

# CONTOURS OF NAXALITE RESISTANCE: A NARRATIVE ON REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGUES IN ODISHA

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**Abstract:** This article seeks to reveal the highly undocumented work of two Naxalite ideologues in Odisha, Nagbhusan Patnaik and Gananath Patra, whose contributions have been underrepresented within scholarly literature. Utilizing a qualitative, exploratory-cum-descriptive research framework based on narrative and historical methods, the research reconstructs the ideational and mobilizational activities of these leaders, especially within the undivided Koraput district. Based on secondary sources and primary interviews with ex-Naxal leaders, tribal elders, civil society activists, and scholars, the study highlights Nagbhusan Patnaik's pioneering role in launching the Naxal movement in Odisha and Gananath Patra's consistent activism against system exploitation of the tribal communities. Inspired by Dr. Ratan Das and other movement specialists, the scholar argues that a complete grasp of the history of Odisha's Naxalites requires examining closely the lives and legacies of these individuals. The research helps to fill a significant lacuna in the revolutionary violence historiography of eastern India.

**Keywords:** Tribal; Civil Society; Movement; Violence; Revolution; Land; Forest.

## INTRODUCTION

A research scholar will value this article for its extensive analysis of the silently working labor of Nagbhusan Patnaik and Gananath Patra, two vitally important but lesser-known players in Odisha's Naxalite history. Drawing upon a qualitative and narrative-historical method, the study presents a rare glimpse into mobilization at the grassroots revolutionary level in Koraput district in its pre-merger avatar. Drawing on primary interviews and critical secondary sources, it re-assembles the socio-political agency of Naxalite resistance leaders and fills a critical historiographical gap. For scholars of revolutionary violence, subaltern activism, or political sociology in eastern India, the paper offers an original, empirically rich, and ideologically nuanced analysis of Naxalite activism.

Having carried out intensive interviews with elderly people, tribal leaders, ex-Naxal leaders, media experts, members of civil society, NGO experts, social scientists, researchers, and social movement experts, the researcher discovered that Nagabhusan Patnaik was a key revolutionary leader of the Naxalite movement in Odisha. Dr. Ratan Das, Gandhian and close friend of Nagabhusan, forcefully urged the researcher to conduct a narrative study of Nagabhusan. Based on him, Nagabhusan was just like other revolutionary

ideologues in the Indian Naxal movement like Kanu Sanyal, Vinod Mishra, and Charu Mazumdar. Sadly, there has not been any serious study or article by scholars or authors on Nagabhusan's participation in revolutionary violence in India as a whole or in Odisha in particular. The researcher came to the opinion that Nagabhusan might be considered the founder of the Naxalite movement in Odisha after extensive consultation with several movement experts in the state. The researcher came to the realisation that it would be unfair for him to investigate the Naxalite movement without being aware of the life of the movement's principal architect. Furthermore, the researcher believed that it would be improper to start this difficult study without first comprehending Nagabhusan's individual contribution to the Naxalite movement in Odisha. Thus, he decided to conduct research on this pioneering member of the Odisha Naxalite movement.

To gather vital information about Nagabhusan, the researcher went to several libraries. Only a few brief publications with very little information about Nagabhusan were found by the researcher after a thorough review of the literature. The researcher was really discouraged about using such insignificant material to create a narrative study on such a prominent figure in the Indian Revolution. However, there was a glimmer of light when the research supervisor recommended to Interview

Nagabhusan's close associates in a narrative approach. A list of Nagabhusan's close associate was assembled by the researchers, including Dr. Ratan Das, Rabi Das, Gananath Patra, Khitish Biswal, Jagannath Patnaik, Sudhakar Patnaik, Fani Bhusan Patnaik (Nagabhusan's son), and others (name not to be included).

The researcher made a narrative study on Nagabhusan after closely examining a few articles and interviewing Nagabhusan's closest associates for an extensive duration of time. According to certain scholars and experts in social movements, this study on Nagabhusan was long overdue. To tell the story of Nagabhusan's contribution to the Naxalite movement in Odisha is truly a difficult challenge for the researcher.

Nagabhusan Patnaik, a votary of proletarian revolution and a legendary figure in Indian Naxalite movement, was born in the Padmapur village of undivided Koraput district in Odisha on 27th November 1934 and died in 1998. From his early years, Nagabhusan's revolutionary nature was evident at home, at school, and in college. He was able to speak out against injustice and inhumanity from an early age. After graduating from Gunupur College, Nagabhusan pursued a postgraduate degree in mathematics at Banaras Hindu University. Sadly, he was unable to finish his post-graduation studies because of financial difficulties, so he went to Odisha and pursued his legal education at Madhusudan Law College. He practiced law at the Odisha High Court for a few months after finishing his degree. He has witnessed the cruel exploitation of Sahookars and moneylenders in his community since he was a student. In order to fight for the underprivileged and oppressed in the Gunupur area, he looked for a platform. He returned to Gunupur and became a bar-at-law. When it came to advancing his profession, Nagabhusan and his father engaged in a silent fight. His father desired for his son to be a member of the Civil Service. Nagabhusan disregarded his father's desires. Additionally, he decided that he would not work in any profession that would persecute and repress defenceless people. He therefore made the decision to use his law career to advocate for the underprivileged and afflicted. With the assistance of his brother-in-law, DBM Patnaik, a senior pleader in the region, he joined CPI (M) in 1964. He belonged to AISF while he was a student.

He witnessed firsthand as a child the severity of the exploitation of the landless and tribal people in the Gunupur region. The Brahmins, Karans, Kumutis, Sundhis, and other notorious individuals settled in the Gunupur region, compounded interest, committed forgeries, and took over the fertile fields of tribals and disadvantaged people in Gunpur. They also lent money in Laghu, Phaida, and Chidni. These infamous individuals began with little money and rose to become sahuikars and landlords. However, the innocent tribal people did not pay back the loan and, in order to feed their hungry bellies, toiled as Goti (bonded labour) in the homes of sahuikrs and landlords for pitiful earnings.

In undivided koraput region, there was widespread exploitation of government officials, the forest, tax, excise, and moneylenders. The primary problem was land in the plain. In addition, there were issues with debt, inadequate pay, and governmental dishonesty. He researched the extent of landlords' tyranny and exploitation of landless people after closely watching the situation in his home country. He discovered that many indigenous people are being ruthlessly taken advantage of by wine dealers, landlords, and moneylenders who have migrated from coastal Andhra Pradesh and Odisha.. He was further motivated by this observation to unite the labourers and landless peasants in order to form a powerful force that would be able to combat the local exploitative agents. Mass movements based on political and socioeconomic demands were organised under Nagabhusan's leadership.

The struggle between classes, according to Nagabhusan's campaign, is what is causing social change in Indian society's class system. In order to eradicate the seeds of exploitation and cruel oppression by landlords, daru mafias (wine sellers), greedy moneylenders, and dishonest public servants, he advocated for an extreme form of revolution. Nagabhusan gave the Naxalite movement its ideological direction by promoting the violent overthrow of the upper classes and government by Indian peasants and lower class tribals. His philosophy also drew a lot of peasants and labourers without land, who actively joined the revolutionary cause. In the undivided Koraput region, he became an advocate of the landless and impoverished masses.

To stop the exploitation by moneylenders, landowners, and forest officials in 1964–1965, Nagabhusan organised the labour of Chitrakunda Reservoir, the labour of Balimela Power Station, and the labour of forest tribals and the downtrodden masses of the tribal lands in the undivided Koraput district. Many communist officials were detained in 1965–1966 as a result of their ongoing violent conflict in various regions of the nation. Nagabhusan was also taken into custody and imprisoned in Tihar. He met prominent communist leaders in Tihar jail, including P. Sunderayya, the leader of the Telengana people's movement. Nagabhusan was persuaded by P. Sunderayya to carry on the movement in the unbroken Koraput region along the Telengana line. On April 27, 1966, Nagabhusan was freed from Tihar jail. One of the communist leaders at the time, P Ramamurthy, aimed to keep the activity at Malakanagiri within the bounds of the law. As a lawyer, Nagabhusan saw that it would be challenging to organise and draw in the masses to address their issue within the allotted time if the people's movement persisted within the bounds of the law. He disassociated himself from the official CPI (M) line of struggle and established his own after becoming perplexed by Ramamurthy's instructions.

