhule) explaining a Marxist stand on the *dalit* question and linking *dalit* liberation with the task of the new democratic revolution in the country. Till today this article is quoted by many. Many years later it was she who prepared the original draft on the basis of which the erstwhile CPI (ML)(PW) prepared the first ever caste policy paper within the Marxist movement in India. In this draft she outlined that in India the democratisation of society is inconceivable without smashing the elitist caste system and fighting all forms of caste oppressions, most particularly its crudest form against *dalits* in the form of untouchability. Much of the views expressed by her then in the mid-1990s, have now been adopted by the CPI(Maoist) in its Unity Congress-9th Congress.

Apart from all this, she was also instrumental in building the revolutionary women's movement in Nagpur. She stood out as a shining example for all progressive women who actively overcame all the patriarchal constraints of

society to play a leading role on varied fronts and in the Party. She inspired a large number of women to not only the women's organisation but also the Party.

In addition to these two fields of work, there were many notable events that occurred in which she played a pioneering role while in Nagpur. Particularly we mention two such examples which had an indelible revolutionary impact on the consciousness of the people of Vidharbha. The first was the Kamalapur Conference of 1984; the second was the proposed JNM Cultural programme led by Gaddar, in 1992. The Kamalapur Conference was organised deep in the forests of Gadchiroli by the incipient Naxalite movement in the region. A massive campaign, led by Anuradha, was carried out all over Vidarbha, while the armed squads did a huge mobilisation within the forests. Though the conference was ruthlessly crushed by the police, hundreds and thousands of people began flocking towards Kamalapur — a small village deep in the forests. The revolutionary message from Kamalapur reverberated throughout the region for months. The proposed Gaddar programme in Nagpur, which too was crushed by ruthless police action, had an even greater impact. People still recollect the diminutive Anuradha climbing onto a motorcycle to address the large crowd gathered on the streets outside the college hall which had been sealed by the police, inspite of a High Court order allowing the programme. Though thousands of police had surrounded the hall and occupied all approach roads to it, the big gathering included a large number of journalists, lecturers, writers, lawyers, and even senior faculty members. All were lathi-charged as soon as Gaddar appeared at the venue. Though the programme did not take place this event was in the news for nearly two months. Both these events had a major role in spreading revolutionary views widely all over Vidarbha and it was she who was the main architect of both these programmes.

Amidst all these activities too, she was a very popular teacher among her students. She showed a high level of responsibility towards them, not missing a single lecture. Like any task she took up, she would be thorough and conscientious about it. So, she was much loved by her students, and respected by her professor colleagues. But later, due to intense police pressure the Party felt her affectivity would be more from the underground. And so, since about 1994 she has functioned continuously from the underground;

braving all the difficulties of underground life.

During her one-and-a-half decade in the Vidarbha region she had an enormous impact on the region in bringing revolutionary politics to the area. Not only did she, together with others, build a revolutionary working class movement and powerful revolutionary movement among dalits, but she also helped build the revolutionary student movement and attracted a vast cross-section of intellectuals, including senior professors, journalists, noted playwrights and top advocates of the region. Soon after coming to Nagpur, after the death of revolutionary writer of AP, Cherabandaraju, she got his poems translated into Marathi and an anthology containing those poems was released at a function by the most renowned Marathi poet of the region. The Marathi translation of the poems sold extensively in all Maharashtra, creating a major impact.

She was one of the most prominent leaders of the civil liberties movement in the post-Emergency period and played a prominent role in the famous Civil Liberties Conference held in 1977 at Delhi, demanding the release of political prisoners. The conference included such leading lights as V.M.Tarkunde, Govinda Mukhoty, Subba Rao, Sudesh Vaid and even some ruling class elements as George Fernandez and Arun Shourie. She continued this role through the 1980s in spite of all her other activities.

She also played a role in the formation of the All India League of Revolutionary Culture (AILRC) formed in 1983. She was one of the main speakers at the Sindri (near Dhanbad) Conference of the AILRC in 1985, together with KVR, Gaddar, VV and others, and till today she is much remembered by the comrades of Bihar and Jharkhand (many in the leadership today) who were attracted to the revolutionary movement by the impact of that Conference and the cultural performances. Many in the region remember her fondly from those days.

Call of Bastar

Having carried the revolutionary message of the Dandakaranya movement to the rest of Vidharbha, she, without flinching, responded to the call of the Party to shift base to Bastar. In the second half of the 1990s she spent three years living with the squads amongst the Bastar tribes. Carrying a rifle and

in military fatigue she spent the next three years of her revolutionary life amongst the people of DK. She went out of her way to gather many PhD studies on the Koya tribal people to the Party leaders of DK. She always maintained that these three years were one of the most fulfilling periods of her life where she learned about the lives and struggles of the Koya people of Bastar. She keenly studied their lives and the way the movement was built. She particularly focused on the lives of the women, their organisation the KAMS (Krantikari Adivasi Mahila Sanghatana) and the women in the squads. She too learned how to wield the gun and as part of the squad she carried one for her self-defence. In fact, on one occasion she had a very narrow escape when the police came within meters of the place they were resting. Their firing missed her and the retaliation by her squad allowed them to retreat without any loss of life.

She spent most of her time in the Bhairamgarh area which faced the brunt of the Salwa Judum attacks. Though she contracted malaria a number of times while she was there, it was never of the dangerous falciperum kind; besides she was in the good care of the local Party that showed much concern for her. Her tenacity in staying with the squads astounded and impressed even the local tribal people who would time and again mention how even at such a late age she had managed to come and stay there.

During this period she also spent much time in taking classes, mainly for the growing leadership amongst tribal women. She took classes on women's health issues, women's oppression and the new democratic revolution, on imparting general knowledge, on teaching the rudiments of Marxism, etc. She helped draft handbills and wrote numerous articles in the local Party magazines.

Towards the last part of her stay she was given independent charge of the West Bastar area covering what is known as the National Park region. This too is a region which was affected by the Salwa Judum onslaught. While she was there she guided and developed the movement in the area.

She was there during the peak of the 1997 famine in which hundreds had died of starvation in other areas. Here, with the Party seizing grains from the hoarders and distributing them, the damage was much limited. During this period, attacks of malaria, the terrible dry summer heat, coupled

with the famine conditions took a toll on her health, when she lost about 10 Kgs of weight. It was only her enormous commitment to the cause of the people and tremendous will-power that kept her going even in such extremely difficult conditions. Besides, her nature was such that she never showed any of her own sufferings. She always bore pain, whether physical or mental, without complaining or others coming to know.

After returning from Bastar she took up Party responsibilities in Maharashtra while continuing an underground existence. In the last decade of her life she contributed to building the revolutionary movement in Maharashtra, besides playing a major role in running the Mahila sub-committee of the Party since 2001.

Party life

Anu's commitment to the oppressed masses was unflinching. It was this concern for the well-being of the poverty stricken masses that drew her to revolutionary politics. Unable to tolerate the poverty and humiliation that the poor faced, she sought answers. The terrible humiliation that dalits faced due to untouchability and other forms of inhuman discrimination drew her to study the caste question in India and Ambedkar's writings and own up the cause of the dalits from a very early period. At that time dalit issues were not given attention as it now is, and was anathema in most Marxist circles. Even as a student she joined in the Marxist study circles run by the then incipient Party. She was one of the chief architects of the building the revolutionary movement in Mumbai in the 1970s. She played a pioneering role in the revolutionary student movement and building up the Party core within it. Popularity and fame never went to her head and she easily switched to a new low profile role as per the needs of the Party. When the need grew to develop a political movement in Vidarbha after the initiation of the Gadchiroli armed movement, she willingly volunteered to shift from her home base in Mumbai and move to a place where she did not know even a single person.

There, she soon managed a part-time teaching job with post-graduate students in Nagpur University and thereby gained social acceptability locally. She was an ordinary member of the Party when the CPI(ML)(People's

War) was formed in 1980 and after she moved to Nagpur she played a leading role in building the Party and revolutionary movement there. Later, she became a member of the Vidharbha Regional Committee (VRC) and in this capacity she played an important role in building the Party in the region.

After coming back from Bastar she was elected to the Maharashtra State Committee of the Party. Later she was also given additional responsibility as part of the Central Mahila Sub-committee, ever since it was established. She attended as a delegate the 2001 Congress held by the erstwhile CPI(ML)(PW) and the Unity Congress-9th Congress of the CPI(Maoist) in 2007. She was elected to the Presidium of both the Congresses which conducted its proceedings. At the 2001 Congress she was elected as an Alternate Member of the Central Committee. At the time of her martyrdom she was a member of the highest body of the CPI(Maoist), it's Central Committee, with independent charge of the Central Mahila Sub-Committee and also a part of the CC's South Western Regional Bureau (SWRB). As part of her role in this Sub-Committee she played an important role of drafting the 'Women's Perspective' of the Party. At the time of her death she was working on studying the problems women comrades were facing in the Party, the varied forms of patriarchy they faced, and devising a rectification plan that would help the growth of women comrades, so that they can grow to take greater leadership responsibilities. In fact her very last task was taking a class of the leading women activists from Jharkhand, mostly from tribal background, to explain the Women's Perspective of the Party. .

Anu, an exemplary communist

Almost child-like, her face was a mirror of expression of her emotions/feelings; pretence, falsehood, intrigue, ego, etc., were unimaginable for her. And this nature never changed through all the traumatic decades of revolutionary life. It was her extremely high level of honesty towards herself and others that attracted all genuine people towards her; even those who disagreed with her views. She had a natural ability of mixing and integrating into any environment, whether it is of the adivasis, dalits and construction workers or of top academics, intellectuals of the country. Her simplicity and

child-like innocence, together with her liveliness made her a most likable person.

She was totally selfless, uncaring about her own comforts and even health, with a lot of concern for others. She was exceedingly hard-working, with a very strong sense of discipline. She was the type of person that if she took up any task all could be rest assured it would get done. She had a strong sense of responsibility towards people and any task whatsoever, however trivial it may be. This was reflected in her teaching work, political work or anything she took up. It was reflected in her attitude towards her students, colleagues, comrades, or, in fact, any person she was associated with. And one of her best and most lovable qualities was her high sense of principles. She was an extremely principled person standing up for what she believed in. So, people could trust her implicitly. Yet, she had the modesty to be a willing learner.

While being creative and not stereotype in her thinking, she was always firm on the Party line and Marxist ideology and never compromised with views she felt incorrect, no matter who was presenting them. It was this steadfastness that allowed her to stay with true revolutionary forces till her very last, through all the ups and downs in her over 3½ decade long revolutionary life. Yet, she had the positive approach of seeing the positives in others, even with those she differed with, and showing respect to all, no matter what her differences. Though impatient at times, she never bore grudges against others. In that way she acted as a solid and steadfast anchor for the Party, through all its ups and downs, particularly in Maharashtra. She never knew fear and even in the face of death, during the last moments of consciousness her eyes had the same softness and tenderness as was in the normal days. She took up the most arduous and dangerous tasks at very critical turns in her political life — this was reflected in her ability to give up her high profile public life when she was in Mumbai and shift overnight to Nagpur where not a soul knew her; then again she could give up her university job and image of one of the most popular leaders of Nagpur and go underground and join the squads in Bastar; even in her very last days when the bulk of the Party leadership was arrested in Maharashtra it was she who held the Party together amidst high risk, with the police specifically hunting for her.

And all these qualities shone through her personality even as a woman activist in this highly patriarchal and feudal atmosphere in the country. As a person she had all the qualities of what a real human-being and comrade should be like. All these excellent qualities enabled her to become a true and genuine communist. Her loss is an enormous loss for the revolutionary and democratic movement of the country; and more particularly for its progressive and revolutionary women's movement.

A leader, theoretician and teacher of the revolutionary women's movement of India

It was the year 2001. Delegates from about 16 states celebrated March 8th with great gusto in the camp organised for conducting the 9th Congress of the erstwhile CPI(ML)(People's War). Martyr comrades Padma and Lalitha from North Telangana planned the whole programme with great enthusiasm along with other women delegates and the comrades in the camp. There were many speakers. One comrade from the CC also spoke and after a very educative speech straight away went for a public self-criticism on their part (meaning leadership in the areas where they held responsibilities) about not organising women on a large scale into the movement and not being able to sustain them due to problems of patriarchy also along with other problems. He said how inspired he was with impressive participation of women in many armed struggle areas like DK, NT and AP and vowed to correct the mistakes and ensure large participation of women in the party and army. His speech reflected the serious introspection of the party about how to involve more women into the party, army and the UF in areas where it is poor and how to bring women into leadership even where their participation is large. But on a private note it could be also the result of the discussions women delegates were having in their spare time with the delegates from various areas about the participation of women in the movement. One of them was Anuradha, then known as comrade Janaki.

The Congress discussed about this question seriously so much so that the hall passed a resolution that a central level women's sub committee should be formed which would strive to increase the participation of women in the revolution and solve the problems related to their development. The

new CC elected in that 2001 Congress promptly formed a women's sub committee at the Central level and Com. Janaki, as the seniormost woman comrade and as a comrade with vast experience in building up various mass organizations and her in-depth understanding of MLM, was chosen to lead it. We all know that in a communist party there is no requirement that a Women's Commission or a sub committee should be headed by a woman only. So we should understand she was chosen for her exemplary abilities and experience and theoretical knowledge for this important and challenging task as a party leader.

She was elected as an alternative member to the CC in the same Congress, the first woman in the history of the CPI(ML)[PW] to be elected so. In fact, she was the first woman comrade to be elected to a state committee in the party too. Com. Janaki was the first woman comrade to be in the presidium in the Congress in the party. Once again she was in the presidium in the Unity Congress-9th Congress of the CPI(Maoist), a testimony to her skills in presiding over the highest forum in the party. At the 2001 Congress she took on the additional task of translating from the stage and did it with equal ease from English to Hindi and vice versa with amazing precision and speed in the sessions both times.

One of the first tasks of the new sub committee (CMSC, now onwards for Central Mahila Sub Committee) was to enrich the party document '*Our Approach Towards Woman Question*' which was first released by the party in 1996. Com. Janaki's theoretical depth very much contributed in its enrichment (We feel proud to announce here that Com. Saketh, martyred comrade of Karnataka, had contributed a lot for this). Once again she was to take up the task of revising it along with some CC comrades after the formation of CPI(Maoist). She had taken classes on this document too in various movement areas of India like Bihar, Jharkhand and Maharashtra. She had a flair for languages and could take classes in English, Hindi and Marathi. . She was a very patient teacher and explained the concepts as many times as is required till the students understood. She always encouraged students to ask questions and get their doubts cleared. She used very simple language when she had to take classes to the adivasi or peasant comrades but never left any complex concepts unexplained. This is something all

party teachers should emulate. Her experience as a lecturer may have been an asset in taking classes but the main motive force within was her undying zeal as a communist teacher to educate the future cadres of the revolution so that they become good leaders with a thorough understanding of MLM. Even in private discussions whenever anybody expressed any doubt she always explained with enthusiasm till their doubt was cleared. Because of her theoretical clarity and command over language she could do it with exceptional ease. In Jharkhand where she took her last class a few days before her death, the students were so overwhelmed by their beloved teacher that they found it very difficult to part with her and accompanied her till a long distance to give her a moving farewell. Some of them continued in spite of her requests to go back and almost went till the last step of her journey to the edge of the forests; and parted with her asking her to come again and again for taking such classes and educating them. What would those poor peasant, adivasi girls and women comrades, students who in turn inspired their teacher, have felt when they heard the news of her sad demise? One can only try to imagine.

One more task the CMSC took up was to prepare notes for the education of the party on some women related topics. The responsibility of preparing the most theoretical of them '*Marxism and Feminism*' fell to her. She had prepared the notes and also took classes on them. She was to revise it further but she passed away before she could finish this task. But the notes which have been completed give a glimpse of her analytical capabilities and in depth understanding of MLM. She did not believe in anything in a dogmatic way and tried to analyse using the later day experiences women were gaining both in India and the world. She had studied a lot for preparing these notes in spite of her busy schedules and age and health problems. She never said no to responsibilities and tried to fit in these kinds of writing works by managing her time in a better way. She felt most comfortable in writing in English (she had mentioned this) but could write well in Marathi and Hindi too. Her drafting was excellent in English; she could explain very complex concepts in fewer words but in a lucid manner. She had voluntarily taken up the task of studying and writing notes on the Russian and Chinese experiences in building up the women's movement but due to the developments in Maharashtra (arrests of senior comrades) she had to take up additional

responsibilities and as a result could not get started on this task. Now we can only grieve over how many more theoretical contributions she would have made to the party on many issues and especially the women's issue on which she was concentrating of late.

She had contributed many articles to *People's March* on the women's issues and drafted March 8 calls of the party as CMSC member since 2001. Her articles have been translated into Telugu and Hindi and printed in women's magazines of the states.

In the beginning of 2004 she led the two member team of CMSC which held discussions with a women leader of the Philippines' women's movement and the secretary of New Zealand party (who happened to be a woman comrade) for exchanging information and experiences regarding women's movement and about women in the party and army. She had prepared the note on the discussion with the New Zealand comrade for the understanding of the leadership.

The CMSC had been organising field trips to various struggle areas and Com. Janaki led the two member team for the first of such field trips to Bihar and Jharkhand in 2002. She had taken classes on the women's perspective and the team also had in-depth discussions on the problems of women comrades and obstacles in their recruitment and retaining them in the party and army. The team had written a report on the trip with their observations and suggestions for the CC. The CMSC's field reports were for the CC to look into these matters. This report not only appraised the CC of the problems there but also helped the CMSC to prepare some guidelines while going on such field trips as this was the first of the kind. She and another comrade had gone to the Balaghat – Gondia area to take classes and they also held a workshop there with the women comrades to understand and help the party in solving them. Her observations were sharp and her deep understanding of socialist man-woman relation and the role of patriarchy in obstructing women's development helped the party leadership in understanding the problems of women comrades. She never minced words and was forthright in putting forward her opinions to correct the mistakes in the party, be it on women's issues or others.

She was assisting and guiding another comrade since 2001 in looking after the All India women's work and since 2004 she was given the full responsibility of it. She fulfilled this task facing many odds amidst increasing state repression and at great risk. Undauntedly she tried to use every resource at her disposal to guide this work. Since 2006 she was actively guiding the work of consolidating the women's work at all India level. The classes and workshop held in Jharkhand in March, 2008 (where she caught the deadly *falciperum malaria*) were part of this consolidation work. She was to completely concentrate on this task and it was an irretrievable loss to the All India Revolutionary Women's Movement to have lost such an indefatigable leader at a crucial juncture.

After the formation of CPI(Maoist), the CMSC was reconstituted and another comrade was heading the CMSC but after the arrest of that comrade, Janaki had once again taken up the responsibility as the in-charge of the CMSC. In the Unity Congress-9th Congress of the CPI(Maoist) she was elected to the CC, only the second woman to be elected to the party's highest body. She was the only woman CCM at the time of her death since the other woman comrade was in jail. Since 2001 Janaki was the leading person in the CMSC in the CPI(ML)[PW] and since 2005 in the CPI(Maoist) and left her indelible mark on all the tasks taken up by it till her death.

She had sclerosis since five years but it was diagnosed properly only two years before her death. In spite of this and other health problems she never complained and more importantly never felt prey to self pity and "*just took it in her stride*" (to quote her) and tried to make the best of the situation. This unbending spirit of hers is to be imbibed by every comrade and especially women comrades who tend to self pity when faced with such problems (due to the patriarchal concepts put in their heads by this society). It was really astounding how she got herself to climb steps and mountains with such serious problem and also hold the pen to write in such beautiful handwriting with her visibly misshapen fingers! Though those close to her complained that she was not taking enough care of herself she smiled and tried to fit in time for her health. But obviously neither those who complained nor she herself would have thought that such an illustrious life would end in this manner.

Her experience both in urban and rural areas (three years in DK and also her various trips to the rural areas as part of her work), her aptitude to understand the problems of women in both kinds of work and in the party, army and the UF, her competence to tackle them at both ideological and practical levels was indeed a rare combination, and that too in a woman comrade given the various constraints women faced in this patriarchal society. She unsparingly gave the best of these abilities to solve the problems of women inside the party. She was to lead the CMSC in studying the problems of development of women comrades in the party, army and UF, which the CMSC had taken up. She was one of the shining examples of what women could achieve in spite of the patriarchal barriers and was a model to the women comrades. Her life will continue to be a beacon light for generations of youngsters and especially the women joining the revolutionary movement.

Untiring struggle against caste oppression and untouchability

Anuradha was just a fresh recruit to the revolutionary movement and beginning to understand Marxism-Leninism-Maoism when the Dalit Panther movement burst forth over Mumbai. Modelled along the Black Panther movement of the US, it burst out as a reaction against caste oppression and untouchability on a scale never seen before. It particularly targeted the upper caste Hindu fascists, particularly the Shiv Sena and exposed the servile dalit/RPI (Republican Party of India) leadership. It was initiated and led by dalit youth who brought out radical poetry and stories; all of whom were from the slums of Mumbai. They believed in physical retaliation against any form of oppression or atrocities against them, and also resorted to it. The Panther rage spread like wild fire throughout Maharashtra and even to the neighbouring states. They rejected Hinduism and all the feudal muck that goes with it. The ruling classes became panicky and pressed into service their faithful tool, the newly formed fascist Shiv Sena. Sena goons and the police launched a massive physical onslaught on the Panthers and by end 1974 the Worli area of Mumbai turned into a battlefield with the police quarters situated at the BDD Chawls acting as the centre for Sena operations and the neighbouring slums the centre for dalit retaliation.

It was in one such slum that Anuradha was already working. Mayanagar was a dalit slum and was soon to become the strongest fortress withstanding the Sena/Police physical attacks. Many of the leading youth of the slum also became a part of the second layer of leadership of the Dalit Panthers. The pitched battles continued for three months without any let-up. The Sena used police weapons, swords, tube-lights, acid, etc; the Panthers used stones, tube-lights, knives and in Mayanagar the youth were taught the use of Molotov Cocktails. The Sena and police could capture most other slums but were regularly beaten back at Mayanagar. Many of the dalit activists from neighbouring slums took refuge in Mayanagar to escape police/Sena attacks. The Panthers actively boycotted the parliamentary elections held in the constituency at that time, leading to the defeat of the RPI leader B.C.Kamble. Anuradha played a role in building up this resistance. The existing M-L group in Mumbai (later to become Janashakti) first condemned the Panther movement and later, when it began collapsing and the leaders started to get co-opted, began tailing it. In the short span of its existence the Dalit Panther movement brought a radical change in the thinking amongst the dalits of the State and introduced the term Dalit for SCs rather than the hinduised 'Harijan' of M.K. Gandhi. It also introduced a radical cultural trend in Marathi literature. Dalit literature, though later mostly co-opted by the state and ruling classes, continues to sprout radical views in the bastis and mohallas as also many a rural ghettos in the state. Anuradha played an active role standing with the dalit masses and against the Shiv Sena and other reactionaries. This was her first involvement in the issue.

