

anniversary, Comrade Narayan Sanyal too has left us after five decades of relentless revolutionary struggle. A comrade like him is an ideal before us. Our CC calls upon each and everyone in Party, PLGA and the revolutionary mass organisations to learn from him and imbibe his communist qualities to boldly advance the Protracted People's War to victory by fighting back the attacks of the ruling classes and imperialists and the Brahmanical Hindu-fascist forces at their service by taking inspiration from Comrade Narayan Sanyal. Red-red salutes and humble homage to our beloved comrade Bijay dada! We take pledge to continue on the path of PPW by surmounting every hurdle to fulfil the dreams for which he lived and died!

**A veteran communist of Naxalbari generation and
Politburo Member of our Party
Comrade Narayan Sanyal
will continue to inspire us
to daringly traverse the path of PPW till victory!**



**CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)**

April 30, 2017

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

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

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

With all these qualities, Comrade Narayan Sanyal easily won the recognition, respect and love of his comrades and the oppressed masses as a veteran leader of the Indian revolution. His five-decade long revolutionary life, his communist qualities and his sacrifice will continue to inspire all of us. Just as the outbreak of Naxalbari armed revolutionary peasant uprising completes its fiftieth

expansion work in a planned manner. Comrade Bijay became the secretary of this RB. Unfortunately, however, he got arrested within fifteen months of the merger and even before this RB could become functional.

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

revolutionary red homage to this exemplary communist, learn from his proletarian qualities, take inspiration from his lifelong dedication to the path of Naxalbari and take vow to realise his dream for a society free from exploitation and oppression.

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

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

Role in the unity of revolutionary forces and the formation of CPI(ML)PU: After his arrest, Comrade Bijay was first lodged in a jail in Bihar and later in Bengal. He faced brutal torture in police custody, but remained firm and inspired others to boldly face the enemy. Along with several other leading comrades, he and other revolutionaries withstood many attacks orchestrated by the jail

came up in the Congress, he played an important role as an elder comrade of the CC in defeating it. He had an important role in the successful completion of the Congress. As the PB in-charge from the CC, Comrade Bijay guided the South West Regional Bureau of the Party along with the SWRB Secretary. When a right-opportunist line raised its ugly head in Karnataka, he fought it back with other comrades and defeated it. When new revolutionary forces emerged in Assam, he helped to consolidate them by imparting ideological-political education and played an important role in expanding the Party there. He also maintained relations with a few national liberation organisations of the Northeast.

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

basis. Ashok and another COCM deserted and Comrade Bijayda became the Party Secretary. He ably led the Party as its secretary from 1987 till 1998 when it merged with CPI(ML)(PW) to form a new unified Party, the CPI(ML)[PW].

Role in merger and in the unified party: As the Secretary of PU Comrade Bijay consistently upheld the understanding of the Eighth Congress of CPI(ML) that genuine communist revolutionaries should unite on the basis of a common review of the past. Unity talks began between CPI(ML)(PW) and CPI(ML)PU in 1995 based on similar understanding of important domestic and international developments and continued. As a part of the unity process, PU's Central Conference was held in 1997 where eighteen years of the movement led by the Party was reviewed. Some vital questions on the party line were raised in a Critique Document was placed by a COCM during the Conference. The two-line struggle that followed led to the enrichment of the PU's political line and some valuable and correct criticism made by the critique document was incorporated in the POR by the Conference. Comrade Bijay played an important role in conducting this two-line struggle in the correct method and contributed to the successful conference. It had played a most important role in achieving unity between the PU and PW. After nearly three years of unity process and reaching a common understanding on all basic ideological, political, organisational and military issues the two parties merged to form CPI(ML)[PW]. Comrade Bijay played the main role on behalf of PU in leading its delegation and putting forth its positions with a desire for unity. After the merger, the united Party began preparations for the Ninth Congress to be held nearly thirty years after the Eighth Congress of 1970 held under Comrade CM's leadership. As a senior comrade and a PBM, Comrade Bijay was deeply involved in the preparations, in drafting Congress documents by summing-up the movement and in conducting the Congress held in 2001. When a left-sectarian line

authorities. With them, he led many struggles of the jail inmates on many demands including for the rights of the political prisoners. Comrade Narayan Sanyal built close relations with like-minded comrades in jail like Comrade Parimal Sen [(Ajay), who became a CCM of CPI(Maoist)] and Comrade Ajit [who became a member of West Bengal State Committee, CPI(Maoist)] and some other leading cadre. They collectively reviewed the revolutionary movement led by the CPI(ML) so far and developed similar ideas on some basic issues. Based on this, they came to an understanding about uniting with genuine revolutionaries on a common basis if any genuine Party was already functioning. In an atmosphere when right-opportunists were carrying out ruthless attacks on CPI(ML)'s line, CM's role, splits, disunity and demoralisation stalked the revolutionary camp after the martyrdom of Comrade CM and setback of Naxalbari, Comrade Bijay played a very important role in making efforts to unite the genuine revolutionary forces from jail and rebuild the movement.

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

among the peasantry also began in Nadia and Murshidabad districts of West Bengal.

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

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

advancing this movement and it emerged as an important area of class struggle led by the PU.

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

Role in leading the Party in internal struggle: Just when the conditions were maturing for the movement to advance by summing up the past experience and formulating new higher-level tasks, a right-opportunist line was brought forward by the then Party secretary Ashok. The advocates of this line asserted that there were fundamental changes in the semi-colonial and semi-feudal relations due to the development of capitalist relations in agriculture, making agrarian revolution and PPW obsolete. But they failed to substantiate their claims with a Marxist analysis or to place any concrete strategy and tactics to carry out their line. This revisionist line threatened to liquidate the revolutionary character of the Party and all the gains it had achieved so far. This ideological-political struggle came to a head in the Party's Central Conference held in 1987. Comrade Bijay resolutely led the struggle against this wrong line to defend the correct line and safeguarded the Party. As a result of this, the erroneous line was defeated at the Conference and the line of Protracted People's War with agrarian revolution as the axis of the New Democratic Revolution was reaffirmed. The Party achieved unity on a higher