Under the red flag, he coordinated Balimela Hydro-Power's workforce. In late 1966, Nagabhusan and three thousand workers protested and gheroad the Gunupur subdivision's SDO headquarters about the increase in the cost of daily necessities. He received another directive from the communist leadership at the start of 1967 to abstain from these actions and to cast his ballot. Nagabhusan disapproved of the party's choice and was looking for another venue that would deal with revolutionary methods. He carried on the revolution in the Koraput region's Gunupur, Padmapur, Ramnaguda, Muniguda, and Chandrapur.

In 1967, the Naxalite movement began in North Bengal's Naxalvari, Siliguri Sub-division, sparking a powerful national uprising. Following an incident in Levidi in Parvatipuram agency where two tribal peasants were mowed down by the hired goons of landlords, the agitation then expanded to Andhra Pradesh. The tribal peasant class, which was organised under the direction of Vempatapu Satyanarayana in A.P. and Nagabhusan Patnaik in Odisha, was enraged by this episode.

Nagabhusan was closely associated with the Andhra Pradesh revolutionary group Srikakulam. The Communist Revolutionaries of Andhra Pradesh's immediate agenda, which claimed that India was a new colony being exploited by American, British, and Soviet imperialists, served as his inspiration. The "land to tiller" movement was initiated in Andhra Pradesh by Vempatapu Satyanarayana (Satyam), a school teacher, member of multiple Indian Communist organisations, and a leader of the Srikakulam Peasant Uprising of 1967. This movement had a significant impact on Nagabhusan, who carried it out in the undivided Koraput district and some areas of Ganjam district.

The All India Coordination Committee of the Communist Revolutionaries, which subsequently evolved into the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), was established in 1967 when the CPI-M itself broke up. After their alternative political-organizational proposal was rejected at the party's all India Plenum in Burdwan in 1968, Nagabhusan and other Andhra Pradesh Communist leaders, including Tarimala Nagi Reddy, Kolla Venkayya, Devulapalli Venkateswar Rao, and Chandra Pulla Reddy, were expelled from the CPI(M).

On March 14, 1968, the Odisha Communists joined the latter and, under the direction of D.B.M. Patnaik, established the Odisha State Coordination Committee (OSCC). Jaladhar Nanda, Rabi Das, Kundan Ram, Nagabhushan Patnaik, Dinabandhu Samal, and Jagannath Tripathy were among the other revolutionaries who rose to prominence on the committee. Members of OSCC became involved in propaganda efforts and revolutionary violence as soon as the organisation was formed. With the help of Purushottam Pali and others, Nagabhusan led the Chitrakonda labour movement, and in 1968, 5,000 workers stormed the Chitrakonda police station and looted all of the weapons and ammunition. The landless tribal people began to rebel against the exploitation of the landed elite and the Daru Mafia (the liquor mafia in the Gunupur subdivision of Koraput District) under the tenacious leadership of Nagabhusan Patnaik.

Nagabhusan persuaded people that feudalism was the primary source of pain and the repression of human values, and that it had given rise to injustice and inequity. Therefore, his main goal was to start the New Democratic Revolution in order to

overthrow the oppressive feudal system and create a socialist state. Many tribal people were attracted to his powerful revolutionary views, which inspired them to join the Naxalite movement in the Koraput-Srikulam region in 1968.

The Naxalite movement in Odisha was greatly impacted by the 1969 visit of Charu Mazumdar, a West Bengali leader, to the Andhra-Odisha border. When Mazumdar suggested creating guerilla groups and starting a farmer's revolution along the Andhra-Odisha border, he disbanded the Odisha State Committee on March 29, 1969. As a result, the "revolutionary" areas of Koraput and Ganjam in Southern Odisha joined the Srikakulam Regional Committee, the groups from Mayurbhanj and Balasore District were affiliated with the West Bengal Coordination Committee in the north, and the Sambalpur and Sundergarh groups in North-West Odisha were joined the South Bihar Committee. Nagabhusan was propagandizing the exploitation and oppression of excise, forest and police department on tribals and other marginalized people. Thus, in the Koraput region, the conflict between the people and the state became the main one. Under his leadership, the workers developed a political consciousness and relocated to various villages in order to spread political propaganda and form an alliance between the peasantry and the workers.

According to Choudhury (1998), Nagabhusan gained the trust of the tribal peasants by representing them in court without charging them. It was planned that the Communist guerrillas would attack Gunupur's wealthy peasants and moneylenders during a series of covert meetings held between January 23 and January 28, 1969. When the authorities learnt of this, they raided the campaigners' homes, therefore the plot failed. According to his analysis, on November 25, 1968, a group of about 250 tribal members, armed with bows, arrows, and spears, under the leadership of Vempatapu Satyanarayana and Nagabhusan Patnaik, stormed a landlord's home and seized rice and other food grains that he had stored.

They also seized documents, promissory notes and other records that had bound the tribal peasants to the landlord, who was also a moneylender. Several such actions followed in Srikakulam'. No doubt, the tribals of the Koraput district were

subjected to an assortment of brutal exploitation, which was intensified under the capitalist rule. The tribals rose in revolts on several occasions against the exploitation and brutality by the landlords and their agents. Their movement gained momentum as they organized in a broad based platform under the charismatic leadership of Nagabhusan. They conducted several struggles motivated by this giant revolutionary. Nagabhusan became the ideologues for the communist revolutionaries in Odisha.

In the Gunupur region (a Koraput subdivision that abutted Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh), where the Communist revolutionaries had formed the tribal poor into armed guerrilla squads, Nagabhusan organised the peasants from several villages. When crops were forcibly harvested from a wealthy landlord's property, the guerilla movement gained momentum. The violent incidents happened in various locations throughout Koraput. Regretfully, the revolutionaries assassinated Dinabandhu Choudhury, a young guy from Badamunigaon village in the Ramanaguda block of United Koraput. In the middle of the night, a group of Andhra border revolutionaries arrived in the village brandishing weapons and shouting "Nagbhusan Zindabad."

They stood at the door of each house, armed with rifles and other weapons, and urged the occupants to stay inside and not go outside. Five or six of them hauled Dinabandhu to the village courtyard after forcing their way into his home. "Dinabandhu is a traitor and should be killed according to the tenets of revolution," they were yelling. After that, they tied Dinabandhu to a verandah wooden post. Two people grabbed him by the back, while the other two repeatedly stabbed him in the chest until he passed away. Dinabandhu was removed in accordance with the Naxalite leaders' political plan after they claimed he was a police informant. In 1970, the second murder occurred close to Gothalapdar village in the Gunpur subdivision of the Undivided Koraput district. In the open daylight, Naxalites stabbed and killed a local home guard inside the forest. Inside the thick woodland, the red rebels caught him off guard and used a dagger to assassinate him. They disclosed that their boss, Charu Mazumdar, had recommended this heinous manner of destroying humanity in order to instill dread and madness in the populace (Das Ratan, 2013).

Nagabhusan avoided the police and carried on with his work until July 15, 1969, when he and eleven other people were taken into custody in Visakhapatna. Three months later, on October 9, 1969, as all of the inmates were witnessing a cultural show within the jail, Nagabhusan and his eleven accomplices broke through the ventilator of the Vishakhapatnam Central Jail to escape. Nagabhusan was elected to the party's first Central Committee after making it to Calcutta in May 1970 to attend the CPI(M-L)'s inaugural Congress. On July 14, 1970, Nagabhusan was taken into custody at a Calcutta private hospital. The security personnel. He received a severe punishment. He was rescued from third-degree torture by the distinguished social worker Malati Choudhury. Nagabhusan was accused of conspiring in the Gunupur, Parvatipuram, and Sana Munigaon zamidar murder cases.