It is then that she began studying the dalit issue in earnest. Being a lecturer in sociology, she studied many sociological writings on the issue, the writings of Ambedkar, etc. and while being involved with the dalit masses sought to understand the problem from a class/Marxist view-point. The Panther movement and its aftermath pushed the dalit question on to the agenda of the oppressed masses in a way it had never done earlier. Soon all progressives, leftists and Marxists had to define their position vis-à-vis caste oppression and the horrors of untouchability. In Maharashtra two trends developed within the progressive circles: the first was a sort of post-modernist approach, led primarily by the likes of Gail Omvedt; the other was a negation of the very issue itself by the traditional Marxists. There was yet another approach in the left circles that sought to combine Marxism and Ambedkar's

writings, the leading protagonist of whom was Sharad Patil. It was Anuradha who began polemics with all these trends and in the process evolving a class/Marxist view-point to the dalit question in India. The culmination of this process was the lengthy article in *Satyashodak Marxvad* (magazine run by Sharad Patil) which appeared in Marathi around the late 1980s. This was further refined, together with an analysis of Ambedkar which developed into the rough draft written in about 1994, on the basis of which the CPI(ML)(PW) brought out the caste policy document; the first of its kind ever.

Meanwhile Anuradha had shifted to Nagpur; and after a few years shifted her residence to the main dalit basti of the city, which was also the heart of dalit politics in Maharashtra. Here she lived a full decade working amongst the dalits, living amongst them, and organising them. This brought her into close contact with the dalit movement and the issues they faced. This gave her a living understanding of the problem, which, combined with her theoretical study helped evolve an indepth knowledge of the issue. The Indora basti had a vibrant political atmosphere and as the bulk of the population were from very poor background they easily took to the radical understanding of the caste question. Through the 1980s and 1990s the waves of radical revolts at an all Maharashtra level created the fertile ground in Indora which radicalised the youth of the basti with a population of over one-lakh and helped Anuradha in organising them. First it was the wave of struggles against the banning of Ambedkar's book 'Riddles in Hinduism', then the continuous mass militant outbursts for the renaming of Marathwada University as Ambedkar University; then there was the 4-day paralysis of entire Maharashtra after the firing by police and killing of 11 innocent dalits at the Rama Bai Ambedkar Nagar in Mumbai after Ambedkar's statue had been garlanded by chappals by some miscreants; and recently too there was the outburst against the brutal murder of dalits at Khairlanji, Bhandara district. Anuradha was there amidst all these revolts - organising, writing, analysing and getting deeply involved in the struggles of the dalits of Maharashtra.

This ferment amongst dalits was evident in Indora and the songs by Vilas Gogre on all these issues captured the imagination of the youth of Indora. Anuradha was at the forefront tirelessly working for the awakening of dalits, inspiring them to a life of self-respect, dignity and new self-confidence. They began to not only stand up against upper-caste humiliation

and class oppression but also publicly challenged the top dalit leaders for their reformist politics. She brought out the positive aspects of Ambedkar, while being critical of his constitutionalist approach. When the politics of revolution began to grip the masses of Indora the rulers became restless and unleashed repression in the entire basti and on all activists. All cultural programmes were defacto banned; meetings were prevented; all activists were hounded and many arrested. Through all this Anuradha became one of the most sought after speakers at any dalit function. The repression had a dampening effect on the activities, yet the populace was awakened to a new alternative path for change. More and more dalit forces got attracted to the politics of Naxalbari and the Marxist radical approach to the caste question in India.

But, with the growing repression and the state forces particularly beginning to target her, she gave up her university job and went underground. After a stint of three years in Bastar the last three to four years of her life was again spent amongst a completely new batch of Ambedkarite forces, once again winning them over to the politics of Naxalbari.

Ideological and political contributions

Anuradha played many roles in the long span of her revolutionary life from being a mass leader to an underground Party organiser. She was associated with the formation of VPS, CPDR, AILRC, Naujavan Bharat Sabha (NBS), Stree Chetna, Akhil Maharashtra Kamgar Union (AMKU) and numerous other mass organisations, primarily in Maharashtra. But whatever be her role she was a consistent and prolific writer. She was closely associated with the revolutionary student magazine, *Kalam*, which achieved a countrywide image. This magazine was brought out in both English and Marathi. She was the main person behind the revolutionary Hindi magazine, *Jan Sangram*, brought out from Nagpur. She contributed regular articles, under various pseudonyms, to the revolutionary magazines, like *Vanguard*, *People's March*, etc. She wrote for the local Marathi Party magazine *Jahirnama* and for a period was in charge of its publication. She also wrote many theoretical and ideological pieces particularly associated with the dalit and women's question. Besides, she conducted many polemics with both, those taking a dalit/post-modernist view and with Marxists who took a hostile view on the question. This she expressed through her writings

both in English and Marathi. As already mentioned it was she who wrote the original draft for the policy paper on the caste question in India by the erstwhile CPI (ML)(PW). This was the first such policy paper by a revolutionary communist party. More recently she wrote a polemical/analytical piece on bourgeois feminism, bringing out its various manifestations. She was also instrumental in the preparation of the Women's Perspective of the CPI (Maoist) adopted recently by the Party. It was she who drafted many a March 8th statement of the Party. The uniqueness of Anuradha was that she was not merely a theoretician but combined theory with extensive practical experience. This was particularly noticeable on both the dalit and women's questions.

There was hardly a time when she was not writing something linked with the movement. She was a regular contributor to many magazines in English, Hindi and Marathi. Many of her articles and writings have also been translated into other languages. She also spoke a number of languages being fluent in English, Hindi and Marathi, with a good knowledge of Gujarati and even understood Telugu, Kannada and Koya.

Anuradha's contributions to the Indian revolutionary movement, and particularly the movement in Maharashtra, was substantial. She had the rare qualities of being not only an effective leader in the field, but combining it with significant ideological and political contributions. And as her long-standing comrade Vijay said, she had that uniqueness in being able to connect with a vast spectrum of people and thereby build bridges between different oppressed social groups and the revolution. Most important she had many of the qualities any genuine communist should inculcate — straightforwardness, modesty, selflessness, disciplined and hardworking, and an unwavering commitment to the revolution. Finally, her liveliness and child-like simplicity made her a most lovable person, leaving an indelible impact on anyone she met, even once.

To grow to such heights in this deeply patriarchal society is a source for enormous inspiration to all women comrades and activists. Her life and work will remain as an important chapter in India's revolutionary movement and will continue to inspire people to the cause of revolution. Though her untimely death extinguished a glowing star, the rays will linger on to illumine the path towards a just and equitable new order. Anuradha will continue to live on in our hearts. ★



Comrade Patel Sudhakar

Comrade Patel Sudhakar: A Tireless Revolutionary Leader and Architect of the Party's Sixth Sense

May 24, 2009 remains one of the most tragic days in the annals of the Indian revolutionary movement. It was a grief-filled day when we lost Central Committee member, the first Director of Political Intelligence comrade Patel Sudhakar and a District Committee-level party activist comrade Venkataiah working in the same department.

AP police which is notorious for fake encounters spun another encounter story on May 24, 2009. The essence of that story was that Patel Sudhakar and Venkataiah died in an encounter between the police and the naxalites that took place in Lavvala forests of Eturunagaram mandal in Warangal district.

However, the fact-finding team which went to Lavvala proved that there were no traces of an encounter in that place. The re-postmortem which was conducted on the orders of the High Court also turned out to be an eye-wash. There was no response from the government and the police to the challenge that they should come for an open discussion and prove that it was an encounter.

In fact, these two comrades were caught on May 23 in Nasik city of Maharashtra by the blood-thirsty APSIB police as part of the conspiracy hatched by the central and state governments; they were brought to Warangal in a helicopter, tortured severely and then killed in cold-blood in Lavvala forests at 10.30 am on May 24. We suffered a heavy loss when comrade

Patel Sudhakar (popular as Suryam in AP and as Vikas in the entire party) with long revolutionary experience, who did exceptional work in ideological, political, organizational and military spheres and was working as the Director of the Political Intelligence department which is considered the Sixth Sense of the revolutionary movement and comrade Prasanna who was looking after important responsibilities along with him in the same department were martyred. Let us humbly pay homage to these martyrs and follow their footsteps on the path of revolution.

Fragrance of struggle from Palamuru

Comrade Patel Sudhakar who had been tirelessly fulfilling responsibilities at various levels in the revolutionary movement since three decades and carved an unique niche for himself is well known among the party ranks and revolutionary masses with the names of Ramanna, Srikanth, Suryam and Vikas. Kurtiravula Cheruvu village in Mahboobnagar district located in South Telangana is his native village. He was born on May 11, 1959 in a rich peasant family. Sudhakar imbibed good ideals from his childhood. The Karimnagar-Adilabad struggles which were going on in full swing after the Jagityal Jaitrayatra of 1978 had a deep impact on him. With this impact he joined the revolutionary movement during the initial phase of the movement in Palamuru. The oppressed people of Palamuru were victims of severe exploitation of the ruling classes and the district was synonymous with famine. He was one of the leaders who strove to guide the oppressed people of Palamuru in their struggle for liberation in the 1980s. Though some among them had left the movement in the beginning days itself, he stood firm and determined and continued his ideals and objectives till his last breath.

When Sudhakar joined the revolutionary students' organization Radical Students Union (RSU), the student wing of the right-opportunist Janasakti Party PDSU had a strong presence in Mahboobnagar. Under such conditions, comrade Sudhakar who was studying in Gadwal Degree College stood firmly with the revolutionary politics along with other radical students by exposing PDSU's rightist politics. Due to the political struggles carried out in those days, several students were mobilized into RSU. From then onwards apart from Gadwal town RSU extended to urban centres like Wanaparty and

Mahboobnagar and developed into a strong revolutionary student organization in the district. In no time, Wanaparty Polytechnic College became one of the important centres of revolutionary students in the state. Radical students won in the student union elections held in Gadwal and Wanaparty colleges. They invited revolutionary writers, civil rights leaders and democrats from various areas to speak on occasions such as college anniversaries, imparted revolutionary politics to students on various issues and turned these colleges into revolutionary centres. The news reports about the various struggles taken up by RSU in those days used to be prominent in the *Radical March* magazine. Before Sudhakar went to Hyderabad for post-graduation in 1981-1982 he had already made his district the centre for his revolutionary activities. Along with comrade Kiran and some other activists he extended revolutionary activities to different fields.

Particularly these two comrades developed relations with intellectuals and sowed seeds of revolutionary politics among them. Due to these efforts, in the later period several comrades working as teachers and other employees integrated deeply with the revolutionary movement. Under their leadership several democratic organizations were formed and they mobilized people into economic and political struggles apart from propagating revolutionary politics. In this process severe state repression was unleashed on the leaders of these organizations. Leaders like comrades Purushottam, Kanakachary and Muneppa were murdered by the state-sponsored vigilante gangs. In spite of this, intellectuals of this district continued with the revolutionary movement and earned a special recognition in the state. In the initial days of his revolutionary activism Sudhakar went to the villages along with other radical students and put efforts to integrate with the peasantry on the one hand, even while influencing intellectuals with revolutionary politics on the other. He developed contacts with the peasantry in several villages, taught them revolutionary politics and rallied them on various problems. The political effort put in those days paved the way for the strengthening of the armed peasant struggle in the district. The revolutionary work done in the district between 1980 and 1984 must be mentioned as a very crucial one and comrade Sudhakar played a very important role in this.

Adored commander of Eturnagaram and Etapalli areas

Sudhakar participated in the state-level political classes conducted at the end of 1984. By then efforts were initiated to complete the preparations for North Telangana (NT) guerilla zone and to turn Dandakaranya (DK) into a liberated area. To fulfill this aim, AP State Committee (APSC) decided to send Comrade Sudhakar to the Eturnagaram forest area (at that time this area was part of DK) as a commander. He took up his responsibilities in 1985 and worked there till 1986. When he went there, the rightist Janasakti party had strong presence in that area. In addition, the fascist government of NTR that newly came to power in the state proclaimed an undeclared war on the party and the revolutionary movement. Under such dire circumstances on the one hand they had to fight back the opportunism of the Janasakti party which was neck deep in rightist politics and on the other hand they had to fight back the fascist offensive of the government. This attack was part of the first armed suppression campaign taken up by the government. Squads could not stay peacefully in any forest den and every day they had to travel for hours together. Frequently they used to go without food and water. In such difficult conditions too he mobilized the people of the area towards revolutionary politics by following guerilla work methods strictly, by defending the squad from enemy attacks and by bringing the people out of the grip of the rightists. He became a darling of the people there.

As AP state movement developed, NT movement was constituted under a Regional Committee (RC). The Eturnagaram and Mahdevpur forest area became a part of NT. At that time Sudhakar was shifted to Gadchiroli district to fulfill the needs of the movement. There he took up responsibilities as the commander of Etapalli area and went by the name of Ramanna. Till then the revolutionary movement there has not yet strengthened. He learnt Koya language with determination and put good efforts to increase the revolutionary political consciousness of the people there. He understood the hurdles created by the village elders to the strengthening of the revolutionary organizations but he dealt with them patiently. He concentrated on the youth, consolidated them and laid the foundations for a strong revolutionary movement in Kasansur area. The people in villages like Koyandur, Ottegaatta,

Kondavahi, Gadderu, Kudiri, Kotimi, Godsur, Kothakonda, Jappi and Boriya still remember the efforts he put in that area. He concentrated not only on adivasi peasantry but also tried his best to rally students and employees into the revolutionary movement. Right from the initial days of the movement, police repression was severe in Gadchiroli. There were frequent attacks on the squads. In these attacks, Ramanna firmly fought back and repulsed the enemy, inspired the squad members to resist bravely and developed into an efficient military commander. Once when the police attacked them he successfully led the repulsion of the attack and caused losses to the police, forcing its retreat.

In arming the guerillas

By the end of the 1980s, class struggle intensified in DK and the Adivasi peasantry got consolidated by imbibing the politics of revolutionary armed struggle. The movement extended to nearby areas. In these circumstances, gathering weapons came to the fore as an important task in order to develop the movement to a higher level. Fulfilling such responsibilities which come to the fore as the movement advances is like walking on the sword's edge. This requires efficient leadership. Keeping this in view the Central Committee (CC) gave this responsibility to Sudhakar in 1989. Simultaneously he was promoted to the District Committee (DC) level. He whole-heartedly took up this responsibility given by the party. He made Bangalore city his centre of activity and worked amidst great risk in the heart of the enemy's camp. He established a large mechanism and transported hundreds of weapons for DK, NT and AP movements. His role was prominent in those days in supplying arms to the guerilla army. He learnt various languages to efficiently carry on arms supplies. He went to areas where decadent bourgeois culture was prevalent and dealt with mafias and contractors with great knack and skill. He faced all the pressures in this process with revolutionary spirit, commitment and discipline. The enemy smelt about this most crucial task being performed by Sudhakar through some means and made plans to damage it. As part of the plan they put surveillance on the contractors who supplied arms and bent them. With the information given by a contractor who supplied arms, the APSIB murderous gang arrested Sudhakar in April 1992 and tortured him severely. But he stood firm and saved the party secrets and the

leadership. The fascist Janardhan Reddy government displayed the weapons which were seized and banned the erstwhile People's War party and carried on severe repression on the movement.

A red flag held aloft in the enemy dungeon

Sudhakar was mainly incarcerated in Secunderabad Central Jail (Mushirabad) between 1992 and 1997. The Congress government was carrying out severe repression and was resorting to fake encounters on the one hand and was unleashing severe suppressive measures on the political prisoners in jails on the other. Political prisoners in each jail coordinated with all other jails to oppose these measures. Jails turned into centres of struggle. The prison struggle which was carried on with the solidarity of mass organizations had a strong impact on the state politics. It won many friends for the revolutionary movement. It received good response internationally. Sudhakar played an important role in the historic struggle of political prisoners waged from end 1994 to mid-1995. With the success of this historic struggle ordinary and political prisoners won many demands. Hundreds of life-prisoners who had spent 14 years in jail were released. The success of this struggle had a good impact on the people and on the entire movement. He strove hard to politically train up comrades in jails and to make them stand firmly amid repression and incarceration. He played a crucial role in secretly running the magazine 'Bandi Kaani Gontu' (Voice that could not be incarcerated) inside the jail and wrote several articles in each of its issues. He deeply studied the enemy even while being in jail. He strongly felt that the party must have an intelligence department to preserve the party and sent a proposal. It was such opinions which later led to the formation of an intelligence department of the party.

Leader of the AP movement

By the time Comrade Sudhakar was released from jail in 1997, the exploitative ruling classes were resorting to severe repression on the AP revolutionary movement as part of its LIC strategy. They unleashed a multi-pronged attack using informers and covert agents on one hand and reforms on the other. Apart from that it was the period when the enemy used brutal

Greyhounds forces to isolate the revolutionary movement from the people and was also wiping out squads and leaders. Under such circumstances, the party promoted comrade Sudhakar to the level of Regional Committee (RC) and sent him to South Telangana. The five years of jail life had cut off his direct links with the development of the movement. To fill this gap, with the directive of the party, he first started working by making Nalgonda district his centre of activities. He understood the development of the movement of the past five years through martyr Comrade Madhav who was guiding the district movement from the RC and helped him in his work. In the same period he directly understood the multi-pronged offensive of the fascist Chandrababu government and the losses occurring due to it. All through the year 1998 he worked in the field and brought drastic changes in the squad functioning methods to prevent our losses in the enemy offensive. He stayed with the squads and revived the relations of the squad with the people. The squads were in fact getting isolated from the people due to severe enemy repression. On the other hand he mentally and militarily prepared the squads to fight back the enemy attacks. In the same period non-proletarian trends raised their head inside the party and the mass organizations. In those difficult conditions these proved to be serious hurdles to the fulfillment of the set tasks. He realized this problem and made efforts to bolshevize the party by taking up ideological and political effort to educate the cadres. Particularly he paid special attention to develop proletarian discipline. The efforts put by him during that period along with comrade Madhav brought good results in the district. They could reduce the losses to the party and the squads. Relations with the people improved. There was improvement in consolidation and in recruitment into squads. Student units were formed in this period and recruitment began from this sphere too. We can say that the Leninist work method and style followed by Sudhakar was a main reason behind these progressive changes in the district. Particularly, his work methods and style such as understanding the situation, applying theory to transform the situation in the correct direction, being decisive in his work, politically inspiring the entire ranks into activities, being creative and always being with the people and the cadres have greatly impacted the party ranks. These qualities have so impacted the cadres that some of them made him their ideal and emulated him in several matters. Right from the initial days he always left his characteristic imprint on any kind of work he took up.

In February 1999, AP State Plenum was conducted and Sudhakar was elected as an alternative member to the State Committee (SC). Later, he took up responsibilities as the secretary of the South Regional Committee (SRC) and concretely concentrated on Mahboobnagar district. The State Plenum of 1999 gave a call to conduct a rectification campaign against the non-proletarian trends developing within the party. In the same year the CC passed a resolution for the first time directing that resistance must be conducted jointly in AP and NT in the form of a campaign. As Parliamentary and Assembly elections were also due in that year the party had to take up election boycott campaign as well. SRC formulated a plan to conduct these three campaigns in a timely manner. As SRCS, Sudhakar played the crucial role in formulating this plan. Not just that, he conducted these three campaigns in Mahboobnagar district with concrete and creative application. Here too he stayed with the cadres in the field and conducted these three campaigns efficiently and in time which brought good results in Mahboobnagar district and the region. The rectification campaign increased unity inside the party apart from increasing its strength and capacity in fulfilling the tasks taken up. As resistance was conducted in the form of a campaign for the first time, we achieved many successes and the self-confidence of the cadres doubled. Sudhakar was present with the cadres in this campaign and led it with formidable guerilla warfare tactics. The third campaign of election boycott politically brought the people closer to the movement. These three campaigns created a favorable situation for us in the district. In this period, though comrade Sudhakar concretely led the movement in Mahboobnagar district, he efficiently coordinated the entire Region.

By the beginning of 1999, the squads in Medak suffered serious losses and the movement suffered a setback. In such a situation, preserving the remaining cadres became the main task. In order to overcome this situation, the RC led by Sudhakar sent some cadres from Medak district to the strategic area of Nallamala and to other districts where the terrain was favorable. It formulated plain area tactics to strengthen the movement in Medak district once again. This process went on till 2000. Due to these efforts, the losses in that district came down and the movement continued in a sustained manner for some time with these new tactics.

Sudhakar was co-opted into the SC in the last quarter of 1999. But within a short time, it lost its secretary and the state movement suffered a serious loss. On December 2, Chandrababu fascist government brutally murdered CCM comrades Shyam, Mahesh and Murali through a covert conspiracy. This loss shook the entire party. As comrade Mahesh was also the secretary of APSC, the AP movement suffered additional serious losses.

Under such critical conditions, Sudhakar extended all kinds of help and support to the newly elected secretary and played his role in developing the committee as a collective leadership team that could fulfill the needs of the movement. His role in the development of the committee is an indication of his collective spirit. Apart from this, he was full of self-confidence and possessed a long term perspective, broad-mindedness, scientific thinking, decisiveness, friendly nature and a sense of humor. So he could win the confidence of all the SCMs as an important member of the committee.

Since the end of 1999, even while representing the APSC, he concentrated on South Telangana (ST). From the initial days of his political life, he used to fulfill the responsibilities given to him very well and he used to broaden his purview by keeping the interests of the whole party in mind. He used to write his opinions, suggestions and proposals that were needed for the advancement of the entire party, on several issues like intelligence, united front and unity talks. Any opinion sent by him to the party was not superficial but based on deep study. His study was different from the routine study of dogmatists. He studied with the view of solving the problems faced by the revolutionary movement. Accordingly, he studied to find ideological solutions to the problems faced in various spheres. His study was deep, serious and vast. In this course, he used to place the principles and tactics drawn by him in political, organizational and military spheres before the SC. He strengthened these further and guided the party and the military ranks by applying them. These leadership qualities in Sudhakar have been largely and concretely useful for the advancement of the ST movement along with the entire party. The efforts he put in ST from 1998 to 2000 are invaluable. The ST movement which was reduced to 75 cadres by the beginning of 1998 due to serious losses in the multi-pronged offensive of the enemy, increased to 135 by 2000. Particularly, leadership developed and a new leadership team for the Region emerged. This new leadership team was

elected in the Regional conference held in mid-2000. Sudhakar's proposal from the RC that the ST movement had already developed into a guerilla zone (GZ) by 1995, that it was a shortcoming of the party not to have recognized the fact then and that this must be recognized as a review point, was accepted and passed by the conference. Later, in the state conference too, this review was accepted and ST was identified as a GZ.

The 15th AP state conference was held in December 2000. The failures of the party were concretely reviewed in this conference. However, already a bad weather of left adventurist wrong trends that demanded with petty-bourgeois impetuosity without any connection with the concrete conditions that Nepal line must be applied here, was present in the party. The influence of this bad weather was felt in the AP state conference too. Along with Sudhakar, other comrades put a stop to this bad weather. But this came to the fore as two-line struggle by the time of the 9th Congress of the party held in the beginning of 2001. Sudhakar who went as a delegate to the Congress smelt this danger and stood firmly with the party line in the Congress by bringing together other comrades as part of defending the party line. In the past as well, during the two-line struggles inside the party of 1985 and 1992, he stood in support of the party and in enriching the party line by defeating the right and 'left' opportunists.

After the AP state conference, he took up higher level responsibilities as SC Secretariat member and State Military Commission (SMC) In-charge. Particularly he put special efforts to develop the PLGA as part of implementing the party line that was developed by the 9th Congress of the erstwhile CPI(ML)(People's War). This effort needs mention as a special aspect of his work. He took direct responsibility on behalf of the SC to politically expose the farce of peace talks brought forth by Chandrababu Naidu and to expose the facts that he is against the democratic aspirations of the people and establishment of peace in the state. Since 2001, he worked making Nallamala forest as his centre of operation as the SC Secretariat member and SMC In-charge and put efforts to solve the political, military and organizational problems faced by all the divisions in the state by paying attention to them. When certain wrong trends came to the fore in the State Plenum held in the beginning of 2003, he played an important role in fighting against them.

From 1998 to March 2003 for about five years he immersed himself in the AP movement and completely integrated himself with it. There was not one field or aspect of the movement that he did not touch. Right from the military sphere to the urban movement, he worked for the development of all spheres. Particularly by the end of 1998, the Twin Cities (Hyderabad-Secunderabad) Committee suffered serious losses. He took the responsibility of guiding that committee under such circumstances and put efforts to build a secret urban movement. He won the confidence of the cadre and the mass organizations there. He coordinated secret and open organizations and their units and built committees using new methods. He made them functional and imparted good experience to the party. He was selected by the CC as a member of the drafting committee formed for writing the 'Urban Perspective'. He discussed there basing upon the aspects that he grasped from the experiences of Twin Cities' movement and other movements and improved the Urban Perspective with several additions and amendments. His mark on the cadres of AP was indelible. At the same time his very existence sent tremors down the spine of the enemy.

Sudhakar had married a fellow activist while working in Eturunagaram. They had a son. His partner became weak politically and left the movement in 1998 and surrendered to the enemy. He faced this agonizing phenomenon resolutely. He married another comrade in the end of 2000. He helped her in all manners with his loving personality, encouraged her and gave support to her so that she can develop further in her work and fulfill her responsibilities more efficiently. Thus he stood as a model for a good life-partner.

In-charge of the State Military Commission

SMC was formed for the first time in AP in 2001 and comrade Sudhakar took up the responsibility as its first In-charge. He held this responsibility till March 2003. The PLGA was formed in December 2000 and he took up the important task of developing the military sphere in that backdrop and strove day and night putting all his energy into it. He brought the things he learnt from his vast revolutionary life experience and the political, military and ideological aspects together and helped the SMC and SC in several matters. His opinions and suggestions helped the APSC to take correct military decisions in many issues and instances. The role of Sudhakar is primary in

formulating more than ten circulars and letters to solve the problems concerning the functioning of commands, platoons and squads, to formulate guidelines in intelligence and communications, to correct the shortcomings in military actions, to gather information about the enemy, about Action Teams and on several other issues. These were released within a period of two years according to the needs of the movement and to solve the various problems faced by the PLGA militarily and to give guidelines. These helped in bringing improved work methods, military discipline and understanding in PLGA. He gathered the necessary military literature and distributed them to all committees and military structures. He realized the importance of studying military theory and got books like Guerilla Air Defence translated into Telugu and ensured their distribution among the cadre.

The military camps held by him along with martyr comrade Satyam (Rammohan) developed the military skills of the PLGA forces. The urban military camp he conducted along with martyr comrades Satyam and Ramana Reddy has a unique significance. Sudhakar's role was prominent in this camp that was held with the aim of making the cadre realize the importance of 'Urban Guerilla Warfare' and to prepare them to make war on the enemy in urban areas too. In his characteristic way, Sudhakar conducted that camp creatively and in a manner that filled the students with enthusiasm. Through these military camps he gave the direction that Action Teams must be formed in all districts and that guerilla actions must be carried out continuously.

By then, struggles were being waged in South Telangana, Nallamala, Guntur and Rayalaseema at various levels. The attacks of the enemy forces, our guerilla actions and people's struggles were on the rise. The movement suffered several losses due to the attacks conducted by Special Forces such as the Greyhounds. Though guerilla forces fought heroically with the enemy, their military knowledge was of a primary level. He strove day and night to increase it and develop it.

Keeping in view the specificities of the conditions there, he suggested several tactics of waging guerilla warfare with the enemy forces utilizing the banks of the River Krishna and the terrain of Nallamala. He gave special attention to study the geographical conditions (terrain) wherever he worked.

He had the responsibility of looking after the State weapon manufacturing department and his role in correcting the defects in our manufactured

weapons, in developing them and in putting efforts to manufacture newer ones is unforgettable. Keeping in view the losses in AP plain areas, he proposed that we must get rid of the old methods and organize people in newer methods and that we must formulate specific tactics for this purpose. He played the main role in formulating the circular ‘Work in Plain Areas’.

He proposed that intelligence units must be formed in the state, formulated guidelines for it and strove really hard to implement them. The help, effort and inspiration of Sudhakar in initiating the organization though at a very primary level, are significant. Yadagiri Gutta and Srisailam-Sundipenta raids were among the important raids he guided. These raids filled the PLGA forces with lot of self-confidence in those days.

Even in the short period in which he held the responsibility of the In-charge of SMC, he put great efforts to impart clear understanding about several political and military aspects to the party committees and PLGA forces. Studying military theory, implementing guerilla tactics firmly, giving confidence to the party ranks that small guerilla forces can face a mighty enemy, actively fighting against wrong trends, being determined and displaying unyielding confidence during ebb and flow of the movement and in hard times – all these were natural qualities of Sudhakar that all of us must learn. He had severe pain in the legs due to tortures of the enemy and physical movement was difficult for him. It is most inspiring that he took up the responsibility as SMC In-charge even under such circumstances and led it politically.

Guiding Action Teams in crucial military actions

Comrade Sudhakar’s efforts and the experience he imparted to the party in forming Action Teams (AT) to annihilate cruel political leaders and police officers, in making the ATs function in a better manner and in getting results are very important in our movement’s history. He politically guided the Action Team that was formed in 1998. He developed this Team politically and militarily and placed it as an ideal in front of everyone. When any action was planned, he used to study the target deeply. Later, the arrangements, training and conducting of the action used to be in a planned manner. It was due to such better planning that cruel elements like Umesh Chandra and Madhav Reddy could be wiped out and fascist Chandrababu could be

attacked after successfully breaching through the highest level of security. These actions had great political impact in those days and infused lot of confidence among the cadres and the people regarding military actions. Though some comrades in the Action Team were martyred, Sudhakar inspired several other comrades to join the it to wipe out the most notorious henchmen of the exploitative classes by taking those Action Team martyrs as inspiration and ideal.

Builder of revolutionary movement's intelligence department

In the course of the movement, the need to form a separate intelligence department came to the fore in order to formulate tactics that would defeat the tactics of the enemy by studying them. So, for the first time in the history of the revolutionary movement in India, the party decided to form an intelligence department. The Party felt that Sudhakar had the efficiency to put efforts in this sphere and to give it an organizational form for it. So the responsibility was entrusted to him in 2003. By then, he was playing a crucial role in the AP movement. Though the CC felt that his transfer would seriously affect the movement in AP, he had to be transferred keeping in view the prominence of the intelligence department.

Sudhakar who did deep ideological, political and military study, happily accepted the responsibility of making preparations for the building of the Intelligence Department. He gathered the necessary literature and information needed for it. He studied the Intelligence Agencies of all countries that were available to him. He also studied other literature related to this. Particularly, he studied closely the Indian Intelligence system. He wrote the book 'Sixth Sense' in the simplest style to make the cadres understand about the intelligence systems of various countries. He prepared the Intelligence Perspective paper and placed it before the party. Starting from scratch, with almost no information about any Intelligence systems or from any country, he formulated this perspective keeping in view the CC guidelines, drawing from the protracted experiences gained by our party and in accordance with the concrete conditions of our country, the situation of our party, the war situation and its needs. The efforts he put in forming this department were very great. He faced many difficulties, unfavorable conditions and severe ill-health during this period but he was successful in fulfilling the target given

by the party, and that too amidst an extensive man-hunt for him by the AP Special Intelligence Bureau (APSIB).

He gathered a treasure of literature on Intelligence and preserved it for the party. He made available the necessary literature for study of the party and according to the needs of the respective committees. He also held classes for several comrades about intelligence and imparted understanding about it. The reports he wrote and presented to the party on the current political situation and other matters are very useful. The literature he gathered as the Director of Political Intelligence about ideological, political, military, technical, economic, social and other spheres are a valuable treasure. They are a perennial wealth of knowledge for the party.

The guidelines, literature and understanding he gave for Military Intelligence and the classes he took on this subject are invaluable. Thus for six years he strove tirelessly in this sphere and imparted valuable experiences to the party.

Sudhakar believed that People's War must be waged by taking into consideration the unique technical changes taking place in modern wars and studied very hard day and night to learn about the new developments in this front. In this course, he developed command over some matters and put them to use for the development of Political Intelligence department by creatively applying them. He discussed in the party committees as to how it would be useful to the enemy if we do not use modern technology properly. He tried to study modern technology in all spheres with a critical proletarian outlook and put efforts to utilize it for the movement.

Ideal example - excellent inspiration

Sudhakar was known for his sincerity, dedication, deep commitment towards the interests of the oppressed masses, creativity, firm determination in fulfilling any task given to him and a militant fighting spirit. He never displayed any kind of vacillation or tension even in the most adverse conditions. This inspired great confidence among the cadres around him. For example, in the beginning of 2003, when he was working in Nallamala forests, in one instance the enemy came very near their camp. Everybody in the camp became tense. But Sudhakar sat coolly and seeing him like that

everybody composed themselves and waited for the next orders. He immediately sent instructions for the defence team members. He told them to give bitter resistance to the enemy forces if they attack and to fire upon them till everybody retreats safely. His very presence directly at that time instilled great confidence among all the comrades.

His physical appearance was such that anybody who saw him thought he was a big official. But in reality he was a very simple person. He was in the forefront in following discipline in financial matters. He displayed boundless love towards the people and the cadres. Particularly, he showed zeal for the development of women comrades and for the participation of women in the party and the movement. He extended a helping hand to them. He was a good communist. He imbibed communist values as his life style. That is why his life is luminous. He stood as a model for the New Man we aspire for in a communist society. Though he had talent and skill in several spheres, as comrade Mao said, he was first a red and only then an expert.

His role was not only important right from DC meetings to the APSC meetings and CC meetings but was also decisive in many instances. This was so because he had a clear grip over the situation. He used to do thorough homework before attending the meetings. He was never dogmatic. So he used to find creative and practical solutions to the problems faced by the party and the movement. His presence in the committee meetings superbly helped in solving several complex problems. There are many revolutionary characteristics that we should imbibe as an ideal from him and implement in our own lives. His sense of humor, straight-forwardness in criticizing the mistakes and weaknesses in the party comrades and in the party and in self-criticizing his own mistakes and weaknesses, his initiative, creativity, paying attention to the study of experiences of other committees, movements and incidents, alertness towards the changes happening in the enemy camp and in the domestic and international spheres, seriousness in implementing every task given by the party or taken up by him are some of those revolutionary characteristics. This last characteristic was displayed by him in all the 27 years of his revolutionary life right from the beginning. That is why the higher level committee had confidence on him and was free of worry when he took up responsibilities.

He participated as a delegate in the 9th Congress of CPI(ML)[PW] in 2001 and in the Unity Congress-9th Congress of 2007 and played a good role politically. In the Congress of 2001, he keenly criticized the wrong trends in the Karnataka SC, explained it in detail and imparted good understanding to the delegates. In the Congress of 2007 he discussed elaborately on Intelligence. He gave a deep analysis as to how we have failed in fighting back the LIC strategy that was the main reason for the setback of the AP movement and how we must have fought it back. He was elected to the CC in the Congress and took up the responsibility of Intelligence one more time. He played the main role in formulating the paper on LIC policy that was released in 2008.

Revolutionary writer who recorded the movement in literature

In his revolutionary praxis, comrade Sudhakar used to get results in his work by applying theory to practice. This applies to his writing too. He wrote on political and military matters and was proficient in literature too. In his initial days in Dandakaranya, he wrote under the pen names of ‘Vanavasi’ and later as ‘Ravinder’ and ‘Samudram’ (the collective name of writers in jail at that time). He also wrote poems, responses, stories and critiques under the name ‘Karagaravasi’ (Prisoner). His every literary work gave a political message and was straightforward. He used to write military works by studying the counter-revolutionary offensives of the enemy. He translated several articles. He regularly wrote articles to the *Awami Jung* magazine (military organ of the party) since its inception in 1989.

A life dedicated to the liberation of the people and the country

In his long revolutionary life of three decades, he worked as a leader of students and the peasantry, commander of PLGA, secretary of South Telangana RC, leader of the revolutionary movement in AP, CCM and Director of Political Intelligence department and paved the way with his blood for the liberation of the oppressed masses. Whichever task he may have taken in whichever sphere, he studied it deeply and fulfilled the responsibility efficiently and imparted a wealth of experiences to the party. Thus he developed not as an individual but into a great force.

Tens of thousands of people participated in the procession to pay red homage to their beloved leader comrade Patel Sudhakar who laid down his valuable life for the liberation of the people and the country. The vehicle carrying his body started from Gadwal and reached Kurtiravula Cheruvu via Peddapalli, Amarabai, Maldakal, Seshampalli and Tatikunta. The funeral procession started at 4 pm on May 26, 2009, and went on for about one hour, slogans and wailing of the people rent the air. His body was laid to rest on land belonging to his family on the borders of his village.

Comrade Sudhakar's martyrdom was one more serious loss to the Indian revolutionary movement. However, the very valuable experiences he imparted to the movement throughout his long revolutionary life, particularly his tireless efforts in the Intelligence field in the last six years of his life, the experiences, guidelines and secret work methods he imparted are very valuable and of practical significance. All these remain with us forever. Let us implement them more firmly in practice and advance the PPW further by building strong intelligence. This would be the real homage we could pay to comrade Patel Sudhakar. ★

Comrade Bethune's spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his great sense of responsibility in his work and his great 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'



Comrade Azad

Eloquent Voice of the Oppressed Masses and Leader of the Indian Revolution Comrade Azad is Immortal

July 1, 2010 is a day of great grief for the oppressed, toiling masses of India. As part of the fascist Operation Green Hunt (OGH), the ruling classes which are perpetrating massacres of revolutionary leaders and people have resorted to another cold-blooded butchery. The beloved great leader of the Indian people, the Central Committee member (CCM), Politburo member (PBM) and spokesperson of CPI(Maoist) Comrade Cherukuri Rajkumar (Azad) was caught by Andhra Pradesh Special intelligence Bureau (APSIB) and central intelligence agencies near Nagpur in Maharashtra along with freelance journalist Hemchandra Pandey. At that time he was traveling to Dandakaranya to teach Political Economy to the party cadres. The blood-thirsty intelligence officials took them to Jogapur, Sarkepalli forests in Adilabad district, AP and viciously murdered them just as they had murdered many other revolutionary leaders in the past. The enemy assessed that he would not be able to extract anything from him in spite of tortures and so they gave him sedatives in an injection as soon as they caught him. So it is very clear that they caught him with a clear-cut aim of killing him. They killed Hemchandra Pandey along with him to cover up this brutal murder. This murder was done as part of a conspiracy hatched by Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram gang and later the police concocted the much repeated encounter story as usual and announced that an unidentified person was killed along with Azad in an encounter in Adilabad forests.

Comrade Azad was leading the entire urban movement on behalf of the CC and was also looking after political propaganda and other such crucial responsibilities. He was one of the most popular mass leaders. He maintained close relations with many comrades at various levels and with the revolutionary masses. In the midst of severe repression, he worked selflessly and unflinchingly in spite of the many risks involved. It is under such circumstances that the enemy came to know about his whereabouts somewhere and could catch him by laying in wait.

We cannot separate Azad's life from the history of the Indian revolutionary movement of the past forty years. Particularly, he played a key role in the ideological and political spheres, party education and running of periodicals. He fulfilled the responsibility of the party spokesperson since the new party's Unity Congress-9th Congress as 'Azad' in the most excellent and exemplary manner. He used his intellect and sharp pen outstandingly in fighting back the 'War on People' led by the Indian state. He stood as the powerful voice of the people against the rulers and exploiters. In the development of the party's political line in the past 35 years, particularly from 1992, in the development of the party, people's army and mass organisations, in extending the revolutionary movement, in the emergence of organs of new democratic power in their embryonic form and in all the victories won, Azad's ideological, political work and practice played a key role. Unflinching commitment in the face of any number of odds and during the ebb and flow of the movement, great sacrificing nature, selflessness, simple living, indefatigable work for the revolution and for the interests of the people, astounding depth and breadth in study, thoroughgoing study of changing phenomena in the society from time to time, always being with the people are some of the great proletarian ideals established by Azad.

Let us briefly take a look at the important aspects in the revolutionary life of Azad, a great and ideal communist who was always brimming with revolutionary inspiration, in order to imbibe his great qualities and carry them forward.

Early life

Comrade Cherukuri Rajkumar (Uday, Azad) was born on May 18, 1954 in an educated rich peasant family in Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh. He was the second among five siblings. His mother was Karuna and father was Lakshmayya Chowdhary. His father died just a few days before his martyrdom. His old mother is still alive. He has three brothers and a sister. Azad's elder brother worked in the Indian Army and retired as a Colonel. Both his younger brothers were doctors. Their ancestors lived in Penumathsa village in Pamidimukkala Mandal of Krishna district, AP. During the days of Azad's grandfather, their family went to Nuziveedu and settled there. His father worked in the Indian Army for some time. Later he ran a hotel in Nuziveedu. Subsequently they went to Hyderabad and settled there. There too they ran a hotel. Azad was a brilliant student. He finished his primary schooling in a convent in Hyderabad and then he joined Korukonda Sainik School in Vizianagaram district. There he finished his secondary schooling. He was good at sports and was a voracious reader from the beginning. He loved reading literature too. He was loved by his peers and teachers right from his school days.

First steps towards an inspiring revolutionary life

The dynamic, militant revolutionary life of Azad began in 1972. He joined B.Tech in Regional Engineering College (REC) of Warangal that year. In the decades of 1970s and 1980s the Warangal REC was a bastion for Naxalbari politics. Azad was a voracious reader from his childhood and this enthusiasm for wide-ranging study along with the prevailing political situation helped him to think about the contemporary social and political issues. In those days he saw slogans like 'Down with feudalism', 'Down with imperialism', 'Long live New Democratic Revolution' 'Let us turn Warangal into another Srikakulam' on the walls of Warangal and was influenced by them. He was already sympathetic towards the Srikakulam movement. Rajkumar entered revolutionary politics with the inspiration of comrade Surapaneni Janardhan who was later martyred in a fake encounter

in Girayipalli forests along with three more students during the dark days of Emergency. Janardhan was a famous revolutionary student leader in REC in those days. He was like the apple of their eyes. Azad used to go to his hostel room at night and discuss revolutionary politics with him. As a result of many rounds of discussions and his own study, he completely committed himself to the revolutionary politics. The students of this college played a crucial role in the formation of Andhra Pradesh Radical Students Union (APRSU) in 1974. This college gave birth to many revolutionary leaders, cadres and soldiers. They strove to advance the revolutionary movement not only in AP but all over India in many fields. Many of them laid down their lives for revolution. The murder of Janardhan in 1975 grieved Azad to no end. But soon he turned his grief into steely determination and advanced on the path of revolution. Once he had embraced this path, he never looked back. Thus from 1972 to 2010, for about 38 years his revolutionary life continued without any interruption or gap.

After the setback of Naxalbari and Srikakulam struggles, Telangana became the centre for revolutionary activities. The party reviewed the past practice and started working again after taking lessons from 'left'-adventurist and right-opportunist mistakes. Thus, relations with the masses started developing. There was a spurt in the participation of different oppressed sections of the people in revolutionary organisations. This began getting consolidated in the form of people's movements. The movements which came to the fore later, had proved that if we spread correct ideas among the people then they would turn into material force in practice. The shaping of Azad's revolutionary consciousness during his student days progressed hand in hand with the development of the radical student movement in AP which he led and it played a significant role in the advancement of the Indian revolutionary movement. The party again consolidated itself basing on the lessons learnt after the setbacks of the Naxalbari and Srikakulam movements and concentrated on developing a broad mass base and building mass movements. Azad was an ideal representative of a generation which came to the fore due to this initiative.

Dynamic revolutionary student life

Due to his commitment Azad was given party membership in 1972 itself. Azad worked with initiative in building student and youth movements by mobilizing students on many issues in Warangal. He developed contacts among college lecturers and other staff employees. He had good contacts among the workers and employees of the college. In 1974, he was elected as the president of Warangal district RSU. Resisting goondaism in the town came to the fore as an important task in the course of development of the student movement in Warangal. It had to face the goonda gangs of RSS-ABVP, district leader and Congress MLA Hayagrivachary, CPI(M) leader Omkar etc. There were many clashes and many students were arrested. Azad did the court-related legal work to get them released.

Azad played a leading role in all the student movements conducted in Warangal in those days. In 1974, the right-opportunists belonging to CP Reddy group engineered a split in the revolutionary student movement and tried to form PDSU. Azad was one of those REC students who had played a prominent role in forming the RSU by politically defeating them. Along with Azad many students strove hard to bring the majority of the students to RSU. Emergency was declared in 1975 by the fascist Indira Gandhi's regime. The enemy targeted Azad as he had led an united movements against Emergency. During this period RSU was banned and hundreds of student activists were arrested. As part of this, the government arrested Azad under MISA and put him in jail for six months.

Though Azad was young, he influenced not only students but also many professors, writers and intellectuals with his profound intellect, great initiative, convincing ability and patience. Azad had read literature widely in his student days and took interest in the developments in the literary and cultural fields. He attended the meetings and programmes related to literature and culture in those days and even after he went underground he followed the changes in these fields. He was in touch with the comrades working in those fields and gave his valuable suggestions to them whenever necessary.