In 1970, Nagabhusan was accused by the police of killing P.A. Narasimha Raju of Anakapali Talukh in the Andhra Pradesh agency of Parvatipuram. In the same murder case, Tejeswar Rao and Narayan Rao were also found guilty (Samaj, 2.12.1970). In December 1970, the session's court in Vishakhapatnam sentenced him to death, and the Andhra Pradesh High Court upheld the decision the next year. He was accused of murder in connection with a guerilla squad operation by the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of India in the Parvatipuram Conspiracy case in the Andhra Pradesh district of Visakhapatnam.

Teachers, physicians, attorneys, and tribal members were among the many individuals on the list in the Parvatipuram conspiracy case against the Indian State. The CRPF killed about 500 persons during this march. Thousands of people were taken into custody and imprisoned for almost a decade. The Learned II Additional Sessions Judge, Visakhapatnam, sentenced Nagabhusan, the petitioner in Writ Petition No. 296 of 1974, to death. Despite his profession as a lawyer, he declined to take part in the trial, defend himself, or appeal the death sentence in the Parvatipuram conspiracy case.

He was placed under strict security in the Rajmundry jail in Andhra Pradesh as soon as the verdict was made public. However, the death penalty was not carried out in the allotted period. Nagabhusan was moved to the Central Jail in Visakhapatnam. He also declined to beg for mercy,

despite the fact that numerous MPs, MLAs, his elderly father, his wife, and a number of well-wishers, including Debendra Satpathy, Jaya Prakash Narayan, Malati Coudhury, Biju Patnaik, Ratan Das, Rabi Das, and other prominent national figures, had pleaded for the death sentence to be commuted. The 'death row' of the central jail in Visakhapatnam housed Nagabhusan for more than three years.

He fell ill. "Before hanging me, my two eyes are to be donated to the helpless blind and all my limbs should be distributed among those who need any limbs of my body," he wrote in a letter to the president of India after it was verified that he would be hanged. To lessen Nagabhusan's punishment, the Sarvodaya leaders Prabhakar and Narayan Rao in Andhra Pradesh, Ratan Das Malati Choudhury, and Nabakrushana in Odisha, fought valiantly. Dr. Ratan Das spent a year working with the governor of Andhra Pradesh, the chief minister, the home minister, members of parliament, and numerous other national officials to have the death sentence of Nagabhusan commuted. With the assistance of a distinguished Delhi lawyer, Das wrote the mercy petition, which Ramamurthy Patnaik—the father of Nagabhusan—presented to the Indian president and prime minister. In this regard, a gathering was called at New Delhi's Bithal Bhai Patel Hall and called for Nagabhusan's release. About 80 MPs signed the petition to mitigate Nagabhusan Patnaik's death sentence. In the end, the President commuted the death penalty to life in prison.

According to Banerjee (1998) Even after the central Janata administration took power, Nagabhusan remained imprisoned. After human rights attorneys filed a petition in the Supreme Court, he was moved to the All India Institute of Medical Sciences in New Delhi, where he was diagnosed with asthma, stomach issues, problems with blood circulation in the brain, and other conditions. In the Parvatipuram conspiracy case, in which Nagabhusan was one of the main suspects, the trial of CPI(M-L) detainees ended in July 1979 when all of the accused were acquitted on the grounds that the prosecution had not proven its claims. However, the state government of Andhra Pradesh filed an appeal against his acquittal with the Supreme Court. He was nearly on his deathbed in mid-1981 when the Supreme Court granted him parole, only after a protracted and difficult legal battle waged by civil liberties

organisations. Nagabhusan spent 14 years in prison for his political activism, which was consistent with the ideology he was dedicated to.

## **NAGBHUSAN PATNAIK AND THE SECOND WAVE OF NAXALISM IN ODISHA**

Nagabhusan attempted to bring the split Communist Party in India together after being released from prison after 14 years. Regarding this, Banerjee (1998) has correctly noted that "Nagabhushan was among the first Left political leaders to identify the new danger that was beginning to threaten the entire Left movement from late 1980s onwards." He not only stepped up his attempts to unite the disparate revolutionary groups in response to the threat posed by the Hindu communal forces, but he also called on the legislative Left parties to join forces.

In 1982, the Indian Peoples Front emerged as the open mass organisation of the CPI-ML (liberation). Binod Mishra came up with the idea. The majority of CPI (ML) leaders were underground at this period. Binod Mishra sincerely asked Nagabhusan Patnaik to lead the IPF as its president. In 1984, Nagabhusan became the IPF's president, while Dipankar Bhattacharya became its general secretary. IPF gradually gained traction under Nagabhusan's capable direction. The two revolutionaries, Nagabhusan Patnaik and Vinod Misra, both belonged to the generation that made history during the Indian revolution by storming the skies and raising the banner of The fact that these revolutionaries understood the content and significance of breaking through the line of individual terrorism that defined the early years of the CPI (ML) is to their credit. They were aware of the shortcomings of the so-called "Chinese path," which, in India, promoted boycotting constitutional organs as a tactical move in the name of Mao Zedong ideology.

On October 15, 1982, Nagabhusan coordinated a large-scale demonstration against the Bihar Press Bill. There were about 100,000 participants in the event. People from all around India came together to support the IPF during this rally. This massive gathering was attended by a large number of communist revolutionaries, peasants, landless labourers, and tribal people. From November 4–6,

1984, the IPF held its second conference in Calcutta. An enormous number of individuals attended this event in support of the rally's cause. Meanwhile, another incident occurred in Bihar in 1986 when over a dozen members of scheduled castes were killed by police shooting in Arwal, Jehanabad District. Nagabhusan was taken aback.

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The killing of 14 Scheduled Caste landless labourers and IPF supporters by the Bharatiya Kisan Sangh at Tikshora hamlet, close to Patna, on February 14, 1992, outraged Nagabhusan. The 'Samajik Parivarthan Rally' (Social Change Rally), which took place in Patna on March 18, 1994, was mostly planned by Nagabhusan. Ten thousand famished labourers marched to Patna in bare feet. Some of them had walked more than 100 kilometres to get to the site. According to a number of political analysts, IPF was India's leftist movement with the quickest rate of growth. In 1994, IPF was dissolved. A young child with a strong belief in revolution, Sabyasachi Panda was greatly inspired by Nagabhusan's line of fight and

joined the CPI-ML liberated in 1991. Under Nagabhusan's leadership, he carried on with his party activities till the start of 1996. Sabyasachi left Nagabhusan due to disagreements over the revolution's policy and tactics, and he joined the CPI (ML) Party Unit instead. According to DP Buxi (1998), the PWG members stormed the office of Nagabhushan Patnaik, a well-known Naxalite leader who is renowned throughout the state and its surrounding areas. The attack was the consequence of a minor dispute between two towns that, over the course of a month, escalated into a significant regional scandal. A dispute between a Saura Adivasi and a member of the Relli community (a Harijan community) began on June 26, the day of the Rath Yatra festival. They used the fact that certain Relli men belonged to the Khalasi union (connected to the CPI (ML)'s trade union, AICCTU), of the Gunupur to propagate accusations that Nagabhushan Patnaik was pro-Relli. Nagabhusan was accused of escalating disputes among the impoverished; his class participation and parliamentary actions earned him the label of betrayer of revolution. In addition, he was accused of "extorting" traders and accumulating property worth thousands of rupees. All of these false accusations did not sit well with Nagabhusan. To bring the Indian communist revolutionaries together, Nagabhusan travelled to villages, blocks, districts, and states despite his ailing health. He envisioned the communists fighting together for the oppressed and repressed masses of the entire nation.