Widespread activities in Visakhapatnam

The party transferred Azad to Visakhapatnam in 1977 keeping in view the needs of the party and the student movement. He took admission in M.Tech in Andhra University (AU) as it would facilitate his work among the students. He concentrated on strengthening the student movement in Visakhapatnam city. At that time a successful and militant movement flared up there with the demand for nationalisation of city bus services. That movement led by RSU shook the whole city. As this movement was successful the prestige of RSU increased a lot. Azad's role in this movement was crucial. In those days the domination of the so-called upper castes was all pervasive in AU. The Reddys, Kammas and others belonging to the upper castes used to harass the students belonging to 'backward' and dalit castes in many ways. Azad mobilised the students and lecturers in AU with progressive and democratic views into struggles against these upper caste chauvinists. He insisted on the need to view the issue of caste with a class outlook. The impact of this struggle could be seen on other sections in the city. Just like in Warangal, in Visakhapatnam too Azad endeavored to attract people of all oppressed and progressive sections to the revolutionary camp. He won their affection and love.

After Emergency, the Radical students and youth took up large scale political propaganda campaign about agrarian revolution with the slogan of 'Go to Villages'. This campaign was held every summer. This was very much helpful in building a strong agrarian revolutionary movement and in developing party contacts among the broad peasant masses. Like in Warangal, in Visakha too Azad strove hard to make this 'Go to Villages' campaign a success. He held political classes for batches of students going for such campaigns. Under his leadership propaganda campaign was conducted right from rural areas like Uddanam in Srikakulam to urban areas like Rajahmundry. Party contacts developed well due to this.

After being transferred to Visakhapatnam district in 1977, Azad was elected to the party joint committee of Srikakulam-Visakha districts (DC). Azad attended the party's AP state conference held in 1980 as a delegate. He participated in the discussions enthusiastically.

Gallant defiance in captivity

In July 1975, Azad was arrested under MISA and was held captive in Warangal for six months. At that time his family members, friends, lecturers, workers and all sections of people went to jail and courts and met him. He was a role-model for the students and workers at that time. His impact and influence was very wide. After his release from the jail, he collected the necessary evidences for the court trial against Girayipalli ‘encounter’ which took place during Emergency. He helped the Bhargava Commission and Tarkunde Committee a lot and worked hard to prove that it was a fake encounter. He worked along with many democratic intellectuals, lawyers and civil rights activists for this. Thus, apart from looking after the responsibilities of the student movement Azad also gained a grip over legal and court related matters. This helped him a lot in developing open struggles in the later period. Through all these efforts he could expose the brutality of the state very well. Later in 1979 he was arrested under NASA in Visakhapatnam. The allegation against him was that he hoisted a black flag in AU on pseudo-Independence Day on 15th August. On both the occasions when he was arrested, he stood very firm.

Inspirational president of RSU

In the second state conference of RSU held in Warangal in 1978, Azad was elected as the state president. Along with developing the student movement as the president of RSU, he also took up the responsibility of building and consolidating the revolutionary student movement in other regions in the country.

As part of this process, a seminar on ‘Nationality Question’ was held in Madras (now Chennai) in 1981. Azad toured more or less all over India to make it a success. He met many student organisations and other organisations and individuals and held discussions with them. This seminar was successful in deeply understanding the nationality question in India, in understanding the viewpoint of various nationality organisations and in making them understand the viewpoint of the RSU and the party. Azad played a commendable role in clearly stating the viewpoint of communist

revolutionaries on the nationality question and in establishing unity with various revolutionary and nationality organisations. This seminar held in 1981 created a background for the All India Revolutionary Students Federation (AIRSF) formed in 1985. Thus Azad played a great role in the formation of AIRSF.

Lighting the spark of protracted people's war in Karnataka

The special characteristic of the AP revolutionary student movement was that many cadres and leaders who emerged from this movement had gone to various parts of the country, integrated with the people like seeds in the soil and hoisted the revolutionary flag there. Party leadership consciously and with forethought scrutinised and recognised the students, youth and intellectuals joining the movement, educated them in MLM ideology, party political line, PPW path and sent them to various parts of the country. Thus it facilitated the spread of revolutionary peasant struggles and urban movement in several other states. The party CC sent Azad to Karnataka in 1983 as the state party organiser to lay the basis for building revolutionary movement in the state. There he started the work of the party depending on his contacts among the progressive and democratic intellectuals. Very soon, party and mass organisations began to be built up in Karnataka. He attracted student-intellectuals like comrade Saketh Rajan into the party (Saketh was martyred in an encounter with the police in 2005 while working to build an armed peasant struggle in Malnad area in Western Ghats as the secretary of Karnataka SC). Azad worked among students, women, workers, peasants, youth and cultural field. Thus, the process of development of the party and revolutionary movement began there. Many mass organisations were built. By 1985 a leadership team was formed to guide this movement. By 1987, this developed into the State Committee (SC). Azad became the first secretary of the Karnataka SC.

Azad strove to consolidate and run militantly a movement which started on the nationality issue in Karnataka after declaring support for it. The SC released a document supporting the separate state movement which started in Kodagu area of Karnataka. While working in Karnataka he also played a leading role in building the All India revolutionary student movement. He

toured many states. He left an indelible mark as ‘Uday’ in the hearts of the people and comrades of Karnataka.

Azad concentrated party work in Hyderabad-Karnataka area, particularly in Raichur district with the aim of building the revolutionary peasant movement in rural Karnataka. He studied the rural conditions in Karnataka and inspired his fellow comrades politically with the determination of intensifying anti-feudal struggles. He put considerable efforts in intensifying the peasant struggles in that area. Saketh Rajan studied the history of Karnataka and wrote a book called ‘Making History’. This book earned a great place in the Karnataka society. It was once included in the syllabus of Mysore University. Azad supported and helped Saketh Rajan in many ways in writing this book.

Defending the party line in internal struggles

In 1985 the APSC of CPI (ML)(People’s War) decided to take up a rectification campaign against the six wrong trends (non-proletarian trends) it had identified in the party. As a continuation of it, the first internal ideological and political struggle was conducted in People’s War party in 1985. Satyamurty, Veeraswamy and two other comrades in the CC had created a political and organisational crisis situation inside the party. In that period Azad played a great role in making the party cadres stand firm and united with the party line in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu states. Thus he strove hard to isolate the liquidationist opportunists. The document released by the Karnataka Leading Team under the leadership of Azad to oppose the liquidationist opportunist wrong trend in the CC contained deep analysis politically and ideologically. That helped the development of our party in Karnataka a lot. It helped in preserving the unity of the party by protecting it from the conspiracies of the liquidators.

In the central plenum of CPI(ML)(PW) held in 1990, Azad was elected as a member of the Central Organizing Committee (COC). Within a few months after this a second internal struggle started in the PW party in 1991. The party secretary Kondapalli Sitaramaiah (KS) himself created this political and organisational crisis. In this period, Azad fought back the liquidationist politics of KS, Bandaiah, Prasad and other opportunists and careerists. In

the critical note prepared on behalf of the Karnataka SC he exposed the opportunists thoroughly. At the culmination of internal struggle and after expelling KS and other liquidationist opportunists from the party, Azad was among the new young team of leaders which developed at the central level. In fact, the success in keeping the party united and in enriching the party line by exposing the opportunists was only due to the collective efforts of this new leadership team.

Efforts in uniting the genuine communist revolutionaries

As a member of the CC delegation, Azad put a lot of effort for the unity of genuine communist revolutionaries and revolutionary parties of our country. He played an important role particularly in the merger of CPI (ML)(PW) and CPI (ML) PU in 1998. Later, Azad played a very prominent role in the historic merger of the two foremost revolutionary streams of India – the CPI(ML) and MCC on September 21, 2004 which turned into a mighty current in the form of CPI(Maoist). As a member of the CPI(ML)(PW) delegation Azad participated in the bilateral meetings between the two erstwhile parties that were held in many phases. On these occasions, efforts were made by both the teams in the exchange of documents, study, debate, conducting discussion in a tolerant manner, in synthesising the positive aspects in the practice of the two parties and incorporating them in the new documents of the united party. His role in all this as a delegate from the CC of PW is unforgettable. In the chapter on unity of communist revolutionaries in Indian revolutionary history the name of Azad would definitely be written prominently.

Guiding the revolutionary movement in AP

Azad used to be in lively contact with the AP revolutionary movement even while leading the Karnataka movement. As a CCM he toured NT, attended party committee meetings and guided the movement. After the Party Congress of PW in 2001, he took up the responsibility of APSC as a PBM. He participated in the meetings of the SC and guided the movement. Particularly during the period of talks with the government in 2004 he played a prominent role. He played an important role in preparing the agenda for

the talks and in deciding the political aspects. He exposed the hypocritical and repressive nature of the exploiting ruling classes through various articles, statements and interviews in magazines. He effectively prepared party statements as the spokesperson 'Janardhan' of the three state-level committees in AP (APSC, NTSZC, AOBSZC). While he was the in-charge of AP movement and even thereafter Azad keenly followed the various social and economic changes and the changes in AP political scene and gave suggestions and instructions to the party in many forms. One cannot forget his eagerness to preserve the AP movement and his agony when that movement suffered a setback. Though this movement suffered a temporary setback he used to express great confidence that it would give rise to a deluge once again and would sustain its place in the Indian revolutionary movement.

Highlighting the DK, Bihar, Jharkhand and Bengal movements

Azad had close relation with the revolutionary movements of DK, Bihar, Jharkhand, Bengal and other areas. Wherever he might be, he used to keenly follow every incident taking place in those states. He used to express his joy at every success won by the people and PLGA. He sent his revolutionary greetings to the entire DK comrades after the historic attack at Tadimetla (Mukaram) where 76 mercenary jawans were annihilated. He paid tributes to the martyrs. He wrote a great poem in English hailing this. His love for the people was boundless as was his hatred for the enemy. Every incident of martyrdom and the memory of each martyred comrade pained him a lot and he expressed his anguish towards such incidents. He used to be ecstatic at every success of the PLGA in annihilating the class enemies and their mercenary forces.

Salwa Judum was started in the Bastar area of DK in 2005. The bourgeois media wrongly propagated it as a 'voluntary movement of the people'. In addition, the ruling classes launched brutal mopping-up campaigns in various states by forming Sendra, Nagrik Suraksha Samiti, Cobras, Santi Senas etc. along with Salwa Judum. Azad tirelessly propagated against all these atrocities and supported the revolutionary struggles erupting in various states. It was due to such diligent efforts by the party and various pro-people intellectuals that the world could understand that Salwa Judum and such counter-

revolutionary organisations were nothing but state-sponsored fascist gangs/ organisations to run repressive campaigns. The support extended by Azad in the sphere of political propaganda with the aim of defeating the counter-revolutionary Salwa Judum and other such organisations is immense. After the launch of Operation Green Hunt (OGH) in the country the massacres of adivasis increased manifold. Azad put lots of effort in exposing many massacres and in attracting the attention of democratic forces all over India towards them. He used to translate and edit the reports sent from the field and publish them in magazines. He wrote an article sending revolutionary greetings on the occasion of 25 years of DK movement. In that article he insisted on the need to build broad, militant struggles and a powerful united front against MNCs and companies of the comprador big bourgeoisie who were trying to exploit the valuable natural resources in DK. Most of the time, he used to be in touch with the CC comrades who were guiding the revolutionary movements of Tamilnadu, Kerala and Maharashtra. He used to develop an affectionate bond with the comrades in the states he visited as part of his work. The cadres always showed enthusiasm to meet him and talk with him. He discussed the problems of the movement with them. This was made possible by Azad's approach towards the cadres which was comradely, democratic and based on equality and mutual respect. With his death the entire party, PLGA units, commands and the people of our country lost an adored leader who stood by them in all their troubles and difficulties, successes and defeats.

An indefatigable ideological warrior

Between 1995 and 2004 he worked as the in-charge of Sub-Committee on Political Education (SCOPE) which was formed for conducting ideological and political training in the party. It was under his leadership that SCOPE had prepared study notes on MLM, Marxist Philosophy, Political Economy and Party History. He played a prominent role in the classes conducted by the CC all over the country to educate the party leadership ranks. He conducted classes in Telugu, English, Hindi, Kannada and Tamil languages. In 1992, he strove hard to prepare the study notes on international situation and a dictionary of important political and economic terms needed for it. His role in preparing the party textbook on Indian economy is enormous. In

that he analysed the Indian social phenomena with a historical and dialectical materialist viewpoint. This book is very useful in ideologically understanding the Indian economic, political and national history and current social situation. He used to suggest to comrades at various levels what books and articles to read and how to understand them.

Azad always paid attention to what literature is being published from the communist camp and from the counter-revolutionary camp. His role in the preparation of documents for presenting in party conferences and Congresses was crucial. In ideological and political matters and in formulating tactics and policies he played an important role in the committee. He had an unflinching confidence on the people and MLM. He applied the Marxist method of combining theory with practice and developing the theory again by basing on the lessons gained in practice.

From the days of RSU until his last days Azad edited various party magazines. He wrote articles for many magazines. He wrote critiques. He had good grip over Hindi, Kannada and Tamil apart from English and Telugu. Especially his knowledge in English was exemplary. His style of writing was outstanding. He used all of these unique abilities and skills to serve the party and the revolutionary movement. Apart from writing many articles, documents, drafts and circulars in English he had translated many articles from English for the study of comrades. Initially he looked after the *Radical March* and *Kalam* magazines of the student organisation. He prepared propaganda material in various forms on a wide scale during agitations and propaganda campaigns of APRSU and AIRSF. He wrote many ideological and political articles in *Vanguard*, *People's March*, *Maoist Information Bulletin* etc. He edited the *Vanguard* between 1992 and 1993. His role in bringing out *People's War* and other magazines was immense. The articles he wrote in the form of questions and answers on various ideological and political matters in *People's War* for the education of the party are memorable. Not just this, whenever he had time he used to attentively go through the various magazines run by the party in various states and told them about the strengths and weaknesses in them. Thus he attempted to develop the magazines as effective 'organisers'.

Azad was proficient in conducting political debates. Whenever there was any attack on the party ideology, its line or its practice from the

revolutionary camp or from others Azad used to confront that strongly with his pen. In 1993, K Balagopal (the leader of APCLC and later HRF) who was once a revolutionary intellectual had raised some basic questions on the relevance of Marxism. This spread confusion among the intellectuals. Azad had written an article in 1995 in the name of Nishant and a book (*Balagopal Taatvika Gandaragolam – The Philosophical Confusion of Balagopal*) in 2001 in the name of Sameer. Both of them were in Telugu. In these he had very effectively criticized the philosophical confusions of Balagopal. In this ideological and political book he effectively exposed the reactionary nature and the political bankruptcy of post-modernism. Writers and intellectuals in the revolutionary camp greatly appreciated this book. Azad used to be in the forefront in giving fitting replies condemning the wrong accusations and political bankruptcy of various types of right-opportunists and revisionists.

Azad played a major role in formulating a new document by enriching the document 'Our Work in Urban Areas – Our Perspective'. For the past few years he was the in-charge of our urban work. He educated the party cadres. He played a prominent role in finalising the perspective documents on the women issue and the caste issue. From 2001 to 2006 he led the Central Mahila Sub-committee as its PB in-charge. Azad's deep understanding about the Marxist understanding on the women's question and his concern for the development of women's movement and for the development of women comrades in the party and army had helped advance the work of CMSC. He guided the ideological, political works and mass works undertaken by the CMSC and along with those comrades established a basis on which this work could be developed further.

While attending the party conferences and congresses he used to work hard and go with full preparation. In the polemical debates there he used to express his opinions in a straight-forward manner with lot of conviction clearly and without any room for vagueness or ambiguity. The years 1992, 1995, 2001, 2004 and 2007 are very crucial in the history of the Indian revolutionary movement. These were great years when unity in party was achieved, party line was preserved, party experiences were synthesized and party line was enriched by fighting back the right and 'left' opportunist wrong trends which had raised their head in the party. On all these occasions, Azad played an effective and prominent role. In the CC and SC meetings or

in other party forums, Azad used to state his views lucidly. He was very firm in expressing his views and was equally firm in implementing the majority opinion in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism. He was a front ranking comrade in displaying proletarian revolutionary qualities such as great knowledge and a proletarian outlook, grip over dialectical method of analysis, foresight, bravery, courage, the urge to learn, mingling with the cadres etc. His nature was completely opposed to arrogance, careerism, selfishness and he never craved for name and fame. His martyrdom was a great loss to the entire party and particularly the CC. He had imparted to our CC great experiences and great communist values. They are a great treasure for the CC and the entire party. They would help the CC in leading the Indian revolutionary movement along the path of victory.

Wielding the pen to fight back the enemy's propaganda war

From 2007, Azad worked as the spokesperson of the party. Since then he was known in India and abroad as Azad. After the emergence of the new party on September 21, 2004 the exploiting, reactionary ruling classes of our country had intensified suppression campaigns on a large scale with the aim of destroying the revolutionary movement completely. In the name of Salwa Judum in DK, Sendra, TPC, Nagrik Suraksha Samiti etc. in Jharkhand, in the name of various killer gangs in AP, Harmad Bahini in West Bengal and Shanti Committee in Odisha, a series of fascist multi-pronged offensives were launched. Later, since mid-2009 a countrywide, fascist, counter-revolutionary massive political-military offensive, the Operation Green Hunt (OGH) 'war on people', was launched jointly by the central and the state governments. These suppression campaigns are in accordance with the LIC strategy of the imperialists and their counter-insurgency policies. Foul propaganda war plays an important role in enemy offensives. It is an important component of the enemy's psychological war. The enemy classes shamelessly misused the media and through some media barons and journalists who lick the boots of the corporate bosses have launched a massive misinformation war.

As the spokesperson of the party's CC, Azad had very effectively countered this offensive. He exposed the real aims behind the OGH and endeavored to make people in our country and abroad understand that this

is a brutal and unjust war launched against the people by the Indian government for the profits of imperialists and comprador big bourgeoisie and for continuing the exploitation of the feudal lords. He propagated that this war is particularly dangerous to the existence of the adivasis and the oppressed peasantry. He conducted a formidable revolutionary propaganda campaign against the foul psychological war unleashed by the Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram clique. He released press statements from time to time and placed the stands of the party before of the people. When the ruling classes were inundating the people with fake proposals about 'peace talks' and 'abjuring violence' Azad had exposed their cruel, repressive character and proved that it is the ruling clique which is the staunch enemy of peace by clearly declaring the party's stand and understanding through interviews and statements. That is why the specter of Azad haunted Chidambaram clique even in their sleep. With the death of Azad the Indian revolution lost a matchless ideological warrior.

Azad was not only an avid reader but also an active, creative, serious and indefatigable writer with depth. He wrote on each and every issue pertaining to the revolutionary movement ranging from economic crisis to the political developments in Nepal. He wrote a series of articles in the party magazines about imperialist globalisation which came to the fore in the 1990s. His great efforts in the form of innumerable press statements, regular publication of Maoist Information Bulletin, interviews and articles etc. would remain a model to the party ranks. Pointing at the tactical counter offensives carried out by our PLGA and the people and using some of the mistakes done by us during military operations as pretexts, the enemy launched foul propaganda in various forms on a wide scale against our party leadership. The whole party had effectively countered this misinformation campaign which was done with the aim of spreading confusions among the party ranks and to turn away the urban middle classes and the intellectuals from the revolution. The role of Azad in countering this was inspirational.

Azad had vision only in one eye. He could not see properly with the other eye. Lately this other eye had almost completely lost its vision. Though doctors operated on it, there was no result. Even the one eye with which he could see was very weak. In the last six years of his life his eye problem went on worsening. But this did not in the least deter him from following and understanding each and every change in the contemporary world. He

used to work without rest or gap for long hours . He studied deeply. Wherever he was - in forest or in towns whether traveling or drinking tea in a dhaba he was always trying to learn, read and understand. He used to sit in front of the computer for hours together to read and write with his one functioning eye. As the party spokesperson he clearly stated the party's response on almost every issue. Whether on Obama's policies or atrocities of the saffron terrorists, Israel's horrible attacks on Gaza or the world economic crisis - he had released statements and written on a wide range of issues. When a well-known writer/editor B.G. Verghese had written an article in *Outlook* nakedly displaying his neo-colonial ideology, Azad wrote an article in reply to this. In this article along with criticising Verghese he also placed very effectively before the people the Maoist understanding about the development of our country. Before this, he gave a long interview to *The Hindu*. In this apart from clarifying our party's stand regarding talks or ceasefire he threw light on various aspects of the Maoist movement very efficiently. That was his last interview. Before this he had written many articles on behalf of our party that were published in various English and Telugu magazines.

Azad had used satire most successfully against enemies of the revolution, particularly against the likes of Chidambaram, GK Pillai, Raman Singh, Arnab Goswami, Viswaranjan etc. who were most reliable servants of the big corporations. He attacked their baseless arguments, lies and bankrupt policies mercilessly with sharp satire and irony. His writing style was politically rational and intense. From the practical point of view it was balanced and tolerant. When Chidambaram was replying in Lok Sabha in April 2010 during the discussion on Tadimetla, he was quoting CPI(Maoist) documents and had been referring to his own parliament as a 'pig sty' many times. Azad shared his amusement with comrades about this in his letters to them. His pen used to respond very sharply to reactionaries, various kinds of revisionists, right-opportunists and liquidators. He even had a modest style of writing which could win over the vast majority of the masses towards the revolution. There was no place for any intellectual snobbishness, unnecessary explanations in his writings. His arguments and the evidences he produced in his writings to prove them were so well-knit that it was almost impossible for his opponents to deny them bluntly. With Azad's death the oppressed people have lost an unambiguous voice and a sharp pen.

Along with Azad, journalist Hemchandra Pandey will always be remembered by the oppressed masses of the country. Hemchandra belonged to Devarthal village in Pithoragarh district of Uttarakhand. A sensitive and pro-people intellectual who made the interest of the exploited and downtrodden toiling masses his own, put his life at stake for the people without getting deterred by the fear of state violence. He will occupy a respectful and deserving place alongside the martyrs of the Indian revolution.

The masses will create thousands of ‘Azads’ following on his path

The exploitative ruling classes thought that they could damage the revolutionary movement by snatching away Azad from the movement. Though Azad’s death was a huge loss to the Indian revolution and to the fighting people of the world, the service he rendered to the revolution would live on forever. In fact, it was the people and the revolutionary movement that had given birth to a ‘Azad’. The bitter class struggle has steeled him. Revolutionary movements give birth to leaders in this manner. In turn, these leaders lead the revolutionary movements along the path of victory. The sacrifice of many leaders is also inevitable in the revolutionary movement. The very conditions which give birth to the revolutionary movement and help its advancement would give birth to its leadership too. This has been proven repeatedly in the world revolutionary history. So the material conditions which are favorable for the rapid advancement of the revolutionary movement in our country today would give birth to thousands of leaders like comrade Azad. They would steel themselves in the flames of class struggle. This is an undeniable fact of the course of history. The ideological-political and practical work done by comrade Azad and the communist ideals he established have created the basis for such an eventuality. The martyrdom of a Surapaneni Janardhan had placed an ideal in front of many comrades like Azad. Similarly many more revolutionaries would be born by taking the sacrifice of Azad as an ideal to emulate. They would lead the Indian revolution. The enemy could eliminate the physical existence of Azad but it would be impossible to stop the ideas he had spread in the party and among the people from turning into a material force. ★



Comrade Koteswarlu

Harbinger of Mass Struggles, Beloved of the Oppressed and Leader of the Indian Revolution Comrade Koteswarlu Lives On

On November 24, 2011, another great leader of our party laid down his life in advancing the Indian revolutionary movement. On that day, we lost our beloved comrade Mallojhala Koteswarlu. This would remain another dark day in our revolutionary movement's history. The fascist ruling clique of Sonia-Manmohan-Pranab-Chidambarm-Jairam Ramesh which had been waging an unjust war on the oppressed masses colluded with West Bengal Chief Minister Mamta Banerji and conspired to murder Koteswarlu. With the coordination of central IB and West Bengal state intelligence, cruel officers in the high-command of the commando forces under CRPF Director-General Vijayakumar and SP Manoj Verma ambushed Koteswarlu and a few comrades in Burishol in Kushboni forest of West Midnapore district (West Bengal) and caught him in a wounded state. The cowardly mercenary killer gang tortured him for several hours in the most inhuman manner and his body was turned into pulp in the most cruel way. His right eye was pulled out. His fingers were cut off. His hands and legs were broken. His ribs were crushed. They fired a bullet into his mouth and his face was rendered beyond recognition. His feet were burnt on a heater in the last stage of his life. He was then shot dead and a false encounter story was broadcast. In embracing martyrdom, our beloved comrade Kishenji proclaimed to the world that revolutionaries who lay down their lives for the people are immortal, that final victory belongs to the people, that no force in this world can stop the

victory of the revolution and that final defeat and destruction is that of the exploiting, oppressing classes.

Comrade Koteswarlu was a great revolutionary. He was a brave fighter who did not waver in the face of tortures by the enemy. He set up a great ideal for not only present generation but also for the future generations by holding aloft the revolutionary flag while preserving the party secrets with his warm blood.

Comrade Koteswarlu was a revolutionary of the post-Naxalbari-Srikakulam generation. Though these movements suffered a setback he was influenced by that great revolutionary tide and started his political life when the party was making preparations for a new revolutionary upsurge. He became a part of that upsurge and when it was developing to a higher level, he developed along with it and became one of its prominent leaders. In his revolutionary life spanning over 38 years comrade Koteswarlu developed step by step along with the revolutionary movement, won the confidence of the party cadres and stood resolutely as a brave communist. As a part of the efforts in expanding the revolutionary movement he worked in several regions and played an important role in building the movement. He took up several responsibilities in the course of the development of the party. Qualities of this martyr such as revolutionary commitment, determination, initiative, comradesly love and affection, dedication, study and willingness to serve would remain a model to follow for all communist revolutionaries. He carved a niche of his own in the revolutionary movement under many names such as Prahlad, Pradeep, Shankar, Ramji, Vimal, Kishenji etc. In the initial days as a revolutionary, peasants and close comrades called him affectionately as Koti and Kotanna. He fought with unbending courage till the end for the sake of the revolution he believed in and dedicated his invaluable service to the revolutionary movement selflessly. Playing a prominent role in several spheres in his long revolutionary life, he dedicated everything for the liberation of our people and the country and finally shed his blood on the historic Lalgarth soil. In this way, he etched his name permanently with blood-soaked letters in the history of the Indian revolutionary movement, set up an ideal and displayed a spirit of struggle which will remain an inspiration for many generations to come.

Early life

Koteswarlu was born on November 26, 1954 in Peddapally town of Karimnagar district in the state of Andhra Pradesh (AP). His father Mallojhal Venkataiah was in the Congress party who participated in the freedom struggle and supported the struggle against the Nizam in Telangana. His mother Madhuramma developed progressive ideas under the influence of her husband's politics. They raised their children amidst financial difficulties and brought them up with democratic ideas. With the encouragement of his father, Koteswarlu studied the writings of progressive writers and imbibed anti-feudal and progressive ideas since his childhood. In the later period when he was involved in revolutionary activities, he always got the sympathy, moral support and help of his parents and relatives. During the period of legal opportunities gained after Emergency, their house also served as a revolutionary centre. In those days many comrades used to frequent their home and they were like parents to all of them. They loved all like their own children and helped them. Though they faced severe repression from the police and their house was destroyed twice, they did not surrender to the enemy's machinations. Their support for the movement was present in this manner. Their contribution in the development of Koteswarlu as a revolutionary was immense.

Initiation into the revolutionary movement

Like his father, Koteswarlu too had patriotic ideas. By the time his high school study was completed in Peddapally, the movement for separate Telangana came to the fore in 1969 and immersed the youth in its upsurge. Young Koteswarlu participated in it militantly. He emerged as one of the student leaders of the movement in Peddapally town. He completed his high school (H.S.C) studies (11th standard) in Peddapally and went to Karimnagar (the district headquarters) for higher studies.

He joined the PUC there and was got acquainted with revolutionary politics through revolutionary literary friends. After passing PUC with good marks and he joined B.Sc. (MPC) and completed it in 1974. With each year, his relations with revolutionary politics deepened.

In 1973, he burnt the 'national' flag in his college along with his revolutionary friends as part of boycotting the sham Independence Day celebrations and got arrested. In 1974, he took part in laying the foundations for a strong revolutionary students' organization in the district. While participating actively in the revolutionary student movement, he abandoned his higher studies and became a full time party activist. In 1975, after the formation of the Radical Student Union (RSU), he strove to spread the student movement in the district. He developed contacts with revolutionary literary and cultural organizations which had already been formed and were involved in the building of the revolutionary movement. He also became a part of the civil rights movement in the district too which had emerged recently in the state and was in the process of expanding. Comrades Bhoomaiah and Kista Goud, two revolutionary peasant guerrillas were arrested in Adilabad district as who were accused of annihilating a class enemy. In this case they were sentenced to death. Koteswarlu participated and mobilised the students of the district in the agitations that flared up all over the state against these death sentences.

Laying the foundations for the movement in Karminagar

On June 26, 1975 countrywide Emergency was declared in India. Prime Minister of India Indira Gandhi put all of her opponents in jail all over the country in their thousands including the ruling-class opposition parties in the most fascist manner. She transformed the whole country into a jail. During the Emergency, all the revolutionary parties and revolutionary mass organizations were banned and their leaders and members and party sympathizers were arrested in thousands throughout the country including AP. Koteswarlu too went underground at that time. During the dark rule days of Emergency, he worked among the rural peasantry of Vemulavada in Sircilla taluq in the district and learnt his first lessons in agrarian revolution. As there were no regular contacts with the party leadership during the Emergency, the cadres led their revolutionary life with Bolshevik determination keeping their whereabouts very secret from the enemy and fulfilling their daily needs and traveling expenses etc with the little money they got as funds from party sympathizers. Koteswarlu took shelter near with his friends and relatives, transformed them into revolutionary

sympathizers and encouraged and educated his younger brother to become a professional revolutionary in the party. During Emergency, all the He was arrested near Marrigadda in Sircilla area while making efforts to developing revolutionary activities there immediately after the lifting of Emergency.

To overcome the setback of Naxalbari and Srikakulam, the Andhra Pradesh State Committee (APSC), CPI(ML) led by KS in its document named *Self-Critical Report* (SCR) had summarized the positive and negative aspects and lessons imparted by the glorious revolutionary upsurge of those days. The party came to the conclusion that only by basing on these lessons and conducting ideological, political and organizational work by remoulding the remaining limited subjective forces we could create another new revolutionary upsurge. Party concentrated its efforts in this direction while undertaking a serious ideological, political struggle with right opportunist groups. SCR made us rectify and steered our practice in the correct direction. It had a great impact on the party. Within 20 months the Emergency was lifted due to the deluge of mass protests against the fascist Emergency and due to the severe contradictions within the ruling classes including congress party. As a result of it emergency was lifted and general elections were conducted and Indira Gandhi was defeated and Janata Party came to power in Centre. Due to this favorable conditions were created for the development of the revolutionary movement. Conducting open activities became possible once again.

In the last week of December 1976 and the first week of January 1977, Telangana Regional Conference of the party was held in Nagpur. This conference ratified the 'Road to Revolution' document formulated by the COC in 1975. Koteswarlu attended this conference as a delegate. Later, in August 1977 APSC released the document 'Present Situation - Our Tasks' (popularly known as 'August Resolution'). It gave new tactics according to the changed concrete conditions. Plans were formulated to develop the revolutionary movement in its light with new tactics and basing on mass line.

As a result of the armed agrarian revolutionary work carried out in AP by firmly implementing this plan, another new revolutionary upsurge began in 1978 with Karimnagar, Adilabad, Chittoor, Anantapur and Visakhapatnam

peasant struggles under the leadership of SC. As one of the few leading comrades of the party in Karimnagar district, Koteswarlu played a prominent role in the resurgence of the revolutionary movement.

New upsurge in revolutionary peasant struggles

The second conference of RSU was held in 1978. Radical Youth League (RYL) was formed in 1979 and state Rytu-Coolie Sangham (APRCS - Peasant-Labourer Association) was formed in 1981. Koteswarlu played an active role in these. The development of RSU activities and formation of RYL in the state led to the 'Go to Village Campaign' by the students and youth since 1978 and gave a fillip to the armed agrarian revolutionary activities in the rural areas. Civil rights movement developed in this course. As a result of this movement, the government was forced to appoint the Bhargava Commission to conduct an enquiry into fake encounters including the Girayipalli fake encounter. PUCL formed another committee under former High Court Justice Tarkunde. The student leaders of those days strove to provide evidences on fake encounters. Koteswarlu actively involved in it as a party cadre. Party intensified revolutionary activities in all spheres utilizing the available legal opportunities. Karimnagar and Adilabad districts became centres for peasant movement. It was these movements which laid the foundation for Koteswarlu to develop into a leader.

Karimnagar was one of those most backward districts in Telangana, notorious for severe feudal oppression. In mid-1978, peasantry started to rise like a hurricane under the party leadership due to the revolutionary movement which developed in areas like Jagityal, Metpally, Huzurabad and Sircilla in Karimnagar district. They questioned the landlords against their exploitation and oppression of ages. The peasants and laborers rule began under the banner of Sangham(RCS) declaring that the rule of landlords will no longer continue. On September 7, 1978 a huge rally and public meeting was held in Jagityal with 15-20 thousands of peasantry. This won a permanent place in the history of revolutionary movement as 'Jagityal Jaitrayatra' (Victory March of Jagityal). It suppressed the arrogance of the landlords in the villages by imposing social boycott of notorious landlords. At that time

this was a most powerful weapon in the hands of peasantry which terrified the feudal forces and challenged their age old domination. *Sanghams* calculated the amount of money forcefully collected from the oppressed peasantry by the feudal lords since long and demanded that all that money must be repaid to the people. They declared that all the peasants' lands forcefully occupied by the landlords must be returned to the owners and that village common lands and *banjar* lands (wastelands which were in government hand) must be identified by the *Sanghams* and distributed to the landless and poor peasants.

The landlord class that was alarmed by the upsurge of the revolutionary peasantry, increased pressure on the government and as a result it proclaimed Jagityal and Sircilla areas as 'disturbed areas' in October 1978. The state unleashed its repression on the revolutionary peasantry. Police forces established camps in the villages for protecting the landlords. On the one hand, police intensified the arrest of peasants on a large scale and sent them to jails. Due to this, the party took up the higher-level task of transforming the anti-feudal struggle into an anti-state struggle.

Koteswarlu was elected as a member and comrade Adi Reddy as Secretary of the party's joint district committee (DC) of Karimnagar and Adilabad which was formed for the first time in 1978. The party began strengthening as a result of the upsurge of peasant movements in these districts. In April 1979, two separate DCs were elected for the two districts. Koteswarlu was elected as the secretary of the Karimnagar DC and Adi Reddy was the Secretary of Adilabad DC. In the course of expansion of the revolutionary movement to various spheres within a short period, the district level leadership that newly came to the fore which gained new experiences.

The APSC and the Tamil Nadu SC came together and formed the CPI (ML) (People's War) on April 22, 1980. The 12th party state conference of AP was held in September 1980. This conference summarized the experiences of our practice since 11th state conference held in 1970. This conference took up the necessary tactics to take the state movement, particularly the peasant revolutionary movement that developed in Karimnagar and Adilabad districts, to newer heights. The most important among them were – expanding

the revolutionary movement to five districts as a part of developing North Telangana (NT) into a guerilla zone (GZ) and sending guerrilla squads to Dandakaranya (DK) with the aim of establishing liberated area, consolidating and expanding the revolutionary movement all over the state and giving utmost importance to achieve unity with the genuine revolutionary forces. The document released under the title 'Let Us Develop the Peasant Movements of Karimnagar-Adilabad Districts to the Higher Stage' (popular as Guerilla Zone Document) explained these tactics. Koteswarlu participated actively as a delegate in that conference. The conference elected him into the SC. In the SC meeting held after three months, he was elected as its secretary and became popular among party ranks as 'Prahlad'. He worked as the state secretary till October 1984 and as an SC member till end 1986. In end 1984, he married a full time party activist.

Tireless efforts as the APSC secretary

Braving the repression of the enemy, the party and revolutionary movement sustained and was strengthening and expanding all over AP and DK. In 1981, the historic 56-day strike of the coal mine workers of Singareni was an unprecedented struggle that laid the foundation for the formation of Singareni Karmika Samakhya (SiKaSa). All India revolutionary students' and cultural organisations were formed. On the other hand, the party ranks stood firm in isolating the liquidators and preserving the correct political line in the internal struggle against opportunism that arose in the party. The then leader KS who played an important role in the re-building of the party was released from the enemy's custody in a daring action by a special guerilla squad. The SC took up a rectification campaign against the six wrong trends that arose in the party.

In order to defeat the fascist undeclared war launched by the central and state governments since the beginning of 1985, the SC formulated tactics of self-defence war. Even while fighting back the severe repression of the enemy in several states in the country, anti-imperialist and anti-state mass agitations came to the fore. The efforts of mass organizations among the people and united front work in the mass movements developed. Under the

leadership of APSC, the Agitation and Propaganda Committee (APC) , publication of magazines of the party and two mass organizations and propaganda were carried on a wide scale. The party developed student, intellectual and worker's movements creatively. People's resistance was gradually developed against the repression of the enemy. Party cadres were sent in a planned manner to DK from AP, particularly from NT. The development of the party and the movement in AP had a strong impact on the genuine revolutionary forces in the country and the revolutionary masses. Prahlad's role as the secretary of APSC in all of these was prominent.

Playing a prominent role in developing the DK movement

By the beginning of 1985, in the vast area of DK, i.e., in the vast forest-*adivasi* areas stretching from Adilabad-AP in the West to Visakhapatnam Agency in the East via Gadchiroli-Maharashtra, Bastar-Chhattisgarh and Koraput-Odisha borders, revolutionary movement-class struggle, party and people's guerilla forces expanded and developed. As a result, conditions were created to form a Special Area (state level) and to form a separate leadership structure to lead this movement. However, it took two more years to review the DK movement and formulate higher level tasks for it with the perspective of building a base area due to the undeclared war launched by the enemy and to carry the ongoing internal two-line struggle of the party in the correct direction. Under these conditions, in end 1986, APSC decided to lessen the number of members in the SC, to reconstitute it as a smaller committee and to designate some of its leadership to DK and for other responsibilities. As a part of this, comrade Prahlad was sent to DK where he came to be known as 'Ramji'. In the forefront in guiding the DK movement as the APSC secretary and secretariat member till then, he now directly became a part of DK leadership team.

In the first party conference of DK held in February 1987, Ramji was elected as a member of the Forest Committee (FC) which was formed in that conference. He applied the experience gained in AP in DK and stood in the forefront in developing it. He particularly concentrated on the development of Gadchiroli movement. He also went to East Division for some time to

fulfill the needs of the movement. As a FC member he led the movement from 1987 to 1993. He won the confidence of the party cadres, guerilla soldiers, commanders and the people. In that period, the DK movement consolidated and expanded. Mass base developed and class struggle intensified. Subjective forces developed. They made the political, military and organizational preparations to carry on guerilla warfare even while resisting the enemy. They launched guerilla warfare and developed it. Ramji's role in developing the DK movement in this seven year period as a leading team member is prominent.

The guerilla life he led in DK is an ideal one. He played a valuable role in the course of the development of the movement as a guerilla fighter, commander and party leader. His played an important role in developing mass organisations, in building the revolutionary women's organization, in encouraging women in various spheres and moulding them into guerilla commanders and party leaders, in conducting anti-patriarchal struggle and in developing technical units to manufacture weapons. He realized the importance of military training for guerilla forces. He participated in several military training camps as a student and a political teacher in some of them. The military training camps conducted by the party in 1987 and 1989 would remain as milestones in the development of guerilla warfare. In these camps relatively better and new training was imparted. They introduced to the guerillas the necessary military skills and techniques. He participated in these training camps as a student and became a marksman. He implemented discipline which is like a lifeline for the guerillas and made others implement discipline too and he set an example in this matter as a commander. He played an important role in formulating the standing orders by the FC. He played an active role as a FCM and in later period as a CCM in consolidating and expanding the guerilla squads as platoons and companies and also in building the PLGA. He studied with interest several military books such as the *History of Rifles* written by Engels and the history of weapons written by Sher Jung etc. He escaped from the attacks of the enemy to eliminate him several times with the support of the people.

Defending the party line in internal struggles

By the initiative and guidance of the CC, the APSC decided to take up a rectification campaign against six wrong trends (non-proletarian trends) inside the SC in 1984. As a continuation of this, the first internal struggle inside the party was conducted in the party in 1985 against the opportunist clique in the CC. This clique headed by Satyamurthy created a political and organizational crisis inside the party. As APSCM and DKFCM Prahlad strove the cadres of AP and DK stand steadfast and united around the party line during the crisis.

In 1991, the second internal political and organisational crisis arose in the PW party. The then party secretary KS himself was the reason behind this crisis. On that occasion too Prahlad fought back the liquidationist politics of opportunists and careerists like KS, Bandaiah, Prasad etc. As one of the members of the new leadership team, he played an important role in these internal struggles.

In 2001, in the 9th Congress of the CPI(ML)[PW] and in 2007, in the Unity Congress-9th Congress of the CPI(Maoist) left-sectarian trends came up and these trends were defeated. In these internal struggles Ramji opposed the wrong trends and actively participated in the debates.

At the All India Special Conference

In 1995 the PW party held its All India Special Conference (AISC). After the eighth Congress held in May 1970 by the CPI (ML), this was the first time that a party conference was held at central level. This conference deeply reviewed the party practice between 1980 and 1995 and took lessons. This conference enriched the basic documents of the party. It decided necessary ideological, political, organisational and military tasks to advance the movement. This conference elected Koteswarlu into the CC.

After this conference, united front work advanced a step under CC leadership with an All India perspective; contacts with Maoist parties of various countries developed; efforts were put in a planned manner to develop agrarian revolutionary guerilla warfare; efforts were put in a planned manner for party, military and UF consolidation through political, organisational and military training; proper importance was given to running magazines and

propaganda work. Koteswarlu as a CCM played an important role in successfully conducting AISC and in the achievements before, during and after the AISC.

At the 9th Congress of the PW

After the unity of the CPI (ML) (PW) and CPI (ML) PU, the unified PW successfully held its 9th Congress in 2001. Prominent successes of the Congress are as follows – enrichment of the party’s basic documents; lessons learnt by reviewing the Indian revolutionary movement under its; defeating the left-sectarian trend that emerged in this Congress; formulation of tactics keeping in view the concrete conditions of the various movements, consolidation of the people’s guerilla army with the aim of establishing liberated areas, election of CC; creation of ideological and political basis for achieving unity with the MCC; developing lively relations and joint movements with the organisations of the oppressed nationalities and the various democratic organisations in the country; strengthening the relations with Maoist parties in various countries. Koteswarlu played an important role in preparations and conducting of this successful Congress as a CC member. In this Congress, Koteswarlu was elected as a CCM and as a PBM and the secretary of the Northern Regional Bureau (NRB) by the CC.

Efforts to develop the movement in northern and eastern India

The new leadership came to the fore after exposing and defeating the opportunists in the party in 1992. He was co-opted into the Central Organizing Committee (COC) in 1993. Since then as a CCM he discharged responsibilities as Bimal and Kishenji. COC formulated a plan for expanding the party in some other states of the country by materialising it through successfully completing mergers of some genuine ML factions in Haryana, West Bengal, Bihar, Uttarakhand-UP. Till then PW party was limited only to South India.

In such circumstances, the CC decided that Koteswarlu must go to West Bengal and north India to fulfill this task and build the movement. Not only did he succeed in fulfilling this task, later in the course of practice several individual comrades and some small splinter groups were unified into our party in West Bengal. Since then for eighteen long years he lived

and worked mainly among the party comrades and masses of Bengal. He learnt Bangla language, understood the social, economic and political situation in Bengal and played an important role in building the movement there. It was in the course of advancing the movement there that our beloved comrade breathed his last.

Since the end of 1993 comrade Koteswarlu spent his revolutionary life mainly in eastern and north Indian states and was particularly connected with the development of the revolutionary movement in West Bengal. From 1994 to 2000 as the CC in-charge and since 2001 as the Eastern and Northern Regional Bureau (ENRB) secretary he strove to develop the movement in north Indian states -Delhi, Haryana, Punjab and UP. After the completion of unity with Party Unity in 1998, he was in close relation with the revolutionary movement in Bihar-Jharkhand (BJ) states too. He attended the BJSC meetings there, toured the movement areas and was actively involved in developing guerilla warfare there. After the merger of MCCI and PW parties in 2004, he concentrated mainly on West Bengal as a PBM and ERBM.

People of West Bengal suffered unspeakable atrocities at the hands of the neo-revisionist CPI(M) who held the reigns of Bengal government with an iron hand for decades by using social-fascist means. Under their rule, no opposition to the diktats of CPI(M) - be it from the universities in Kolkata or the remote villages of the state - was tolerated. But the ruling party propagated a din of propaganda that land reforms were implemented in West Bengal as never before in the whole country and that the peasants were leading happy lives. CPI(M) also made anti-imperialist postures to deceive the masses while implementing the neo-liberal policies of the imperialists, particularly the US. Under such circumstances, comrade Koteswarlu led an ideological struggle sharply and firmly against CPI(M), tearing-off its 'Marxist' mask and exposing its true neo-revisionist character. While fighting the social-fascists on the ideological and political front on the one hand, the party led by Koteswarlu also fought them militarily to repulse their physical attacks on the other. As revolutionary activities gained momentum in several areas in West Bengal, vast oppressed masses became enthusiastic and rallied around the party. The unification of the Maoist forces in CPI(Maoist) contributed greatly to the intensification of the PPW in parts

of Bengal, enabling the new party to counter CPI(M) effectively on different fronts.

Koteswarlu also led sharp polemical debates against right and left opportunists in the ML stream in Bengal. He was unsparing in exposing the true colors of those individuals and groups who were dogmatic and were known for conducting unending debates. Polemics of this kind helped in polarising the ML camp and winning over some genuine forces to the side of the party. He got acquainted with old friends belonging to the revolutionary camp and strove to win them over. He worked tirelessly to creatively apply the party line and experiences to the concrete conditions in Bengal.