Nagabhusan oversaw the fourth, fifth, and sixth party congresses, during which he took numerous significant actions to fortify the party's organisational framework and bring the communist cadres together. His cancer was in his stomach. Despite his serious sickness, he attended the 17th CPI Party Congress, which was held in Chennai on October 9, 1998. "In life and death, I am for the party," he said in his final speech. For a left confederation, he had envisioned. After suffering from liver cancer and renal failure, veteran revolutionary Nagabhushan Patnaik, who personified the revolutionary spirit of the Naxalbari and the Srikakulam Armed Struggle, passed away in a private hospital in Madras. The entire nation's communist revolutionaries were deeply shaken by his passing.

From Madras via Vijayawada, Katipudi, Vishakhapatnam, Parvatipuram, Gothlapadar, Gunupur, Paralakhemundi, Berhampur, and finally

Bhubaneswar, the communists carried his lifeless body in a procession. In front of sizable audiences from all around the nation, his remains was cremated at the Satyanagar burial place in Bhubaneswar.

Ratan Das, one of Nagabhusan's important followers, said that Nagabhushan Patnaik upheld an admirable standard of sacrifice and renunciation. He had freely rejected all conveniences and permitted his passions to develop into hardship and commitment. He would have been a well-known lawyer with a huge salary thanks to his extensive understanding of jurisprudence, but instead he used all of his legal expertise to fight for justice for the weak and disenfranchised. He adhered to Mao Zedong's political thought and was a fervent supporter of him. "To rebel is justified" is a belief he developed throughout his life. The uprising within himself was initiated by him.

"Nagabhushan's unwavering faith in revolutionary violence was matched only by his emphasis on ideological purity, often at the cost of mass appeal." (Das, 2008). In the context of Odisha, Nagabhushan Patnaik became the moral and political nucleus around whom Naxalite politics revolved, particularly after the fragmentation of the central leadership following the death of Charu Mazumdar." (Buxi, 1998, p. 123).

Although Nagabhushan has left this world, his optimistic outlook and unwavering resolve to uphold justice and protect the rights of the underprivileged have made him more popular among the state's oppressed people in Odisha. In the Indian Revolution, Nagabhusan's name is either feared or revered, but it is never disregarded.

It is determined that Nagabhusan was the pinnacle of the revolutionary struggle in Odisha after a thorough and methodical account of his life as a Naxal leader. To many revolutionaries and deprived masses, he was the very source of tenacity, bravery, and drive. He also glowed with uncommon brilliance. With the liberation of oppressed and exploited masses from the grasp of oppressors and exploiters as his sole polestar, Nagabhusan rose like a rock. He gave up all of his creature comforts and eventually ate himself, but he remained unflappable in the face of bourgeois society's cunning manipulation. The communist revolutionaries are remembering how Nagabhusan, a Marxist ideologue, guided the communist party

during some of its pivotal movements. He is renowned for his unwavering belief in social justice and secularism.

## **GANANATH PATRA DOCTRINE: REIMAGINING NAXALISM IN ODISHA**

A science postgraduate and seasoned revolutionary leader in Odisha, Gananath Patra has devoted his life to various people's movements in the state, enlightening and energizing the gullible masses to prepare them to fight against man-made injustice and the brutal exploitation by government officials, zamindars, moneylenders, and wine traders. For over forty years, he has been carrying on the democratic movement of his people and the revolutionary fight of the downtrodden and working masses. It is admirable that he contributed to the New Democratic Movement. As a mass leader, Gananath Patra has steadfastly supported the state's victims of forced land grabs and industrialisation. For the downtrodden and destitute in the state of Odisha, he is a true Messiah. The impoverished mass believes that Gananath is a strong advocate for the better cause of the deprived and destitute mass when injustice reigns, exploitation turns vicious, and people's suffering intensifies.

The Naxalite movement was paralysed following Nagabhusan's imprisonment. The Naxalite movement suffered a significant defeat as a result of the state and central police's harsh persecution. Almost all of the movement's top leaders were either slain or jailed. Gananath Patra gave the movement flesh and blood when it was skeleton-like and without spines. He provided the movement a fresh focus. He later switched from an annihilation line to a mass line as his tactical line. Following Nagabhusan's incarceration, Gananath filled the void left by the Naxalite movement in Odisha. The researcher believed it was important to investigate Gananath's role in the Naxalite movement on the mass level.

Gananath Patra was born in Banida village of Balasore district in Odisha. His village school provided him with his elementary education, and a nearby institution provided him with his secondary education. After that, he travelled five kilometres from his hamlet to Jaleswar High School. He completed both his undergraduate and graduate

studies in chemistry at Ravenshaw College after completing his pre-university studies in science at Fakir Mohan College in Balasore. At the time, he was his village's first science graduate. His teachers valued his inventiveness and leadership abilities. Being a member of the Student Federation of India (Left Wing) throughout his high school years, he was greatly impacted by communist ideas and developed a revolutionary personality for the future.

Gananath came from a low-income background. His father was initially employed as an agriculturist. He became aware of the harshness of poverty and suffering as a child, which impedes a person's ability to advance in society. He decided to pursue a successful career despite the extreme poverty and human-caused suffering. The bold are favoured by fortune. He joined Parlakhemundi College's Chemistry faculty after being chosen as a lecturer by the Odisha Public Service Commission. His interest in Marxist Philosophy of Dialectical Materialism grew over time. His ferocious remarks helped him establish a solid reputation among students and academics. He made the decision to spend some time with the local tribal children in addition to educating. He went to many tribal areas and gave the underprivileged indigenous children free coaching. It did not sit well with the college's principal. He advised him against spending time with the tribal community in a tribal location. Gananath took a lengthy leave of absence and eventually resigned from his position because he did not appreciate the principal's criticism and decided to work for the underprivileged and impoverished tribal people in the state of Odisha.

Gananath pledged to lessen the extreme suffering of the tribal people after studying the fundamental socioeconomic, cultural, and political existence of the indigenous people in the state's underdeveloped districts. He came to see that the neo-colonial economy and the green revolution had not eradicated the primordial communism that still pervaded the tribal group. The society's feudalistic structure greatly irritated him. He noted that the current rate of development is harming a significant number of tribal people and labourers without land. They have endured cruel exploitation and cruel oppression. He pledged to combat landlords, moneylenders, wine dealers, and other exploitative groups in order to lessen the extreme suffering of the tribal people and the landless



masses. His interactions with the Telengana movement's leader were limited. The Telengana movement's methods and strategy had an impact on him. He sought to use the New Democratic Revolution as a mass-line strategy to combat the exploitative tool. To direct the revolution, he embraced Marxism, Leninism, and Maoism. Despite being a natural scientist, he became interested in sociopolitical matters and sought to abolish the exploitation of local moneylenders, wine traders, and landowners over the working masses in various sections of the state in order to create a society without states or classes.

"The Naxalbari's great peasant struggle was its highest and most concrete manifestation, which could break the fetters of revisionism and take the Indian revolution forward, uphold Marxism-leninism-Mao Tse tung thought instead of Khrushchev's revisionism, proletarian, internationalism instead of bourgeoisie nationalism, and the path of people's war instead of parliamentary one," Gananath continued.

He left his honourable job and proceeded straight to Malakanagiri, where Nagabhusan Patnaik, the founder of the Naxalite movement in Odisha, was coordinating Chitrakonda's labour. He was greatly impacted by Nagabhusan's revolutionary nature. In 1969, he dealt with various political activities in the Malakanagiri district. He formed an alliance with the Adivasi Jana Samarthan Samiti to inform the tribal people of their rights and to demonstrate in large numbers to put an end to the exploitation of petty government officials, moneylenders, and zamindars.. Many people approached Nagabhusan when he was travelling with him to speak at a meeting in the Srikakulam area, pleading with him to make a hard decision to eliminate an Ankapali landlord who was abusing and torturing the locals and telling the police about their whereabouts. At last, the decision to destroy the landlord was made, and it came to pass. The police conducted a raid on the region following that incident. "As an outsider, I was sent there to observe the situation in the Ankapali area," Gananath explained. I was immediately taken to Andhra Jail after the cops suspected me and arrested me. I was found not guilty due to a lack of evidence. I was then referred to Odisha police by AP police.