After the merger of the two parties, a very favorable revolutionary situation was created in the country and the party achieved good successes in several spheres. The ruling classes were worried and unleashed a storm of foul propaganda that ‘left wing extremism is the biggest internal security threat to the country’. They kowtowed to the imperialist economic policies of LPG and aggressively started implementing them.

But the oppressed masses waged militant struggles in places like Singur and Nandigram of West Bengal. People opposed the Nano car factory which the Tatas intended to build at Singur and the chemical hub to be built by the Salem group of Indonesia in Nandigram. ‘We would give our lives but not our lands’ became the battle-cry of the people. Our party stood in support of the fighting peasants in Singur and Nandigram.

The party was successful in making the peasantry wage militant struggles for their land by guiding the mass organisations which joined the BUPC (Bhumi Ucched Pratirodh Committee) that was formed as a united front in Nandigram. Nandigram’s women consolidated themselves as ‘Matangini Mahila Samiti’ (MMS) defending their land. People, particularly the youth, were ready to put up armed resistance and stood in the forefront in fighting back the social-fascist goons of CPI(M).

‘Marxists’ who dedicated themselves to serve the big landlords, the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie (CBB) and the imperialists did not hesitate to turn Nandigram into a graveyard for the sake of foreign investment. There was not a single atrocity which they did not commit there. The CPI(M) goons ruthlessly massacred the people without any scruples. Atrocities on

women were unspeakable. They cut to pieces many young men and women who stood in the forefront of the struggle for their fertile lands and threw the pieces into canals. The bodies of several people went missing. They resorted to massacres to douse the flames of mass struggle in Nandigram that were leaping high by November 2007 by mobilizing their Harnad Bahini in their thousands from across the state. The goons carried modern rifles of the police and CRPF forces along with their own weapons and fired indiscriminately on the fighting masses. But the people did not surrender. Students, intellectuals, workers and democrats from all over the state, particularly from Kolkata came forth in support of the Nandigram struggle. Pro-people forces came to Nandigram from various areas of the country, expressed their solidarity for their struggle and stood with them. People introduced several new forms of struggle in Nandigram. They took up all forms of struggles right from an ordinary protest demonstrations to armed resistance. They produced country-made guns on a war-footing. They fought face to face with the armed goons of the Harnad Bahini and with the police and CRPF. Nandigram turned into a battlefield. Finally, the Left Front government led by Buddhadeb Bhattacharya had to yield to the mass militant resistance. The proposed chemical hub had to be withdrawn from Nandigram. People emerged victorious. For this victory several people had sacrificed and they fought with great courage. Our party SC under the leadership of Koteswarlu steered the Nandigram militant mass struggle in the correct direction and towards success.

In the historic Unity Congress–9th Congress

The unification of two parties CPI(ML)[PW] and MCCI as a single party – the Communist Party of India (Maoist) – has changed the very pace of the revolutionary movement in our country. CPI(Maoist) conducted its Unity Congress-9th Congress in January 2007 in a most enthusiastic atmosphere.

The Congress enriched and finalized the party's basic documents, finalized Political and Organizational Review (POR). It gave clarity towards the central, principal and immediate task and gave a call to develop guerilla warfare into mobile warfare and PLGA into PLA with the aim of establishing

liberated areas. In order to develop people's alternative political power and to speed up the process of building guerilla bases it gave further clarity. It formulated a plan for a rectification campaign against the non-proletarian trends to strengthen the party. In order to defeat the suppression campaigns of the enemy all over the country, it gave a call for tactical counter-offensive campaigns, political mass agitations and militant mass struggles. It brought a clear understanding that the counter-revolutionary conspiratorial LIC policy implemented by the enemy should be exposed and defeated by advancing the PPW depending on the mass base. It decided that unity efforts must be made with genuine Maoist organisations and united work together should be carried out with nationality organisations against the common enemy. It formulated guidelines for our international work. Koteswarlu played an active role in the preparations for this Congress, in conducting it. He was elected as a CCM in this Congress and was elected to the PB and ERB by the CC. Till then, he took up the responsibility was in charge of the party work in West Bengal as its in-charge.

Role in unifying the revolutionaries

As a member of the CC delegation Ramji put a lot of effort for unity with genuine revolutionaries, revolutionary parties and organisations of our country. Particularly he played an important role in the merger of erstwhile CPI (ML) (People's War) and CPI (ML) (Party Unity) in 1998. Later, in the historic merger of the two prominent revolutionary streams of India – the CPI (ML) and MCC on September 21, 2004 and in turning it into a mighty current the role played by Ramji is prominent. In the bilateral meetings held in many phases between the two erstwhile parties Ramji had participated as a member of the CPI (ML) (People's War) delegation. On these occasions, efforts were made by both the teams in the exchange of documents, study, debate, conducting discussion in a tolerant manner, in synthesising the positive aspects in the practice of the two parties and incorporating them in the new documents of the united party as a delegate from PW CC his role is memorable and his name would definitely be written one of prominent comrades in the history of unity of communist revolutionaries.

Advancing fraternal relations

Basing on the revolutionary movement that was developing in India, our party strove to develop relations with Maoist parties and organizations of several countries including the those in South Asia. We also strove to maintain positive relations with the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM). In the seminar conducted on the nationality question in Delhi in 1996, MCC, PW and Party Unity jointly guided it and sent papers regarding their stand on it Our party is a founding member of the CCOMPOSA and played an active role in it. Koteswarlu as the head of our CC delegation in the formation meeting of the CCOMPOSA and he played a prominent role in this effort. For a few years he was a member of our CC team for international work. He headed our delegations or was a member of our delegations in bilateral meetings and in maintaining relations with the international fraternal parties. Since mid-nineties our party has given utmost importance in developing relations with the national liberation organizations of north-east and Kashmir that are fighting for the right to self-determination including the right to secession. Koteswarlu ever showed very interest in the revolutionary movements of international Maoist parties and the national liberation movements of Indian subcontinent. In this affair he played an important role.

Role in building the historic Lalgarh people's revolt

Foreign capital flooded our country as a result of the imperialist globalization policies and hundreds of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) came into existence. They are mainly grabbing the fertile lands of the peasantry and have become which has created a life and death problem for them. The peasantry in West Bengal opposed grabbing of their land for the construction of Tata's Nano car factory in Singur, chemical hub of Salem group in Nandigram and Jindal steel plant in Lalgarh. They chose the path of struggle stating by declaring that they are ready to give their lives but not their lands.

By the time of celebrating the first anniversary of Nandigram people's victory, Lalgarh revolt came to the fore with its own unique characteristics. Jindal company entered Lalgarh with his its investments. Buddhadev Bhattacharya and Ram Vilas Paswan invited Jindal with red carpets. The

central and state governments deployed their state machinery in full gear in order to facilitate the loot of people's properties resources, particularly the mineral wealth of Jangalmahal people. But Jangalmahal the people resisted under the party's leadership. The convoy of Jindal, Buddhadevb and Ram Vilas Paswan had to face the mine blast of PLGA guerillas as they did not heed to the people's demands. Later using this as a pretext the police forces unleashed severe repression on the Lalgarh people, their anger erupted and a great revolt began. 13 November 2008 marked the beginning of the heroic Lalgarh struggle.

But People resisted the atrocities of the police forces and formed and organised under the leadership of People's Committee Against Police Atrocities (PCAPA). In each village hundreds and thousands of people united and agitated on a large scale for their just demands. They dug up roads to stop the police. They held militant protest rallies with thousands of people. In the villages and towns, CPI(M) offices which served as torture chambers were destroyed by the people in large numbers. They used all kinds of struggle forms from peaceful struggles like *Arandhan* (not lighting the cooking fire) to armed resistance in several places. They formed the Sidhu-Kanu Jan Militia. The entire Jangalmahal area was boiling with militant mass agitation. The 'Marxists' who earned notoriety since decades for their terrible rule were taken aback. They resorted to armed attacks with their mercenary gangs such as Harmad Bahini to stop the agitation. Joint forces of state police, central paramilitary forces and Harmad Bahini together intensified their attacks. They resorted to atrocities, burning of houses and destruction of properties. However, people did not step back and fought bravely. Under the party leadership guerilla warfare was intensified by conducting ambushes and raids by PLGA forces and the Sidhu-Kanu Jan Militia. 24 Eastern Frontier Rifles jawans were wiped out in Silda raid and people's hatred, anger and organised strength was demonstrated. Our party and the PCAPA widely conducted propaganda war against the psychological warfare of the enemy. Schools, hospitals, drinking water facilities and even the public distribution system began to be seized by the people to fulfill the basic needs of the people. Solidarity movement spread from Kolkata to all over the country in support of Lalgarh people's struggle. International solidarity was expressed. Under the banner of PCAPA people's power came into existence in Lalgarh

at a primary level. It created tremors in the CPI(M) power centre and frightened India ruling classes.

The heroic people of Lalgarh created a historic great upsurge with state repression as the immediate issue and by keeping it at the core. The struggle was started with the unleashing of the people's anger against the social-fascist state repression. It broke the back of well-entrenched neo-revisionism and touched each and every aspect of Lalgarh's social life and shook them. It went on for more than two years with new struggle and organisational forms. This people's upsurge was possible because this area has been under the influence of Maoist revolutionary politics since the 1970s, the majority of the people in Bengal were frustrated under three decades of social-fascist rule and were severely dissatisfied and angry, the political situation was very favourable as the contradiction between the ruling classes [CPI(M) and TMC] were very severe, particularly due to the formation of the new party, the development in our subjective force, our efforts, the initiative of the party committees and the leadership, the influence of the successes of the Indian revolutionary movement, the influence of Singur, Nandigram and other anti-displacement movements' successes and the long-standing struggle experience of the people.

The great successes of the Lalgarh people's movement were possible because it could creatively and innovatively bring forth organisational and struggle forms, both armed and unarmed, and slogans in the course of the struggle by building proper United Front (UF) under the leadership of the party. The vast masses of Lalgarh rallied widely and militantly against the repression of the Joint Forces and also built great struggles on their daily issues and other basic issues including land issues. All these struggles were led by the broad-based UF which was formed under the leadership of the party. Due to intensified repression, shortcomings that occurred during the course of the movement and losses of the subjective forces including the leadership, the Lalgarh revolutionary upsurge suffered damages. But Lalgarh's revolutionary masses are continuing along the protracted people's war path under the leadership of the party. When this UF was turning into a genuine democratic alternative system against the social-fascists in Lalgarh, the central and state joint forces carried out a most cruel suppression campaign. The heroic people of Lalgarh, the Sidhu-Kanu Jan Militia which stood in their

support and the PLGA forces made immense sacrifices in the course of fighting back the Joint Forces with utmost courage and valour. A section in the UF that was not prepared for this and a section of the liberal intellectuals either left the movement or distanced themselves. The lessons, particularly in the UF sphere, imparted to the Indian revolutionary movement by the comrades and revolutionary masses of Bengal and of Lalgargh in particular, are very valuable. We must learn from the creative and dynamic role of the West Bengal comrades and comrade Kishenji and the creative and militant role of the people of Lalgargh by taking it as one of the great models of mass militant movement. Comrade Kishenji's role in mobilising the masses of Lalgargh in this militant struggle, in formulating creative organisational and struggle forms and his efforts to carry it forward till his last breath are invaluable.

Contribution in ideological, political, propaganda and literary fields

Koteswarlu played an important role in enriching the party's basic documents and in finalising policy documents. While leading the AP movement, while he was the in-charge of Bengal and as a CC and PB member, he played a prominent role in preparing internal circulars and letters. He worked actively in running the magazines of the Bengal SC. He contributed significantly in conducting polemical debates mainly in West Bengal against disruptionist Manik of our party, against the right opportunists in the ML camp and CPI(M) neo-revisionism. He contributed extensively in the propaganda sphere. As the spokesperson of ERB he expressed the stand of the CC through press statements and interviews on various issues.

From his initial days he conducted political classes to the cadres and put lot of efforts for their development. In 1996, after taking the responsibility of SCOPE, he participated in preparing study class notes on some important subjects along with other SCOPE members and teachers and imparted them to the party leadership upto district/zonal committees as part of a campaign.

He wrote poems under the pen names of Godavari, Asidhara, Babu, Anna, Oka Koduku (A Son) etc.

Beloved leader who won the confidence of the party ranks

Koteswarlu won the affection of a large number of party cadres in his 38 year long revolutionary life. He received immense love from the people. He used to enquire about the needs of the cadres. He remembered and fulfilled the needs of the cadres acquainted with him. He made it a point to meet the available cadres . When meeting was not possible, he used to write letters to them. He used to ask the guerillas and his close associates about their experiences in revolutionary war and tried to gain knowledge. Whenever the cadres met him, they used to feel that they met their much-loved political teacher who loved them in turn. They felt it was an unforgettable experience to meet him, that they have learnt many things, that they have identified their weaknesses, that he encouraged the good things in them and motivated them. He took special care to provide medical care for the injured comrades in the revolutionary movement. One must learn from him how to provide suitable work to them according to their abilities and how to encourage them in their work. Comrades facing problems wished for his presence or read letters written by him again and again for inspiration.

A warrior steeled in the flames of class struggle

Since he joined the party he worked and steeled amidst ebbs and tides and twists and turns, ups and downs of the movement. For nearly four decades a large number of cadres and leaders - many of whom were colleagues - laid down their lives in the revolutionary movement. Severe repression and dangers laid in wait for them at every step. He stood firmly and bravely in the face of all such odds and led the movement in various areas in the country, serving the revolution and the oppressed masses of India till his martyrdom. The entire party, PLGA and people of movement areas in our country are determined to advance the PW to a success by creating thousands of 'Koteswarlu' and several 'Lalgarhs' and thereby fulfill the dreams of the martyred comrades of Indian revolution. ★



Comrade Rawoof

Comrade S A Rawoof's Life was One of Continuous Struggle for the Cause of Revolution

Comrade Sheik Abdul Rawoof (Viswam), who was Secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) NAXALBARI till he retired in 2006, passed away on the 9th of February 2014, at the age of 89. Suffering from age-related diseases he had been hospitalised for many years. His body was kept for public viewing at his home village of Kuttagulla (Kadiri Taluq, Anantapur District, Andhra Pradesh). Thousands of people came from far flung areas to see their dear comrade one last time. Comrade S. A. Rawoof, popularly known as 'SAR', leaves behind inspiring memories of a life wholly dedicated to the cause of communism.

During his college days Rawoof was enthused by the Telangana armed struggle. He was a sympathiser of united CPI. Later he became a member of it. He was dissatisfied by the CPI's deviation to the electoral path. But, under discipline, he had to contest local elections and became the first communist municipal Chairman of Kadiri. But he firmly resisted all attempts to make him a tool of anti-people acts sought to be enforced through the local body. One of his first decisions as Chairman was to cancel the house tax of the poor and middle classes.

After the split he went over to CPI(M). He actively participated in mass movements during CPI and CPI(M) period, locally in Kadiri taluq. He was only a local leader but he had close links with the broad masses of the whole taluq. While in CPI(M) in 1965 he was arrested under PD Act and detained in Secunderabad district jail, where top leaders of CPI(M) in AP were also

lodged. He attended political classes there. After the outbreak of protracted people's war in Naxalbari, T. Nagi Reddy (TN) and C.P. Reddy (CP) held political classes supporting Naxalbari and criticising CPI(M)'s revisionist line. As Rawoof had participated in bourgeois elections and had seen the domination and atrocities of landlords he was convinced about the futility of electoral path and the necessity of overthrowing feudalism. He was very much enthused by Naxalbari armed struggle. The CPI(M) unit in Kadiri was dissolved and all the comrades supported Naxalbari. They were inclined towards following TN.

But very soon comrades Mahadevan and C K Narayan Reddy (CKN), popular leaders of Rayalaseema, met Rawoof and briefed him about TN's vacillation about the cardinal questions, viz, armed struggle, secret party organisation and boycott of elections, rejecting comrade Charu Majumdar's (CM) positions on these questions. They advised him to independently organise the militant cadres, who had come out of CPI(M) and educate them about the correct line of CM exposing TN's wrong line. Rawoof along with comrades Bandaiah and BC Ramappa started this work earnestly. In the AICCCR meeting in February 1969, AP Co-ordination Committee led by TN was disaffiliated. TN did not express unquestioned loyalty to the great, glorious Communist Party of China (CPC) led by Chairman Mao then. He was critical about the attacks on police stations by Kerala comrades. He treated Srikakulam (SKL) armed struggle as adventurist and extended only lukewarm support. He affirmed that the boycott of elections was only a tactic and not of strategic importance. He vacillated about resigning his Assembly membership. The disassociation of AICCCR with the TN lead AP Coordination Committee strengthened the position of Rawoof and other comrades in opposing TN's opportunist centrist line.

Rawoof was invited to attend Guttikondabilam meeting on 28-2-69. He could not participate as he was engaged in important party work. Later AP's Provincial meeting was held in Vishakhapatnam from 14-5-1969 to 16-5-69. Rawoof attended the meeting as a special invitee. Later, while attempts were being made to mobilise and organise militant comrades, Rawoof was arrested under PD Act and detained in Vishakhapatnam jail. After a few days he was released by Advisory Board itself.

During his short stay in the jail he met comrades Adibhatla Kailasam, Dr. Mallik, Nagabhushan Patnaik and many others. He also saw a large number of Girijan comrades, who were detained in different cases. By discussing with the comrades he came to know many things about the revolutionary movement, especially of SKL. After his release a thorough discussion with the cadres who had come out of CPI(M) opposing its revisionist line took place. Almost all of the militant cadres were drawn towards CM's positions. They were, in the main, the poor and landless peasants and workers. Only a few leaders, mainly intellectual cadres and upper middle class cadres and sympathisers stayed with TN. Chaudhuri Tejeswar Rao (CTR), the then AP State secretary of the CPI(M-L) met all the leading comrades of Anantapur district. He explained in detail about Naxalbari struggle and CM's positions and stressed the importance of organising armed squads and starting armed actions in Anantapur district.

The cadres accepted and decided to launch armed struggle. They selected a feudal dominated quasi-forest area (Erramala) bordering Anantapur district for launching armed struggle. Because of some technical mistake the work was temporarily stopped. In the beginning of January 1970, Rayalaseema Regional Committee, convened by comrade Mahadevan, took place and final touches were given to start armed actions in Anantapur, Chittoor and Nellore districts. On 17-1-70 the house of a hated landlord and a big moneylender was raided. More than forty cadres, including Rawoof participated. Seven cadres, including Rawoof, as planned and decided beforehand, went underground from the action spot itself.

AP State Conference was held at Mysore from 28th March to 2 April, 1970. CM attended the conference. After discussion about the Party programme, a nine member State Committee (SC), with comrade Adibhatla Kailasam was elected as Secretary. Rawoof was elected to the SC. Rawoof was also elected as delegate to the Party Congress to be held from 16th May at Kolkata. But the batch he was in couldn't attend due to technical reasons. Later they managed to meet CM and were briefed by Suniti Kumar Ghosh as directed by him.

Before APSC could meet after the Mysore conference the Secretary comrade Kailasam and Vempatapu Satyam became martyrs. Later Kondapalli

Seetaramaiah (KS) led the SC, though for a brief period Pyla Vasudeva Rao was the Secretary. KS, Satyamurthy (SM) and Rawoof constituted the SC. In his summation report comrade Rawoof wrote, “There was firm unity in the SC on comrade CM’s proletarian revolutionary line. Viswam (Rawoof) had very comradely relations and attachment with comrades KS and SM. Whatever party task was assigned to Viswam by comrade Secretary he successfully accomplished it, apart from his activities in Rayalaseema, for which he was in charge.”

Comrade Rawoof was a member of the APSC delegation that met with CM in 1972, a few months before his arrest. After the martyrdom of CM in July 1972, he was deputed in 1973 March to contact comrades who were supporting CM. Rawoof and one comrade who accompanied him were arrested from a lodge in Howrah the same night on the day of their reaching. After his arrest and police custody for ten days Rawoof was sent back to AP jail. While in jail in 1974 KS wrote a self-critical report, stressing the importance of mass organisations and mass movement among other things. Opposing the document, a section of the comrades in the jail revolted dubbing the APSC led by KS as revisionist. Though Rawoof had some reservations, he rejected the assessment of the revolting comrades about the SC and led the struggle against them. As a result only a small number left the organisation. After Rawoof’s conviction and sentence (life imprisonment) in Parvathipuram conspiracy case he was shifted to Kolkata jail along with Kanu Sanyal and Souren Bose to face the Alipur conspiracy case.

Rawoof later described his one year detention in the Presidency central jail as “a very rich experience”. In his words, “Viswam came to know many details about the heroic Kolkata struggle, daring guerrilla attacks and seizure of arms, struggles by working class, students, intellectuals and employees, which broke out with the impact of peasant armed struggle throughout Bengal, the hitherto unheard of fascist suppression by the state and the complicity of CPM and Congress goons in it, jail revolts, confrontation with the police, jail killings, jail breaks especially the Presidency jail break by 42 comrades of pro-Lin organization led by Azizul Haq and Prof. Nishit Bhattacharya, in which two jail police were killed and two comrades lost their lives.” There was clear demarcation between Satya Narain Sinha’s (SNS) followers and pro-CM camps. Even ordinary prisoners had great respect for CM. After

Emergency, when Janata Party government was formed, SNS and CP Reddy met Home Minister Charan Singh and agreed to submit undertaking by the prisoner comrades to facilities their release. But the family members, especially the mothers of comrades in jail, when they interviewed them, exhorted the comrades not to give such undertaking and betray the movement. This was really exhilarating for Rawoof.

Though for sometime he was separately kept in a single cell, later, after the withdrawal of Emergency, he was kept with other comrades in a barrack. He reported to them about the revolutionary movement led by APSC, the activities of and the revolutionary mass movements – Revolutionary Writers Association (VIRASAM), the cultural organisation Jana Natya Mandali (JNM) and the Radical Students Union (RSU). In his summation report Rawoof wrote “Some women comrades were very much interested to meet Rawoof as he was from AP of Panchadi Krishnamurthy, whose name is very popular in Bengal. They managed and met Rawoof. He reported about the revolutionary movement in AP. They asked the crucial question, viz, “What is the military line?” They were very happy when they came to know that the APSC was following CM’s proletarian revolutionary line and was developing the struggle.”

After Emergency, when the Janata Party government was formed at the centre, Rawoof gave a statement in court while in Kolkata, upholding CM, exhorting not to have any illusions about the new government but to continue the heroic armed struggle. Later he came to know about an interview of SM, which was on the same lines as that of Rawoof. Rawoof had asked the comrades to ask their organisations to contact APSC for unification of genuine revolutionary forces to build a politically united party as suggested by CM in his last writing, viz, ‘People’s interest is party’s interest’. After the movement for release of Naxalite prisoners led by ‘Bandi Mukti Committee’ started, the Left Front Government of Bengal withdrew all the cases against Naxalites and they were released. The Alipur conspiracy case against Rawoof was also withdrawn and he was sent back to Rajahmundry central jail. Rawoof gave the report in detail about the heroic struggle, the saga of self-sacrifice, he had learnt about in the Kolkata jail. All the comrades were very much enthused.