Two significant conspiracy cases, the Gunupur conspiracy case and the Chitrakonda conspiracy

case, were brought against me by the Odisha police. On May 15, 1969, I was taken into custody and placed behind bars in Gunupur for this. After only a year, I was released due to a lack of proof. The Odisha government was unable to produce enough evidence against me to convict me. After 1971, I carried on the people's fight against the bourgeoisie's agents of tyranny and exploitation.

Following Nagabhusan's arrest, the Naxalite movement lacked courage. Gananath considered using the mass line of revolution instead of the annihilation line at this point. He advocated for landless people on his own and taught them about political education, including Marxism, Leninism, and Naxal philosophy. He became interested in the mass-line-based Telengana tactical line. The murder of those who are not necessarily their class enemies was something he denounced. He denounced the ruthless murder of the landowner by the revolutionaries, who saw them as the government's eyes and ears. In early 1972, he switched the technique of his groundbreaking technology from individual line to mass line.

After returning to the mass queue in 1972, he began his movement in the Sompeta district of the Andhra-Odisha border. He began his propaganda efforts by holding small gatherings in each village that were concealed from the enemy but open to the public. The issues facing the masses were thoroughly investigated. The people was urged to take landlord's and banjar land, refrain from bribing forest guards or other government representatives, and resolve internal conflicts inside their own communities rather than resorting to the enemy's courts (police station and government court. They were convinced to use medicines and depend on modern medical sciences for cure from diseases without entertaining prejudices by rites and sacrifices. Gananath explained how "numerically our limited strength, the abundance of agents, the white terror from the enemy, and the frequent movement of the CRPF and police personnel, etc., all put forth a barrier wall in implementing the mass queue."

He revealed, "At first, the lack of an immediate outcome, as in the case of the line of annihilation, caused desperation and frustration among primary members." The actions of a local group in this area that continues to believe in the left line have escalated the level of this frustration. Before the harvest season, the residents of the hilly border

zone were called upon to grab the landlords' produce. According to Gananath, non-tribal landowners, moneylenders, wealthy peasants, and even some middle-class plains peasants stole about 90 acres of land that belonged to these communities. Of these 90 acres, 60 had been registered as sold to moneylenders, landlords, and others by 1972. Due to its mortgage to landlord-money lenders, the remaining thirty acres of land were being used illegally (as defined by the statutes of the enemies of the law).

The peasants who sought to reclaim their land planned to hold onto it indefinitely, Gananath said. We didn't have to give the secrecy of our moves any thought once this movement began. We welcomed the public. They are starting to understand that a revolutionary party is essential to revolution and the liberation of the people.

We told people that the state is a product of the bourgeoisie, moneylenders, and landlords, and that the police and military are tools used to maintain their establishment and exploitation. The landlord and moneylender assault the people on harvest day with the assistance of several local thugs. Additionally, they organised every aspect of the police intervention. When the cops arrived, the crowd dispersed after defending themselves against the bullies' attack.

Following this incident, the revolutionaries felt compelled to increase mass mobilisation across the entire region. As a result, the decision was made to establish the "Raitu Sangam," or peasant organisation. At this point, party cadres were responsible for carrying out political propaganda, coordinating the populace, and creating a mass movement rather than engaging in guerrilla tactics like striking the enemy's military units and taking part in production. It was also decided that the squads' weapons would be utilised for cadre protection, or self-defence.

Following the 1972 Srikakulam Regional Plenum, the Srikakulam regional committee was given responsibility for overseeing the activities in undivided Ganjam and undivided Koraput. The border region of Koraput, Ganjam, and Srikakulam was intended to remain continuous with the remaining portion of Srikakulam with the establishment of regular contact in the Gunupur areas in 1973. The Gunupur subdivision was included in its work zone, along with a portion of

Ganjam and Srikakulam. The main mass resistance campaign against the exploitation, oppression, and exploitation of police, choukidars, excise and revenue department officials, and moneylenders (against Legua, Chhidni, and Phaida) was established satisfactorily during the 1972–1973 year. The primary course of action was "Gherao," and the movement's open propaganda tactics included public gatherings, local propaganda meetings, and parades.

The movement's effects included the local moneylenders and exploiters reducing the extent of their exploitation, the masses becoming partially awoken, and the officers of various government departments at least accepting the local tribal people as human beings.

Following the establishment of consistent communication between the party and the northern and southern regions of Gunupur, a party organisation was built for the entire region, and by October 1973, the movement's provisional program had been approved. Land grabs, crop seizures, the discharge of unlawful debts, the demand for fair salaries, and opposition to the exploitation and oppression of forest and revenue authorities and constables were all part of this campaign.

Towards January 1974, the fight was fought against the exploitation of police and forest revenue officials and against the suppression of unlawful discussions in the northern region. In several villages, debt rejection was a very successful strategy. United Front tactics were used for these purposes. While the arguments of small money lenders were marginally impacted, those of large money lenders were completely rejected. Additionally, middle-class and wealthy peasants' debts were repaid with little to no interest. In certain communities, the program to create cooperative funds has been approved, and significant steps have been done to make use of and expand them.

Gananath organised the movement's broad masses after 1974. In order to promote the movement in public gatherings, he had to plan open propaganda. In addition, these two kinds of work—open and covert, legal and illegal—were carried out in highly complimentary ways. He organised the locally recruited full-time cadres and the propaganda teams that were moved from the cities.

The cadres could be candidates or full party members. In order to preserve the efficiency of work and mobility, he had to take into account the relationships between political veterans and novices, seasoned and inexperienced, local and displaced, when assembling each team.

The propaganda team's tasks included conducting political propaganda, creating a covert mass organisation, and creating a mass movement to provide leadership in the armed preparation of the populace. While carrying out their duties, the propaganda teams travelled quite movably through hilly and forested areas as well as small, intermediate plains. They only carried weapons to defend themselves or their cadres.

In 1975, Gananath became a member of the Unity Centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India (also known as the Marxist–Leninist UCCRI (ML). He supported the ideas of class conflict and democracy. He carried on the class struggle and people's democratic movement throughout the state under the UCCR (ML) flag.

In 1983–1984, Gananath also began his campaign against the illicit wine and meat trade in Rourkela. He claimed that by destroying the local sociocultural milieu and mistreating the populace, the wine mafias were expanding illegal wine distilleries in the Rourkela metropolitan area. Many young males were inspired to commit crimes in the neighbourhood by the abundance of wine businesses. Second, the young girls from the tribal tribe were employed by the flesh trade's dalal (broker) and involved in the flesh trade industry. Many indigenous women's careers and morals were ruined by hand wine traders who used the defenceless ladies as sex objects.