After a few days when Rawoof and other comrades were discussing about the COC document, “Road to Revolution”, the news came about the APSC’s statement on temporary suspension of armed struggle. Rawoof wrote, “Viswam was shocked. He emotionally reacted saying “How can we continue in such an organisation as this?” Later comrades received (1) The APSC’s resolutions and (2) Explanatory Note about the resolution. Rawoof got disheartened very much as he felt that all his hopes of development of the struggle in AP by APSC were belied. He was advised by friends from outside not to take any hasty decision before discussing with the leadership. He accepted. On his request he was transferred to Secunderabad jail. Among the comrades in that jail a major section was supporting the APSC position and another section was bitterly opposing it. KS explained the position and justified it in the concrete conditions then.

Rawoof and other comrades revolted and formed a separate organisation, AP Reorganisation Committee (ROC), CPI (M-L). Till the very end Rawoof believed that their decision was correct. In a summation document written in 2004 he stated “The background, described above has to be kept in mind to come to a correct decision whether Viswam and other comrades revolting, going out of the organisation and forming a separate organisation was a correct step or splittist and anti-party activity and betrayal as alleged. Can anybody point out a single instance where Viswam defied the party directives and flouted party discipline? It is a fact known to leaders and cadres of the then organisation and Viswam had very cordial relations with all and had neither personal animosity with anyone nor any personal ambition apart from party interest. It was only on fundamental political questions he differed and went out of the organisation. Hence it was a correct step.” This has remained an issue of debate within the Maoist movement.

APROC while continuing armed activities widely propagated “CM’s proletarian revolutionary line and boycott of elections” as strategy. It took a correct stand with regard to the post-Mao developments in China. It condemned the counter-revolutionary coup by Teng-Hua clique. It rejected the counter-revolutionary Three Worlds theory. It upheld comrades Chiang Ching, Chang Chun Chiao and other socialist roaders and declared that CPC had become a revisionist party. Later APROC opposed the Trotskyite line of the Albanian party.

Formation of Re-organisation Committee, CPI (M-L)

While still in jail Rawoof came to know through the journal “Mass Line” that Kerala SC of CPI(ML) had taken similar positions as those of APROC. Rawoof instructed APROC comrades to contact Kerala SC and discuss with them and explore the possibilities of unification as they were taking similar position. The delegation from Kerala (K. Venu and K.N. Ramachandran) and APROC met and as there was total unanimity the merger of both SCs was a smooth affair. The merger statement was drafted and approved. Reorganisation Committee, CPI(ML) [RC] was formed. Venu, Ramachandran and Rawoof comprised the leadership. Ramachandran was elected as Secretary. The merger statement was published in “Naxalbari”. Later RC drafted and approved the ‘Tactical line’ based on “CM’s proletarian revolutionary line and the 1970 Party programme”.

There was a start in armed activities in Nalgonda and Warangal districts. A forest squad was formed and functioned in Warangal district. During RC, and later CRC period, APROC’s activities spread to many districts like Khammam, Karimnagar, Adilabad, Anantapur and Nellore. An armed forest squad functioned for sometime in Asifabad area of Adilabad district. A peasant organisation, Rytu Coolie Sangham, was organised and functioned for sometime in Nalgonda district. A youth front, Peoples Liberation Youth Front, had functioned in Anantapur district. Many armed actions, mainly annihilations of landlords and informers had taken place. After some student comrades of RSU (ROC) were killed by the state in fake encounters it became dysfunctional and it was reorganised into Revolutionary Students Organisation. The APROC took the brunt of the state’s attack in this period. Within a few years more than 40 of its leaders, cadres and sympathisers were martyred. Apart from political and organisational drawbacks, later identified by Rawoof, these losses heavily impacted on the capacity of the organisation. In spite of many heroic actions there was neither consistent nor qualitative development in the revolutionary movement led by the APROC, RC, CPI (M-L).

RC, CPI(ML) to CRC, CPI(ML)

After the formation of RC in Kerala armed activities were revived. The SC organised armed activities, including annihilations. There were very exhilarating reports about those actions in “Mass Line”, the party’s mass journal. The party had good mass base and oppressed masses supported the actions and protected the squads. But when good organisational work was going on in different States, when there was a spurt in armed activities in AP, some alien trends developed in Kerala organisation. There was vacillation on the party’s line which was based on CM’s teachings. In that situation it was decided to hold All India Conference to resolve the various questions faced by the movement. For holding the Conference it was decided to prepare a review report. Venu and Rawoof were assigned to prepare the document, “The Spring Thunder”. Right from the start itself there were serious differences between the two. In that situation it was decided that Venu alone would prepare the document. All India Conference was held in January 1982 in Maharashtra. AP SC had submitted a Dissent Note. The Note had pointed out so many crucial aspects where APSC differed with the review document. To quote from the Note, “Analysing all the major struggles including Srikakulam and Birbhum it has been concluded that the movements were easily suppressed by the enemy because other forms of struggle were not taken up after launching guerrilla warfare. We are of the opinion that most of the struggles were suppressed easily because of the lack of clear perspective on the military line. For example, in Srikakulam the struggle had not developed to still higher stage as there was no conscious attempt for attacking the state machinery, seizing arms and forming Red Army, though there was such possibility at one stage. Apart from the military aspect another important lacunae in the movement was failure to form widespread party units among the broad masses and to develop party consciousness.” APSC also opposed rejecting or making any sweeping changes in the Tactical Line. There was very serious discussion. The Note was rejected. It was also decided to make sweeping changes in the Tactical Line amounting in essence to its total rejection. During the end of the conference itself the AP delegation reviewed the conference proceedings and discussed as to whether to continue in the organisation or come out of it. They were of the opinion that if there was development of struggle in AP and some other states there might be

polarisation and change and as such they decided to continue. Hence APSC continued in CRC, which was formed in the place of RC. CRC withdrew the Tactical Line formulated by RC at the time of its formation, in spite of bitter opposition from AP delegates.

After the conference, 'Dare to think, dare to struggle' written by Rawoof was published in "Mass Line". It exhorted the comrades to develop armed struggle. This provoked discussion and many articles appeared. But it had no effect. Later blatant anti-Maoist trends developed in Kerala organisation. The CRC leadership coined the slogan "Fight against dogmatism and fight against secretism". In the name of fighting against dogmatism they gave up armed struggle. In the name of fighting against secretism they gave up party's underground set-up. Later Kerala SC came to the conclusion that in India class relations had changed and there was capitalist development, though distorted, feudalism was no more the social base of imperialism and imperialism itself was destroying feudalism. Ultimately in a marathon Plenum in 1985, CRC decided that 1970 program was outdated and that Indian revolution can be successful only as an ensemble of national struggles.

At this time Rawoof was in jail. He was arrested in 1983 while preparing to streamline the organisation in AP and develop line struggle against the deviation emerging in the CRC. He was denied bail and fresh cases, including under NSA, were foisted on him. Undeterred he continued to participate in the line struggle. When the all-India Plenum was announced he prepared a detailed document attacking the CRC's new positions in Telugu and sent it to the SC. The SC discussed and approved it. This document was placed by APSC in the Plenum. It was rejected. AP delegation declared that CRC had betrayed and walked out declaring that they would not continue in the organisation. After coming out of CRC, CPI (M-L) AP comrades continued armed activities. Rawoof came out on bail by 1987 end. While he was reorganising the party he was again arrested and implicated in another case. He was in jail for one more year. When he came out and was free he faced a serious situation. The AP unit was almost defunct. Most of the comrades had either been martyred or were languishing in jails facing many cases.

In 1987 there was a split in CRC, CPI (ML) led by K. Venu. A separate organisation CPI(ML) Red Flag, led by K.N. Ramachandran had been

formed. Bengal and MP State Committees of CRC, CPI (ML), who were upholding the 1970 programme, had also joined Red Flag (RF). In that situation Rawoof had discussions with RF Secretary. He was given to understand that RF would stick to 1970 program. Rawoof joined RF at the end of 1989. It is a fact that he joined RF ultimately after a lot of hesitation, under persuasion of the MP and WB comrades.

In CPI (M-L) (Red Flag)

Reorganisation of the party and the revolutionary movement was taken up seriously. A mass journal “Erupu”(Red) was launched. In a statement, published in the journal it was stated in clear terms about the AP unit’s position reaffirming its earlier positions on armed struggle, boycott of elections and CM’s proletarian line. All the comrades who had revolted against CRC’s class collaborationist line and sympathisers who opposed that line endorsed joining RF and continuing the line of APROC, RC, CPI(ML). Apart from Erupu sometimes “Naxalbari” also came out. The reorganisation work was started from Anantapur district. The cadres who were outside in Telangana were also contacted. When most of the comrades had come out of the jail serious plans to build up the party and movement again in AP were chalked out.

To help the process the “The Anti-Revisionist 8 Articles” of CM and a separate book “Quotations from CM” were published in Telugu. As the earlier student organisation RSO had become defunct after the martyrdom of its secretary comrade Chenchu Naidu, it was decided to build a new type of student and youth organisation – Red Guard Student and Youth Front [RSYF] – keeping in view the necessity of the open mass organisation turning into an effective underground (secret) organisation when necessary. A manifesto of RSYF had already been prepared by Rawoof and other comrades while they were in jail. The new organisation was launched after a two day meet of students and youth. It started activities and had a good impact. But repression was unleashed by the state and the organisation couldn’t advance further. Later Revolutionary Youth Front (RYF) was formed. It actively took up the anti-liquor struggle and other issues of the people. During this period armed activities were continued in Telangana, Anantapur and Nellore districts. 12 comrades became martyrs.

The AP party organisation suffered a heavy blow in 1996 when all the SC members and squad members were killed in a false encounter. The party almost collapsed in AP with this encounter killing. Attempts made to reorganise the party were not successful. In that situation the 4th All India Conference of Red Flag (RF) was held in Keralam. At that Conference a new party program was adopted advocating party's participation in bourgeois elections in the name of utilising all forms of struggle. On all fundamental questions of ideological, political line and organisational line and on armed struggle, RF leadership took anti-Maoist positions. The stiff opposition from AP and Karnataka delegations was only a cry in wilderness. After the conference, in course of time, AP unit placed a note criticising RF's positions and demanding a plenum or extended meeting of the CC to settle the conflicting vital positions. RF Secretary wanted AP unit to convene AP activists meet so that he could attend and explain the leadership's positions in order that the comrades can have clear understanding of the conflicting positions which might enable them to take a correct stand. Such meet was arranged; all the leading activists attended the meet. As they already had copies in Telugu of both the documents they came prepared. After a thorough discussion the activists' meet unanimously rejected RF leadership's positions and upheld the AP note.

Later, assessing this period, Rawoof himself raised the question of whether it was correct to join RF in 1989 and continue up to 1997 conference. He self-critically concluded, "Though joining RF may be justified to some extent continuing up to 1997 was definitely not correct. A concentrated effort ought to have been made along with the leaders of MP, WB and Karnataka SCs to form a separate organisation right in time based on the ideological, political line and tactical line of RC, CPI (ML) formed in 1979."

After AP activists meet, the Red Flag secretary wrote a letter informing Rawoof to attend a CC meeting. Meeting place, time etc. were mentioned. But on 1st October, well before the meeting date, there was a statement by a CC member and Secretary of Karnataka SC that Rawoof was expelled from the primary membership of the party. There was nothing surprising about the expulsion, though the dubious method adopted revealed the true nature of the RF leadership. In the note presented by AP, it was stated: "In this situation it is very difficult for AP unit to work under the leadership of

CRC (RF) if the ideological political line is not rectified and if the leadership does not accept clearly and unequivocally the ideological, political positions based on which APROC and Kerala SC merged and formed RC, CPI(ML) in 1979.” It was also stated in the note: “Even after 16 years of the two-line struggle if we say that in the interest of revolution we are still continuing the two-line struggle within the party, it is certainly self-deception and cheating the revolutionary masses. We cannot betray the heroic martyrs... Therefore, it is time we rectify or failing which demarcate and take such organisational steps as are necessary.” As the RF leadership was not prepared for rectification of its line, it had to get rid of AP unit. Hence the expulsion. Rawoof noted, “We were not aggrieved. On the other hand we felt that it was a positive step which paved the way for the formation of a real revolutionary party with a unified, single line. This rules out two parallel lines in the party as we had in RF.”

In October 1998 the CPI (ML) Naxalbari was formed under Rawoof’s leadership uniting the AP and Karnataka State units of the RF. Within a very short time it contacted Maoist Unity Centre (MUC), CPI(ML). This party was formed by those who had rebelled against K. Venu in the erstwhile CRC, CPI (M-L). Following discussions the two organisations merged. Rawoof was its Secretary till 2006, when he insisted on resigning due to age related health problems.

Comrade Rawoof’s life was a continuous struggle to pursue the path of revolution and serve the people. Having grasped MLM and the road of revolution blazed by the Naxalbari armed rebellion he remained firm on them, forever upholding CM. His life was one of simplicity, always willing to adjust. He had a great capacity to connect with the youth, inspire them and bring new generations into the path of revolution. He stood firm on his views but once convinced of some error he had no hesitation in examining it and doing self-criticism. It is noteworthy that, even at the age of 80, he willingly took great effort to do a self-critical summation of all the activities he led and participated in.

Comrade SA Rawoof will forever remain a great model of a communist leader. He will forever remain in the hearts of the oppressed. ★



Comrade Sushil Roy

Like a Red Sun, the Great Leader of Indian Revolution Comrade Sushil Roy will Forever Illuminate our Revolutionary Path

Comrade Sushil Roy (Ashok, Shome, Barunda), our veteran Politburo member and illustrious leader of the Indian Revolution passed away in the morning of June 18th, 2014 at All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS) in Delhi after prolonged illnesses. The proletariat and toiling masses of our country lost one of their greatest sons who selflessly served them for nearly half a century till his last breath, with nothing but their interests and the interests of the revolution in his heart. Comrade Sushil Roy is immortal!

Starting from early 1960s, Sushil Roy spent his life in an exemplary manner in the service of the oppressed masses. His entire life has been inseparably intertwined with the ups and downs, twists and turns, glories and successes of the Indian communist movement. It was a life spent in waging ideological and political struggles outside and inside the party. It was a life that was also an inseparable part of destroying old-style politics and organisation and building a new politics and new organisation. It was a life that was part of the tireless efforts to build the three magic weapons of the Indian revolution the party, people's army and united front. In true communist spirit he integrated so selflessly and anonymously in the collective that it is difficult to separate the two and write anything exclusively about him. A major part of his life and work would read as a history of the new democratic revolutionary movement in our country.

Making of a communist

Comrade Sushil Roy was born in 1938 in present day Bangladesh and was a nephew of the great revolutionary martyr Dinesh Gupta. He cherished his dream for the true freedom of our country and felt that he had to take forward the incomplete work of those great revolutionaries like Masterda Surya Sen, Bhagat Singh, Khudiram Bose and others as a real heir to the patriots of our beloved country. He retained their inspiration in his heart till the end.

Sushil Roy became active in the communist movement in the early 1960s when he was in his early 20s. He got a permanent job in the Usha Fan Factory in Bansdroni of South Kolkata and came in touch with the CPI during the Indo-China border clash. Meanwhile a strike was started in 1963 at his factory under the banner of the trade union. The Nehru government proclaimed an ordinance banning all strikes in any sector by applying the Indian Security Act and threatened the workers with grave consequences. But the struggling workers ignored Nehru's threats and continued the strike for six months and ultimately won the struggle. Noticing his active participation during the strike the workers elected him to the executive committee of the trade union. Thus he was recognized as a militant activist of workers.

The Great Debate of two ideological and political lines between the Soviet modern revisionists and the Communist Party of China (CPC) in the International Communist Movement (ICM) influenced their union too just like it did the entire communist movement of that time. Led by the union leadership, the factory workers kept their confidence on the CPC line. Continuing the debate on different issues in the union they cornered the CPI revisionist leadership and turned them into a minority. Such was the contempt of the workers towards their revisionism that they heckled the revisionist leader Indrajit Gupta and even attacked him with chairs in a seminar. Like many of his contemporaries he hoped that the CPI(M) that was formed by breaking with the revisionist CPI would evolve into a revolutionary party and joined it in 1964.

As a workers' activist he took part in processions, mass meetings and agitations in support of the Vietnam national liberation war against the US imperialist occupation that were conducted with thousands of workers in Kolkata. The slogan of 'Tomar Naam Amar Naam Vietnam! Vietnam!' ('your name, my name, everybody's name Vietnam') reverberated throughout the length and breadth of the city with workers playing an important role. This was part of the worldwide agitation against the unjust US imperialist war of aggression on Vietnam. During the three-day continuous strike programs in the 1966 Food Movement he took a leading role in south Kolkata. At that time he was beaten by the Congress hooligans and police and was also arrested. He was active in all the agitations taken up by the trade union and the party in those days. He was recognized as their leader by the workers due to his growing role in several movements.

Meanwhile, a sharp two-line ideological and political struggle at all levels was going on inside the CPI(M) led by genuine revolutionary leaders like comrades Charu Majumdar (CM), Kanhai Chatterji (KC) and several others. Simultaneously, CM and his comrades were preparing the ground for armed agrarian revolution in North Bengal that resulted in the 'Spring Thunder' of great Naxalbari armed peasant uprising in May 1967. The international backdrop for this was the Great Debate and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) led by the CPC under the leadership of Mao Tsetung which shook the entire world. All these had a great impact on young Sushil Roy and several such comrades who already were putting up a consistent fight against the revisionist line of the CPI(M) leadership. He disagreed with the CPI(M) leadership's attack on the Naxalbari uprising as 'extremism'.

Drawing on the debates in the ICM of that period, comrade Roy regarded the great Naxalbari revolutionary peasant uprising 'not as a mere peasant struggle' but as 'a correct political line, a correct target of the revolution, a correct strategy for capturing state power'. He had debates on the ideological, political, military and organizational line of the party with the then State leaders of the party. He questioned why no ideological, political, organizational and military preparations were made by the party for carrying out revolution as in China and Vietnam. After several meetings, discussions and debates it was clear to him that the leadership of the CPI(M) would never go for revolution and that it supported the parliamentary line of renegade Khrushchev

and Dange. The events of the revolutionary peasant uprising of Naxalbari - seizure of land and crops, seizing rifles from state mercenary police, police firing and the brutal killing of nine woman peasants including two children shook up the entire state and unmasked the real face of the CPI(M) leadership, exposing its revisionist character. Comrade Roy cut off all relations with that party in 1968.

Naxalbari dealt a death blow to revisionism, broke its back and firmly established the line of Protracted People's War (PPW) and the path of the New Democratic Revolution (NDR) for the liberation of the country. By then he came in contact with comrades KC and Amulya Sen who were working in Kolkata from a long time and were rigorously engaged in ideological, political and organizational preparations for building a revolutionary party and NDR on the lines of Chinese revolution. Sushil Roy soon decided to leave his permanent job and home to work as a professional revolutionary in far away villages in West Bengal with a strong belief in 'Naxalbari Ek Hi Raasta' ('Naxalbari is the only way').

A founding member of MCC

Soon after the revisionist 7th Congress of the CPI in 1964, a revolutionary Centre was formed within the party with the initiative of comrades KC, Amulya Sen and Chandrasekhar Das. Since March 1965, this Centre in the name of *Chinta* had begun publishing some very important documents which dealt with the basic questions of Indian revolution and served as a weapon in the fight against revisionism. In 1966 some more comrades joined this Centre and started the *Dakshin Desh* magazine that year to expand the fight against the old and new revisionisms of CPI and CPI(M) respectively. This Centre led by comrade KC enthusiastically hailed the Naxalbari uprising and firmly affirmed 'Naxalbari Ek Hi Raasta.'

Talks were held between comrades CM and KC and they agreed on all the major issues like strategy and tactics of Indian revolution, revolutionary method and style of work, development of armed agrarian revolutionary war in the rural areas to seize political power, the significance of building people's army and base area and the building of a revolutionary party. They agreed on the need for the genuine revolutionaries to come together in a co-

ordination committee as the first step to build a revolutionary party. Comrade KC and other leading comrades in the *Dakshin Desh* group decided to join in the co-ordination. However, due to some important differences unity was not possible at that historical juncture. The CPI(M-L) was formed under the leadership of comrade CM on April 22, 1969. Under the leadership of comrade KC and along with comrades Amulya Sen and Chandrasekhar Das the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) was formed on October 20, 1969. Despite this, comrade KC clearly stated that their ultimate aim was to dissolve the independent organization and gradually unite under a single centre of guidance for the Indian revolution. Thus the two streams (ML and MCC) started working separately till September 2004.

Comrade Sushil Roy was part of the *Chinta* Group and *Dakshin Desh* from the very beginning and was one of the founding members of the MCC. He left Kolkata immediately after MCC's formation to work in the rural areas with a strategic perspective. Thus he was well trained under the direct leadership of comrade KC which paved the way for him to get steeled in the course of developing the revolutionary movement.

Early experiences in building the revolutionary movement

The MCC gained first experiences in building the movement in Sonarpur area in West Bengal. But very soon the enemy offensive started and the revolutionaries were forced to retreat. However, this experience was assessed as being very valuable as it enriched their understanding of class analysis and problems of agrarian revolution. The first lessons in organizing the peasantry were learnt there. The party assessed that it was from the lessons learnt from the Sonarpur struggle that the party could advance the revolutionary movement in Kanksa, Hazaribagh, Gaya and Giridih.

In the Kanksa area of West Bengal, initially some political and economic struggles were taken up starting from 1970 and they expanded further in 1971. Then there was an upsurge since February 1972. The movement reached its peak between February 1971 and January 1973. Crops were seized by the peasants mainly under the Kanksa PS limits. The upsurge under Asgram-Budbud PS limits reached its peak between March and November 1973. The upsurge continued from March 1974 to June 1975.

Later the state resorted to heavy deployment of mercenary armed forces (police, paramilitary and military) and encirclement-repression was carried on brutally.

The first experiences in building squads were gained during the Kanksa struggle. Leaving homes and joining squads was like a festive occasion and activists came from almost every village. The mobile squad regularly organized the peasants by going from village to village and functioned with discipline. The party gained experience in building militia as the base force in the villages. All the basic experiences that went into the formation of regular squads later were gained by running mobile squads in Kanksa. Though the Kanksa movement went further than the Sonarpur struggle, it suffered a setback mainly due to the enemy suppressive campaign.

The party deeply reviewed the shortcomings that led to the temporary setback of the Kanksa struggle. In a nutshell, it was reviewed that the task of making political and organizational preparations to expand the movement in that area and then in the principal area was left unfulfilled or serious shortcomings were present in fulfilling it. This was taken as a bitter experience. But in true communist spirit, serious attempts were taken up to advance the movement in Hazaribagh-Gaya and Giridih of Bihar by learning from past mistakes. The party also tried to learn from the mistakes committed elsewhere by other revolutionary streams.