As a revolutionary leader and social reformer, Gananath strongly opposed the illegal flesh trade and the booming wine trade in Rourkela. He began organising the local populace, including ladies and young men, to resist the wine sellers. The movement gradually evolved and dealt a serious damage to the wine and flesh trades in several regions of Rourkela. Many women, students, and local leaders joined together under Gananath Patra's leadership to fight illegal traders, dismantle distilleries, and raid various brothels operating in Rourkela. They campaigned against the flesh trade and wine trade with the strategic slogan: Daru, Dari , Goondgiri Nehin Chalegi Nehin Chalegi,

Gali Gali Me Maa Behen Ki Izzat Lootna Nehin Chalegi Nehin Chalegi . This movement began and quickly expanded throughout Rourkela. The movement leaders were singled out by the police. In this regard, Gananath was detained by the authorities and imprisoned from 1984 to 1985. He was released from prison due to insufficient evidence. His release from prison was made possible in large part by Manmohan Mishra, the great revolutionary leader of Odisha. In 1985, he joined the Baliapal movement under the auspices of UCCRI (ML) after being freed from prison. The Baliapal campaign has been gaining momentum over the past six months, and residents of Bhograi and Baliapal have begun to oppose the planned missile base's construction. They vehemently opposed the government's decision to establish a missile installation near their hometown. Gananath backed the populace's fight to protect their homes and fireplaces. On March 2, 1986, the collector and other district senior officials were gheraoed for over ten hours. "We call upon all democratic, patriotic, peace-loving, and revolutionary forces of the country and extend the just struggle to save one lakh people from ensuing eviction, to prevent India from becoming a pawn in the two super powers' nuclear war game and save the country from the nuclear holocaust," he responded in an interview with me.

The movement's strategy and tactics were determined by Gananath, Sarat Kar, Rajat Giri, and other leaders. He coordinated people's curfews, barricade resistance, and the establishment of grassroots fronts such as Machhyajibi Gana Samukhya, Nari Samukhya, and Chhatra Samukya. Every front engaged in combat with the Missile Base in the Bhograi and Baliapal regions. More than 25,000 people were forcibly evicted from more than 54 villages as a result of this missile base project. "We first organised and mobilised the people about the detrimental impact of the missile base on the people," he said. We rallied the ladies in many villages to refuse to cede even a single inch of land for the missile base, and many fisherman joined the cause.. We may die, but we will not leave our earth".

The peasants established a powerful people's movement after being driven away from their homeland. Over the course of three years, this anti-state movement remained active. The state sent more troops to suppress the movement as the

struggle between the masses and the state grew more intense and the movement's course changed. However, the militarisation of the region did not bother the populace. They chose a nonviolent revolution strategy and refused to cooperate with the government. By erecting a bamboo wall, they prevented government representatives from entering the area. The government car was not permitted to enter the route that leads to Baliapal and Bhograi. With the slogans Jami Amar, Samudra Amara, Maribu Pachhe Inche, and Jami Debu Nahin, almost 500 villagers participated in the picketing and march. Sarkar pheri ja pheri ja (land is ours, ocean is ours, go back, go back, government, we will not leave an inch of land even if we die). They were gathering thousands of locals to hold a demonstration and dharana against the missile project by beating Ghanta, Thali, and blowing conchs as they moved from one barricade to another. Many young men and women, led by Gananath, were adamantly against the forcible construction of a missile base in the Bhogarai and Baliapal regions. Ghati Nuhen-Mati Chahun, Judhya Nuhen-Shanti Chahun, and Baliapala Matire Khepanastra were the movement's working slogans. We want earth, not missile bases; we will not permit missile bases in Baliapala; do not play with our blood; Ghati Karai Debu Nahin, Ama Raktare Holi Khelibaku Chesta Kara Nahin.

The Maran Sena, or village troops, were made up of men, women, and children, and Gananath believed that they were extremely important in times of crisis. They bravely resisted the cops. Due to substantial public opposition, the government was undoubtedly unable to occupy the entire area designated for the missile installation. Because of people's disagreement with the state, the missile base's base area radius was lowered.

Gananath also participated actively in Chilika Banchao Andolan 1991. He supported the greater cause of fishermen who were going to lose their livelihood due to prawn cultivation by Tata Project in Chilika Lake. He was fighting for the protection of natural surroundings of Chilika under the banner of CPI(ML) Janashakti and a forefront leader of Baliapala movement. The other organizations also supported Gananath's interest to protect the Mrunala Malini Chilika. He organized the local fisherman and other small fronts (women, youth and aged) to fight against the Integrated Shrimp Farm Project (ISFP) - a joint venture agreed upon

by the Tata Iron and Steel Company and Government of Odisha for intensive prawn cultivation and export. He also collaborated with Sri Banka Bihari Das, the previous Odisha revenue minister, who fought tenaciously to preserve Chilika in order to protect the local population's way of life and the environment. Several groups, including students, women, intellectuals, civil society organisations, environmentalists, and human rights advocates, vigorously opposed Tata's state-sponsored prawn farming during this campaign. Gananath opposed this project for the following reasons: (1) it would degrade the natural beauty of Chilika Lake; (2) the rich will get richer while the poor will get poorer; (3) the use of organic nutrients and fermented feed would pollute the lake water excessively; (4) it would destroy local life and livelihoods; and (5) it would endanger local life and livelihoods. (6) the loss of domestic and foreign birds that travel from all over the world, and (7) the destruction of cattle and other domestic animals' grazing grounds due to the extensive acquisition of land for prawn cultivation (8) have an impact on local fish farming.

According to Gananath, the lake area is home to a sizable population of lower caste individuals who are essentially landless. Both fishermen and non-fishermen make up their population. The upper caste, which includes the non-fisherman society, makes their living through land cultivation. The landless fishermen on the other side are entirely dependent on Chilika Lake fishing cultivation. Because of the land's low yield due to salinity, the unpredictable monsoon, and a lack of irrigation facilities, the upper caste has turned to the fish trade.

The project's detrimental effects on the local population's standard of living were not entirely understood by them. In opposition to the combined Tata-state government project, several organisations, including Meet the Student, Krantadarshi Yuva Sangam, Chilika Suraksha Parishad, Chilika Matsyajibi Mahasangha, Ganatantrik Adhikar Suraksha Sangathan, and Odisha Krushak Mahasangha (OKM), started a historic campaign. Numerous political groups opposed the project in Chilika, including the Janata Dal, CPI, CPM, CPI(ML), and Janashakti. The movement's actions during this period were sustained by rallies, dharnas, meetings, and demonstrations at the project site and in the state capital.

The Save the Chilka Movement, founded in 1991 by Chilika Banchao Andolon, opposed the TATAS project and other illicit prawan growers. The government attempted to stifle the movement because of the fierce opposition to the joint initiative. In 1993, the activists of the Chilika banchao Andolon took their case to the supreme court, which issued a landmark decision asserting the rights of the traditional fisherman in Chilika. Prawan cultivation was declared unlawful by the high court's ruling, which also ordered the state administration to destroy all Prawan gheries. The government suffered a significant blow as a result, and the revolutionary was inspired to keep up the fight against the project. According to Gananath Patra, the High Court's ruling represented a significant win for the populace against the government. In 1996, the Indian Supreme Court rendered a landmark ruling against the growing of prawns in Chilika. The court ruled that modern methods of increasing prawn farming culture violate constitutional norms.

On May 29, 1999, more than 5,000 fishermen from over 145 fishing communities in the lake's surrounding areas set out in roughly 800 fishing boats and began destroying the gherries. The police troop entered the village and attempted to arrest the movement as the activists were sleeping in the middle of the night in Soren. The activists were annoyed by this and would not turn over their leaders. By throwing stones at security guards, the activists attempted to expel the police from the village. In this case, the police started shooting. Four fisherman suffered serious injuries in this tragedy, and one activist passed away instantly.

Gananath Patra played a very crucial role when large numbers of people were subject to be displaced from their native place due to TATA Steel and TISCO project in Gopalpur.

Gananath Patra realized that a large number of people will be displaced from their Bhitta Mati (native land) without proper rehabilitation package due to the proposed Steel Plant in Gopalpur area. Agriculture, fishing, and the sale of coconut, banana, cashew nut, and Keora (Kia Fula) flowers are the main sources of income for the locals. He added that the locals are aware of the dangers of homelessness, unemployment, and landlessness, as well as the risks of social disarticulation, loss of access to common property assets, marginalisation, sickness, and food insecurity, which must be dealt

with when they are evicted. Gananath made the decision to work with other groups that are organising the community against the steel mill. The organisation he worked for was CPI(ML) Janashakti. He organised the populace, mobilised them from village to hamlet, and readied them for resistance.

Shortly after the Memorandum of Understanding was signed, the people living in these communities began to demonstrate against the purchase of their land. Under CPI's direction, the Gana Sangram Samiti (GSS) was established in 1995. The local population actively participated in the struggle and gave the communist revolutionaries their full support. The movement's organised mass held a black flag rally, known as dhrana, and resisted government officials' attempts to mark the plant's land boundaries. The Women's Front, or Mahila Sena, was established. There was also a call to create a Death Squad. The cops and the public got into a heated argument. The villagers began to face charges from the police. This turned into a national problem. Narayan Ready, one of the movement's main organisers, was detained in 1996 under the NSA Act. The problem was made worse by this. In 1996, some 2000 people staged a fierce protest, gheraoed the District Collector's home, blocked the National Highway, and demonstrated at the Chhatrapur police station. He was one of the movement's main leaders, Gananath acknowledged.

In opposition to the founding of Utkal Alumina International Limited (UAIL) in Kashipur, Gananath joined the anti-mining movement. He was a leading figure in the campaign who understood the people's plight and used various forms of propaganda to rally the populace to oppose the mining mafia's violent repression of the indigenous people in the undivided Koraput region. "History tells us that the displacement in Damanjodi, Kolab, Indiravati, and JK paper mills has forced the displaced to live in utter poverty, sheer negligence, and inhuman conditions," he replying in an interview. The residents of the Kashipur region are acutely conscious of the negative effects of being uprooted from their bhita mati, or ancestral homeland. They no longer desired to be oppressed, repressed, and exploited by the mining business.

Gananath made it very evident that money in exchange for land can not satisfy the hunger of the impoverished for all eternity. Thus, the locals began to oppose the government's plan to establish a mining sector in the Kashipur region.

He said that the movement's original propaganda consisted of singing songs in various villages to inspire women, youth, and students to join the cause and fight against the mining mafia's repression. "Gouda, paika, adivasi harijan ame chasi bhai" was the propaganda song. Chaddi Dele Banchiba Nahin, Chasa. Dangar chadiba nahin, jami chhadiba nahin, ye gaon ru hatibu nahin, Dangar Amar sathi. All of us—Gouda, Paika, Adivasi, and Dalita—are cultivators. We shall not abandon our bhatta mati (original land), as we cannot live without cultivation. We won't abandon our villages. The government attempted to silence those who opposed the alumina plant and bauxite mining. Opposition to the government's proposed mining project was mobilised by several political parties and fronts.

Thus, at a large gathering in 1996, the Prakrutika Sampada Suraksha Parishad (PSSP) was established. By planning road blockades, erecting barricades, holding public gatherings, and holding pada yatras, PSSP initiated the resistance. Other civil society groups were prompted by this to lend their support to the Kashipur movement's opposition to the mining sector. The government suggested that the police arrest a number of PSSP activists, including Bulka Miniaka, president of PSSP and convenor of Basundhara Surakshya Samiti, and Naveen and Loknath Nayak, members of the PSSP working committee.

At this point, the local villagers protested the attempt by a few political parties, the administrative authorities, and a police official to arrange a conference in the hamlet. When the police attempted to enter the community the following day, the women purposefully blocked their path. The men, meantime, were likewise against the police entering their town. Police opened fire on protesters opposing bauxite mining and the development of an alumina refinery by Utkal Alumina International Limited (UAIL) on December 16, 2000, killing three tribe members and badly injuring thirty more.

When activists like Gananath Patra, CPI (ML), Bhalachandra Sarangi, CPI (ML-New democracy),

Shivram, CPI (ML-Red Flag), Rajendra Sarangi, Loka Pakhyaand, and Bidyadhar Majhi, Co-convenor (PSSP), joined forces, the people's struggle in Kashipur gained strength. Lok Shakti Abhjan, Prafulla Samntra, and PSSP President Bhgaban Majhi. Deshpremi Jana Samukhya, Lok Sangram Manch, Rashtriya Yuba Parishad, Sarvodaya, Prakrutika Sampad Surakshya Parishad (PSSP), Odisha, People's Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR), Delhi, Saheli, Sandhaan, and All India People's Resistance Forum (AIPRF) were among the numerous civil society organisations that took part in the Kashipur movement. Amnesty International (India), the Democratic Students Union (DSU), the All India Coordinating Forum of Adivasi/Indigenous Peoples (AICFAIP), and Samajwadi Jan Parishad were among the other media that opposed the development of the mining sector in Kashipur by forcing the impoverished tribal people from their native land. Residents of Kashipur protested against the construction of a barrack and police outpost at Karol, which is close to Kucheipadar. The locals resisted the police's arrival on December 1, 2004, after witnessing the overwhelming number of police officers. "No police outpost, we want hospital, police force go back," "UAIL go back," "police repression, Down Down," and "Collector, give us medicine, no lathi, give us water (for irrigation), no bullet, no battle but peace" were among the slogans that people began to chant. Don't take away our rights. Kill us first and then start your own industry if you want to do it.

Gananath said, "The government chooses to set up police stations at a huge cost, even though the people of Kashipur have been demanding the establishment of schools and medical facilities at all Panchayats." When people request medications, the government responds by giving them bullets. He came to the conclusion that the tribal people of Kashipur's fervent resistance to the UAIL is not only a fight against the actual eradication of their cultures and way of life, but also the front line of the fight against the assault of global imperialism and the international capitalist class's attempt to seize the lives and spaces of all marginalised people. Every responsible citizen should join the noble initiative to "Save the livelihood of indigenous people in India" in order to support the people's just cause.

The sun of revolution rose in Narayanpatna when Gananath organized the tribal masses for illegal possession of land of tribals by non-tribals in Koraput region. Gananath's creation of Narayanpatna movement provided a strong impetus to modern democratic movement in 21st century.

According to Gananath, in late 1968, the landlords and moneylenders in Andhra Pradesh's Srikakulam district fled their land owing to armed conflict and moved to the undivided Koraput district. By lending money to the tribesmen and selling wine, they built their business network. They took advantage of the underprivileged in the area. Some non-tribals from Andhra Pradesh, Ganjam, Gajapati, Sambalpur, and Paralakhemundi even made their homes there and became the tribals' tools of exploitation. They eventually sorted their money and wine dealing. People were suffering from extreme poverty and carelessness after years of exploitation. The most popular democratic social movement in India is the Narayanpatna movement. The Narayanpatna movement's friend, philosopher, and leader was Gananath. He was the main architect behind the 1995 formation of the Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangha (CMAS). Gananath Patra and Kondagori Paidama spearheaded the initiative by vigorously opposing a number of spirits manufacturing facilities along the Jhanjabati River. She organised the tribal community's women to oppose the alcohol trade. She also took the initiative to mediate conflicts within the tribe. Because to their wine-drinking habit, the tribal people had lost their paternal property. In order to combat the alcohol trade in the Koraput region, Gananath called a meeting and methodically organised the tribesmen. From village to village, the movement expanded.

When a large group of women led by Gananath and Paidama rebelled against the illicit wine trade in their community, the distilleries owned by the local wine traders suffered a serious blow. The motion picked up speed. Paidama and other revolutionaries were captured by the police one day and sent in jail.

Gananath took the initiative to actively lead the movement's dissemination following Paidama's arrest. At Kumbharput Hill, a conference was held. When Nachika Linga saw Gananath during the conference, he was moved by his revolutionary nature and made the decision to join the cause of

the people. He then decided to go the revolutionary route. The Podapadar panchayat's Basanput village was the site of the first CMAS movement since the landlord had taken over the local cemetery. In 1998, Nachika joined the movement and took about 18 acres of community land from the landlord under Gananath's leadership. In the Koraput district's Podapadar Panchayat, Linga was appointed nayab sarpanch. The security guards in charge of the partnership with Red rebels arrested him.

He spent one and half year in jail. Gananath played very important role to liberate him from the jail. He was very much convinced with Gananath's effort to release him from the jail and he expressed his deep loyalty to Gananath and joined the CMAS and he became the president of the organisation. Under his stalwart leadership, people joined their hand to grab the land of the sundhis, sahookars and zamidars who had snatched the ancestral property of the tribals and employed them as mere Goti. He spread the movement from village to village and grabbed nearly 600 acres of land in Narayanpatna and Bandhugaon. Ghenua bahini was formed by Nachika Linga with the aid and advice of Gananath, which is popularly known as Domestic army of CMAS.

Gananath Patra made a fantastic effort by rallying the tribal youth to battle against Goti and break free from Goti Pratha's bondage. He also spearheaded campaigns to reclaim and redistribute Adivasi lands that had been unlawfully seized by non-tribals. Under the aegis of the Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh, this movement expanded throughout the Koraput district from village to village.

The Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangha (CMAS) activists planned two consecutive large rallies on October 10, 2006, in Narayanpatna, and October 12, 2006, in Koraput, with Gananath's assistance and counsel. The CMAS activists called for the distribution of Pattas (land deeds) to Adivasis and the release of their members from prison. The movement gradually changed and turned violent. To quell the violent movement, the government used a variety of tactics. Arjuna Kendruka of Bandhugaon Block (Koraput District) received an assembly seat from CPI-M with CMAS support, sowing the seeds of strife. Narayanpatna resident Nachika Linga also wanted to receive the ticket. The CMAS democratic movement was split into two primary antagonistic factions, Bandhugaon

Camp and Narayanpatna Camp, as a result of the political competition between Nachika and Arjuna. Gananath Patra convinced the activists to abstain from voting because he disagreed with the current electoral system. Gananath was backed by Nachika. The CMAS activists from Narayanpatna backed Gananath and Nachika Linga's election boycott strategy. Some Bandhugaon residents backed Nachika Linga's Mada Mukti, Goti Mukti, and Jami Mukti Abhijan (prohibition of the sale of alcoholic beverages, elimination of the practice of bonded labour, and the rights of Adivasis over their ancestral lands).

In 2006, about 4,000 CMAS militants, both men and women, descended into Narayanpatna town, razed the spirits factories and intimidated the local wine merchants. This received strong support from a variety of sources. The campaigners were inspired by this initiative to start a second anti-alcohol campaign in Bandhugaon the same month. In the same year, the anti-alcohol movement extended to Koraput. The moneylenders' land was taken by the CMAS members, who also threatened to keep them in the village. The Ghenua Bahini and Biplaba Adivasi Mahila Sangha were key players in this land campaign in 2009..

On September 3, 2009, CMAS-Narayanpatna supporters stopped the Bandhugaon-Parvatipuram Road by felling trees in the Almonda, Katulpeta, and Chidiwalsa districts, and they burned and damaged 14 lemon grass plants in the Katulpeta and Kushabhadra areas. This gave the movement a new direction. In 2009, the Adivasi Mahila Sangha played a significant role in forcing about 40 members of CMAS-Narayanpatna to "help" clear the blocked Bandhugaon-Parvatipuram Road after about 5,000 CMAS-Bandhugaon supporters marched to Kaberibadi village under the jurisdiction of Bandhugaon Police Station under the leadership of Kondagiri Paidama and Arjuna Kendruka.

Under the leadership of Nachika Linga, Gananath Patra, N. Singanna, and others, a sizable contingent of CMAS-Narayanpatna supporters, equipped with bows, arrows, and other traditional weapons, engaged CMAS-Bandhugaon supporters in Katragada and Basanaput on September 5, 2009. P. Suresh of Bandhugaon was killed and two others were injured when they threw stones at CMAS-Bandhugaon supporters. Eleven CMAS-Bandhugaon supporters were also kidnapped.

Gananath stated, "On May 5, 2009, the Peace Committee, which was arranged by the bourgeois class, held protests in Narayanpatna with 4,000 participants, yelling anti-CMA slogans. The Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangha must be banned, CMAS leaders must be arrested right once, and the lands that the Sangha members have occupied must be returned, according to a memo that the Peace Committee sent to the BDO of Narayanpatna block. The Peace Committee then went on a rampage, destroying the homes of ten Sangha activists in the village of Dunchudi and stealing all they owned. Additionally, they demolished the homes of Tilasu, the Sangha chief of Bapanput village, and Sahadev Parida. One tribal member, Nityananda Mallik of Gadiguda village, who was loyal to the Peace Committee, lost his life in the conflict between the Sangha and the Peace Committee. This caused a serious shockwave through the region. The leaders and members of the Peace Committee in Koraput and the surrounding area were terrified by this incident..

Thousands of activists from the southern districts of Koraput and Rayagada gathered in Bhubaneswar in October 2009 under the steadfast leadership of Gananath, and they demanded that the state government cease police brutality against civilians in the guise of reducing Naxal activity. They called on the government to halt the distribution of forest and arable land to industrial buildings. They informed the administration that until their rights were restored, they would keep taking land. They also called for complete rights over forestland and amendments to the Land Act.

"We will forcibly free tribal land in the possession of landlords in other tribal dominated districts as the authorities have failed to give justice to the people," CMAS Gananath, the adviser, stated during the meeting. The CMAS poster for this demonstration said, "Kana kholi kari suna sarakar." "Ama hak, adhikar amaku dia, na deba jadi mariba pai prastuta hua" (Government, pay attention, grant us our rights, or be prepared to die).

Gananath replied "This is an integrated, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist movement against landlords, liquor mafia and multi-national companies, who have grabbed everything that belongs to the poor. This rally is a reminder to the government that time is running out,"



In protest of police brutality in Narayanpatna, some 3,000 tribal people gheraoed the police station there. In order to hear their demands, they also requested that the IIC leave the police station. Later, they gained entry to the Narayanpatna police station by breaking the gate's lock. The cops and the CMAS head had a heated verbal exchange. The police had to defend themselves by firing. Andru and Singhana were immediately shot and killed. This has angered and unsettled the residents of Bandhugaon and Narayanptna. Gananath described it as an anti-people's democracy crusad.

## AN OVERVIEW

This article delves into the largely undocumented contributions of two key Naxalite ideologues in Odisha—Nagbhusan Patnaik and Gananath Patra—whose pivotal roles in the revolutionary movement have been largely overlooked in mainstream academic discourse. Employing a qualitative, exploratory-cum-descriptive framework grounded in narrative and historical methods, the research reconstructs the ideational foundations and mobilizational strategies of these leaders, with a special emphasis on their activities in the undivided Koraput district—a region historically marked by socio-economic exclusion and tribal resistance.

Based on secondary literature and primary interviews with former Naxalites, tribal elders,

civil society actors, and academics, the study portrays Nagbhusan Patnaik as the foundational figure in initiating the Naxal movement in Odisha, whose ideological commitment and revolutionary action inspired a generation of activists. His role is contextualized through the insights of Dr. Ratan Das, a Gandhian and personal associate of Patnaik, who urged the researcher to conduct a biographical study comparable to the works on national Naxalite leaders like Charu Mazumdar, Kanu Sanyal, and Vinod Mishra. In contrast, Gananath Patra is portrayed as a steadfast campaigner against systemic tribal exploitation and a key figure in sustaining the movement post-Nagbhusan's arrest.

The article critically addresses the paucity of literature on Nagbhusan Patnaik and Gananatha Patra, acknowledging that only fragmentary sources exist in libraries and archives. However, the research innovatively overcomes this limitation by building a narrative corpus through extensive interviews with Patnaik's contemporaries, including his son and fellow revolutionaries. This study not only recovers suppressed revolutionary histories but also contributes to the historiography of political violence and subaltern agency in eastern India. In doing so, it repositions Odisha within the broader map of India's Naxalite movement and affirms the need to decentralize revolutionary historiography beyond its traditional epicenters.

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