Under the leadership of comrade KC, work was started with a strategic plan in the Hazaribagh-Dhanbad-Giridih and in Gaya since mid-1968 with a view to build people's army and base areas. As a result of painstaking work with a correct orientation and perspective, armed agrarian revolutionary flames spread to Hazaribagh and neighboring areas by 1971 and to Gaya and neighboring areas by second half of 1972. Conditions ripened for an upsurge of Adivasi and non-Adivasi peasantry in the Hazaribagh area. The enemy's cordon and search operations intensified in 1974. Some comrades were martyred and some were arrested. Within one to two years the party could defeat the enemy offensive and expand the movement. In Gaya too the movement not only extended to newer areas but turned into a mighty upsurge against the landlords, their goons, their private armies and the state. Thousands of peasants and toiling masses rallied in anti-feudal and anti-

state struggles, organized in Krantikari Kisan Nirman Committees, self-defense squads, party activist groups and guerilla squads and laid the foundations for building a democratic system by overthrowing the decadent old system.

The party then came up with the plan of forming a Special Area to fulfill the task of building army and base area. In fact, the big question before the genuine revolutionaries including those in the MCC at that time was how to bring this into practice in the concrete conditions of our country. The effort to build this Special Area started in 1975. By mid-1976 the Bihar-Bengal Special Area Committee (SAC) was formed under the guidance and leadership of comrade KC. The party assessed that the formation of SAC had a very positive impact in the development of the PPW.

As part of the creative application of the PPW line of the CPC to the concrete conditions of our country in the earlier period, the Sonarpur, Kanksa and Hazaribagh, Gaya, Giridih movements were developed by the leadership by learning from these experiences, one after another. Though comrade Sushil Roy worked in Bengal in this period, he developed into a leader as part of the collective development of the leadership through these struggle experiences.

Leading the party in one of the most crucial periods

The party and the Indian revolution suffered serious blows one after another with the demise of comrade Amulya Sen, one of the three leading members of MCC due to serious ill health, followed within a few months by the untimely demise of comrade KC, the founder-Secretary of MCC at the age of 49 due to severe ill health on 18th July 1982. After their demise, it fell on other CCMs to take the entire responsibility of leading the party. Sushil Roy and the CC took up the challenge. Under his able leadership, the committee strove to mobilize the party in a united manner, develop it and build the movement by firmly adhering to the party line while marching along the path blazed by comrade KC and by learning from the great martyr, founder leader and teacher. He rose to the occasion and took up the responsibility of the Secretary of MCC in 1982. He was elected as the Secretary of the party in the first central conference of MCC in 1989 and

continued in this responsibility till the second central conference in 1996.

Comrade KC had formulated the basic political line and the tactical line of the party. He also formulated the correct method and style of work. With Sushil Roy leading as the Secretary, the CC studied the international and domestic situation concretely and took some important stands. Regarding international issues - the CC stated that the so-called 'Gang of Four' in China were genuine comrades and that Hua Kuo Feng and Deng clique ceased power through a *coup d'état* and established bourgeois dictatorship. The party rejected the so-called Three Worlds Theory. It declared that at the international level the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations and people was the decisive and principal contradiction. It reiterated the stand taken when comrade KC led the party that there was no contradiction between the 9th and 10th Congresses of the CPC. It upheld the definition of the present era in the strategic sense and the historical significance of Mao Tse-tung Thought (Maoism at present) as stated by the 9th Congress of the CPC.

Regarding the domestic situation the CC reiterated the analysis of India being a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country and about the nature of the comprador bureaucrat bourgeoisie (CBB) as being dependent. It declared that participation in elections is no longer a tactical issue and that it assumed strategic significance after emergence of Khrushchev's revisionism. It recognized the increasing clout of the US in India since the second half of Indira's rule after it took IMF loans and stated that it continued during Rajiv Gandhi's regime. It declared CPI(ML) Liberation as a modern revisionist party.

While the line began to be put into practice during comrade KC's life time, the work expanded and consolidated under the CC led by comrade Sushil Roy. Irregular squads became regular squads. Thousands of acres of lands were seized from the landlords as part of armed agrarian revolution. Thousands upon thousands of landless and poor peasants got organized around the Krantikari Kisan Committees (KKC) that were the embryonic form of political power. Private armies of the landlords that perpetrated massacres and terrorized the peasants to no end were controlled through armed resistance involving thousands of peasants. Arms and ammunition

were seized both from the landlords and the state forces and the squads and militias were armed with the weapons seized.

Various kinds of MOs (open, semi-secret and secret) and united front forums were formed that rallied thousands of people on various issues. Among the significant of these were the women's and cultural organizations. They brought new experiences to the entire revolutionary movement. Support was extended to nationality struggles and anti-imperialist agitations and they were also built up under united front banner. Mass organizations were formed to play an active leading role in the movement for a separate Jharkhand state.

As the Secretary he played a crucial role in making ideological, political and organizational preparations for conducting the two Central Conferences of the party in 1989 and 1996. Along with the other CCMs he strove hard to consolidate the party from top to bottom by educating them about the decisions taken in the Conferences and in carrying forward the tasks set by them. The basis laid by comrade KC was expanded, strengthened and consolidated under the CC led by him and in turn laid the basis for the expansion and consolidation of the party, army and united front in the later period. All these achievements were a result of a collective effort of the central leadership team as part of which he discharged his responsibilities efficiently.

Thus he ably led the party till 1996 as its Secretary. His contributions and services in the ideological, political, organizational, military and cultural spheres proved invaluable in building the party and the movement, particularly in Bihar-Jharkhand and Bengal. It was made possible only by concrete study of concrete conditions and creative application of MLM to the ground realities of our country. He won the confidence of his committee, lower level committees and the entire rank and file of the party and also fraternal parties, particularly the CPI(ML)[PW] through his commitment, approach, ability, hard work, guidance, perseverance and selfless services.

However, in a sad turn of events, he had to undergo a cataract operation for his left eye which failed, leading to loss of vision. His other eye was already seriously affected by cataract. In these circumstances he voluntarily put the proposal to step down as the Secretary of the party as it would be

physically difficult to carry out his responsibilities. This shows his belief in the collective effort and spirit and his correct assessment of the role of an individual according to a Marxist perspective. The party accepted his proposal in the second Central Conference held in 1996 and he continued as a veteran of the party and a CCM since then. He continued playing a crucial role in the CC and party, particularly in ideological and political spheres, expanding the movement to several other states, particularly playing a crucial role in expanding and developing the movement in Odisha, successfully conducting two-line struggle inside the party, summing up the movement, developing international relations and achieving unity with genuine Maoist organizations, particularly the CPI(ML)[PW].

Ideological and political struggles against wrong lines

Apart from participating in the internal struggles with the CPI and CPI(M) leadership and the internal struggle between communist revolutionaries as to what was correct and what was wrong, he also participated in and led several internal ideological and political struggles/two-line struggles within the MCC after it was formed. The party could creatively apply the PPW path to the concrete conditions of Indian society and the revolutionary practice, develop the revolutionary movement and follow the correct methods of conducting internal struggle only by emerging victorious in all these internal struggles by adhering to the correct line.

The role of Sushil Roy in waging these internal struggles and in defending the party's correct line as a leading member, as the Secretary of the party and later as a veteran CCM was prominent. He along with other leading members successfully fought back the 'left' and right opportunist tendencies inside the party and once again steered the party along the correct path in spite of suffering some temporary losses during these struggles due to the liquidationist activities of the opportunists.

In 1970-71 when the party faced white terror, a wrong line raised its head which claimed that it was not correct to carry on armed struggle only in remote rural areas, but should be done in cities and suburbs too. Then a two-line struggle took place against those leading members who held that MCC was following a left line in 24 Paraganas, Kanksa and Hooghly. When

the party leadership under the guidance of comrade KC fought back this erroneous line, they left the movement. In 1971-72 the leadership comrades in Asom-Tripura brought forth the opinion that the movement could advance only through regular squad actions on the class enemies and state forces and there was a two-line struggle on that. There was a two-line struggle on issues raised by Badal in 1977-78 regarding left line in various forms. This two-line struggle went on since the demise of comrade KC in 1982 till 1994-95.

A severe two-line struggle at a higher plane in the CC took place between 1999 and 2001. Out of all the internal struggles, this was the severest and it shook the entire party but it helped the party in taking a qualitative leap in all aspects. Two CCMs Bharat and Badal formed a disruptionist clique and raised questions about the use of the term Maoism instead of Mao Tse-tung Thought and the arrangement of the photos of the three founder members of MCC. In the August 1999 CC meeting it was decided to use the term Maoism as it was more correct and scientific though the party was in agreement that there is no basic difference between Mao Tse-tung Thought and Maoism. In the CC meeting of November 2000 the line of arrangement of the photos was decided as comrades KC, Amulya Sen and Chandrasekhar Das. But Bharat and Badal resorted to groupism and tried to build cliques inside the party after going back from the meeting. Confusion spread among the cadres and their activities damaged the movement and the party. They began raising more issues. They said 1. Stalin should be assessed once again, we cannot go with the assessment made during the Great Debate; 2. The party should sever links with RIM and 3. The declaration of unilateral ceasefire with PW was wrong.

Though this internal struggle should have been concluded in a plenum or a conference at central level, it was not possible due to the wrong attitudes of Bharat and Badal. Finally after severe and sharp internal struggle, 98% of the party stood with the CC and both the opportunists were expelled from the party.

This not only established the party line firmly one more time but also prepared the ground for the much-awaited unity of MCCI and CPI(ML) [PW] into a single party by inspiring self-criticism through a realisation of

the serious shortcomings regarding the black chapter in the Indian revolutionary movement in the form of armed clashes between MCC and PW. It helped the MCC in understanding the need to form the PLGA. It helped the party overcome dogmatism, sectarianism and get rid of weaknesses. It hastened the process to advance towards building the army and base areas.

As a veteran CCM comrade Sushil Roy stood firm in this fight against the opportunists and played an important role in the party taking a qualitative turn in all the spheres through this internal struggle.

Prominent role in building a unified revolutionary centre

Comrade Sushil Roy's role in achieving unity with genuine revolutionaries in the country will have a very special mention in the annals of the revolutionary communist movement of India.

Though a united party could not be formed in the late 1960s due to some differences and historical reasons and two separate organizations - CPI(ML) and MCC - came into being, comrade KC had clearly stated that they would always be ready to dissolve the independent organization and unite under a single centre. He stated that the genuine revolutionaries in the CPI(ML) and the MCC would definitely unite one day. Accordingly, a principled stand was taken towards unity and efforts were started to materialise it. Comrade Sushil Roy had always supported and followed in true spirit this stand of comrade KC regarding unity and followed it in practice. He was part of all delegations of the party in bilateral, multi-lateral unity talks with various parties as a leading member, Secretary and veteran CCM.

Unity efforts with PW started in 1981 itself under the leadership of comrade KC and laid a strong foundation for the unity. Without doubt the martyrdom of KC dealt a serious blow to these efforts. But in this difficult situation also the MCC led by Sushil Roy and other comrades undertook the task in earnest and put serious efforts to realize the dream of thousands of martyrs, millions of revolutionary masses of our country and the Maoist parties of other countries regarding the unity of genuine Maoist forces in India.

The process of unity with the PW was long but continuous. After Sushil Roy took over as Secretary of the party, the process of unity was continued. After both parties developed into All India parties, though unity could not be achieved yet, the process of united activities at All India MO and united front levels were taken up. This helped in the development of both the movements. Some political and organizational differences remained unresolved but the rest of the entire basis for unity was laid through this long process. Due to some serious differences unity talks did not continue.

Apart from other factors, ultimately the efforts for unity between MCC and PW began to bear fruit after MCC took the initiative to declare unilateral ceasefire in 2000 which was a turning point in reestablishing bilateral relations between MCC and PW and also bringing the unity between the two parties on to the agenda. Sushil Roy played a crucial role all through the process of achieving this great unity. He participated as a leading member of the high-level delegation from MCCI in the entire merger process. Both the parties undertook a process of solving the pending differences and achieved unity by enriching the line, tactics and policies of the Indian revolution in the light of experiences and understanding enriched by many decades of revolutionary practice. Unity was possible only after both sides could look at their own mistakes and shortcomings in the most self-critical manner and after both sides took the correct attitude towards solving the differences with a grave sense of responsibility.

He was part of the first delegation that conducted unity talks with PW and since then for more than two decades played a prominent role in the entire unity process. The party proudly acknowledges the crucial role played by him in achieving this great unity. Ultimately what comrade KC had said came true. It was a specific characteristic of the Indian revolution that except for a short span, right opportunism and revisionism dominated it since its inception till the dawn of Naxalbari. Though it broke the backbone of revisionism and several genuine forces came together, not all of them could be united in 1969. To have a single guiding centre is a pre-condition for the revolution to be successful in any country. The PW and MCCI merged into a single party by deciding to take a similar stand towards the remaining few genuine revolutionary forces. Accordingly, the new party continued its efforts for unity with these forces.

Just before this merger, comrade Roy played a similarly important role in unifying RCCI, RCCI(M) and CPI(ML) Second CC with MCC. The MCC had held unity talks with the CPI(ML) NAXALBARI and a common understanding was reached about some major issues in the process of achieving unity. Close relations were maintained between the two parties. He played an important role in these talks too. This laid the basis for the unity between the CPI(Maoist) and the CPI(ML) NAXALBARI in 2014.

After the merger, as a veteran comrade of our party and a Politburo member, he was engaged in completing the merger process at the lower levels and in the effort to mould the entire party in the new conditions of functioning as a united party. He was part of the preparations for conducting the Unity Congress-9th Congress and took part in all important decisions of the CC and the PB in order to advance the PW in all spheres and was also looking after some international work.

Arrest and prison life

The reactionary ruling classes of India, with the assistance and blessings of the imperialists, particularly the US, have been drawing up meticulous plans to arrest or eliminate the leadership of the newly-formed CPI(Maoist) party and to destroy the advancing people's war. Accordingly, special intelligence agencies and networks have been set up centrally, and in most of the states similar to the SIB of AP, where the party was active. The CPI(M)-led government of West Bengal, under the leadership of the Chief Minister cum Home Minister, Buddhadeb was not only as brutal as the Congress/BJP, but also was more cunning. As part of the conspiracies of central and state governments and the intelligence agencies, Sushil Roy was arrested in Kolkata on May 21 2005 - within eight months of the merger.

He was interrogated on 22nd and 23rd in a BSF camp of West Medinipur and then produced in a court on May 24. The place of his arrest had also been falsified along with the date. When he questioned an intelligence officer about this, that rogue simply replied that they would frame him in such a case that he would have to be in jail for the rest of his life and die in jail. He was also framed in some other false cases in different police stations in Medinipur. Such was the conspiratorial manner in which the central and

state intelligence agencies acted to somehow frame him in as many false cases as possible.

All this clearly showed how keen the ruling classes were to not only arrest the top leadership of CPI(Maoist) but also to keep them permanently in prisons to prevent them from leading and serving the revolution any more. Not just that, they also consciously and callously allowed his health to deteriorate by resorting to brutality and inhumanity in a fascist way.

Already after his arrest, along with the West Medinipur police, top intelligence officials of the centre and other states (AP, Odisha, Jharkhand, Delhi and Kolkata) had interrogated him and subjected him to mental torture and he became sick many times. He was put in jail in a sick condition and the callous treatment he received in the jails of West Bengal and especially in Jharkhand led to the rapid deterioration of his health. The threat of the West Bengal police to 'let him die in the jail' was implemented to the letter wherever he was lodged. This once again shows how all the ruling-class parties come together when it comes to suppressing the Maoists. In Jharkhand he was kept in solitary confinement with three rounds of security and was kept in the most unsanitary conditions without any help. As a sick and elderly person he was in fact in need of permanent assistance even for going about his daily ablutions but the inhuman judicial system of the country and the prison authorities abandoned him to most unhygienic conditions. In Chaibasa prison of Jharkhand he fell down and broke his hip bone as he was not provided with any assistant. The wound was left to fester. The level of their insensitivity was such that they used to charge thirty rupees even for a cup of tea when he was admitted in the RIMS for hip fracture treatment.

He was one of the two oldest political prisoners of India along with another PBM of CPI(Maoist) comrade Narayan Sanyal at that time. But the Indian ruling classes who do not tire of waxing eloquent about human rights in international forums resort to horrible violations of the constitutional rights and the rights of elderly persons if they are Maoist political prisoners or if they belong to the oppressed classes or sections or minority communities of our society.

An unflinching communist in the face of immense suffering

When he was an inmate of Giridih jail he was not able to swallow any food for over 10 days and had become extremely weak and crippled as a result of his medical history and cruel neglect in medical treatment during 7 years in jails. He was shifted from the jail to hospital after an inordinate delay first to RIMS, a government medical hospital at Ranchi of Jharkhand. This delay was caused by the pretext made by Jharkhand police that they cannot provide him a secure mode of transport from Giridih jail to Ranchi. Even inside the hospital he was treated in a most inhuman manner without any medical care or assistance even to go through his daily ablutions. The hospital authorities and the security personnel were acting on the behest of the state whose intention clearly seemed to be to kill him on the hospital bed. It was only later that he was admitted to the AIIMS in Delhi.

The demands of several people's organizations in India for his unconditional release or at least to allow him to remain a free citizen as long as he was still under trial so that he could obtain necessary medical treatment and receive the due care and attention under the charge of his younger brother fell on deaf ears. Had it not been for the strong protests fearing his death in jail by several people's organizations and his younger brother Dr. Shyamal Roy, who happens to be his only close relative, even the belated treatment would not have been possible. Their demand to institute a high-level judicial committee to probe, and give a report at the earliest, on the veracity of the charges foisted against him went unattended till the end. In fact, he was given bail two or three times during this entire period of incarceration but he was booked under false cases, rearrested in front of the jail gates and once again put in prison. The state has been resorting to such conspiracy against leadership comrades at every level, especially against the CCM comrades.

He was detected with cancer in the urinary bladder and was admitted to AIIMS in September 2012. The doctors had already removed a tumor from the bladder and another operation was performed for cancer. He also suffered from heart ailment (Ischemia an inadequate supply of blood to a part of the body, caused by partial or total blockage of an artery). So there was only a 50-50 possibility of his survival after this operation. But even in that stage his only wish was 'for the aspirations of the people to be fulfilled with the

defeat of all the people's enemies the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists and their domestic lackeys.' Given his supreme confidence that 'our great party and the revolutionary people would not be defeated,' one can imagine that this must have been his state of mind when he agreed for the operation. He fought with his illness like a warrior till his last breath. More than his physical health, it was his revolutionary spirit that prolonged his life for some more time.

After the operation, he was bed-ridden and in constant need of permanent assistance and this was provided by the revolutionary and democratic mass organizations as well as individuals. They fought tooth and nail for his release, proper treatment and gave assistance to him till the end. It is an undeniable fact that comrade Sushil Roy would not have suffered so much or died so early if not for the callous treatment of the fascist Indian state. We must strongly condemn this most barbarous and inhumane killing by the ruling classes, their state machinery and imperialists. We must propagate this fact among the people widely to raise their consciousness about preserving the leadership comrades languishing in jails and rouse them to fight against the injustices heaped on them and other prisoners. Comrade Sushil Roy who set the benchmarks of an unflinching communist with his resolute fight against the state even in the face of such horrid conditions would continue to inspire the people in this struggle too.

A great leader who set forth great ideals

Comrade Sushil Roy's sad demise is undoubtedly a great loss to our party and movement. However, our entire party and the revolutionary masses would learn from this great martyr and would work with redoubled determination to fulfill the goals of the revolution. Our beloved and veteran comrade Sushil Roy was an admirable leader and an exemplary communist. He will live forever in our hearts and eternally serve as an inspiration. Several are the lofty ideals he set up for generations of communists that would come forward to fulfill the dreams of our great martyrs. Inspired by his ideals, lifelong revolutionary dedication, steadfastness, steely determination and uncompromising struggle till the last breath, the people of the country will come forward to fulfill his aspirations for a new democratic India.

Each communist can learn from the great leader comrade Sushil Roy qualities like firm adherence to MLM and his creative application of it;

opposition to opportunism and splittism on the one hand and striving for unity and sticking to it on the other; honesty in accepting mistakes and in rectifying other's mistakes; putting all-out efforts to build the three magic weapons to advance the movement victoriously and submitting individual interests to the collective interest.

Comrade Sushil Roy was an epitome of simplicity and led a very frugal life. He remained unmarried till the end. He stood steadfast in all the ups and downs the movement faced after the severe repression unleashed by the state subsequent to Naxalbari, Sonarpur and Kanksa movements and later. He never wavered and stood staunchly like a pillar in fulfilling whichever responsibility the party entrusted him with. Though the founder leaders of the party and other comrades were martyred and some of his former colleagues left the party during the periods of two-lines struggles, he firmly led the new team of leadership. He always started with a positive approach towards other movements and parties to learn from them and studied them with a critical outlook. His study was deep. He was very patient in dealing with comrades. He braved almost every kind of difficulty one could face in a revolutionary life with a smile on his lips and overcame all of them with the dignity befitting a true communist. It is reflective of the resoluteness of a communist who is ready to bear any amount of pain to eradicate the pain of humanity.

Not for a single moment did comrade Sushil Roy lose his heart or spirit in this extremely excruciating period of physical pain and disability. He was always known in the party for his great sense of humor. This kept the party rank and file always jovial and light-hearted even in the face of severe odds and difficulties. Every person who has been associated with him would readily acknowledge how he lifted their spirits with his political witticism. His ready smile and the ability to make others smile even in the most extreme conditions had a soothing effect and helped in reinvigorating the revolutionary spirit. It is not just some endearing personal trait that we are mentioning here but we are pointing here to his unflinching commitment to a great cause the liberation of the people of the world from all kinds of exploitation, oppression, discrimination and pain that made this possible. We can take forward our New Democratic Revolution to a sure victory and advance to realise socialism and communism by grasping and imbibing the revolutionary qualities and ideals of our beloved comrade Sushil Roy and other great martyrs. ★

Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless; we hope that all our fellow fighters will courageously shoulder their responsibilities and overcome all difficulties, fearing no setbacks or gibes, nor hesitating to criticize us Communists and give us their suggestions. "He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor" — this is the dauntless spirit needed in our struggle to build socialism and communism.

– Mao Tse-tung, Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work

Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again... till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic... Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again ... till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic.

– Mao Tse-tung, 'Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle'

This army has an indomitable spirit and is determined to vanquish all enemy and never to yield. No matter what the difficulties and hardships, so long as single man remains, he will fight on.

– Mao Tse-tung, 'On Coalition Government'

The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.

– Mao Tse-tung, 'On Coalition Government'

Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory.

– Mao Tse-tung, 'The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains'