



# a decade of struggle and sacrifice

10 years of the CPI (Maoist)

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# PEOPLE'S MARCH

*Voice of the Indian Revolution*

Commemorates the  
10th Anniversary  
of  
CPI (Maoist)

September 2014

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***Shatter the Shackles of Feudalism and Imperialism!  
Destroy this Rotten System!  
Build Your Future and that of the Country  
with Your Own Hands!***

***A Call to the People of India on the Occasion of the  
10th Anniversary Celebrations of the Formation of CPI(Maoist)!***

Dear people,

**W**armest greetings to you from the Communist Party of India (Maoist) on the occasion of its 10th anniversary.

Ten years ago, we came before you to announce a joyous event – the merger of two revolutionary streams. A single Maoist party, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) was formed on the 21st of September, 2004, to shoulder the tasks of revolution. Today we place before you an account of these momentous years. It has been a decade of heroic struggle and sacrifices by the best daughters and sons of this land. Nearly two thousand and five hundred of them, from Dandakaranya (Chhattisgarh), Bihar, Jharkhand, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Maharashtra, Odisha, Paschim Banga, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand and Asom, laid down their precious lives. They include hundreds of great leaders of the revolution, from the topmost level of our party to its basic levels. Scores of valiant fighters of the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA) shed their blood in battle with the oppressor's mercenaries. Many among the masses too made the highest sacrifice.

This blood was not shed in vain. It has built on past achievements and valuable experiences. It fuelled a decade of resolute struggle in the political, economic, military and cultural spheres. This was a period which saw ever more militant mobilisation of lakhs of people, people at the bottommost levels of society, in mighty revolt to destroy the oppression and exploitation weighing heavy on them for ages. Glorious years when the shoots of new political power were further nurtured through the destruction of the old power and more extensive building of a new society in a primary stage. And, in this process, the PLGA was further strengthened in its fighting capability. Its base force, the People's Militia, now numbers in the thousands. These brave women and men stand firm, weapons in hand, to defend every achievement of the people — political, economic, social, cultural and environmental — particularly, to defend the emerging new society they are building.

Yes, we have striven hard to fulfil the promise given to you and made advances. It is so, because we are communists. Our words are sealed in deeds, serving the people. Inheriting the finest traditions of the



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***Polit Bureau and Central Committee members of the CPI (Maoist)  
who were martyred during the past decade.***

***Karam Singh  
Chandramouli  
Sande Rajamouli  
Parimal Sen  
Anuradha  
Patel Sudhakar  
Cherukuri Rajkumar  
Mallojhala Koteswarlu  
S.A. Rawoof  
Sushil Roy***

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countless rebellions waged by the peoples of this land throughout the centuries against their oppressors, both local and foreign, drawing inspiration from the heroic struggles of a long line of patriots who fought for true independence from British colonialism, boldly taking up the banner of armed struggle bequeathed to us by the red fighters of the Telengana armed struggle, Tebhaga and Punnapra-Vayalar, forever holding high the Red flag crimson with the blood of lakhs of martyrs throughout the world, we will fight on — till our beloved country is liberated from the clutches of imperialism and its lackeys, to make it a base of the world socialist revolution, to advance through socialism to the bright future of communism. We will fight as a contingent of the international proletariat, as comrades-in-arms with all oppressed nations and oppressed peoples and broad masses of capitalist countries. It is so, because we are the children of that mighty Spring Thunder that shook up the whole of India — the great Naxalbari armed peasant rebellion of 1967. We have been taught and trained by our great founder leaders, comrades Charu Majumdar and Kanhai Chatterjee and by several other beloved leaders. We are guided by the ideology of the international proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Dear people,

We were led to believe that our country became independent in 1947. Yes, it is true that the hated colonial rule was ended. But the misery of our lives forces us to acknowledge a bitter truth — the foreign masters have only stepped behind the curtains. All the vital controls are still in their hands. We see their presence in the big multinational companies that come to exploit our labour and plunder our resources; in the scant value they attach to our lives as seen in the murderous Bhopal gas incident. We witness it in the control foreign powers have over our entire country in a thousand ways. We see it in the aggressive promotion of consumerism and self-indulgent individualism. We experience it in the invasion of their decadent values and the contempt they breed for our richly diverse ways of life and cultures. We feel its oppressive weight in the disastrous economic policies they impose through agencies like the IMF, World Bank and WTO; policies that uproot people, create new shackles of dependence and pollute the air, water and earth. We see its sinister hands in the arming and training of the Indian state in the counter-revolutionary ‘war on people’ waged against the armed agrarian revolutionary war. This is imperialism, one of the big mountains weighing on us.

There are two more of them.

The rulers tell us we are fast advancing towards express highways, bullet trains, hi-tech cities and what not. They go on and on. But look around you, look at your lives. Despite all those gadgets, smart phones, cable TVs, motor cycles and flashy dresses why do the chains of hidebound tradition weigh so heavy? Why do the landlord, old or new, and the greedy moneylender still corner the major chunk of the peasants’ surplus? Why are their wishes inviolate, their words the law, when all of us are supposed to be equals? Why is most of the land still in the hands of a few, while the vast majority eke out a meagre living either selling their labour or trudging on scraps of land? Why are women fettered in obnoxious customs? Why is the dalit still preyed upon? Why are the adivasis scorned? Why this ridiculous spectacle of Brahmanic rituals heralding the launch of high tech space vehicles? Why is the inhuman caste system still alive and strong? There are many changes, new things not seen before. But the age-old structures and values of the caste system, of patriarchy, of landlordism still remain. This is feudalism, inextricably bound up with caste, another big mountain crushing us.

Yes, the rulers at times admit, there are still vestiges of the old. But they would direct our sight to the glitz of fast growing cities, to huge factories, to big corporates, some of whom have even spread out abroad. Very well, but do you really need to be reminded? Haven’t you suffered them, living and slogging in the squalor of slums right in the midst of those glittering cities? Don’t you already know them for their land grabbing, resource plundering greed which drove you from your ancestors lands? Haven’t you known their rapacious exploitation, experienced their denial of basic

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rights and witnessed their murderous attacks on those who demand them? But that is not all. They are big capitalists, no doubt. Yet, for all their pretensions, they are mere servitors of foreign interests, of the imperialists. Born as commission agents of the colonial rulers, they have forever depended on them in all aspects of their existence and growth. They thrive on this dependence. They sell out our country, its people and resources to the foreign marauders. And in their core they conserve Brahmanic feudal values, no matter how modern the technology they employ. From their birth they have remained tied up to feudalism. They are the comprador-bureaucrat capitalists, representing bureaucrat capitalism, yet another big mountain bearing down on us.

These are the three huge mountains weighing down on us. They squeeze out our breath, break our backs. They block our country's development and progress. To take our destiny into our own hands, stand up in freedom, breathe the fresh air of democracy and equality, enjoy the fruits of our labour, clean up the air, water and earth, rid society of the evils of caste, patriarchy and communalism, dynamite Brahmanism that lies at the core of everything reactionary in India, yes, to live as human beings, we must overthrow them. This is what we fight for. This is the meaning of the new democratic revolution we wage. This revolution will bring national independence uprooting imperialist slavery, exploitation and control, and will establish people's democracy uprooting feudal autocracy. It will establish the rule of the workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie under the leadership of the working class. The new democratic state would unequivocally recognise the right to self-determination of the nationalities including the right to secession.

They say India is a republic, a secular democracy. The Constitution even claims it as being 'socialist'! Isn't this an outrageous mockery of the crores forced to live on 20 rupees per day? And its secularism? Has there been a single year since 1947 without communal attacks, mainly targeting the Muslim minority? Who can forget the thousands massacred in the pogroms against the Sikhs under Congress rule in 1984 and against the Muslims in 2002 under BJP rule? The rulers claim India's strength lie in its 'unity in diversity'. But how are these national and cultural diversities treated? With arrogant contempt, racist, casteist slurs and attacks. That has been the plight of not only adivasis and dalits. It is the searing experience of all the national peoples in the North Eastern States of India. Many nationalities fighting for their freedom, such as the Kashmiris, Nagas and Manipuris, have been under the jackboots of the Indian Army for decades together. They are subjected to the worst atrocities and denied all legal redress by laws that protect the Army from prosecution. Everything, its murders, rapes, tortures, yes everything is Constitutionally sanctioned! The plight of thousands of prisoners, locked up in unimaginable conditions, completes this damning picture of Indian democracy. Their vast majority comes from the bottommost levels of society. Charged with trivial crimes whose punishment would be no more than a year or two, they languish in jails for years together without bail or trial. As for the Maoist political prisoners, the torture in police camps is extended to the jails, by denying them basic rights including medical care, blocking their

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## Lessons and Challenges of the Indian Revolution\*

**Ganapathy**

**General Secretary, CPI (Maoist)**

**T**he Message of the Central Committee of our party, issued on the occasion of its 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary, has given an overall evaluation of the past 10 years. Along with pointing out the gains and advances we have made, it has also drawn attention to the weaknesses and mistakes which hinder us and the favourable and unfavourable aspects of the objective situation. This article is an elaboration of some of the issues the CC Message has placed before the whole party, focussing on a few of the important lessons we must take and the challenges we must surmount.

...Our party is leading the PLGA and the people in carrying on PPW against the ruling classes to complete the new democratic revolution. This is a total war that should be fought protractedly in all spheres such as ideological, political, military, cultural, psychological and economic, focussed on the destruction of the Indian state and building a new state, at present concretised in the RPCs. If a small and weaker force is to defeat a big and mighty force, then it does not have any other way than waging such a war. The counter-revolutionary war carried on by the ruling classes to suppress the revolutionary war is also waged in all these spheres. It aims at wiping us out totally. Our party had this general understanding and we did achieve successes in practice by fighting back the counter-revolution. Yet we did not pay sufficient and timely attention to theorising these experiences. The enemy has developed its counter-revolutionary war strategy and tactics (Low Intensity Conflict or LIC) drawing on worldwide experiences. Therefore, in our theorisation, we too should have a broad vision, not staying restricted within our own experiences. The task of summing up and preparing policy to face up to the enemy's LIC strategy and tactics was taken up later. But this lapse resulted in delay in equipping the whole party with a deep understanding about the intensity, expanse and concreteness of the counter-revolutionary war as a total war in a comprehensive manner. This hindered us in tackling the challenges posed by the enemy's new methods and achieving the successes we expected.

Our party lost considerable number of comrades belonging to all levels, right from CC to the village level, in the offensives of the enemy. Though leadership losses began since 2005 May itself, they increased gradually after Unity Congress and the situation took a serious turn by 2011 end. The leadership failed to a large extent in defending itself and the ranks. These losses weakened the three magic weapons of NDR – the party, PLGA and the UF – quite a lot. This failure is a very severe one.

Sacrifices are inevitable in revolution. However, any revolution can be ultimately victorious only by destroying the enemy's strength and developing its own strength. This is applicable to protracted people's war (PPW) too.

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\* Excerpted from an article written on the occasion of the 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the CPI (Maoist)

When the people take up arms, rebel and set out to wipe out the rulers, they will counterattack even more brutally. They will attack with utmost ferocity and cruelty to wipe out the revolution. The leadership that prepares to wage an armed revolution must achieve victory by fighting back counter-revolution and ultimately by wiping it out. Defending the party from the offensives of the enemy during the course of war and from left and right deviations and advancing it towards victory would be a decisive factor for victory and the responsibility of the leadership. We should advance in PPW by defeating such attacks, by wiping out the enemy bit by bit and by increasing our strength step by step...

During Naxalbari period, the most important reason for the setback of those days was the immense loss of subjective forces including Central leadership. This is applicable to the setback of the AP and Telangana movements too. The Peru revolution suffered a setback as almost the entire top leadership got arrested. These bitter experiences teach us the vital importance of protecting leadership and preserving subjective forces. This is an ideological and political issue. It is an issue which must be addressed at the strategic level. It is an issue pertaining to understanding the enemy's LIC strategy and tactics. It is also an issue pertaining to building and strengthening of party, army and UF and developing mass base. Though our party has a general understanding in all these matters, we suffered losses as we were liberal and lacked concreteness in our practice. The experiences of the past decade point out to our weakness in this regard. Though the objective situation is very favourable to the revolution, we cannot lead the revolution to victory without creating favourable situation in a planned manner and without continuously preserving and developing our subjective forces during the course of struggle. In the present situation where the enemy offensive is becoming more severe, when its surveillance and infiltration methods are becoming more sophisticated, backed by modern technology, we too must strengthen and upgrade our capacities and underground structures by formulating tactics and secret work methods that would help in preserving our subjective forces and we must implement those tactics with firm determination. Only by doing this, will we be able to develop them step by step. We should keep in mind our own experiences, the teachings of the great Marxist teachers and the experiences imparted by the histories of revolutions of various countries and put efforts in this direction, to develop our party into a strong organisation advancing on the path of the invincible PPW...

The relation between the development of people's war

and of mass work must be grasped properly. If we had rallied the peasantry, particularly agricultural labourers and poor peasants more widely into the agrarian revolution in other rural areas and not only in the areas where RPCs are present, we could have further developed guerrilla warfare.

Similarly, shortcomings in rallying the middle classes newly developing in the rural areas and the oppressed social sections into the revolutionary movement have negatively impacted the development of guerrilla warfare.

In the past ten years, the movements in plain areas and urban centres have weakened. We have also not been able to achieve notable improvement in mobilising vast non-peasant masses inside the guerrilla zones. Both of these have negatively impacted the successful implementation of our central task. But we also have the experiences where vast masses have rallied in the Nandigram, Lalgargh, Narayanapatna movements, the movement for separate Statehood for Telangana and anti-displacement movements in various parts of our country. These are new experiences we must cherish and learn from. We should deeply probe them to grasp the social dynamics they reveal, new features they contain, as well as new forms of mass mobilisation they brought up and the potential they demonstrated for building broad unity of classes extending beyond rural areas into urban centres.

These bitter experiences teach us the vital importance of protecting leadership and preserving subjective forces. This is an ideological and political issue. It is an issue which must be addressed at the strategic level. It is an issue pertaining to understanding the enemy's LIC strategy and tactics. It is also an issue pertaining to building and strengthening of party, army and UF and developing mass base.

It is true that we had formulated broad tactical guidelines in our 'Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution' document to build revolutionary movements in various types of plain areas, keeping in view the changes that occurred in our country. We also have a policy document regarding urban work. But it would do well to examine how much and how deeply the strategic importance of these two areas is grasped and how much effort has been made in taking forward this crucial work. Weaknesses in this regard and failure to work as needed have led to our losing many subjective forces in these areas that were a soft target for enemy repression. The persisting lack in doing social investigation and study is one major reason for such weaknesses.

The majority of the people who are becoming victims of imperialist, feudal and comprador bureaucratic bourgeois exploitation and oppression live in the vast plain areas and the urban areas. Several movements are raging in the plains and the urban areas. The worldwide economic crisis is crushing the people of these two areas. There is not a single problem that they are not facing. There is no alternative to them other than revolution. And there is a lot of impact of the PW on the people of these areas. The situation in these areas is thus objectively very favourable to the revolution. What is needed is a creative approach addressing the concreteness of the situation existing in such areas and the demands of various sections and classes among the masses.

We already have decades of experience of working in such areas. Similarly, the experiences we gained in the past decade will also help us in working under the new circumstances. Drawing on these experiences, if we creatively work in a planned manner, employing new methods to suit the changed conditions and enemy's tactics, we can certainly create opportunities to wage guerrilla war in these vast areas as part of PPW.

When the enemy is carrying on a severe offensive on us to isolate us from the people and destroy us, we must follow tactics allowing us to protect and preserve our forces. We preserve ourselves to fight even better and destroy the enemy. Therefore, while implementing the methods necessary to defend and preserve our forces, we should fulfil political, organisational and military tasks of the PPW and increase our mass base. The enemy's policy is to isolate us from the people and destroy us. Our policy is to go more deeply into the people, integrate more closely with them and destroy the enemy. The favourable objective condition gives us good opportunities to do this. We should utilise them and politically rally the peasantry and various sections of people who are becoming victims of intensifying feudal and imperialist exploitation and oppression and mobilise them on various political, economic, social, cultural, environmental and other issues. The advanced elements that come to the fore in these struggles should be consolidated after raising their political and ideological consciousness. We must thus increase our mass base and subjective forces. We must take political initiative to utilise the contradictions

among the enemies to serve this purpose by isolating the main enemy and hastening its end...

According to the conditions in various areas, the government is implementing reforms for developing illusions among the masses and to isolate us from them and destroy us. We should formulate tactical programs based on the policy already formulated by us and on our experiences and implement them to fight back and defeat the enemy's LIC tactics. Similarly, the party, PLGA and the mass organisations should fight back the relentless psychological operations carried on by the enemy. We should widely propagate MLM, the politics of NDR and the successes of our movement among the people.

The underlying aspect in all of these shortcomings is that of insufficient ideological, political study, social investigation, summarising of experiences and rectification of wrong and non-proletarian trends ...

Shortcomings persist in following iron discipline, in implementing democratic centralism, secret structure and secret work methods in the party and in leadership work methods and style. These cause damage to unity of thought and action inside the party. They were also one of the reasons for losing subjective forces in large numbers including top level leadership...

Our party's ideological, political and military line is correct. The ultimate victory of the PPW is decided by these factors. Though the mistakes and shortcomings that occur in practice to reach our goal lead to

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## Breaking the taboo of 'non-violence'

ajith

In modern times, the violence of the underclass is always sought to be isolated by the rulers of every country by condemning its violation of the existing constitution. In India, a whole argument of some intrinsically non-violent tradition is added. Non-violence is wielded by the Indian ruling classes to isolate and crush militant agitations. It is posed as a dividing line between legitimate protest and illegal ones. Anybody can protest as much as they want but they must never be violent — so goes the official sermon. It is another matter that even the tamest of protests like a dharna is often brutally attacked by the police. Violence, the right to employ it, is constitutionally reserved for the repressive instruments of the Indian state. Anyone else getting violent is not only 'taking law into their hands'; they are violating the 'traditions' of the country. This, of course, is observed more in the breach by the members of the ruling classes — by feudal lords who do as they wish against the peasants, by the comprador capitalists who seek to resolve labour issues by killing off workers' leaders.

The privileging of non-violence, making it THE ultimate test of legitimacy, is a common attribute of all parliamentary parties in India. They make it a point to proclaim their adherence to it, just as much as they criticise the violence of their opponents. This is another case of 'inside-out, outside-in'. All of these parties maintain gangs specially charged with the task of violent suppression of opposition. Intimidation of voters is a norm in electoral practice. The main parties of the ruling classes, the Congress and the RSS spawned BJP, have the notorious record of orchestrating and leading pogroms in which thousands were killed — Sikhs by the Congress in 1984 and Muslims by RSS outfits in 2002. This is of course apart from the communal killings that have been a regular, annual, feature. Yet everything is claimed to be all so very non-violent and secular!

This hypocrisy is blatant. It is known to all who read papers or watch news. The way the law works, setting free the rich despite evidence of horrible crimes, is also well known. Yet intellectual opinion in this country usually brackets all of it as 'aberrations'. Wrong no doubt, but not the norm. Their world is still cosily framed by that fairy tale where India blooms as a land of non-violence from ancient times — Buddha, Ashoka and, of course, the indubitable Gandhi, who was all of that and more. They will thus get upset by violent acts of the rulers. They accept the legitimacy of the victims' protests. They may even condemn and protest on their own. But everything must be peaceful. "Violence", they say, "must not, cannot, be answered by violence." Yet history tells another tale. Buddha, Ashoka, and Gandhi had always taken care to provide for exceptions to this golden law; exceptions carefully reserved for the exclusive use of the rulers. Buddha, to give an illuminating example, refused entry to serving soldiers of the Magadh army in his Sangham, after being convinced by King Bimbisara of the need for an armed force devoted to the protection of the non-armed population. But that part of this ancient land's tradition is always excised in public rendering. Many intellectuals and opinion makers are more 'advanced'. They internalise this practice in private thinking. Their mental construct of a blessed state of pure non-violence is thus given the weight of

Non-violence is wielded by the Indian ruling classes to isolate and crush militant agitations. It is posed as a dividing line between legitimate protest and illegal ones. Anybody can protest as much as they want but they must never be violent — so goes the official sermon. It is another matter that even the tamest of protests like a dharna is often brutally attacked by the police. Violence, the right to employ it, is constitutionally reserved for the repressive instruments of the Indian state. Anyone else getting violent is not only 'taking law into their hands'; they are violating the 'traditions' of the country.

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reality.

However farcical, the nonsense of non-violence is quite lethal. Its suffocating burden presses heavy. Every act of violent reaction by the people to the violence of the rulers is met with an equivocal condemnatory statement that 'violence from either side is unacceptable'. This not only fails to differentiate between the rulers and the ruled. It conceals the violence of reactionary social values and practices, the violence suffered by the oppressed and exploited during every minute of living out their lives. Where such bland equivocation is accepted as a suitable stance, opposition to the violent acts of the people's war is inevitable, even among those who generally stand with the people.

One of the major contributions of the protracted people's war to social thinking in India is its subversion of the creed of non-violence, its assault on this Gandhian hypocrisy. The sustained violence of the people's war and its spread over several decades has no doubt been central to this. The people's war in India delivers the powerful message that revolutionary violence is necessary and good for the people and the country. It demonstrates the creative capacity of revolutionary war. It is the realisation, in Indian conditions, of Mao Tsetung's words, "... having guns... we can create... cadres, create schools, create culture, create mass movements."

This revolutionary war was welcomed and supported by the oppressed and exploited because it liberated them from a host of reactionary forces and their henchmen. The constructive power of revolutionary violence was something material, seen in their lives. But this by itself was not sufficient to take its message to the level of debunking Gandhian non-violence myths. A complement from the opposite end, the increasingly evident futility of its methods, was also needed. This came through the failures of a series of popular struggles that made non-violence the cornerstone of strategy and tactics. For all the countrywide mobilisation and broader awareness of the destructiveness and injustice of the policies carried out in the name of development achieved by these struggles, the harsh reality of being defenceless in the face of the repressive organs of the state, including the judiciary seen as the last resort for justice, was inescapable.

The sharp contrast became clearer as the rulers and their imperialist mentors aggressively pushed on with their anti-people, anti-country policies. Opposed to the helplessness of non-violent protest the creativity of violence stood out; not any violence, but its application for revolutionary aims, in a revolutionary manner. Led by a Maoist party guided by the ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM), it enables the masses to create a new state and society, by destroying the old. This is concretised today in the emergent centres of people's power, the Revolutionary People's Committees. The revolutionary war enables the masses to defend

***One of the major contributions of the protracted people's war to social thinking in India is its subversion of the creed of non-violence, its assault on this Gandhian hypocrisy. The sustained violence of the people's war and its spread over several decades has no doubt been central to this. The people's war in India delivers the powerful message that revolutionary violence is necessary and good for the people and the country.***

their lands and resources from the rapacious plunder of imperialist and Indian corporates. It breaks the shackles of patriarchy, casteism and ethnic oppression, allowing women, dalits and adivasis to stand up and join the front ranks of the great saga of liberation. The oppressed are taking their destiny into their own hands, arms in hand.

Growing realisation engendered by this contrast was waiting for a catalyst. It came in the form of the Indian state's declaration of its 'war on people', through Operation Green Hunt. Within a short period a whole range of progressive public opinion rallied against it. It saw through the UPA government's justifications for stepping up repression. The well catalogued atrocities of the Salwa Judum, which preceded Green Hunt, and the countrywide and international campaign against it, had already prepared the ground. But the state's 'war on people' brought up a wholly new dimension. It galvanised a section of intellectuals and opinion makers to go beyond the defence of human rights and squarely face up to the question of violence. The mood of that time can be judged by the sway of poetic sentiment, away from a poet's personal conviction of non-violence towards an acknowledgment of the ludicrous futility of Gandhi's 'peace-stick' in facing up to state

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# A DECADE OF 'DEVELOPING' DISPLACEMENT

Bhaskar



anti-displacement rally at Korchi, Gadchiroli

With the seizure of political power, 'Land to the Tiller' was a clarion call of the armed Agrarian revolution inaugurated by Naxalbari in 1967. In the countryside where the vast majority of India's people reside, the large majority of the toilers do not possess the means of production most crucial for a predominantly agrarian society — land.

*“Despite the hoax of all land reforms, 30% of the total land is concentrated in the hands of landlords, who constitutes only 5% of the population, while middle peasantry constitute about 20% of the rural population, where as rich peasantry constitutes 10%. 65% of the total peasantry are landless and the poor peasants, who own either no land at all or meagre land.” Party Programme, CPI (Maoist)*

Responding to the call of Naxalbari, the poor peasants and the landless revolted. They refused to part with the fruits of their toil and seized the land of landlords. Undivided States of Bihar (now Bihar and Jharkhand), Andhra Pradesh (now Telangana and Andhra Pradesh) and Madhya Pradesh (now Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh) as well as Maharashtra, Odisha and Paschim Banga in particular became sites of sharp class struggle, at the centre of which was the struggle for political power and land. During more than four decades of revolutionary struggle, the people have seized more than five lakh acres of land from the parasitic classes and their state. Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Birbhum, Debra-Gopiballabhpur, Lakhimpur, Kheri, Mushahari, Bhojpur, Champaran, Motihari, Sircilla, Jagityal, Gaya, Jehanabad, Dandakaranya, Narayanpatna, Lalgah ... wherever the Maoist movement spread, it mobilised the poorest strata of the peasantry in their millions to smash the economic foundations of entrenched feudalism by seizing land and defending it with arms.

*In Dandakaranya (DK - comprising of Bijapur, Dantewada, Sukma, Bastar, Narayanpur, Kanker and Rajnandgaon Districts of Chhattisgarh, and Gadchiroli, Gondia Districts of Maharashtra), poor and landless adivasi peasants have seized more than three lakh acres of land in the last three decades led by the revolutionary party. Most of this land has been seized from the forest department and a smaller part from landlords and reactionaries. The problem of landlessness has been basically resolved in DK by implementing the revolutionary agrarian programme.*

Freeing of land from the clutches of the exploiters by the exploited, guided by communists leadership, has unleashed the latent energies, initiative and creativity of the peasant masses, particularly of the adivasis and dalits. On this sound footing stands the struggle for survival, for dignity and self-respect, for people's political power and for a new society.

Peasants seizing land in Jharkhand



In contrast to this, after the Indian exploitative classes became heir to the political power of the outgoing colonial rulers in 1947, they and the imperialists have concentrated more and more land in their hands by using state power. In the wake of the growing democratic consciousness of the people of India, acquired in the course of anti-colonial struggle, it was no longer possible to rule the old way. The old form of direct colonial rule, control and exploitation gave way to a neo-colonial form of indirect rule, control and exploitation. Nor could private property be maintained in the old form. Princely states, kings, zamindars, landlords of the old type, all of them were becoming obsolete and therefore had to give way. Abolition of Zamindari Act, Land Ceiling Act, etc. were promulgated. More than six hundred states and all zamindari estates, the colonial legacy of the hated Permanent Settlement, were formally abolished. Farcical ruling

class measures like the Bhoodan movement were taken up. Even some land reform programmes were initiated by various rulingclass governments in the next decades, most notably in Kashmir, Keralam, Karnataka and, to a lesser degree, in Paschim Banga.

These measures were more to hoodwink the people; they have not fundamentally changed the prevailing land relations in the last 67 years of so-called independence. Over these decades, the peasant's land has been grabbed by the ruling classes, using the state directly, under the guise of 'public' purposes as defined by draconian laws like the colonial Land Acquisition Act of 1894. Land has been acquired in the name of the nation, the country and progress.

*"If you have to suffer, you should do so in the interest of the country" - Jawaharlal Nehru, laying the foundation stone of the Hirakud Dam in Odisha in 1948, India's first major river valley project. The dam, by the time it was completed in 1957, displaced 1,10,000 people of 22,141 families residing in 285 villages.*

Land has been often acquired from unwilling peasants through deception, allurement, threat and intimidation, and at times, by unleashing outright violence.

*"We will request you to move from your houses after the dam comes up. If you move, it will be good. Otherwise we shall release the waters and drown you all."*  
*- Morarji Desai, who later became Prime Minister, to the people displaced by the Pong Dam, in 1961.*

In the name of 'nationalisation' and national-interest, the representatives of the ruling classes have mercilessly ordered acquisition of land from the people for government-initiated mega projects, which were planned keeping the interests of the big landlords big capitalists and the imperialists in mind.

*Indira Sagar Dam in Madhya Pradesh submerged 42,000 hectares of forests land and displaced over 80,000 tribal people. Bhakra-Nangal project displaced 2,108 families of Bilaspur and Una districts of Himachal Pradesh in the early 1950s. In 1968, National Mineral Development Corporation (NMDC) displaced 22 adivasi villages for its iron-ore mining project at Bailadilla, Chhattisgarh. It promised better housing and jobs for the local people. But over the last four decades, the 22,000 villagers living on that land have been thrown out. Of the 9,000 NMDC employees, only 127 are from Bastar region.*

In this way, Indian and foreign big capitalists have not only retained their landed estates in the form of plantations, firms, mines, etc. acquired during and with the aid of the colonial government, but have taken over vast swathes of additional land and thereby augmented their landed property free of cost or at a pittance in the so-called independent India. It is as if, in opposition to the revolutionary slogan of 'Land to the tiller', the big landlords, comprador big capitalists and imperialists are implementing their own unstated reactionary programme, their own undeclared slogan of 'Land from the tiller' without any let up.

continued on page 80

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# 10 Years of CPI (Maoist)



## The Communist Party of India (Maoist)

*"The Communist Party of India (Maoist) is the consolidated political vanguard of the Indian proletariat. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the ideological basis guiding its thinking in all the spheres of its activities. Immediate aim or programme of the party is to carry on and complete the new democratic revolution (NDR) in India as a part of the world proletarian revolution by overthrowing the semi-colonial, semi-feudal system under neo-colonial form of indirect rule, exploitation and control and the three targets of our revolution—imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic big bourgeoisie. The ultimate aim or maximum programme of the party is the establishment of communist society. This new democratic revolution will be carried out and completed through armed agrarian revolutionary war, i.e., the protracted people's war with area-wise seizure of power remaining as its central task. The protracted people's war will be carried out by encircling the cities from the countryside and thereby finally capturing them. Hence the countryside as well as the protracted people's war will remain as the center of gravity of the party's work from the very beginning. During the whole process of this revolution the party, army and the united front will play the role of three magic weapons. In their interrelationship the party will play the primary role, whereas the army and the united front will be two important weapons in the hands of the party. Because the armed struggle will remain the main form of struggle and army as the main form of organisation of this revolution, hence armed struggle will play a decisive role. Whereas the united front will be built in the course of advancing armed struggle and for armed struggle. Mass organisations and mass struggles are necessary and indispensable and they must serve the war. The immediate and most urgent task of the party is to establish full-fledged People's Liberation Army (PLA) and base areas by developing and transforming the guerrilla zones and guerrilla bases.*

*"Just after completing the NDR the party will advance towards establishing socialism without any delay or interruption. The NDR will already have laid the basis for socialism and hence there will be no pause. Thereafter, the party will continue to advance towards realising communism by continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.*

*"Socialist society covers a considerable long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there will be classes, class contradictions and class struggle. The struggle between socialist road and capitalist road will also continue to exist. Only by depending on and carrying forward the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat can all these contradictions be correctly resolved. In this context the GPCR initiated and led by Mao Tsetung was a great political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and thereby fighting against the danger of capitalist restoration.*

*"Party will also continue to hold high proletarian internationalism and will continue to firmly contribute more forcefully in uniting the genuine Marxist-Leninist-Maoist (MLM) forces at the international level. The party will also struggle against all forms of revisionism. While uniting the M-L-M forces, it will also establish unity with oppressed people and nations of the whole world and continue its fight together with them in advancing towards completing the world proletarian revolution against imperialism and all reaction, thereby paving the way towards realising communism on a world scale.*

*“During the whole course the comrades throughout the party must cherish the revolutionary spirit of daring to go against the tide, must adhere to the principles of practicing Marxism and not revisionism, working for unity and not for splits, and being open and aboveboard and not engaging in intrigue and conspiracy, must be good at correctly distinguishing contradictions among the people from those between ourselves and the enemy and thereby correctly handling those, must fight left and right opportunism and non proletarian trends, and must develop the style of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and practicing criticism and self-criticism.*

*“The future is certainly bright, though the road is tortuous. All the members of our party wholeheartedly dedicating their lives in the lofty struggle for communism on a world scale, must be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!*

from ‘Constitution of the CPI (Maoist)’



## A Programme for Revolution

*"Our party is placing the programme of new democratic revolution of India before the people and dedicates itself to this great revolutionary cause. It sets to itself the task of achieving socialism. Our ultimate goal is communism. After the people's democratic revolution, the production relations will be revolutionised step by step, in the process of removing the class distinction between exploiter and the exploited. It will continue the efforts to eradicate Brahmanical ideology, caste oppression and discrimination by promoting a scientific socialistic outlook. It will continue to move forward by continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and thereby continue to consolidate the socialist society as a strong base area for the world proletarian revolution. This socialist state will be the dictatorship of the proletariat, which will guarantee democracy for the vast majority of the people while exercising dictatorship on the handful of the exploiters. There will be classes, class contradictions and class struggles even in socialist society, in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism of uninterruptedly continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It will continue to advance the proletarian cultural revolution and through it fight and defeat every attempt by imperialism, modern revisionism and capitalist roaders to restore capitalism. Through this process, it will continue the struggle against any deformities introduced in the socialist system especially against bureaucracy and, thereby, continue to ensure that people participate in the state and are not alienated from either the socialist state or the proletarian party. It will have to creatively eliminate the remaining inequalities and solve the contradictions that exist within socialist society and, in the process, move towards the elimination of class society and, thereby, the withering away of the state, i.e. towards communism on a world scale.*

*"This party pledges to fulfil its duty of putting an end to the endless misery and suffering of crores of our beloved people by completing the people's democratic revolution. It further pledges to follow class line and mass line in every respect and be ever vigilant towards the conspiracies and nefarious intrigues of the imperialists and modern revisionists and march forward to ultimately abolish exploitation and oppression by continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and marching forward to socialism and then communism on a world scale.*

from 'Party Programme of CPI (Maoist)'





**they lived for the people and live on in their hearts**

martyrs of the Indian revolution

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The martyrs of the Indian revolution represent the most scientific ideology in the world – Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM). They herald a new society, new politics, new economy and new culture and are forerunners of the new kind of human beings who would inhabit a communist society. They represent a great history. They represent all that is just, righteous, virtuous, moral and humane that go into the making of real human beings. The great values of selflessness, sacrifice, unflinching ideological commitment, placing the interest of the collective above individual interests, undaunted courage when facing the enemy, broadness in thinking, love for the people and comrades, steely determination to overcome any number of difficulties, perseverance in face of hardships, devotion to serving the people and many more such higher values have been imbibed and practiced by these martyrs. They have placed glorious models in front of us to emulate with the way they lived and died.

Knowing about them means knowing about the necessity for a revolution in our country and also who needs it the most. It means knowing how to make this revolution and what kind of grit goes into its making. It means knowing about how only a communist revolution can unleash the creativity of the masses and produce genuine people's leaders. It means knowing how class relations surpass blood relations. It means how an aspiration for a better world can make you selfless. It means knowing about how a scientific ideology can turn into a mighty force if it is applied correctly according to the concrete conditions.

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From the Foreword to 'Photo Album and List of the Martyrs of the Indian Revolution'.

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*When the moon was wounded by  
the rifle shots in the night  
and appeared red  
I understood that the enemy  
was digging another grave  
to the truth  
With a burning stink the wind  
sadly wiped the tears from  
my cheek...  
The grass crushed in the night  
weeps in the morning...  
My children, please open your eyes  
at least once...!  
Just now  
A seat fell vacant  
My wound blossomed like a flower  
A comrade fell down  
Another rises from his injuries  
I am invincible  
I disintegrate and explode  
It is my heart that breaks  
But not my weapons and wishes  
My death becomes a song and  
rests  
But the struggle continues to flow*

*Samudrudu\**

---

(Samudrudu was the pen name of Kanakaraju, an activist of CPI (M-L) (People's War). He was arrested on September 1, 1991, taken to a remote village in AP and shot dead. This poem is taken from 'Understanding Maoists', N. Venugopal Rao)

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The following pages carry the photos of the valiant daughters and sons of the people who laid down their lives during the last decade and a partial list of those whose photos were not available.

**Andhra-Odisha Border**

Ranadev (SZCM) (2008)

**Andhra Pradesh**

Santosh (DCM)(2005)

Raju (DCM) (2005)

Murali (DCM) (2005)

Mohan (DCM) (2005)

Krishna (DCM)(2006)

Prabhakar (DCM)(2006)

Sudarshan (DCM)(2006)

Satyam (DCM)(2006)

Ramachandar (SCM) (2008)

Mohan (DCM)(2008)

Prabhakar (DCM)(2008)

Sanjeev (DC) (2009)

**Asom**

Siddhartha Bargohain (RCM)(2012)

Pavel (Cdr) (2012)

**Bihar-Jharkand**

Ranjan (PLCdr)(2005)

Manjit Hembram (ZCM)(2006)

Niranjan (CyCdr) (2006)

Nathun (ZCS)(2007)

Arun (ZCM)(2007)

Pradeep (SAC Instructor)(2007)

Sanjay (ZCM)(2007)

Shankar (ZCM)(2007)

Mohan (SubZCM)(2007)

Amruth (ZCM)(2008)

Arjun (ZCM)(2008)

Satyam (ZCM)(2008)

Niranjan (ZCmnd) (2008)

Urav (SubZCM)(2008)

Vyas (SubZCM)(2008)

Raghu (SubZCM)(2008)

Kundan (SubZCM)(2008)

Surya (SubZCM)(2008)

Yodha (SubZCM)(2008)

Lahour (SubZCM)(2008)

Parvez (Spl PLCdr) (2008)

Krishna Yadav (ZCM) (2009)

Veerendra Mahato (ZCM) (2009)

Kamalesh Sinh (ZCM) (2009)

Jagadeesh Mahato (SubZCM)(2009)

Sailendra Sinh (RCM) (2010)

Susheel (RCM)(2010)

David Mahato (ZCM)(2010)

Veerendra Mahato (ZCM) (2010)

Bhunath (SubZCM) (2010)

Rajesh Munda (SubZCM)(2010)

Akash (PLCdr) (2010)

Vikram Munda (PLCdr)(2010)

Veerendra (ZCM) (2011)

Saleem (SubZCM) (2011)

Naresh (SubZCM) (2012)

Madan (SubZCM) (2012)

Chandan (SubZCM) (2012)

Sekhar (PLCdr) (2012)

Lavalesh (RCM) (2013)

Dharmendra (ZCM)(2013)

Praful (ZCM)(2013)

Mithilesh (ZCM) (2013)

Jayakumar (PLCdr)(2013)

Kamaleshwar (2014)

**Haryana**

Ram Mehar (2007)

**Karnataka**

Kiran (ACM) (2005)

Akash (PM) (2005)

Dinakar (2007)

Goutham (2007)

Parameshwara(2007)

RameGouda (2007)

Subrahmanya (2007)

Abhishek (DVCM)(2008)

Manohar (DVCM)(2008)

**Maharashtra**

Raju (DVCM) (2006)

Krishna (PM)(2014)

Sonu (PM)(2014)

**North Chhattisgarh**

Bheem (SCM)(2004)

Ajay (ZCM)(2004)

Shyam Bihari (ZCM)(2005)

Shravan (SCM)(2006)

Rahul (SCM)(2007)

Manas (ZCM)(2007)

Arun (ZCM)(2008)

Chotan Gond (ZCM)(2009)

Pariman (SubZCM)(2009)

**North Telangana**

Janardhan (DCM)(2005)

Saleem (DCM)(2005)

Naresh (DCM)(2010)

**Odisha**

Rinki (DVCM) (2010)

Suneel (DVCM) (2011)

**Paschim Banga**

Niyam (DVCM)(2005)

Sukanto (SCM)(2008)

Nirmal (SCM)(2008)

Rohati (ZCM) (2009)

Govinda Roy (SCM)(2010)

Arun (RCM) (2010)

Sashadhar Mahato (RCM) (2011)

**Tamil Nadu**

Naveen

**Western Ghats**

Yellaya (ACM)(2012)

Sinoj (ACM)(2014)

Andhra-Odhisha Border AOB; Andhra Pradesh AP; Asom AS; Bihar-Jharkand B-J; North Chhattisgarh CG; Dandakaranya DK; Haryana HR; Karnataka KN; Maharashtra MR; North Telangana NT; Odhisha OS; Paschim Banga PB; Punjab PN; Tamilnadu TN; 3U UP-Uttarkhand-North Bihar; Western Ghats WG.

State Committee Secretaries and Members (by rows left to right)

Saketh Rajan (SCS, KN), Madhav (SCS, AP), Maimuddin (SCS, 3U), Mastan Rao (SplSCS, AP), Srikanth (SZCM, DK), Mangtu (SZCM, DK), Vikas (SZCM, DK), Suryam (CRCM), Sudhakar (SZCM, NT), Appa Rao (Director, CMI), Yadanna (SZCM, NT), Komma (SZCM, AOB), Goutham (SZCM, AOB), Raghavulu (SCM, AP), Sridhar (SCM, AP), Sheshanna (SZCM, NT), Sudharshan (SCM, AP), Mahita (RePOS), Somanna (SZCM, NT).



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(SC State Committee; SZC Special Zonal Committee; SplSc Special State Committee; CMI Central Military Intelligence; RePOS Regional Political School)

District and Divisional Committee Secretaries



Sagar (NT), Vikas (Zonal Cmnd,PB), Vijay (DK), Ramesh (NT), Jagadeesh (NT), Ananda Reddy (AP), Ravi (AP)

District and Divisional Committee Members



(by rows, left to right)

Aman (TechDpt), Rajendar (3U), Babanna (NT), Ramana (AP), Chandana (DK), Shobha (MR),Daya (NT).

Indira (DK), Ramulu(AOB), Narasappa (AP), Kosa (COB), Lalsu (MR), Sudhakar (AP), Madhu (DK).

Madhu (NT), Mallesh (NT), Manganna (AOB), Mangesh (DK), Mohan (DK), Naresh (NT), Padma (NT).

Prasanna (Tech), Raghu (AP), Punnam (NT), Rajanna (NT), Raju (OS), Ramana (TechDpt), Ranjit (NT).

Ratnaiah (AP), Sreenu (AP), Ravi (OS), Sanjeev (AOB), Sarita (AP), Shankar (DK), Sreenu (NT).

Srikanth (NT), Sridhar (AOB), Sukku (COB), Suresh (AP), Tirupathi (DK), Kumar (AP), Venkanna (AP).

Dasuram Maleka (OS), Sudhir (B-J), Indal (B-J), Babu (DK), Bandu (DK), Badru (DK), Chandu (DK).

Sunanda MR), Nagesh (MR).

# cpi(maoist) 10th anniversary

## Area Committee Members (by rows, left to right)



Sirisha (AOB), Keerti (AOB), Uraal (AOB), Raju (AOB), Satish (AOB), Kiran (AOB), Nagendra (AP), Mahesh (AP), Kurmaiah (AP)

Sanjeev (AP), Raghu (AP), Laxman (AP), Ravi (AP), Mahendar (AP), Venu (AP), Giri (AP), Sabita (NT)

Vijaya (AP), Sagar (AP), Rajitha (AP), Lahour (BJ), Ashok (BJ), Vasudev (BJ), Sameera (COB), Ameela (COB), Aruna (COB)

Vinod (DK), Enki (DK), Lalsu (DK), Mukesh (DK), Ayitu (DK), Maniram (DK), Kailas (DK), Linganna (DK), Neelesh (DK)

Kamala (DK), Baman (DK), Sukku (DK), Chaitu (DK), Paltu (DK), Jaggu (DK), Chute (DK), Jaggu (DK), Pramod (DK)

Bhaskar (DK), Kosa (DK), Ramji (DK), Munni (DK), Meena (DK), Dasru (DK), Lokesh (DK), Jayaram (DK), Ingal (DK)

Vagal (DK), Vijjal (DK), Ramesh (DK), Sharada (DK), Faklu (DK), Mohan (DK), Vinod (DK), Kismath (DK), Geeta (DK)

Danni (DK), Meena (DK), Mohan (DK), Hari (AOB), Nandu (DK), Rina (DK), Sukhram (DK), Naveen (MR), Punni (MR)

Shamko (MR), Sunil (MR), Veeru (MR), Janiya (MR), Kishore (MR), Maharu (MR), Murali (MR), Raghu (MR), Rakesh (MR)

Jagadish (DK), Shobha (NT), Somji (NT), Sudhakar (NT), Bheema (NT), Shyam (NT), Swarupa (NT), Ramakanth (NT), Praveen (NT)

Sampath (NT), Ratan (DK), Aruna (NT), Bhaskar (NT), Raghu (NT), Rama (NT), Aravind (NT), Ravi (NT), Venkanna (NT)

Ramesh (NT), Suresh (NT), Prasanth (NT), Meetu (DK), Udham Singh (DK), Sunil (AP), Goutham (NT), Raju (NT), Urmila (NT)

Reeta (DK), Parvati (KN)

# cpi(maoist) 10th anniversary

## Party Members, Militia, Masses (by rows, left to right)

Malleswari (PM)(AOB), Sanyasamma (PM)(AOB), Jagadesh (PM)(AOB), Mangli (PM)(AOB), Ungal (PM)(AOB), Bhima (Mil)(AOB), Ganga (Mil)(AOB), Irma (Mil)(AOB), Kosa (Mil)(AOB)  
 Podia (Mil)(AOB), Rama Kovasi (Mil)(AOB), Rama Madkami (Mil)(AOB), Rinu(Mil)(AOB), Ungaa(Mil)(AOB), Susheela(PM)(AOB), Ura (Mil)(AOB), Jeevan(PR)(AOB), Swetha (PM)(AOB)  
 Krishnam Raju(Stu)(AP), Raju(Stu)(AP), Rajesh(PR)(AP), Uma(PR)(AP), Padma(PM)(AP), Rajitha(AC)(AP), Parvathi(PR)(AP), Sandhya(PR)(AP), Azad (SPP)(NT)  
 Sidhar(Ms)(COB), Goutham(Ms)(COB), Latchu(PM)(COB), Rajabathi(PM)(COB), Manjula(PM)(COB), Moti(PM)(COB), Santosh(PM)(OS), Kailas(PM)(DK), Sarita(PM)(DK)  
 Saritha(PR)(DK), Masses(DK), Dasri (Mil)(DK), Somari(PM)(DK), Vijjal(PM)(DK), Lakke(Ms)(DK), Saibo(Ms)(DK), Samo(Ms)(DK), Sattibogam(Ms)(DK)  
 Mahesh(Ms), Neelu(Mil)(DK), Vijja(Mil)(DK), Ursa(Mil)(DK), Ramdass(PM)(DK), Irpa(PM)(DK), Hemlal(PM)(DK), Itaal(Mil)(DK),Sudhakar(PM)(DK)  
 Joga(Mil)(DK), Fagnu(Mil)(DK), Kummal(PM)(DK), Laloo(PM)(DK),Bheemal(PM)(DK),Bhimal(PM)(DK), Pandu(PM)(DK), Beeju(Mil)(DK), Keerthi(Mil)(DK)  
 Mallesh(PM)(DK), Jogal(Mil)(DK), Hadme(Mil)(DK), Sanni(PM)(DK), Ungal(PM)(DK), Tugge(PM)(DK), Nandu(PM)(DK), Shanti(PM)(DK),Reshma(PM)(DK)  
 Radha(PM)(DK),Rajitha(PM)(DK),Jogi(PM)(DK), Sannal(PM)(NT),Mynabai(PM)(DK),Hazima(PM)(KN), Soni(PM)(DK), Latchu(Mil)(DK), Lingal(Mil)(DK)



RamMattami(Ms)(DK), Mehtar(Mil)(DK), Pandu(PR)(DK), Bheema(Mil)(DK), Hidma(PR)(DK),Sannu(PR)(DK), Somli(PM)(DK),Nanda(Ms)(DK), Mallu(Mil), Joga(Mil)(DK)  
 Raje(PM)(DK),Rinku(PM)(DK), Damsu(PM)(DK),Raju(PM)(DK), Ungal(PR)(DK), Mangu(PM)(DK), Raju(PM)(DK), Ramal(PM)(DK), Ratan(PM)(DK), Mandoki(Mil)(DK)  
 Phoolo(Ms)(DK), Ramoli(People)(DK), Akash(PM)(DK), Badru(PM)(DK), Gopi(PM)(DK), Ravi(PM)(DK), Ungal(PM)(DK), Mangli(PM)(DK), Mangdu(PM)(DK), Sainu(PM)(DK)  
 Amitha(PM)(DK), Sanoti(PM)(DK), Sumitra(PM)(DK), Ammipungati(PM)(DK), Laxman(PM)(DK), Pusal(PM)(DK), Manda(PM)(DK), Champa(PM)(DK), Kumme (PM)(DK), Kunjami(PR)(DK)



# cpi(maoist) 10th anniversary

## Party Members, Militia, Masses (by rows, left to right)



Korra Salo(PM)(AOB), Rainu(PM)(DK), Rakesh(PM)(DK), Sivacharan(PM)(DK), Vasanthi(PM)(DK), Kajal(PM)(MR), Sukmati(PM)(MR), Rajesh(PM)(MR), Ganesh(PM)(NT), Mogili(PM)(NT)  
 Surendar(PR)(NT), Surender(PR)(NT), Ramulu(PR)(NT), Isrubai(Ms)(NT), Mamata(PR)(NT), Pramila(PM)(DK), Somidi(PR)(NT), Vijaya(PR)(NT), Ravi(PR)(NT), Ranadevi(PR)(NT)  
 Ravi(PM)(NT), Bhagath(PR)(NT), Swarna(PM)(NT), Jamuna(PM)(NT), Sangeeta(PR)(NT), Laxmi(Ms)(NT), Bhaskar(PM)(NT), Rangayya(PM)(NT), Jayantho(PM)(OS), Tuna(PM)(OS)  
 Sukkai(PM)(OS), Ronda(PM)(COB), Latha(PM)(AP), Mukesh(Ms)(DK), Sukhdev(Ms)(DK), Vasantha(PM)(DK), Ranju(PM)(DK), Juru(PM)(DK), Shivaji(PM), Ratna(PM)(DK)  
 Raghu(PM)(DK), Jyothi(PM)(DK), Hidma(PM)(DK), Dasru(PM)(DK), Bitchem(PM)(DK), Madhav(PM)(AOB)

(PR Professional Revolutionary; PM Party Member; Mil Militia; Ms Masses)

## Friends of the revolution



R.S. Rao  
 Prattipatti Venkateshwarlu  
 K.G. Kannabiran  
 Hem Pandey

## Mass Leaders

Goru Madhava Rao, Aluri Bhujangarao, Aazam Ali,  
 BSA Satyanarayana, Kanakachari, Venkayamma, Ganti Prasadam,  
 Akula Bhumaiah, Laxmi, Robert, M.T. Khan



PM also honours mass leaders comrades Penduru Bheem Rao, Umakanth Mahatho, Juvvaji Venkata Subbaiah and Kardam Bhat and Swapan Dasgupta, Khagen Das, Suniti Kumar Ghosh, Hari Singh Tark who have served the people. Their photos could not be obtained.

PEOPLES  
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 SUPPLEMENT

## ***In the Dungeons of the Enemy***

The prisons in India are brimming with the underclass. The great majority of those locked up as criminals come from the bottommost sections of society - women, dalits, adivasis and Muslims. For some years now, they are joined by others of the same class - militant workers of Gurgaon; adivasi poor peasants across war zones in all States; dalit landless agricultural labourers and backward caste poor peasants of Bihar; people opposing government's mega 'development' projects; nationalist Kashmiris, Manipuris, Sikhs, Kamatapuris and others; political and cultural activists; Muslims caught in the dragnet of 'war on terror'; Maoists. The list is long.



As contradictions in society have continued to intensify in the last ten years, the number of prisoners has also swelled, and so does the number of prisons. They include tens of thousands of political prisoners lodged in jails all across the country, particularly in regions where people's movements are confronting the state. Proportionately, the number of prison struggles have grown and are becoming more frequent. More prisoners are joining the Maoists in the fight for prisoners' rights. Coordinated protest actions in prisons across a State and even the whole country are being carried out. Campaigns are conducted outside prisons in solidarity and demanding the unconditional release of political prisoners, for their democratic rights, to provide legal aid and other forms of support. Political Prisoners Day on 13 September is being observed inside and outside prisons every year to draw attention to the demands of the prisoners. A countrywide democratic movement is gradually shaping up on the central demands of the legal recognition for political prisoners and their unconditional release. The struggling prisoners are also encouraged by solidarity events like the International Day observed in early 2014 on a call given by the International Committee to Support the People's War in India.

### ***Prisoners Rights Week***

The Prisoners' Rights Week is observed every year from March 23 to 29. This year, in response to a call by the Central Regional Bureau, CPI (Maoist), a bandh was successfully observed on March 29 in Dantewada District (Chhattisgarh) on the concluding day, and 16 vehicles belonging to the Essar company were destroyed. During the week several rallies were conducted and pamphlets distributed along with posterings, wall writing, public meetings and press conferences. Apart from others, family members, friends and relatives of political prisoners spoke in the meetings and press conferences, describing the plight their near and dear ones have to undergo in various jails of Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra. They condemned the gross violation of human rights going on and drew attention to what the overwhelming majority of poor adivasi families of the political prisoners were made to go through by the ruthless Indian state. A huge rally of 2000 people culminated with a demonstration in front of the Dantewada jail. Several more hundreds were stopped on their way to the rally by the police and forcibly sent back. The District SP and Collector met the demonstrators and gave assurance to look into their demands. Protests and rallies against illegal detentions and prisoners rights are a regular feature in this region, braving brutal repression.

Sixteen members of the party's PB and CC continue to languish in jail along with several State Committee, Division/District/Zonal Committee, Area Committee members, party members, revolutionary mass leaders and the people. Most of the leaders were abducted by the police and intelligence agencies, kept in illegal custody, interrogated for days together and produced in court only after democratic and civil rights organisations raised alarm fearing for their lives. All of them have been repeatedly charged with tens of fabricated cases registered across several States. They have been charged under the UAPA, and several other draconian laws, making procurement of bail, speedy trial or early release a near impossibility. A few are serving life terms, while others are undergoing long periods of imprisonment. Even in the few instances when they have been able to procure bail they are being rearrested from the prison gates itself. Comrade Shiela di (CCM) is being charged with fresh cases under different names to block her release. The aim of the rulers is to keep the revolutionary leadership in its dungeons for life.



**Janardhanji, Shiela di,  
Narayan Sanyal, Kobad Gandy**

Many of the imprisoned leaders are of an advanced age and are suffering from multiple age-related ailments that require urgent and intensive medical care. Veteran comrades Narayan Sanyal (77), Jagdish Master (75), Pareshda (79), Kobad Ghandy (69) and Chintanji (60) suffer from serious health-related problems. Similarly, Sahebda (68), Sadanala Ramakrishna (68) and Chandrashekhar Reddy (68) too need adequate treatment which is being deliberately denied by the ruling classes. The serious deterioration in health and eventual death of our beloved comrade Sushil Roy (PBM) was caused by the state's denial of timely medical treatment during seven years of his incarceration in Paschim Banga and Jharkhand. So too was the death of 'People's March' Bengali edition editor Swapan Dasgupta.

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From 30 January 2014, hundreds of political prisoners undertook simultaneous jail struggles in the prisons of Maharashtra, Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha and some other States. The prisoners demanded granting of bail, speedy and fair trial, release of life convicts who have spent more than 14 years in jail, implementation and improvement of the jail manual, better prison facilities, recognition of the status of political prisoners and their unconditional release, etc.

In Maharashtra, 177 undertrial prisoners including seven women prisoners lodged in Nagpur central jail undertook an indefinite hunger strike from 30 January 2014. 200 other inmates joined the struggle by participating in relay hunger strike every day.

In Behrampur jail (Odisha), ten political prisoners booked under UAPA started an indefinite hunger strike on 26 January, demanding speedy trial and regular physical appearance in court. On the fifth day of the strike, the authorities accepted their demands and promised fulfilment within a month. The strike was thus withdrawn on 30 January after this victory.

In Jharkhand, around 1,500 political prisoners in 26 central and district jails of the state went on indefinite hunger strike on 30 January 2014. Struggles were taken up in the prisons of Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Daltonganj, Palamu, Garhwa etc. The main demand of the striking prisoners was the release of convicts who have completed their sentence but are still languishing in jail due to the delay of the government in forming the mandatory State Sentence Review Board to recommend their release.

**Towards  
A  
Unified  
Maoist  
Party**

The period following the glorious Naxalbari revolt in 1967 and the formation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) [CPI (M-L)] and the Maoist Communist Center (MCC), on April 22 and October 20, 1969 respectively, saw the evolution of the correct line for the Indian revolution after making a radical rupture with the old revisionist line of crass parliamentarism and the evolutionary Khrushchovite theory of “peaceful transition to socialism” advocated by the arch-revisionist CPI and CPI(M). The two great Comrades Charu Majumdar and Kanhai Chatterjee leaders of the Indian revolutionary communist movement and fore-founders of the newly-unified CPI(Maoist) — comrade Charu Majumdar (CM) and comrade Kanhai Chatterjee (KC) — were instrumental in waging an uncompromising struggle in the ideological and political sphere with revisionist theory and practice, breaking with the revisionists organisationally and developing the correct line and genuine revolutionary communist party to provide leadership to the Indian revolution. It was on the basis of this correct line that the CPI (ML) and MCC made great advances.



The 8th Congress in 1970 synthesised this correct line for the Indian revolution drawn up by our great leaders. Since then, during the long span of 37 years until the Unity Congress-9th Congress, of the newly unified Party the CPI (Maoist), the Indian revolution has gone through several ups and downs. The setback of the post-Naxalbari armed revolutionary mass upsurge by 1972 and the martyrdom of comrade CM gave rise to a series of splits in the ML movement. The Central Committee, which was elected in the 8th Congress, disintegrated due to the martyrdom and arrest of the majority of its members and betrayal by some. Since then, the CPI (M-L) had no unified directing centre and the splintered factions of the original CPI (M-L) functioned separately as independent centres. Some of these centres degenerated into revisionism while a few continued the revolutionary line of the 8th Congress, rectified its shortcomings, reorganised themselves and made sincere attempts to revive the revolutionary movement. This led to the formation of the CPI (M-L) (People’s War) [PW], the CPI (M-L) (Party Unity) [PU] and several others. In this process, those parties which adhered to the line of CPI (M-L) and persisted in revolutionary practice of armed agrarian revolutionary struggle achieved a measure of unity while the rest continued to undergo further splits.

The MCC’s attempts to develop an armed agrarian revolutionary movement in Kanksa-Sonarapur (Paschim Banga) faced a severe setback in mid-1970. But by taking correct lessons from this setback it immediately took up this task in a vast area of the then Bihar State and surrounding regions with the perspective of establishing base area. Gradually picking up strength it expanded the guerrilla war to a vast area in Eastern India.

Efforts for unity between the CPI (M-L)(PW), MCC and CPI (M-L)(PU) began in the late 1970s and early ‘80s. While the merger talks between the PW and MCC broke down by 1995 due to their failure to arrive at a common understanding on some important political issues, the talks between the PW and PU fructified leading to the formation of the new CPI (M-L)[People’s War] in August 1998. Some of the splintered factions of the CPI (M-L) and several comrades belonging to various Marxist-Leninist organisations and communist revolutionary groups joined the CPI (M-L)(PW) and CPI (M-L)(PU) and later, the CPI (M-L)[PW] in the period since 1980. Likewise, the unification of the Revolutionary Communist Centre, India (Maoist) and MCC in January 2003 led to the formation of MCCCI. A faction of the CPI (M-L)(2nd CC) and the Revolutionary Communist Centre (Maoist) also joined the MCCCI in May and September respectively in the same year. The attempts for unity of the two great streams of the Indian revolution—the CPI (M-L)[PW] and the MCCCI — were revived in 2001, overcoming a tragic period of bloody clashes that saw heavy losses on both sides. After thoroughgoing self-criticisms by the Central leaderships of the two Maoist parties, the actual merger talks began in February 2003. It culminated in the formation of the CPI(Maoist) on 21 September 2004. With this the task of establishing a single centre was in the main completed.

Later some more Maoist forces joined the new party. It was decided that efforts for uniting the remaining genuine Maoist organisations and forces in the country should be continued. The merger into one party of CPI (Maoist) and CPI (M-L)NAXALBARI in May 2014 was another turning point in this process.

PEOPLES  
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In anti-clockwise order: (1) Leading martyrs of the early period - Comrades Amulya Sen, Saroj Dutta, Sushital Roy Choudhary, Chandrashekhar Das, Vempatapu Satyam, Adibatla Kailasam, Changatti Bhasker Rao, Panchadi Krishnamurthy, Panchadi Nirmala. (2) Delegates at the 8th Congress. (3) Scenes from the Merger meet and 9th Congress venues.

PEOPLES  
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## Charu Majumdar

Comrade Charu Mazumdar (popularly known as CM) emerged as a revolutionary leader through a long process of participation in class struggles. When he was a school student he became a member of the All Bengal Students Association, affiliated to the Anusilan group, an organisation of petty bourgeois national revolutionaries. Within a few years he left college and began to organise bidi workers. At the end of the 1930s he became a member of CPI and engaged himself in organising the peasantry and became a member of the Jalpaiguri District Committee in 1942. During the period of the great Bengal famine, he organised the peasants for the seizure of crops from the landlords and hoarders. He was one of the prominent organisers and leaders of the Tebhaga peasant movement of 1946-51. He led the peasants of Dinajpur District in North Bengal. This armed peasant movement unfolded various aspects of the revolutionary peasant struggle which com. CM learned from and developed further in later years.

Com. CM was sent to organise tea garden workers of Darjeeling district. During the dark days of 1962 when the Indian government attacked socialist China, declared an emergency and deployed thousands

Com. Kanhai Chatterjee, popularly known as com. KC, was born to a well-off family in 1933 in village Baruikhalli, Barishal district of today's Bangladesh. From his childhood days the anti-British movement had a big impact on him and he developed much hatred for British colonial rule. While passing his B.Com., and participating in student activities he joined the undivided communist party.

In 1953 he began work in the Tiljalla suburban area of Baliganj in Kolkota that had a vast working-class slum population. He developed deep relations with the oppressed masses of the area actively leading them in numerous struggles. He was particularly popular amongst the Muslim masses as he developed close ties with their problems and movements. In 1959 com. KC became the secretary of the Baliganj Local Committee of the undivided communist party.

In 1959 he participated in the "food movement" led by the CPI. During that movement the police resorted to firing. About 81 people were martyred and com. KC was seriously injured when hit by a bullet in the leg.

During the 1962 India-China war, because of his opposition to India's aggression on China, he was arrested. While in jail itself he raised the banner of revolt against the opportunist leadership of the CPI. He came in touch with comrades Amulya Sen and Chandrashekhar Das who were also imprisoned. On coming out they formed a secret centre within the CPM called "Chinta". The secret

## Kanhai Chatterjee

*of intellectuals to whip up national chauvinism, all the stalwarts of the then CPI surrendered to the government. Comrade CM raised his voice against the war and mobilised the people to express their resentment. He was put in jail. After the division of the CPI, he joined the CPI (M). But soon he realised that the party was following the neo-revisionist line under the cover of revolutionary phraseology. In 1964-65 he was sick. He devoted time in studying Marxist literature and Mao's writings. After recovering he continued his activities among the peasants of Siliguri sub division in Darjeeling district. He took up the task of developing the revolutionary line on the basis of his past experience of class struggles. In 1965 he was once again imprisoned. While in jail he continued the task of laying down firm lines demarcating revolution from revisionism in the concrete conditions of India. In his articles, which are now known as the 'Eight Documents', he put forward this revolutionary line.*

*The ideological- political line formulated by him was put into practice. The Naxalbari armed peasant uprising - a spring thunder over India - emerged, raising the revolutionary banner. Thousands of revolutionaries, workers, peasants, intellectuals, students and youths rallied behind the Naxalbari uprising and its leader com. Charu Mazumdar.*

*This ushered in a new era of the revolutionary movement in India. Defying the threat of the government, the 'Naxalbari Krishak Samgram Sahayak Committee' was formed by the communist revolutionaries of Paschim Banga. The struggle going on against revisionism throughout the country was taken to a wholly new level by the Naxalbari armed rebellion. On the basis of this line, communist revolutionaries of the country united under*

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*magazine launched a detailed exposure of the revisionist line of the party. To increase its impact and the reach of the group's exposure of revisionism, com. KC began bringing out the open magazine "Dakshin Desh" from early 1966.*

*Around this time Khrushchev revisionism began to assert itself. The struggle between Marxism and revisionism in India began to sharpen. Com. KC intensified the struggle within the CPM and declared the 1964 party document as revisionist. Adopting the GPCR call that it is "Right to Rebel", com. KC broke all links with the old revisionist party.*

*In 1967 the historic Naxalbari uprising took place under the leadership of Com. Charu Mazumdar. The revolt against revisionism spread like a wave. But, due to differences on the method of the formation of the party, the "Dakshin Desh" group could not join the CPI(ML). Under the leadership of Com. KC and together with comrades Amulya Sen and Chandrashekar Das, the MCC was established on October 20 1969.*

*Some of Com. KC's invaluable contributions to the development of the line for Indian revolution were: a document related to Strategy and Tactics and a Tactical Line for India's armed agrarian revolution; a correct approach towards the nationality question in India; an approach towards the election question in India and the determination of the basic line of the Indian*

## Charu Majumdar

*the banner of the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries, which led to the formation of CPI (M-L) on April 22, 1969. Com. Charu Mazumdar was the first General Secretary of the CPI (M-L). Under his leadership it organised revolutionary peasant struggles with the orientation of seizure of state power. The struggle spread throughout rural India.*

*Despite severe ill health Com CM travelled throughout the country, inspiring and guiding the communist revolutionaries. He regularly wrote for the party's publications, shining light on problems faced by comrades in the field of practice and developing struggle against wrong trends and deviations. Com. Charu Mazumdar was arrested on 16th July 1972, from a shelter in Kolkata and was killed in police custody on July 28th, 1972. Inspired by the great trail blazed by com. CM, the revolutionary people of the country continue to hold high the banner of people's democratic revolution and advance along the path shown by him, shouting aloud: "Naxalabri Ek Hi Raasta!"*



*revolution. To implement this line in practice he put in herculean efforts. With the goal of establishing the people's army and base areas he selected strategic areas for work; undergoing untold difficulties he laid the seeds of the new organisation; and he initiated the agrarian revolutionary guerrilla struggles along the path of protracted people's war.*

*Com KC's communistic life-style remains a living example of how a true communist should be. His total and undeviating devotion to the workers, peasants and oppressed masses is a bright example for us all. Unfortunately he died at the young age of 49, on July 18, 1982, due to illness. Today the seeds sown by Com. KC have grown into a great tree, with deep roots, flowering and blossoming in the vast countryside of India.*

## Kanhai Chatterjee





## FORGING THE LINE OF REVOLUTION

“... today, when we have got the brilliant Thought of Chairman Mao Tsetung, the highest stage of the development of Marxism-Leninism, to guide us, it is imperative for us to judge everything anew in the light of Mao Tsetung Thought and build a completely new, road along which to press on forward. We must resolutely repudiate the ugly path of the bourgeoisie—the path of capitulationism. The time has now come for us to uphold resolutely the vigorous path of the workers and peasants—the path of revolution.”

“But revolution can never succeed without a revolutionary party—a party which is firmly rooted in the Thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, a party composed of millions of workers, peasants and middle-class youth inspired by the ideal of self-sacrifice; a party that guarantees full inner-party democratic right to criticism and self-criticism and whose members freely and voluntarily abide by its discipline; a party that allows its members to act not only under orders from the above but to judge each directive with full freedom and even to defy wrong directives in the interest of the revolution; a party which ensures voluntary job-division to every member who attaches equal importance to all sorts of jobs ranging from high to low; the party whose members put into practice the Marxism-Leninist ideals in their own lives and, by practicing the ideals themselves, inspire the masses to make greater self-sacrifice and to take greater initiative in revolutionary activities; the party whose members never despair under any circumstances and are not cowed by any predicament but resolutely march forward to overcome it. Only a party like this can build a united front of people of different classes, holding different views in this country. Only a revolutionary party like this can lead the revolution to success.”

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“Comrade Mao Tsetung has said, “The seizure of political power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war is the Central task and highest form of revolution. This Marxist – Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally”. It is equally applicable to the Indian Revolution too. The Central task of the Indian revolution also is the seizure of political power, and to accomplish this Central task, the Indian people will have to be organised in the people’s army and will have to wipe out the armed forces of the counter-revolutionary Indian state through war and will have to establish, in its place, their own state – the People’s Democratic State and will have to establish their own political authority. The very act of establishment of the state machinery of the people by destroying, through war, the present autocratic state machinery – the army, the police, and the bureaucracy of the reactionary ruling classes – is the Central task of the People’s Democratic Revolution of India.”

“Arousing and organising the overwhelming majority of the people to wage guerrilla war in the countryside under the leadership of the proletarian party; inflicting crushing blows on the landlords and the agents of feudalism – the local armed gangs, the bad gentry, etc.; organising armed resistance against their armed guards – the police and the army and creating an unending flow of revolutionary armed forces of the huge peasant masses through the struggle of smashing the feudal rule and liberating the peasantry; organising the huge peasantry as the staunchest supporters of and the participants in the revolutionary struggle; building up of a powerful people’s army and people’s militia and establishing dependable, strong and self-sufficient base areas or liberated areas in the vast countryside; gradually surrounding the urban areas by constantly

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1969  
'Tactical  
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## FORGING THE LINE OF REVOLUTION

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## FORGING THE LINE OF REVOLUTION

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*“Today, the masses of workers should think of the hundreds of millions of poor and landless peasants who have been exploited and oppressed for centuries and who now find their conditions unendurable. The working class can earn for itself a status of dignity in society, a status which it is entitled to as the producer of wealth, only by overthrowing the crushing burden of exploitation which is weighing down heavily upon the poor and landless peasants. Once the workers and the peasants, the producers of wealth, are united, a tremendous force will be generated. It is this powerful force that will make it possible to accomplish the people’s democratic revolution, and then to establish the socialist system in India by destroying the exploiters and the system of exploitation. It is the working class that must shoulder the responsibility of realising this possibility and must assume the leadership. The working class can fulfil this task only by grasping firmly Mao Tsetung Thought and by integrating themselves with the poor and landless peasants in the countryside and participating in the armed peasant struggle. Only thus can the working class liberate itself. This is because the working class can liberate itself only by liberating the exploited masses.”*

*“Agrarian revolution is the immediate task. This task cannot be postponed and without it the peasant cannot be benefited. But the agrarian revolution must wait the smashing of state power. To attempt an agrarian revolution without first smashing the state machinery is straightforward revisionism. The first and principal task of the peasant movement today is, therefore, the smashing of the state machine. If this task cannot be carried out throughout the nation or all over the State, will the peasant mark time until that date? No. Marxism-Leninism and the Thought of Mao Tse-tung teaches us that if in any one area the peasantry can be imbued with political consciousness then the work of smashing the state machine can be carried forward there. This is precisely the formation of liberated zone.”*

expanding these base areas (in such a situation the cities under the control of the enemy will look like small islands in the ocean of the vast rural liberated areas); and finally capturing the cities by way of decisively smashing the state power of the reactionaries and establishing the state system and political authority of the people throughout the country – this is the tactics of the Chinese Revolution, the path of the Chinese Revolution, as shown by Chairman Mao Tsetung.”

“In the case of semi-colonial and semi-feudal India also this very tactics is applicable – the National and Democratic revolution or the People’s Democratic Revolution of India too can gain success only by following the path of the protracted people’s war as shown by Mao Tsetung – the path of the Chinese Revolution. The characteristics of the concrete objective condition of India, like those of the pre-revolution China, clearly point to this path.”

“In this semi-colonial and semi-feudal country the party of the proletariat must rely on the peasantry, especially the poor peasants and agricultural workers – the main force of the revolution – to wage protracted people’s war in the vast countryside in order to accomplish our democratic revolution.”

“Therefore obviously the countryside will be the main area of concentration for our work including party building. So far the party building is concerned, in order to strengthen the proletarian foundations in the party organisations special attention should be paid to build the party among the poor peasants and agricultural workers in the rural areas and to set up party units in key industrial enterprisers in towns.”

“In this country where a vicious system of education prevails, millions of youths have an uncertain future and are forced to remain unemployed. They represent a big revolutionary force. The party should educate and organise

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## FORGING THE LINE OF REVOLUTION

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## FORGING THE LINE OF REVOLUTION

*“Establishing class analysis in the peasants’ movement”· At the present stage of the revolution the entire peasantry is the ally of the working class, and this peasantry is the biggest force of the People’s Democratic Revolution of India and it is by keeping this in mind, we shall have to march forward in the movement of the peasantry· But all peasants do not belong to the same class· There are mainly four classes among the peasants—rich, middle, poor and landless—and there is the rural artisan class· There are differences in their revolutionary consciousness and ability to work according to the conditions· So Marxists must always try to establish the leadership of the poor and landless peasants over the entire peasant movement·”*

*“Today party members will have to think anew about every mass movement· In the style of our movement, in our organisational thinking, in other words in almost every sphere of our lives, revisionism has built its nest· As long as we cannot uproot it, the new revolutionary party cannot be built, India’s revolutionary possibilities will be hindered· History will not forgive us·”*

*“The work of political propaganda must be raised to a newer and higher level at every stage of guerrilla warfare· Only when the masses begin to grasp Mao Tsetung Thought their level of political consciousness will rise and only then will they be able to conquer death· Precisely for this reason it is said that once Mao Tsetung thought is combined with the force of arms, an invincible power is brought into being which can match and defeat any other power, however strong· The party members must, therefore, constantly try to develop political propaganda· But we can feel the urge for doing this only when we begin to understand what the poor and landless peasants are thinking, and integrate ourselves with them through the propagation of the mass line·”*

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them, and send the more advanced among them to rural areas to integrate with the peasantry to carry forward the agrarian revolution.”

“We have to give special importance to assimilate into the party organisation the unemployed youth living in the extensive rural areas and town and cities. Similarly, we have to give importance to the party work among teachers, intellectual’s employees in other fields etc.”

“In the sphere of women also, the party has to make special efforts. Girl students, women working employees, workers and peasantry in various professions should be organised into struggles on social inequalities, oppression and other women problems. In the process of organising women pushed into social backwardness, we must pay attention to giving training to develop necessary merits in them in order to promote them to leadership positions.”

“One of the important tasks of the party should be to win over at least a part of the enemy’s army and to bring about its disintegration.

“While remaining underground, the party must combine legal with illegal, peaceful with non-peaceful struggles, all other forms of struggle with the armed struggle, open with underground work and economic struggles with political struggle, of course. Main emphasis should be on illegal, non-peaceful, underground and political struggle. ”

“Within the party organisation the principles of democratic centralism should be strictly adhered to. Democracy and centralism should be combined so that there should be both initiative of individual members and discipline.”

“The entire party should follow the mass line, for it is only by following the mass line that we can overcome subjectivism. In formulating our policies it is

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FORGING THE LINE OF REVOLUTION

## FORGING THE LINE OF REVOLUTION

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the  
writings  
of  
Charu  
Majumdar

*“The party that is not engaged in directing an armed struggle has no business in talking about a united front. This is because such a party is quite unable to build a united front on the basis of an independent and clear-cut policy. Consequently, it inevitably finds itself at the tail-end of things. A united front can be successfully built up only by directing successfully an armed struggle. The principal thing about a united front is that it is the united front of the working class and the peasantry. Only such a united front can unite the middle classes and can unite, even though temporarily, with all those with whom unity is possible.”*

*“First, all the activities of a communist are directed towards one goal—serving the people. A communist must necessarily be a revolutionary because he can serve the people only by making revolution. It is necessary to make revolution in order to serve the people. And revolution requires a communist to be an internationalist at the same time. This internationalism is selfless internationalism. Further, a communist knows that his task is by no means easy, so he must persevere in what he does, and try again and again to win success. To be a communist one must have all these qualities. So, it is imperative for every communist to acquire these qualities.”*

absolutely necessary to listen to the masses, to systematise their ideas in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, to test the correctness or incorrectness of our policies through revolutionary practice of the masses, to draw appropriate lessons from it and continually enrich in this way the party's line and policies. “From the masses to the masses” should be the principle guiding all our work. The mass line can be implemented when the party comrades integrate themselves with the masses.”

“If the path or the general line of the protracted people's war as shown by Chairman Mao is accepted, then the line and policy and the planning and method of all works and activities, or the whole line of work must be built up and directed keeping in line with the general line of the protracted people's war.”

“The development and expansion of the agrarian revolutionary guerrilla warfare in the countryside is significant not only for the peasant struggles, it is of extraordinary significance for the development and the correct orientation of the struggles of the working class and the vast masses of the urban people too.”

“Before the outbreak of the agrarian revolutionary war, the aim and the task of all struggles and organisations are to develop this war.

When such war has begun, the task of all struggles and organisations are to become united with this war and to further develop this agrarian revolutionary guerrilla war and protracted people's war...”

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## FORGING THE LINE OF REVOLUTION

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"Against this collective power of the propertied classes the working class cannot act, as a class, except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes."

K. Marx, F. Engels



"We see in the independent, uncompromisingly Marxist party of the revolutionary proletariat the sole pledge of socialism's victory and the road to victory that is most free from vacillations."

"Whether or not a party is really a political party of the workers does not depend solely upon its membership of workers but also upon the men that lead it, and of the content of its actions and its political tactics. Only this latter determines whether we really have before us a political party of the proletariat."

"In a period of civil war the ideal party of the proletariat is a fighting party."

V.I. Lenin

"The new period is one of open class collisions, of revolutionary action by the proletariat, of proletarian revolution, a period when forces are being directly mustered for the overthrow of imperialism and the seizure of power by the proletariat. In this period the proletariat is confronted with new tasks ... Hence the necessity for a new party, a militant party, a revolutionary party, one bold enough to lead the proletarians in the struggle for power, sufficiently experienced to find its bearings amidst the complex conditions of a revolutionary situation, and sufficiently flexible to steer clear of all submerged rocks in the path to its goal."

J.V. Stalin



"If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people to defeat imperialism and its running dogs."

Mao Tsetung

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# The Party of the Proletariat

“The three fundamental questions of the Party in the Indian revolution are the building up of the Party, the People’s Army and the United Front. A correct understanding of these three questions and of its mutual relations will give the accurate direction for the entire Indian revolution.

“The most important question in party building is that a correct ideological-political line should guide it. Without being guided by the most advanced theory of the proletariat – the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism – it is impossible to work out the correct programme, strategy and tactics of the revolution and hence, impossible to achieve victory in the revolution. Ideological-political line should serve as the basis for all the work of the party both during and after the new democratic revolution and until the accomplishment of socialism and communism. Another basic principle in party building laid out by comrades Lenin and Mao is its

underground structure or its clandestine character. The third basic principle is the unity of will and the unity of action within the party, and the unity between the party and the people. Building the party on the basis of democratic centralism and pursuing the class line and mass line alone can ensure this. Conscious implementation of democratic centralism is of great importance for ensuring the unity of the party, strengthening its centralised leadership enhancing its fighting capacity and invigorating party life. The party can be made strong by practicing democratic centralism to stimulate the initiative of the whole membership. The strengthening of the collective leadership is an important precondition for the implementation of democratic centralism in the party. In order to put into practice the combination of collective leadership and individual responsibility, the party committee system must be strengthened. This also prevents any individual from monopolising the conduct of affairs. Comrade Mao also developed our understanding of the struggle within the party as a reflection of class struggle in society and that the struggle within the party is the struggle between two lines which covers its entire process of development. We must adopt the “Three Great Styles of Work” which are one of the hallmarks distinguishing the proletarian party from the bourgeois and revisionist parties. These are: the style of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and practicing criticism and self-criticism. Ideological-political education is the key link to be grasped in uniting the whole party for great political struggles. Unless this is done, the party cannot accomplish any of its political tasks. We must build the party based on the above mentioned Marxist-Leninist-Maoist understanding in order to make the party invincible and lead the revolution to victory.

*“Without democracy, there can be no correct centralism because when people have divergent views and no unified thinking, it is impossible to establish centralism. What is meant by centralism? First of all, it is necessary to concentrate correct ideas. On the basis of having done this, we achieve unified thinking, politics, plans, command and actions. This is unified centralism.”*

*“We must create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness.”*

*Mao Tsetung*

*from ‘Strategy and Tactics of the Indian Revolution’*

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## *Party Building*

It is very much necessary to concentrate on party building if the people's war has to advance in big leaps. The working class exercises its leadership through its party, by organising all sections of the people in anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggles and by sending its advanced detachment to the rural areas. The party stresses the following in party building: mainly concentrate on the rural areas; pay special attention to building the party among the poor peasants and agricultural labourers, dalits masses, toiling women, and adivasis; make special efforts to draw them into the revolutionary struggle as well as into struggles against social inequalities, oppression and patriarchy to ensure their development into leadership positions at all levels; build party among the students, unemployed youth, teachers, intellectuals, employees in other fields etc; absorb the advanced elements into the party after the required politicisation. Leadership has to be established through party committees, ranging from primary units to all levels, in the PLGA and People's Militia. People's armed forces are an important source for the recruitment into the party.

The CPI (Maoist) acknowledges the need to properly handle the dialectical relationship between increasing party membership and consolidating it and expanding and taking the revolutionary movement to the higher stage and the dialectical relationship between propaganda, agitation, struggle and organisation. It seeks to maintain a balance between building party among peasantry and among other classes and social sections, particularly the working class; between strategic areas and other areas and between rural and urban areas.

It recognises that the party will be really strengthened only when both components – the professional revolutionaries and part-time members – are strong. Among the two the professional revolutionaries are the core of the Party while part-timers are the base. It stresses the need to pay attention to maintaining continuity of leadership from the beginning, and during the growth and development of class struggle; forming the leading teams with a good combination of old and new; moulding the party in consonance with the changes in the country and international situation. It keeps in mind the need to increase the numbers of leading comrade and rank and file experienced in carrying-out class struggle, in order to face up to losses. It insists that the party should remain underground from the very beginning until the end. Coordination of legal activity with the underground party is one of the most important aspects in the functioning of the revolutionary party.

Theoretical education is one of the most important tasks among all the party's activities. While studying the science of Marxism and applying its principles is one aspect, participating directly in class struggle and learning from the masses is another. Ideological and political training is given to the cadres freshly joining the party in order to mould them to meet all the requirements of the class struggle. Besides training the party committees and the cadres ideologically, politically, organisationally and militarily, a system of proper check-up is also needed. Party schools are conducted. Systematic efforts to build up party schools and regular education are going on, though with uneven results due to repression and losses. Investigation, class analysis, and summation of experiences are important means of raising the theoretical level of the party.

*“Successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat come forward in mass struggles and are tempered in the great storms of revolution. It is essential to test and know cadres and chose and train successors in the long course of mass struggles.”*  
Mao Tsetung

*“Theoretical education is the key to unify the entire Party. Without this, the Party cannot achieve a single political task.”*  
Mao Tsetung

*“For the proletariat the sharpest and most effective weapon is a serious and militant scientific attitude.”*  
Mao Tsetung

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*"In every meeting the leadership comrades will invite the committee members to unhesitatingly criticise the non-proletarian tendencies and their manifestations of the leadership and leading committees and must also to do a serious and thoroughgoing self-criticism. An atmosphere must be created in the entire Party that the understanding of the comrades increase to identify the short-comings in the leadership and boldly criticise them and self-criticise themselves with the aim of thorough rectification. This method must be adopted at every level. It is not sufficient to merely accept the mistakes, but it is more important to identify the causes and roots of the mistakes and its impact on developing the revolutionary movement and the method to rectify them with a firm determination. ... The main aim must be to unite the party at a higher plane linking the entire campaign with the advancement of the revolutionary movement, i.e. advancement of the class struggle and the armed struggle."*

Education campaigns and rectification are conducted on a regular basis throughout the party to rid it of alien trends and thinking. The party points out: as the democratic revolution remains unfulfilled, as India still remains a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society, feudal values, outlook, approaches and methods are still continuing strongly. These are particularly reflected in Brahmanic ideology which is deep-rooted in the people's psyche. Its worst feature is the casteist superiority it inculcates; with its extreme form being the practice of untouchability. Similarly, due to the relative underdevelopment of capitalist relations petty-bourgeois features are quite strong. The wrong trends in the party are the reflection of the above social background. Rectification campaigns are focussed in concrete identification of the principal shortcomings and the alien class trends associated with these shortcomings at various levels. The aim is to achieve a higher unity within the party ideologically, politically and organisationally by purging it of the alien class trends

*"As the saying goes 'old habits die hard'. We have been habituated to think and work in a particular style. Unless the short-comings in our old methods are thoroughly exposed and their harmful effect understood, the old ideas, methods and work-style will linger on and the new ideas will remain as mere ideas, while the old practice continues, resulting in the continuation of the state of stagnation. Only with a thorough-going rupture will we be able to take a leap in the movement."*

*"If we are to change the direction of our work from going in circles to going in spirals we have to make a radical break in the past style and move from mere analysis to deep synthesis of our practice and thereby raise our practice to a theoretical level and return to practice always at a higher level."*

From CC circulars on Rectification

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**Party Press**

The CPI (Maoist) grasps the importance of the party press in educating and guiding the cadres at all levels, ordinary party members, the mass organisations and the masses at large. Several magazines in multiple languages, legal and illegal, are published in handwritten, printed forms or as net editions. They range from political journals, cultural magazines, to military journals and information bulletins. Due to repression all of them have not been able to maintain continuity.



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All the revolutionary streams that have united in the CPI (Maoist) have histories of bitter 2 line struggle to defeat left or right deviations that have emerged at different points. The Unity Congress-9th Congress in 2007 saw the struggle against a left line. During the formation of the party and in the period till this Congress the party had to fight and defeat right opportunist lines advanced by a section of leadership in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Later it fought and defeated the right opportunism of Sabyasachi Panda in Odisha. The CPI (Maoist) grasps the key role of ideological struggle in building the party and advancing the revolution. It notes, “The CPSU went through 17 or 18 major two-line struggles till it transformed its character into a revisionist party. The CPC went through 10 major two-line struggles till 1976. Two line struggles are also strikingly evident in the Peru Communist Party, in the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and in the Communist Party of Philippines. In fact it was only because of the vigorous conduct of two-line struggle that all these revolutionary parties could establish their correct line. It was only because of the conduct of two-line struggle that they could advance.”

“To determine its conduct from case to case, to adapt itself to the events of the day and to the chopping and changing of petty politics, to forget the primary interests of the proletariat and the basic features of the whole capitalist system, of all capitalist evolution, to sacrifice these primary interests for the real or assumed advantages of the moment—such is the policy of revisionism.” Lenin

“In short, everything moves in time. When the right time comes for something to be done, it has to be done. If you don’t allow it, that is a Right deviation. If the right time has not come for something and yet you try to force it through, that is a “Left” deviation.” Mao Tsetung

“Our Party’s growth and development depend on how firmly we fight revisionism both inside and outside the Party. And not only that. The growth and development of the peasant’s armed struggle also depend on this fight against revisionism.” Charu Majumdar

“Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action. Those Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries who followed it only in letter and discarded its spirit have failed to understand the essence of Marxism, failed to understand what com. Lenin had taught, that is, ‘concrete analysis of concrete conditions is the living soul of Marxism’. Such dogmatists failed to apply MLM to the concrete practice of revolution in their countries and hence failed to make any real advances in the revolutions in their respective countries. Dogmatism, no doubt, has been a bane of the Marxist-Leninist movements and hence the struggle against dogmatism should be an inseparable part of the ideological struggle of the Communist Party.”

“Subjectivism, sectarianism, individualism, bureaucracy, liberalism and spontaneity—all these are anti-Marxist trends and are incompatible with proletarian thought. These are the reflections of petty-bourgeois ideology within the party. India is a country with a huge petty-bourgeois class and this is the class that a big section of our party comes from, bringing with it the influence of petty-bourgeois ideology into the working-class party. Unless such comrades are declassed in the course of class struggle and ideological struggle and transformed thereby into working-class revolutionaries, this would easily give rise to all the above-mentioned non-proletarian trends, which would be manifested extensively within the party. The party has already faced the consequences and will continue to do so, to the extent we fail in declassing ourselves.”

**“Our party has a history of about 80 years. The entire history from the first Congress of 1925 to the 9th Congress of 2007, witnessed many ebbs and flows, right and leftism, revisionism and many other non-proletarian trends. Our line got enriched during the course of this advancement. Our party stood firmly, swimming against the tide. All this history should be examined with a dialectical outlook. In particular, profound education should be imparted on the history of our people’s war of the last four decades.”**

excerpts from CPI (Maoist) documents

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a MAS class



The SCOPE (Sub-Committee on Political Education) was formed by the erstwhile CPI (ML) (PW) in 1996-1997. SCOPE was damaged in 2003 and revived in 2008 after the 9<sup>th</sup> Congress. Regional School was formed as part of it in 2009. But SCOPE has again been disrupted due to losses. Political education is carried out in all the States and Special Zones. But systematic structures for political and basic education have mainly been built and sustained in Dandakaranya (DK). Since most of the leadership forces at the Division level are from the adivasi community and they became literate only after joining the party, it is very much necessary to pay special attention to give them ideological training. Formed in April 2009 by the Central Regional Bureau the Regional Political School (RePoS) was given the responsibility of teaching MLM theory and discussing the problems in applying them for developing the Division and Special Zone (State) level leadership forces. Classes are mainly conducted in Koya language (the main adivasi language in DK), and in Telugu too. In the first round, fundamental theoretical aspects of Marxist Philosophy, Political Economy, Indian Economy, MLM tactics and the Party's Experiences are taught.

Education

Guided by the SCOPE, Mobile Political School (MoPoS) and Mobile Academic School (MAS) had started functioning from 1999-2000 itself in DK. MoPoS was formed with the aim of training up efficient party organisers. MAS gives education in basic knowledge, like language, mathematics and science. MoPoS classes, earlier lasting for 20 days, are now reduced to 15 days due to repression. Along with teaching political documents, classes are conducted about democratic centralism, work style, work methods, and similar organisational aspects. The teachers go to the various Divisions. They discuss the problems faced in concrete practice in the light of documents and organisational principles. MAS courses now run for 15 days. Area Committee members and party members are taught Mathematics, Physical science, State machinery, and Hindi. The texts are in Koya. Teaching aids like maps, charts, pictures, black board etc. are used. For the second round of classes, 4 subjects are taught: People's culture, Dandakaranya history, Human anatomy and General science. As comrades gain this basic knowledge it is becoming easier for them to understand Marxist fundamentals. They gain a scientific outlook and their confidence that they too can understand this world and change it is increasing. Every evening, students are given questions about the lessons taught in the day and they conduct discussions on them. An Education Department Committee (EDC) was formed in September 2007 to guide the work of MAS, MoPoS and the Janatana Sarkar schools in the villages. Formulating syllabus for all three, training teachers on the syllabus and teaching methods and giving suggestions regarding teaching aids are the tasks fulfilled by EDC. Questions and answers were prepared in Koya for philosophy, political economy and party documents. In order to prepare syllabus for the schools run by the RPCs and to give necessary training to the teachers an Education Development Committee (EDC) was formed in 2008. This gave training to teachers in two phases. EDC is conducting letter correspondence with the teachers and giving them the necessary suggestions. It is giving suggestions to the concerned committees to supply teaching aids to the schools. It is trying to enrich the syllabus from time to time in accordance with the changing circumstances.

A 4 month long Basic Communist Training School is also operational, with selected cadres from the entire Zone, where advanced courses are taught. The aim is to steadily develop a group of cadres, capable of carrying out leadership tasks.



texts prepared by EDC

PEOPLES MARCH SUPPLEMENT

"Both for the production on a mass scale of this communist consciousness, and for the success of the cause itself, the alternation of men on a mass scale is necessary, an alteration which can only take place in a practical movement, a revolution; this revolution is necessary, therefore, not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class overthrowing it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew."

K.Marx, F.Engels



"We would be deceiving both ourselves and the people if we concealed from the masses the necessity of a desperate, bloody war of extermination, as the immediate task of the coming revolutionary action. The masses must know that they are entering upon an armed, bloody and desperate struggle. Contempt for death must become widespread among them and will ensure victory."

"The proletarian revolution is impossible without the forcible destruction of the bourgeois state machine and the substitution for it of a new one."

V.I. Lenin



"We must not only arm the people "with a burning desire to arm themselves," as the new *Iskra* advises us, but also "take the most energetic measures to arm the proletariat" in actual fact..."

"It is necessary to devote most serious attention to the task of organising fighting squads of every kind for the purpose of utilising the arms that are being procured."

J.V. Stalin



"According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army. Some people ridicule us as advocates of the "omnipotence of war". Yes, we are advocates of the omnipotence of revolutionary war; that is good, not bad, it is Marxist."

"Without a people's army the people have nothing."  
"Our principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party."

Mao Tsetung



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# The Army of the People

December 2, 2000. This was the day when the oppressed people of India formed their own worker-peasant army, the People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA). The ray of hope they had been waiting for since decades shone brightly on the Indian revolutionary skies on that day. For the victory of the Indian New Democratic Revolution carried out as an integral part of the World Socialist Revolution, PLGA had been formed as a detachment of the international army of the proletariat. It gave a deep assurance to the entire oppressed classes, nationalities and tribes of India and to the oppressed people of the world on the day of its birth. Realizing the dreams of our great teachers of Indian revolution, Comrades Charu Mazumdar and Kanhai Chatterjee, to fulfill the aims of our beloved martyr comrades Amulya Sen, Chandra Sekhar Das, Saroj Datta, Sushital Roy Choudhary, Babulal Viswakarma, Johar, Jagdish Master, Panchadi Krishnamurthy, Nirmala, Vempatapu Satyam, Adibatla Kailasam, Babu Bhujja Singh, Diya Singh, Appu and Verghese who played a prominent role in bringing armed struggle to the agenda again in India and with the inspiration of comrades Shyam, Mahesh, Murali, Puli Anjaiah, Prakash Master, Krishna Singh, Srikanth, Bhaktida, David, Suryam, Mahendra Singh, Damodar, Mahender, Reddappa, Snehalata, Padma, Chittekka, Premlatha, Belli Lalitha and other hundreds of such leaders who played a great role in again developing the movement to a higher stage after the temporary setback of the Naxalbari armed struggle and with the inspiration of martyrs Jaheer, Krishna, Sankar and Praveen of the Special Action Team who had sent chills down the spines of the enemy through their brave actions in AP and laid down their lives unflinchingly and with the inspiration of many, many more martyr comrades - the PLGA was formed.



*Comrades Shyam, Mahesh and Murali, three outstanding leaders of the Indian revolution were brutally tortured and murdered on the 2nd of December 1999. In honour of them and a declaration of firm resolve to avenge the death of martyrs and liberate the people by destroying the Indian state, the 2nd of December is marked as the foundation day of the PLGA.*

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2005 जनवरी से दिसम्बर तक	42	23							
2005	246								
2006			1		68				
2007		196	16	31	67				
2008	262	278	2	127	56				
2009	333	243	11	98	48				
2010	313	139	15	127	88	2			
2011	177	238	102	82	6				
2012	130	254	8	49	21	30			
2013	144	268	3	77	21	13			
2014 जनवरी से सुप्रीम तक	63	122	2	12	2	6			

*the statistics of war*

Over the past one decade the PLGA (all its forces included) conducted 990 small, medium and big actions. A total of 2064 enemy police and paramilitary were annihilated and 1993 were injured. 169 landlords, bad gentry, 369 counter-revolutionary gang members, such as the Salwa Judum, Sendra, Harmad Bahini, Shanti Sena, TPC, Ranvir Sena etc marauders, and several informants were also eliminated. Through these actions the PLGA seized 2109 weapons including high-power rifles, mortars, 92,061 rounds of ammunition and military equipment like bullet-proof jackets, communication sets, helmets etc. In these actions it lost 165 brave commanders and fighters including some militia comrades. Of the 2332 martyrs in the last one decade, the huge majority were party members, sympathisers and masses, murdered in cold-blood by the Indian state.

After the formation of the CPI (Maoist) the PLGA has carried out many heroic actions and fought hours long battles, writing new episodes in the annals of the revolutionary armed struggle in India. Two big raids were executed in 2005 in Bihar-Jharkhand — on the Giridih armoury, seizing 193 weapons and ammunition and Operation Jail Break Jehanabad, liberating a total of 388 captives

which included revolutionary activists and sympathisers. In Dandakaranya the PLGA attacked the NMDC explosives depot and seized 19 tonnes of gelatin. 900 People's Militia comrades carried it on their backs to a safe place facing many odds. Responding to the call of Party's Unity Congress-9th Congress the first raid which symbolised mobile warfare was conducted in Dandakaranya in Ranibodili. 55 CAF and SPOs were annihilated, 12 CRPF and SPOs were injured, 33 weapons and more than 2,000 rounds of ammunition were seized. In the 2008 'Operation Ropeway' conducted under the joint command of Eastern and Central Regional Commands. Nayagarh District armoury (Odisha) was seized after taking control of the town. Maintaining secrecy, moving forces over long distances, overcoming difficulties in crossing plains, forests and rivers, relying on the masses, implementing C-3 in the best way, the PLGA became skilled in 'fire and movement' and in doing military manoeuvres. In the Rajpur-Bagheila raid and Jhajha raid in Bihar in 2008, the PLGA forces reached the enemy forces in the most secret manner, attacked them with surprise and seized 76 weapons and nearly 2,000 rounds of ammunition after annihilating and controlling the enemy forces. The Rajpur-Baghela raiding party fought hours together (from 10AM to 8PM) to break the enemy's encirclement and could retreat without any losses. To help the retreat PLGA units made attacks on enemy at other places. As a result enemy had to withdraw his encirclement. In Silda (Paschim Banga), February 2010, the PLGA raided and destroyed the enemy camp located in an open market, coming on vehicles and motorcycles in broad daylight. 24 Eastern Frontier Rifles jawans were annihilated and 40 weapons were seized. On April 6, 2010 in the massive ambush at Mukaram conducted in South Bastar by keeping the PLGA guerilla battalion at the core, a company



PEOPLES MARCH SUPPLEMENT

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PLGA study session; militia training; on the march; PLGA in productive labour; saluting martyrs; women's militia (clockwise from top)

of the enemy was completely decimated. 75 CRPF jawans and a district police constable died and seven were injured.

The PLGA mainly concentrated in implementing the ambush tactics creatively to intensify the guerrilla war further and to develop guerrilla warfare into mobile warfare. In the past decade it won significant successes in this. It has also gained experience in fighting its way out of the enemy's 'encirclement and suppression' campaigns. In 2010, at Mumail, it succeeded in smashing an enemy attempt to encircle and capture leadership comrades, fighting continuously for 30 hours. In 2008, the historic Balimela attack on a motor launch conveying Grey Hounds was an excellent model in applying guerrilla war tactics.

In 2009 the PLGA forces conducted a surprise attack on the Lakhisarai district court and liberated Com. Misir Besra, PBM and CMCM and Eastern Regional Commander-in-Chief. In 2012 a police escort vehicle was attacked by the PLGA in the vicinity of Giridih town and eight comrades including 1 SACM and 2 RCMs were liberated.

In the past decade the PLGA has excellently applied mine warfare in the vast guerrilla zones, successfully destroying 'mine-proof' vehicles of the enemy. The PLGA forces fought back the tactics of the enemy of deploying the police and paramilitary forces through helicopters by firing on them. On two occasions they were damaged. It has also effectively used booby traps to harass and attack the enemy. Relying on its intelligence network it seized tonnes of explosives by capturing vehicles transporting them. The PLGA fought back reactionary gangs like Salwa Judum and Nagarik Suraksha Samiti formed by the Indian state by firmly

implementing class line and mass line and raising the consciousness of the people. Breaking the economic blockade imposed by the enemy, the PLGA conducted attacks on financial sources and seized money in crores of rupees. It is developing its tactics and capabilities to confront and defeat the enemy's 'carpet security' tactics, in which heavily fortified and staffed police/para military camps are put up at short distances from each other, encircling the war zones. Some initial successes were achieved this year at Minepa and Harra Koder (DK).

Within the first five months of 2014, spanning the election period, 63 enemy forces were annihilated and 122 injured in 31 actions. One PLGA combatant was martyred. 36 weapons and 3366 rounds were seized. These actions came in the wake of and during two massive country-wide special 'cordon and search campaigns' carried out by the enemy.

**"This army is powerful because all its members have a discipline based on political consciousness; they have come together and they fight not for the private interests of a few individuals or a narrow clique, but for the interests of the broad masses and of the whole nation."**

Mao Tsetung



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PLGA medical team; joining collective labour; cultural team; in production (clockwise from top)



*The people's army plays an important role in organising the party in the vast countryside. By carrying out the various tasks such as mobilising, organising, fighting, propagating and participating in production, the people's army arouses the masses into struggles on their basic and partial demands, makes them active participants in the armed struggle, and raises their political class consciousness to a great extent. It thus lays the basis for extensive building of the party network among the basic classes.*

*"The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilising the masses and relying on them."  
Mao Tsetung*

By fulfilling various tasks like conducting continuous revolutionary political propaganda, mobilising the people into various structures (party-people's militia-mass organisations, RPCs), arming the people, training them, mobilising people into various people's struggles, participating in agricultural production, education, health and other welfare activities to raise the standard of living of the people and giving medical treatment to people, the PLGA, and the party leading it, won a place in the hearts of people in the various guerrilla bases, guerrilla zones, red resistance areas and other zones.

*The people's militia is the base force in the structure of the PLGA. Without the people's militia it is not possible for the PLGA to develop as it is the principal recruitment source for the main and secondary forces. Initially armed with traditional weapons, continuous efforts are made to equip the people's militia with modern weapons and to impart politico-military training to it so that it enhances its fighting capacity. It independently carries out actions seizing weapons and annihilating enemy troops, continuously harasses enemy camps, sets up booby traps, and provides sentry to protect the masses. It has also participated in a big way in the operations carried out by the main force of the PLGA. The people's militias in different regions have been instrumental in defeating the various counter-revolutionary vigilante groups such as Salwa Judum, Sendra, Nagarik Suraksha Samiti and others.*



*"Five good qualities are essential for the fighters and commanders if the PLGA has to become strong: being good at learning MLM, being good in military training, being good in the three-eight work style, being good in accomplishing tasks, being good in physical training."*

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# Breaking Carpet Security

As part of the offensive of the Central and State governments, aimed at rooting out the revolutionary movement in Dandakaranya, they are implementing ‘carpet security’ (CS) tactics. Police/para military camps are established every 3 to 5 km and specific areas are controlled. This is also known as grid method. This began in 2005 and is being expanded. CS has led to establishment of new camps all over DK between 2005 and 2014. With the aim of defeating CS, PLGA has carried out many actions, including raids, with the involvement of the masses, in places where such new camps came up. In 2007, a police camp at Ranibodli with 80 policemen and SPOs was raided, annihilating 55 policemen. Arms were seized and the camp destroyed. Following this, camp strengths were raised, ranging from 150 to 200. Combing operations are now done with forces of 150 to 500. From 2009 till now PLGA has been continuously resisting CS, mobilising all three of its forces, ie., main, secondary, and base (militia) forces. As a result, though extension of carpet security is going on, the enemy has still not been able to fulfil its plans. The Minpa harassment campaign is a glowing example of how the enemy’s plans can be defeated.

The enemy forces had been making efforts since January 2013 in the Minpa area of Sukma District’s Chintagupha Tehsil to beat back the party and the PLGA and to gradually bring the area under its control. It has deployed thousands of troops to strengthen its carpet security in this area and to conduct combing operations. Temporary camps were set up with five thousand troops in Pleompalli, Kankerlanka, Chintagupha villages in close proximity to each other in the small area between Dornapal and Minpa. This force started to enter Minpa from 9 and 10 May of 2013. A permanent camp was set up in Burkapal. Their aim was to reach Dabbakonta by setting up camps at Elmagunda and Minpa. The people of Kistaram, Pamed, Jagargunda areas got alerted hearing the news of the coming of the forces on 9 and 10 May. Pirmel-Dabbakonta road was dug up between 11 and 14 May. Small bridges and culverts were destroyed.

The enemy forces started to enter Minpa area with all preparations on 15 May. PLGA forces started retaliatory actions on them immediately. Due to these attacks one thousand enemy troops had to stop and set up camp at Mina village temporarily.



Enemy casualties at Ranibodli

They planned to gradually move towards Elmagunda. However, the roads were blocked from that day itself due to the resistance of the PLGA and the masses. Starting from 3pm on 15 May till the morning of 16, the attacks of the PLGA and the people continued. On 15 May the PLGA forces fired upon the Minpa camp after surrounding it and also launched four mortar shells. The enemy forces had to spend a sleepless night. Getting scared, they kept on indiscriminately shooting thousands of bullets and blasting hundreds of mortar shells all through the night. Due to this cowardly firing pigs, goats, cattle and other domestic animals of the villagers were killed. A plot of 4-5 acres of fertile agricultural land was destroyed by digging it with earthmover to make bunkers around the camp. They destroyed the martyr’s column in Paddamguda village to set up bunkers. In this way the enemy displayed its cruelty before the people on the very first day itself.

The enemy could not advance any further on the first day. It started to build a temporary bunker in Minpa itself and put up concertina wires. PLGA, people’s militia and the masses continued to sit in ambush from all sides of the camp on the one hand and

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cutting off all the approach roads to Minpa on the other.

Realising that the enemy cannot advance any more, PLGA made plans to sit in ambush near the Minpa camp and to inflict losses on the enemy by trapping its forces in ambush. PLGA gradually reached near the camp from three sides on the night of 16 May and took position after making covers. The enemy troops came out of the camp at 6.30 in the morning for their morning ablutions and were heading straight towards the ambush site. However, one PLGA fighter opened fire even before the enemy came near. As a result they ran back to the camp. The commander ordered his troops not to leave the camp for latrine without searching the nearby area and clearing it. The entire forces were alerted and all their mortars were kept ready, after which the forces were sent on all directions for searching and clearing the area. PLGA forces did not retreat but remained there and once again took positions. When the enemy troops reached the ambush site they opened fire. Two were killed and one was injured. Greatly scared by this the troops ran back to their camp. Two helicopters were brought to carry the dead and injured. While one hovered around to keep watch, the other helicopter landed and took away the bodies.

The enemy was terrorised by the daily attacks of the PLGA. Due to this fear, some were going to attend nature's call only after dark. While moving in this way, two were killed on 18 May when the police sentry on duty shot them thinking that they were Maoists. PLGA fired on the camp on 22 May 2013 too. This was the fourth attack after the camp was set up. 'Parivartan Rally' and Mahendra Karma of the Congress was attacked by the PLGA forces in Jeeram Ghati ambush on 25 May. As the helicopters supplying provisions to the Minpa camp were engaged in Jeeram Ghati, the ration supplied by air to Minpa camp was also stopped. This caused great difficulty for the enemy forces to arrange food. Heavy rain lashed the area on 26th. All the enemy troops got drenched as they



did not have any tent. Poisonous snakes came out due to the rains and entered the camp. One was killed due to snakebite. The enemy forces were no longer in a position to continue their repression campaign any longer or expand its carpet security network. Finally it was forced to retreat by stopping its operations. Overnight some ran away. The rest packed up and left in the morning of 27<sup>th</sup>, cursing their superiors for putting them in danger. PLGA followed these retreating enemy forces, and attacked them injuring two. The rest of them somehow saved their lives and reached Dornapal.

The enemy forces of Minpa camp were terrorised and left sleepless by this harassment campaign conducted for thirteen days by the masses, PLGA and people's militia under the leadership of the Maoist party, PLGA and Krantikari Janatana Sarkars. Six policemen were killed and four were injured in this campaign. One Jan Militia member comrade Ravva Nangal was martyred (Korkot village, Khammam district, North Telangana) in the enemy's mortar shell firing. The masses lost their property and belonging due to enemy shelling. Minpa has established a new model before the people to drive away enemy camps.

The PLGA, with the support of the masses, defeated Salwa Judum between 2005 and 2009. Since 2009 it is countering Operation Green Hunt. Due to this the enemy has been forced to deploy 5 lakhs police and paramilitary and is carrying out operations like an army invading another country. This is being conducted according to its counter-insurgency policy of 'Clear, hold, build', in which carpet security has a central place. Drawing on the experience of the Minapa resistance campaign and taking inspiration from it, the party and the PLGA continue to fight back to defeat the enemy's moves, mobilising the people. In a recent example, a newly established camp that came up at Harra Koder was forced to be withdrawn through the persistent struggle of the masses mobilised by the party from surrounding villages in August of this year. Though all the 3 forces of the PLGA were on the ready, the masses, by using various forms of struggle, were able gain success without its open intervention. Women gave an inspiring example. They started an endless, day-night session of washing and collecting water from the lone tube well available there and thus denied water to the para-military. The value system of patriarchy used to suppress women was thus turned into a weapon against the forces guarding the social system generating and sustaining those reactionary values. Children prevented the troops from using their school ground. After three long days and nights of struggles, the enemy was forced to close down the camp.



"All previous historical movements were movements of minorities or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority."

"With the thoroughness of the historical action the size of the mass whose action it is will therefore increase."

K. Marx, F. Engels



"... it is therefore our duty, if we wish to remain socialists, to go down lower and deeper, to the real masses"

"... Marxism demands an attentive attitude to the massstruggle in progress, which, as the movement develops, as the class-consciousness of the masses grows, as economic and political crises become acute, continually gives rise to new and more varied methods of defence and attack."

V.I. Lenin



"The party cannot lead the class if it is not connected with the non-party masses, if there is no bond between the party and the non-party masses, if these masses do not accept its leadership, if the party enjoys no moral and political credit among the masses."

J.V Stalin



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

"The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge."

"The masses have boundless creative power."  
"We should go to the masses and learn from them, synthesize their experience into better, articulated principles and methods, then do propaganda among the masses, and call upon them to put these principles and methods into practice so as to solve their problems and help them achieve liberation and happiness."

Mao Tsetung

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*cpi(maoist) 10th anniversary*

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Saluting martyrs; land seizure



“...however revolutionary the programme drawn up by the revolutionary party may appear, and however objective the concrete class analysis and social investigation may look, it will not be of real use to the revolution if these do not bear any connection with our day-to-day activity, i.e., if the correct class line and mass line are not adopted in all our practical work.”

from 'Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution'

“We often use the word ‘mass base’ in our speeches and writings. Actually what does this mass base mean? Revolutionary mass base means the support of vast masses who are politically mobilised and consolidated in various mass organisations under the leadership of the communist party for seizure of political power and who could play an active role in political, economic struggles and in people’s war. This political mobilisation, consolidation and active role of the people will be consciously expressed in various armed-unarmed forms of struggles and they would be both direct and indirect. The more effective this expression is, the more strong, deep and perpetual would be the revolutionary mass base. Similarly, the continuity and perpetuity of our mass base would depend on how we could win successes by arming and mobilising the masses and mass organisations actively to fight back the counter-revolutionary measures carried on by the enemy under his LIC policy to obliterate the revolutionary movement. In other words, mass base is the correct expression of the political, organisational and military line in the matter of relations between the party and the masses.”

from an article in 'People's War'

Both the revolutionary streams that merged to form the CPI (Maoist) have rich histories of mobilising masses in the thousands to wage militant anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle. In rural areas this mainly centred on smashing the feudal grip on society and the land question. More than five lakh acres of land (government and landlords) have been seized and distributed. The enemy tries to suppress these struggles by banning mass organisations, imprisoning and killing their leaders and activists. Braving these attacks the party continues to mobilise the masses in struggle. Singur, Nandigram, Kalinga Nagar, Lalgarh, Narayanpatna, Niyamgiri, Kudremukha, Telangana - the party has been involved in all these major struggles and many more, directly or in a supportive role. Where possible the PLGA defends them from state attacks. Quite often these struggles have taken the form of upsurges, leading to the emergence of new political power. In the pages that follow we give brief reports on two of the more significant struggles of the past decade.



“The struggle of the proletariat and the revolutionary people to change the world comprises the fulfilment of the following task, to change the objective world and, at the same time, their own subjective world – to change their cognitive ability and change the relations between the subjective and the objective world.”

Mao Tsetung

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*cpi(maoist) 10th anniversary*

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## Narayanpatna: Rallying to the Banner of Armed Agrarian Revolution

Narayanpatna of Koraput District in southern Odisha has become synonymous with militant struggle - a struggle for land that transformed into a revolt against the exploitative landlords, moneylenders and liquor-traders and integrated with the revolutionary movement, all the while maintaining its mass character over the last ten years. Along with Lalgah, Narayanpatna presents before the oppressed masses of the country a glowing model of revolutionary peasant armed struggle. The majority Kuvvi adivasis living here lost their land to non-*adivasi* migrants such as Brahmins, Rajputs and Sundis who became landlords through force and deceit. The *adivasis* had to clear up patches of forest land for their homestead and field or work in the fields of the landlords as tenants or bonded labourers.

In 2004, the *adivasi* poor peasants formed Chasi Mulia *Adivasi* Sangha (CMAS) and succeeded in seizing 118 acres of land after chasing away the landlords. Following this initial success, the organisation took firm roots. The revisionist CPI(ML) KN Ramachandran group leading them tried to confine the struggle within legal limits. The masses were influenced by the revolutionary movement in Dandakaranya and neighbouring Malkangiri led by the Maoists as well as the daring raids of the PLGA in Koraput and Nayagarh. Peasants seized 150 acres of land in Borigi and Nagulabedda panchayats in 2008 led by the Maoists. This greatly enthused the masses. CMAS leadership of Narayanpatna declared itself to be independent from Ramachandran group.

As the struggle intensified, the landlords organised 'Shanti Committee' and attacked CMAS. The peasants responded by forming their own militia 'Ghenua Bahini'. Due to the counter-attack launched by the militia, repression subsided. In June 2009, peasants from seven panchayats and 159 villages armed with traditional weapons seized 2500 acres of land. This mass upheaval shook the old structures and social relations to their foundations. The masses finally rose up to throw away the yoke of semi-feudal bondage and domination by asserting their collective might. The ruling classes were alarmed. By harvest time in November 2009, state repression was scaled up. Singanna, one of the popular leaders of CMAS, was shot dead. A reign of white terror was imposed. Though the movement was hit hard the people did not abandon their land. They collected half of the produce and the next year the entire crop. The masses considered it to be a great achievement of the movement.

The Maoist party began to give direct leadership. The structure of the CMAS at the village level was made more democratic. Party primary units and people's militia in village expanded and Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs) were formed. Addressing all aspects of the peasant's lives, it began building the foundations of a self-reliant economy.

Since 2009, Narayanpatna has been facing the multi-pronged attack of 'war on people'. Under its impact some leaders even abandoned the struggle. Yet, the movement remains undeterred. It went through several difficult periods in the past as well, but emerged stronger from each one of them. The movement's strength lies in its revolutionary line, Maoist leadership and a strong mass character. The people are well aware that though the path of struggle they have chosen is fraught with difficulties, a return to the old society and a life under the ruthless landlords is even more intolerable.

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# building the future, arms in hand



Land clearing by KKC in B-J; KJS journal; pond and dam built with collective labour in DK; land clearing and well in Niyamgiri (Odisha); plough agriculture in DK.

the process of further development, these KKC are being transformed into RPCs at various levels. RPCs have also been formed in the Andhra-Odisha Border (AOB) region, known here as Viplava Praja Committee.

Under RPCs, the voters have the 'Right to recall'. Women have equal representation. The people have all fundamental democratic rights — Right to meet, Right to form organisation, Right to conduct strikes and demonstrations, Right to live according to one's wish, Right to primary education, Right to primary medical treatment, Right to gain minimum employment. The RPC addresses all aspects of the people's lives through its defence, finance, agriculture, trade and industry, judicial, education and culture, health and social welfare, forest protection and public relations departments. Through them, the people are establishing control over the means of production and developing a self-reliant economy, a new culture and education. Delegates elected from village level RPCs have constituted Area RPCs. Similarly elected delegates from the Area level form the Divisional (District level) RPCs.

The growth of RPCs as a new state and the revolutionary message this sends to the masses in India and the world have alarmed the ruling classes and imperialists. The RPCs have become one of the main targets of the Indian state's attacks. Hundreds of committee members have been arrested, tortured, raped and killed. Massacres are being committed to terrorise people who participate in the RPCs. The fruits of collective labour, such as ponds and infrastructure, schools and co-operative farms and orchards, are specially targeted. But the experiences and achievements of building RPCs have shown that the new shall supercede the old and the small shall overcome the big.

A fundamental condition for fulfilling the task of transforming suitable guerrilla bases of Dandakaranya (DK) and Bihar-Jharkhand (B-J) into liberated areas is the further consolidation of Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs) and building new ones. They concretise the 4-class united front in present conditions.

In DK, the grounds had been laid through the establishment of Gram Rajya Committees (GRC) and later the Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs), known as Krantikari Jantana Sarkars (KJS). The adivasi peasantry was mobilised, arms in hand, to smash the authority of the forest department, private contractors and, in some areas, feudal lords or feudalistic tribal elders and to end their exploitation. Subsequently, area level RPCs were formed. Higher level divisional RPCs are also being built up.

In B-J this struggle started with the formation of Krantikari Kisan Committees (KKCs), followed by the formation of area-level KKC. Backed by arms, KKC have been instrumental in breaking the bonds of caste-feudalism, defeating upper-caste private armies and seizing and distributing land. In

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Land-levelling campaign to make the ground fit for irrigation has been a regular annual task of RPCs. They continue to carry it out in the midst of severe repression. This year an estimated 25,000 human-labour days were expended in Gadchiroli division of DK. In 2013, 2,39,697 labour days were expended, 44 new ponds, 19 canals, 192 check dams and 6620 repair/construction of field edgings were carried out in South Bastar. 33 acres were distributed to landless peasants. In 2011, the economy of the people in South Bastar was damaged to a large extent by Salwa Judum and Operation Green Hunt. The area and panchayat Krantikari Janatana Sarkars motivated the revolutionary masses on a war footing. 1,20,000 people, more than one-third women, participated in collective works. Seven thousand people's militia activists fulfilled defence duties around the clock, arming themselves with five hundred *bharmars*, nine thousand bows and more than 20,000 arrows. About a thousand people's artistes performed song, dance and drama for at least two hours every day as recreation for the peasantry who daily laboured for about eight hours. People were divided into batches, with one conductor each, to ensure that work was done properly and with discipline. There was ten minutes rest for every one hour. Cooking was done near the work places. In Jegurugonda

## **Towards self-reliance**

area alone 115 cooking batches were formed. Adivasi people who loved to eat meat had a dinner with meat on the last day. Work places were transformed into villages. Apart from the rice and *dal* allotted by the Janatana Sarkars people brought rice and vegetables from their villages and cooked. The implements brought by the people were far more than the ones provided by the Janatana Sarkars. Carpenters and black smiths were kept very busy. The medical department's peasant doctors were always ready with their medicines and gave treatment to hundreds of people. In Jegurugonda area they gave medical care to about 17,000 people. In Kistaram area they gave medicines worth 70 thousand rupees. Cradles were arranged for at work places. Mothers could leave their babies there and work without any worry. Batches of little children were formed to pull and swing the cradles. The work places in Jegurugonda reminded one of the 'people's communes' in history books. In South Bastar, Janatana Sarkars spent 30 lakh rupees for levelling land. If an outpouring of mass enthusiasm was seen during the land levelling campaign, the scene at the opposite end, in the enemy camp, was one of frenzied wireless messages on moves to defeat the campaign. But, facing up to rigorous police combings and attacks, the people of South Bastar participated with courage and determination to make the land levelling campaign a grand success. They were building their own future.

## **Educating the new generation**

Schools are established under the Janatana Sarkars. The subjects are language, mathematics and science. They are taught in Koya, the mother tongue of the students. Hindi is taught from 3rd standard and English from 5th. Teachers working in these schools are given training on teaching methods, student psychology and scientific education. The topics are explained to the students in their concrete conditions and experiences. Dignity of labour, collective spirit, serving the people and such socialist values are being imbibed. Vegetables and paddy are harvested near the schools to fulfil the food needs of the teachers and students. Efforts are also put to teach handicrafts to the students. Preserving the positive aspects in adivasi culture, including its collective spirit and dignity of labour, scientific knowledge is imparted to drive away superstitions entrenched in society. Earlier there were 9 residential schools, apart from those in villages. They have now been forced to become mobile and change locations frequently to avoid enemy attacks. The enemy specifically targets Janatana Sarkar run schools and its teachers. Teachers and students attending schools always keep bows and arrows ready for self-defence and do regular sentry duty.



*Science textbook prepared by DK Educational Department; primary class in a village; maths textbook; school scenes. (clockwise, from top)*

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Land levelling



Harvesting a co-op farm



An important aspect of the RPCs functioning is the realisation of the slogan “All rights to the Adivasis/local people over Forests”. All kinds of restrictions and taxes on collection of forest produce were annulled. Forest produce can be freely collected and consumed. But there is a ban on taking away any kind of resources from the forest without permission from the RPCs. New entry of imperialist multinational companies (MNCs) and comprador companies has been blocked. Indiscriminate felling of forests and the robbing of valuable timber by the government and the timber mafia was stopped. While the people’s rights are guaranteed the RPCs also pay attention to balance the growing demand for timber as needs increase with the task of protecting forests. In this they are assisted by the traditional practice of the adivasis. Living in the vast forests of our country they have preserved the forests and maintained the environment for several centuries through their judicious use of the land and the forest resources. It is only with the invasion and occupation of their territories by the so-called civilised society—first the British white colonialists and later the native brown sahibs into whose hands political power was transferred—that the forest began to be denuded very fast.

### Protecting forests and resources

The positive impact of the people’s war and RPCs policies are confirmed by figures given in the ‘State of the Forest Report-2009’ released by the Forest Survey of India, which show that over the previous 4-5 years, the dense forest in the Maoist-dominated districts of Dantewada, Kanker, Bastar, Rajnandgaon, Dhamtari and other districts in Chhattisgarh, had increased in its expanse. This shows the validity of the alternative model of development espoused by the revolutionaries vis-à-vis the anti-people development model being implemented by the ruling class reactionaries for the benefit of a handful of corporate sharks and imperialist vultures.

The same is true of other natural resources also. The spread of the people’s war in resource rich regions of Central and Eastern India has upset the plans of the Indian ruling classes and imperialists to plunder them. This vitally affects the projects they have lined up and ongoing demands they must satisfy to keep their system running. The seriousness of this can be gauged from the decision of the Modi regime to raise and deploy 27 new battallions of para-military in the Dandakaranya region, with the specific purpose of providing security to proposed mining and hydro-electric projects. A government owned steel company, SAIL, will be footing the bill of 10 of them. Nothing could be more demonstrative of the driving interests behind Operation Green Hunt aimed at destroying the people’s war led by Maoists and the new political power that is being built.

# The New Culture



"In India what predominates is primarily imperialist and feudal culture and ideas. It is basically this imperialist and feudal culture that is being widely propagated by the ruling classes, and it is these ideas that have penetrated widely throughout society.

Imperialist culture basically destroys patriotic values, idealising the West and promoting elitist consumerist culture. Feudal culture is primarily the Brahminical caste-based culture of engrained superiority. This Brahminical culture puts its stamp on nearly all aspects of social interaction and thinking, from approach to labour, women, oppressed castes, other communities, marriage norms, birth, death, language, etc. and even has numerous caste symbols. Ironically the so-called modern imperialist culture easily adjusts with the archaic and retrogressive Brahminical culture. Both imperialist and feudal culture has to be continuously opposed and replaced by democratic and socialist thinking. The task at the present stage of the revolution in the cultural front is the establishment of new democratic culture i.e., a scientific, democratic and mass culture,

by uprooting the semi-colonial, semi-feudal culture along with the modern revisionist ideology. The people's democratic culture is an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal cultural heritage of the oppressed masses that are passed on by history.

Jharkand Abhen, Chetana Natya Manch troupes; Bhumkal Divas in DK (top to bottom)

"For the success of the Indian revolution the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal cultural front has to be organised and constantly strengthened. The people's democratic culture will be an inseparable part of the general anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary people's democratic front. One of the tasks of this cultural front is to educate the workers, peasants and the toiling masses about the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal agrarian revolutionary struggle and the protracted people's war."

from 'Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution'

The party has paid a lot of attention to develop revolutionary cultural activities, in all its diversity. They range from literary forums to mass cultural organisations active from village to State level. These organisations spread the message of revolution and promote democratic and scientific values through multifarious cultural forms that learn from and develop national, ethnic, cultural traditions and styles. They motivate the people to struggle for radical change. Their cultural messages also play the role of an instrument of rectification that attacks the reactionary values of the old society gripping the minds of the masses. These organisations are powerful weapons linking the party with the broad masses. Apart from these mass organisations, armed cultural groups are formed within the PLGA too, at the company and battalion levels.



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## Women in Revolution

Early in the dawn of this new century remarkable developments are taking place on the women's front in India. Deep in the forests and plains of Central India, in Bihar and Jharkhand, in the backward villages of Telangana, and Odisha, women are getting organised actively to break the shackles of feudal patriarchy and make the new democratic revolution. The growth and spread of the people's war led by the CPI (Maoist) has unleashed the fury of women as a mighty force of revolution. A revolutionary women's movement, one of the strongest and the most powerful among women's movements in the country today, has emerged.

“Since the emergence of class-divided society, women have become the victims of social, economic, cultural and political discrimination and deprivation of various types. These obnoxious traditions are, in the main, still continuing i.e. caste system, dowry, child marriage, widow system, devadasi etc. Constituting half the population of our country, women are subjected to male domination and suppression through patriarchal institutions like family, religion, caste system, property relations and culture in addition to the imperialist feudal exploitation and oppression. Even though, they are entitled to own the property legally, but in actual practice this right has proved to be a hoax. Although women have increasingly come into the production sphere, they are among the least paid and are confined to gender-based occupations apart from harassments of all sorts at the work place. Sexual harassment and atrocities on women have increased in recent years, particularly because of imperialist globalisation, liberalisation and consumerism. Besides, female-male ratio has decreased due to discriminatory practices against women resulting from patriarchal ideology. The ruling classes' attempts of fanning communalism and fundamentalism, particularly Hindu fundamentalism, have further intensified their sufferings. Rape is being used as a weapon to counter rightful assertion by women. This weapon is also used by the state as a most vile repressive measure against the women emerging in various struggles. Private armies of the feudal forces, backed by various parties of the ruling classes including the state, also use the weapon of rape as a vicious method of suppression.

“*Women hold up half the sky*’. Without unleashing the pent-up fury of women as a mighty force of revolution, victory in revolution is impossible. It is a matter of pride that the women masses, particularly from among the poor and landless peasants are increasingly coming forward to take an active and sometimes front-ranking role in advancing the armed agrarian revolution. Hence, the mobilisation of women in advancing people's war against imperialism and feudalism is a must. Besides the class struggle, we have to carry on struggle in political, economic, ideological and cultural spheres for equal rights of women and equal opportunity for development. Real equality between men and women can be realised only in the course of the new democratic revolution and further in the process of socialist transformation of society as a whole. Hence, our party must pay special attention on rousing, mobilising, organising and helping the women to come forward to join the various ongoing struggles, particularly the people's war, and the revolutionary women's organisation. We must also concentrate upon developing staunch and farsighted communist leaders from among them.

from 'Programme of the CPI (Maoist)'

“The communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.”  
Karl Marx



The launching of armed struggle in the early 80s by the communist revolutionary forces in various parts of the country, the militant struggle against feudal oppression gave the confidence to peasant women to participate in struggles in large numbers and then to stand up and fight for their rights. Women who constitute the most oppressed among the oppressed, poor peasant and landless peasant women who have lacked not only an identity and voice but also a name, have become activists for the women’s organisations in their villages and guerrilla fighters. Women’s mobilisation and women’s organisation have also grown leading to the emergence of a revolutionary women’s movement, the most powerful in the country today. It numbers in the ten thousands. But it is unrecognised and ignored, a ploy of the ruling classes that will try to suppress any news and acknowledgement as long as it can. It is a women’s liberation movement of peasant women in rural India, a part of the people’s war being waged by the oppressed peasantry under the leadership of the CPI (Maoist).

For the past few years thousands of women are gathering in hundreds of villages to celebrate March 8. Women are marching through the streets of a town like Narayanpur to oppose the Miss World beauty contest; they have marched with their children through the tehsil towns and market villages in backward Bastar and Jharkhand, feudal strongholds in Bihar and Odisha, in Lalgargh and other places demanding an end to the exploitation and oppression by the outside exploiters, unscrupulous traders, contractors and forest officials, mining corporations, police and paramilitary forces, state-sponsored private vigilante gangs. They are blocking roads to protest against rape, demanding that the sale of liquor be banned, and that the so-called security forces should move out of the schools and allow the children to pursue their studies. The Nari Mukti Sangh in Bihar-Jharkand, Krantikari Adivasi Mahila Sanghatana (Dandakaranya) and several other organisations in other States are in the forefront organising and leading them.

Hundreds of young women are becoming guerrilla fighters in the army of the oppressed, the PLGA, throwing off the shackles of their traditional life of drudgery. Dressed in military fatigues,

*When communist revolutionaries regrouped themselves and began building up the anti-feudal peasant struggles in the late 1970s once again there was an upsurge of participation of women in struggles. In the plains of Central Bihar, in the fields and villages of Telengana, the peasant movement grew like a storm. Among the first issues the movement confronted was the feudal privileges of the landlords over the wives and daughters of the labourers working in their fields, especially of the dalits. Subject to worst form of abuses and vulgarities of the landlords’ men, bent down due to starvation and poverty, these poor women were easy prey for the landlords and their henchmen. Many of the violent struggles in Bihar and Telengana in the first part of the peasant movement in the 70s and 80s was to end this abuse and molestation, going in the name of “tradition”. These struggles provided the background for the growth of the women’s movement.*

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*red star on their olive green caps, a rifle on their shoulders, these young women brimming with confidence that the fight against patriarchy is integrally linked to the fight against the ruling classes of semi-colonial, semi-feudal India, are equipping themselves with the military knowledge to take on the fourth largest army of the exploiters. This is a social and political awakening among the poorest of the poor, most notably among the dalits and adivasis. Brahmanical norms are being overturned. Patriarchy and caste are being destroyed at their very roots. These are the signs of a transformation coming into the lives of the rural poor as they participate in the great struggle for revolution.*



**Some outstanding women martyrs.**

*In the darkness of no moon  
In the light of full moon  
In the deep forest I am alone,  
I put my foot forward, I take a step backward  
Wherever I step it is dark, brother  
Their only daughter, this bright beauty,  
This beautiful face they have ruined, brother  
They have forcibly married me off, brother  
.....  
Yes, brother yes, I have heard your view  
I will no longer stay in this darkness  
I will go forward towards a red dawn*

— from a KAMS song

*Manjudee (ACM) (B-J),  
Saroja(ACM) (DK) , Sunita (ACM)(DK)  
Samita (ACM) (DK), Vijaya (PM) (AOB)  
Karuna (ACM)(DK), Kalpana(DCM) (AP),  
Pushpa (DCM) (NT), Rukmati (ACM)(DK),  
Karuna (ACM)(DK), Natasha(ACM)(DK),  
Rambatti (ACM)(DK), Sunanda(ACM)(MR),  
Chaite (ACM) (DK)*

*(by rows, left to right)*

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*Ranita (ACM)(DK)*

On August 20 early morning three guerrillas including comrade Ranita went into Makadchuvva village to contact people. Meanwhile hundreds of Cobra, C-60 and police had already surrounded the village on the 19<sup>th</sup> night. Ranita gave cautions to the two guerrillas with her to break through the dragnet of the police. At 7 a.m. a fierce encounter between the three guerrillas with inferior weapons (only Ranita had a .303 rifle) and the two hundred trained commandos with modern lethal weapons started. Two comrades succeeded in getting away but Ranita could not get away. She hid herself in a small maize field (less than an acre) near the house of a peasant. The police chased the two guerrillas for some distance and losing their track had come back. They began beating the villagers and threatening them. They did not know that a woman guerrilla was hiding but Ranita could clearly see the police from her hideout. She aimed at a commando and fired. Her aiming was so perfect that he fell down and died on the spot. The police did not know from where the bullet hit him and all of them crowded around the dead commando in confusion to lift him. Ranita again aimed and began firing on them. Another commando died. Two more were badly injured. It was only then that the jawans understood that a guerrilla was hiding in the maize field. One of the commandos tried to enter the field wearing bullet-proof jacket, helmet etc. Ranita let him come nearer and directly fired a bullet into his head killing him on the spot. All the 'valiant' commandos began running back and did not dare to enter the field. They went on firing from a distance and were shouting to their higher officials in their communication sets that 'an encounter is on with dozens of Maoists since three hours and that they needed additional forces!' By 10 am a total of 600 commando forces turned the area into a military cantonment. After the additional forces arrived, the commandos dared to advance towards the maize field but once again the fearless Ranita gave them a fitting reply with her .303 rifle. Two more commandos were badly injured and all of them ran back. The third time they began raining grenades and nearly 25 grenades were burst. A major portion of the field was burnt down. Ranita hid herself in a pit inside the field and withstood this onslaught. The bullets flying around or the shrapnel falling around her did not deter her even a bit. She was waiting like a lioness fully focused to hit her next target. The jawans forced the owner of the field to cut the maize so that they can kill the hiding guerrillas. One of the commandos climbed a tree. Finally he could locate Ranita and fired upon her from top of the tree and the beloved daughter of Gadchiroli breathed her last.

*"The land and sky are equal, women and men are equal"*

*- from a KAMS song*

**"Ordinary peasant, adivasi and petty bourgeois women had become soldiers and military leaders. Health is not on their side and one would be surprised at how much these undernourished, lean, short built women could achieve in the military sphere. The answer is again the same – their determination to fight all patriarchal notions about women and their commitment towards the people as builders of new society. Here lies the strength of the communist ideology which makes such things possible. It can give rise to this kind of selflessness and their lives in turn guarantee the ultimate triumph of this ideology over selfish class interests and ushers in the communist society. Not for nothing do the masses mobilise in thousands and lakhs to pay homage to these great martyrs."**

[From the foreword of 'Women Martyrs of Indian Revolution' (Naxalbari to 2010)]

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# Against Brahmanism, To Annihilate Caste

Radical anti-feudal struggle in India has always collided with the caste structure, since what exists here is caste-based Brahminical feudalism and the vast majority of the landless and poor peasants are from the oppressed castes, particularly dalits. The mighty waves of armed agrarian revolution sparked off by Naxalbari took this to an altogether new level. The Maoists initially didn't have worked out positions addressing such specificities. But their adherence to MLM, insistence on following the class and mass line and firm commitment to take the anti-feudal struggle to the very end, invariably led them to the bottommost sections of rural India, the dalits and other oppressed castes. The Maoists mobilised them to overturn feudal authority, seize its lands and rebel against Brahminical values and customs. This led to the ending of age old casteist practices in large swathes of Telangana, and in the plains of Bihar and Jharkhand which saw the the most powerful spread of armed agrarian revolution. In Bihar and Jharkhand it took on the specific form of fighting and destroying the various upper caste private armies that used to carry out horrific atrocities, including genocides of dalits. The experiences accumulated over decades of revolutionary practice and insight obtained from further theoretical study as well as social developments has now been synthesised into a better grasp of the specificities of Indian society, including the caste question. This was concretised in the Programme and other documents adopted by 2007 Congress. It noted - "Condemnable caste system and casteism, especially the Brahminical casteism, is a special feature of the semi-feudal system prevailing in India..." "Following this guidance the CPI (Maoist) is now actively involved in mobilising masses for the struggle to annihilate caste through various forms of organisation and interventions, most of which are forced to operate under cover due to the ban on the party and mass organisations it leads. In the war zones, it is carried out openly. The party has also called for mass struggles, such as bandhs, to protest extreme incidents of casteist oppression and discrimination.

"India is a deeply caste ridden society where caste oppression and Brahminical superiority is widespread. Dalits are at the lowest rung of this ladder facing the inhuman practice of untouchability. Though all forms of caste oppression must be opposed, the party must particularly focus on the oppression of dalits and eradication of untouchability. The dalits or Scheduled Castes should be treated as a special social section that is peculiar to the obnoxious caste-ridden Indian society. Though the vast majority among them (over 90%) belongs to the poor and landless peasantry and to the proletariat and other wage-earning sections, they are also victims of social oppression and upper caste atrocities and discrimination in all spheres of life. The most heinous and inhuman manifestation of this social oppression is the practice of untouchability still practised in most parts of India. The real solution to the problems of dalits lies in smashing the existing semi-feudal, semi-colonial setup by successfully agrarian revolution on the basis of distributing land to the tiller.

"While mobilising the vast masses of the dalits who constitute around 17.5% of the Indian population into the agrarian revolution, we must also lay special emphasis upon the task of fighting all forms of social oppression and caste discrimination practised by the upper castes against them. Appropriate organisational forms should be evolved at various levels to fight the evils of untouchability, upper caste atrocities against the dalits and other forms of discrimination based on caste. At the same time, we must desist from forming exclusively caste-based organisations for the dalits, which will only lead to their further segregation. The party must fight for equal rights, reservations and other special privileges for dalits and other backward castes. These should be considered as an integral part of the struggle for democracy. Simultaneously we must expose the hollowness of the policies of the ruling class parties and the state on these issues. We must also expose the opportunist dalit leaders who build their own electoral fortunes in the name of taking up dalit issues. We must initiate and lead the struggles against all forms of violence and discrimination on dalits from our own class organisations."

from 'Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution'



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## With the Adivasis



“The adivasis...constitute about 7% of the Indian population. Representing relatively more backward forces of production, their economy, society and culture differ significantly from those in the rest of India...The process of breaking up their traditional economies, society and culture and their forcible assimilation into the semi-colonial, semi-feudal setup by the Indian ruling classes serving imperialism is proceeding at an unprecedented pace... As a result problems like destruction of the environment, impoverishment of the people and malnutrition deaths have also become acute...Whereas, during British rule, Christianity spread on a considerable scale into the vast tracts inhabited by the adivasis, after the transfer of power it is the Hindu chauvinist organisations that are aggressively spreading Hindu religion in these areas... imperialists and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie are evincing special interest in exploiting these regions through mining, quarrying and such other activities ... In the main, tribal chiefs, are benefiting from government schemes and are trying to turn the people in favour of the government and, in some areas, a tiny section of adivasis have become rich and have developed themselves as local oppressors. Both of them constitute the social basis for ruling class parties...”

The party should organise adivasis with the slogans, ‘Right over the forest belongs to people and adivasis’, ‘Political autonomy to the adivasi territories’ and ‘Transform the territory as exploitation-free territory i.e. ‘red land’, ‘don’t be divided, be united’, ‘unite the real friends against the real enemies’, ‘right over all the resources including water, forest etc.’ ‘right for protecting their own culture and development’, and draw up a specific plan for work among them...”

from ‘Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution’

Apart from women and dalits, adivasis and religious minorities are the most important of the social sections in the concrete conditions prevailing in India. The CPI (Maoist) notes,

“All these sections have special problems of their own and specific types of extra-economic oppression apart from class oppression. We have to pay due attention to solve their special problems and to chalk out special tasks to mobilise them effectively into the revolutionary movement. Towards this end, we have to not only bring these sections into class organisations along with other oppressed masses, but also evolve the necessary forms of organisations and forms of struggle for the widest mobilisation of these sections on their special problems both on a short-term and long-term basis. Broader joint fronts too should be formed wherever and whenever necessary to address the specific grievances.

“We should place the specific programme for the solution of their specific problems in relation to, and in the overall context of, the on-going people’s war in the country. We must educate these sections how their problems are essentially class questions; how the material basis for the final solution of their problems can be laid only by liberating themselves from class oppression; and hence, the imperative need for waging war against the common enemies- imperialism, feudalism, and comprador bureaucrat capitalism, that are oppressing the vast toiling masses in the country-unitedly with other oppressed masses under the leadership of the proletariat.

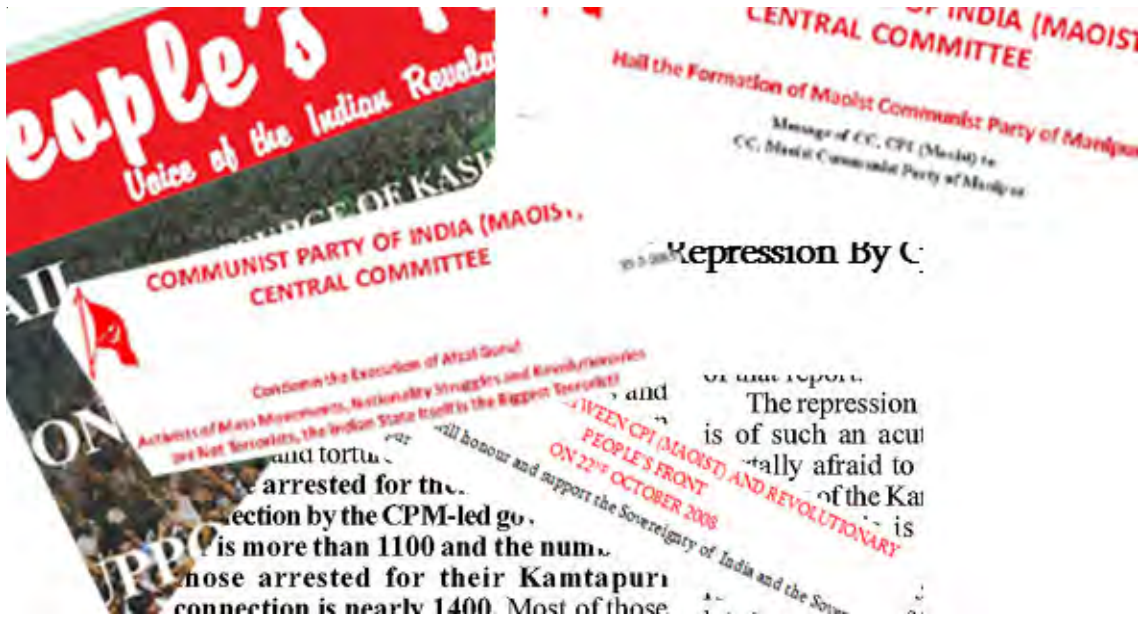
“We must demonstrate in practice how the people’s war and the ongoing class struggle is bringing these sections increasingly into the centre stage; how the latent potential and creative energies, the revolutionary initiative and capacities of these oppressed sections are being released in the course of the people’s war and the deepening class struggle. It is only by paying special attention and making conscious effort based on concrete planning by the leadership of the party to develop the oppressed among these sections, that we can bring a qualitative change in their overall status in the party and position in the revolutionary movement. Hence, in all our guerrilla zones and areas of class struggle, firstly we have to follow the class line and mass line seriously, i.e., to work mainly among the landless and poor peasantry and agricultural labourers who generally belong to dalit section. Basing firmly on this aspect, we have to take up a special programme for bringing these sections to the forefront in all fronts, apart from drawing up specific forms of struggle and organization to mobilise broader masses of these sections on their specific demands with a clear-cut plan to involve the advanced elements from these sections into the party and the class organisations.”



*cpi(maoist) 10th anniversary*

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# To Break the Prison-house of Nationalities



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‘India is a multinational, multi-lingual country comprising many cultures. These nationalities and tribes are going through different stages of their development. On the nationality question, imperialism has always adopted the policy of using the developed nationalities as their instrument to retard the development of other undeveloped or developing nationalities and to eliminate their identity and thereby to continue their exploitation and oppression. In India too, the ruling classes, subservient to imperialism, had transformed the country as a prison-house of nationalities under the so-called slogan of “unity and integrity” of the country. It is in such a context that the ongoing nationality struggles in various parts of the country today are advancing by assuming various forms including armed struggle. The struggles of the Kashmiri, Naga, Assamese, Manipuri and other nationalities in north-eastern region are already going on by assuming the armed form. The people of these oppressed nationalities are not only fighting for their identity but also for the just cause of achieving their honourable right of self-determination, including the right of secession and the demand for secession. “Nationality question, in the final analysis, is a matter of class question. In this light, the nationalities’ struggles can achieve genuine liberation only as a part of the larger struggle directed against the Indian ruling classes and the imperialist predators advancing under the leadership of the proletariat towards completing the New Democratic Revolution. Our party must unequivocally support these nationalities struggles. It must also resolutely oppose the vicious attempt of the Indian ruling classes to suppress these movements with their military might. It must also oppose the attempts of the Indian ruling classes to impose Hindi and English or any other language on the nationalities unilaterally. The right of self-determination including, and up to, the right of secession, must be firmly upheld and highlighted in all circumstances. Our party must also uphold and highlight the standpoint that final and genuine solution of the nationality question lies with the establishment of new federation of people’s democratic republics after completely smashing the present centralized state machinery, representing and protecting the interest of imperialism and feudalism.”

from ‘Strategy and Tactics of the Indian Revolution’

# For the Cause of the

# World Socialist Revolution

“This People’s Democratic State will establish unity with the international proletariat and the oppressed nations of the world; opposes imperialist war and aggression, bullying, subversion and interference etc. It will support and help by all means the revolutionary struggles and revolutionary war, especially the ongoing struggles under the leadership of various Maoist revolutionary forces against capitalism, imperialism and reaction the world over. After the victory of the revolution, new democratic, and later, socialist India, will act as a base in order to facilitate the victory of the world socialist revolution. It will closely integrate with the revolutionary and Maoist forces and their struggles in South Asia in particular, keeping in view the historical relations of India with the people of the sub-continent.”

from ‘Programme of CPI (Maoist)

Carrying forward the legacy of Naxalbari, the CPI (Maoist) has always considered the new democratic revolution that it wages in India as an integral part of the world socialist revolution, and itself as a vanguard contingent of the world proletariat. The invaluable and incredible sacrifices that are being made by the people and comrades in this revolution are also an integral part of the great sacrifices of innumerable beloved martyrs of world socialist revolution in each and every country.

The CPI (Maoist) has always educated its ranks and the masses it leads in this spirit of proletarian internationalism. It has been active in the international Maoist movement through various means. It was one of the initiators of the Co-ordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organisations of South Asia. It has participated in issuing joint statements with other Maoist parties, the ‘Declaration on Anti-revisionist Struggle’ in 2008 and recently the Joint May Day Statement of this year. It took up the defence of MLM against the Prachanda-Bhattarai revisionism and Avakianist liquidationism. The



(clockwise) Burning effigies of imperialism against Iraq, Afghanistan wars, CPI (Maoist) poster supporting PW in the Philippines; shooting down imperialist monster; scenes from Philippines Solidarity day in DK; Solidarity action in support of PW in India, Spain; CPP posters supporting PW in India; Propaganda in support of PW in India.

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party has widely observed a day of solidarity with the Philippines revolution within the guerilla bases and zones. It has mobilised the masses against imperialist wars of aggression and Indian expansionism. The party issues statements putting forth its views on important international developments.

The CPI (Maoist) highly values international solidarity activities of Maoist parties, organisations and anti-imperialist forums in support of the people’s war in India and the broad forum that has come up to mobilise world public opinion against the Indian state’s Operation Green Hunt. It takes inspiration from them to carry forward and fulfil its revolutionary tasks as part of the world socialist revolution, with a higher sense of responsibility.



## Repression and Resistance

**Marking a leap in its repression of the revolutionary movement the Central government launched 'Operation Green Hunt' (OGH) in 2009. This meant larger deployment of Central para-military, use of drones, involvement directly or indirectly of the Army and Air Force and higher co-ordination between State forces already engaged in suppression. To the people this meant horror multiplied - a 'War on People'. The deployment has since been built up to 500,000. More battalions are on their way. Below we give some extracts which will help in understanding the hideous nature of the OGH. We also give some accounts of the determined resistance, focussing on the role of the masses.**

Atrocities were perpetrated by the Salwa Judum and the state forces on the adivasis living in the Chintalnar Area between 11th and 16th of March 2011. The incidents was propagated by the police as an 'encounter' between the CRPF and Maoists in which, according to the police, 36 Maoists were killed. Also 3 SPOs were killed and 9 others were injured. The rampage of the Salwa Judum and state forces continued for almost five days. Two people were murdered cruelly, while 3 women were raped. Almost three hundred homes were set on fire and completely gutted down. They looted everything the adivasi people had including domestic animals like goats, cows, chicken and pigs along with their money, jewellery and other belongings. More than fifty people have been grievously injured that includes children as young as 12 years old and women. Despite the Supreme Court directive to disband Salwa Judum it is fully functional and actively promoted and sponsored by the state. In the middle of these unilateral atrocities, the state air-dropped rations and other food supply to the forces while taking away the dead and the injured. People in Morupally and

Timmapuram are living in utter dire condition. They have received no relief from the state. They said that they have got some interim relief from the Maoists. Many of them are staying under trees. [from a report of Coordination of Democratic Rights Organisations]



Pelting stones at the Edsimetta CRPF camp

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***"This war on the people is a brutal war launched by the government to suppress our just movement. This is an unjust war politically. This war by the ruling classes is carried on with a clear political aim. This would permanently continue the exploitation and oppression of the people. The self-defence war waged by the people also has a clear political aim. We are fighting with the aim of establishing a new society by destroying the exploitative and oppressive system. These two aims are completely at the opposite poles. At present revolutionary war is being waged in our country. The rulers are waging counterrevolutionary war against this revolutionary war. Both of these are seriously confronting each other. They represent the interests of two completely opposite classes." Ganapathy, General Secretary, CPI (Maoist)***

***From September 1st to 3rd the Chintaguppa forces raided Kollaiguda, Dabbakunta and Pidimel villages. In this joint operation the paramilitary, CoBRA commando, district police and SPOs from Kakerlanka, Polampalli, Errabore, Vinjaram, Gorkha and Bhejji police stations conducted area domination. They looted small property, jewellery, money and domestic animals of the people. More than seven hundred enraged people from eleven villages gheraoed the Chintaguppa police station (PS) protesting this. They forcefully entered the PS and protested the atrocities. Women were not only present in huge numbers but were in the forefront.***

'Operation Anaconda' was carried out jointly by the Jharkhand police and the paramilitary forces in Saranda Forest in the month of August, 2011. During the operation, 25 villages (of Saranda Forest division comes under Manohapur and Noamundi development blocks and Chhotanagra, Kiriburu and Jaraikela police stations) - Tholkobad, Gundijora, Tirilposi, Baliba, Bitkilsoy, Digha, Samtha, Nayagaon, Hatnaburu, Karampada, Jombaiburu, Kulaiburu, Ponga, Holonguli, Kudliba, Bahada, Kumdi, Sonapi, Hedeburu, Tetrighat, Ratamati, Kaliyaposi, Jharbeda, Reda and Bhalulata were seized by the forces for a month. Approximately, 500 Adivasis were brutally tortured by the security forces and 15,000 were directly affected of the police atrocities and 125,000 Adivasis are still denied basic services and facilities i.e. health, education, drinking water, road and electricity, etc. The security forces ate-up, mixed and spoiled foodgrains (1501 kg rice, 66100 kg paddy, 744 kg Bazra and 50 kg Maize) and also destroyed harvest. They also ate-up 942 chicken, 114 goat and 7 sheep. The security forces have also broken door and destroyed houses. They ate-up edible materials of three private ration shops (two in Tirilposi and one in Balibal village) and also destroyed them. They also destroyed most of the utensils (made of steel and silver) and seized and took away the bronze utensils, traditional weapons, axes, clothes and agriculture implements to show that they have recovered them from the Maoist camps.





Adivasis forcibly held In a Salwa Judum camp; murdered adivasi woman; houses destroyed by the Judum; police atrocities; destroyed grain. (clockwise from top)

*1 February 2007. A people's festival took place in the Indravati area of Maad division in the Dandakaranya Special Guerilla Zone. The government launched Salwa Judum to swallow the people and the party leading them. They did not allow the people to cut the crops. They did not allow them to bring the crop home. They did not allow them to stay in their homes. They did not give them a chance to celebrate the Gaade Pandum (Gaade festival) after bringing home the new crop. What shall we do? Should we continue to suffer? No. Not at all. The forest belongs to us. This is our life. This is our war, the people's war. Let us make war, thought the masses. Tilling the land was a war. Protecting the forest was a war. Harvesting was done under the sentry of the militias. Thus the people stored the crop. Then they went to stay in another place. They thought this too was a part of the war. Now a loud message must be given to the enemy - We are not suppressed. We have war tactics. Beware! So the Janathana Sarkar (People's Government) decided to celebrate the people's festival. It conducted the Gaade Pandum on a larger scale.*

“In the morning, someone from a nearby village came and asked us to run for our lives. The Judum was headed our way, he said. We left everything we had, picked up our children and ran to the forests. We could see the village from where we were hiding. A lot of people all armed with guns and sickles entered the village.

Within minutes of their arrival, we saw smoke. Our houses were being burnt. Then, screams rent the air. I saw the Judum bring out two men and five women from our village into the field behind the village. The men's hands were tied behind their backs and I could see blood on one of their faces. The Judum lined up the men and women in two rows facing each other - the Judum men were behind the women. They shot the men down even as the women looked on. At least two people fired at each person. One of the women screamed and looked away. She was hit brutally by the Judum for looking away. They left the bodies in the field and took the women away with them. After a long time, when we could no longer hear the Judum, we walked back to our village. I was shocked at what I saw in the village. An old woman who couldn't see properly had been hacked to death inside her house. Her head had been split open. Her stomach had been cut open and her intestines scattered. There was so much blood everywhere. Two other men were also killed just outside their houses. Their arms had been chopped off and they had been shot. We heard later that the five women who were taken from our village were made to walk 10 kilometres. They were raped and beaten by the Judum before being allowed to go.”

-Madivi Moyee of Gachampadu village

*[Women have been in the forefront of all mass struggles, whether Lalgargh, Narayanpatna or Kalinganagar and in resistance, in the prisons too. Below we give some examples.]*



It was the militant attacks on illicit distilleries by groups of women that had forced the closure of liquor shops in Narayanpatna. In several villages women were in the forefront whenever police and lumpen gangs raided the houses of CMAS activists and leaders. They confronted the police courageously and on several occasions succeeded in pushing back the police from the villages. They always keep chilly powder along with their traditional weapons. Around 35 Greyhounds from AP went to Jangadivalasa village. The women encircled them and engaged them in arguments while sending word to the neighbouring villages. Soon women and men descended from all sides and seized the weapons, kit bags and cell phones from the policemen. They were tied with ropes and asked why they were coming into Odisha. Women are in the forefront during rallies, demonstrations on various people's issues, and gheraos of the police stations. When posters were brought out by the police with photos of people's leaders describing them as anarchists and dacoits 2000 women surrounded the police station, tore off the posters, jumped the police station gates which were locked, and gheraoed the SHO who gave a letter of assurance that the police would not do such things in future.

In Mangewada (Gadchiroli district, Maharashtra) young women and men who joined the People's Militia were being given military training by the PLGA. The police came to know about it and raided the village. Some young men were caught and taken out of the village. The remaining jawans sat in the village and diverted the attention of the people so that they may not know what was going on. But a woman who went to answer nature's call saw their children being severely beaten and immediately alerted the villagers. The villagers ran to the outskirts. Seeing them, the jawans began running away. The villagers brought back their children safely. Seeing the injuries on their children the women were furious. They pounced on the jawans sitting near their homes and started beating them up with whatever they could lay their hands on – chappals, stones, sticks. They caught the jawans by the collars and slapped them. A woman beat up about 5 to 6 jawans. The jawans began pleading and said they would get medical help to treat the children's wounds. The women relented a bit and demanded that medical care must be given in their village. The jawans began running away. The people chased them for one kilometre. The police in their confusion were running in the opposite direction to their camp. People doubled with laughter at their plight and called to them, 'Hey, where are you running? Your camp is in the opposite direction!'

Till 2009, women inmates of Jagdalpur prison were kept locked-up in the women's ward, the whole day. Women prisoners undertook a day-long hunger strike and forced a change in the lock-up timings. Since then, they won the right to be outside the cell from 5 to 12 in the morning and from 3 to 6 in the afternoon. In early 2013 they braced up for one more round of confrontation. 26 comrades undertook a hunger strike for ten days from 8 to 17 February 2013 while other women prisoners supported their struggle. Their main demands were: all prisoners should be produced in the court regularly; they should be allowed a separate kitchen and ration should be provided as per the prison manual; appointment of doctors and staff nurses in the women's ward, provision for taking serious patients to the district hospital, etc. The jail officials tried to break the resolve of the strikers with frequent rounds, checks, verbal abuse, etc. The women prisoners showed exemplary unity and determination. The jail authorities had to finally accede to all the demands after ten days of hunger strike. Thus, the women prisoners of Jagdalpur wrote a new chapter in the history of prison struggles in the country and in Chhattisgarh in particular, inspiring other prisoners to take up similar agitations and to continue the class struggle even when confined in the enemy's dungeon.

# Defeat the 'War on People'



Scenes from a Delhi rally against the 'War on People'

The Indian state's 'War on People' has unleashed protest all over the country. Along with thousands of masses, a number of democrats too stood up courageously to challenge and expose the murderous deeds of the Central, State forces. This resistance indicated the potential for a radical polarisation.

## Election Campaign OGH Style: Vote or be prepared to die

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Operation Green Hunt is democracy at gun-point, where the conduct of elections become an occasion for more fascicisation. In Chhattisgarh, the elections for a total of 18 assembly seats that were identified as falling in Maoist areas were held on November 1, 2013 by turning this entire area into an armed cantonment. An unprecedented total of 1, 50,000 armed forces deployed, extra force of 580 companies, 13 additional military helicopters; all National Highways patrolled by the armed forces for 24 hours; police ambush parties and road opening parties engaged for 24 hours – one batch replacing another like an occupying force of another country; armed forces in the field monitored by an IG rank officer; a record of highest number of forces deployed for an assembly constituency till date in our country – 25,000 for the Bijapur assembly constituency; 167 'very sensitive' polling booths shifted 10 to 40 km away from their original locations and located near police camps or road points; maximum number of polling booths put up in police camps ; intensification of cordon and search operations all over Dandakaranya in September and October; killing of dozens of Krantikari Janathana Sarkar (KJS) and People's Militia members and people including around ten PLGA fighters murdered in fake encounters in these two months; arrests of a large number of revolutionary mass organisation and KJS leaders and activists and their severe torture in police stations and camps; destruction of (KJS) schools, people's agriculture farms and martyrs' memorial columns in the interior villages — all so 'democratic'!

... and to the people they said



**No rice if you don't vote. No ration cards if you don't vote. No funds from Centre if you don't vote. The attacks of police on your villages, arrests, destruction, incarcerations will increase. There are more police forces than the leaves on the trees, where would you hide? Better vote. We would raze down your villages, beat you up and kill you if you don't vote.**





PEOPLES MARCH SUPPLEMENT

vidhu

## Lessons and Challenges of the Indian Revolution

temporary failures and immense hardship, we can rectify these by sticking firmly to our political and military line and by doing correct political, organisational and military work in the light of MLM. We can once again advance in the path towards victory. Our party took this attitude during the countrywide setback period during the beginning of 1970s and developed the movement step by step. All those who took a different attitude during that period soon disappeared from the Indian revolutionary canvas or were left with a formal presence. The experiences of revolutions of several countries that were successful, that were defeated and those that are continuing to this day are proving that this is the correct attitude.

In the present conditions, the key task regarding party building is that of moulding the party in such a way that it is capable of tackling and surmounting the difficult situation we face and advancing the movement again. For this we should take our past experiences and lessons learnt from them and discuss about them at all levels. At every level our comrades must discuss their own experiences, realise their mistakes and take steps to rectify them.

We should study the teachings of great Marxist teachers. If we look only at successes and advances and ignore failures and difficult situations or if we look only at these and ignore successes and advances, we would not be able to prevent past mistakes and would become victims of pessimism...

Another important task regarding party building is increasing the quality of the party. While giving party membership to new recruits, while developing them as professional revolutionaries and while giving promotions we should definitely give importance to quality. We should select active members from the mass organisations and from the non-party members of the PLGA and give them membership and training according to our constitution. To the extent we succeed in recruiting new members in the party, it would not only expand but would also be infused with young blood and new experience. To improve the quality of the party we should carry on study and training of MLM like a campaign. We should make study of concrete conditions and discussion on creative application of theory a part of this ideological and political effort...All this

*It is by making revolution that we can draw out the full potential of a favourable situation and defeat imperialism, reaction and its tool revisionism. It is by standing firm on MLM, the ideology of the proletariat, and sticking to the path of revolution that we can surmount hurdles and tackle all challenges successfully.*

effort regarding party building should be done as part of Bolshevisation campaign. By making this program successful, we would be able to increase the ideological, political level and organisational solidity of the party, and thus vastly build up its capability in developing mass base and enhancing its efficiency in leading the PLGA and the people to advance the people's war.

For the development of the movement, along with favourable objective conditions it is also necessary to have sufficient subjective strength. However, even when we are lacking in this strength, if we put in correct political and organisational efforts with determination, then the favourable objective conditions will allow us to build up subjective forces in a fairly quick manner. Our past experiences stand testimony to this. If we do not take this into consideration, think with a metaphysical outlook and become passive, thinking that our subjective forces are weak, we will never be able to overcome the hurdles we face today. The PPW path is one with an orientation which teaches us that a weak force can turn into a strong force and weak movements can develop into strong ones.

Before the success of the Russian revolution, revisionism dominated the ICM and the genuine revolutionaries, like the Bolsheviks led by Lenin, were a minority. The victory of the October revolution smashed the revisionism of the 2<sup>nd</sup> International and unleashed a huge growth in

communist parties and revolutions. When Krushchev revisionism emerged, only a few parties stood with the CPC led by Mao Tsetung. But the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution brought forth a powerful wave of new parties and revolutions. Our revolution and the PPW in the Philippines are continuators of that wave. Once again, only a few parties stood up against the revisionists led by Teng who seized power in China. But that struggle gave birth to the Peruvian and Nepali revolutions. While the former has suffered a setback the latter was betrayed by neo-revisionism. But the lesson still remains. It is by making revolution that we can draw out the full potential of a favourable situation and defeat imperialism, reaction and its tool revisionism. It is by standing firm on MLM, the ideology of the proletariat, and sticking to the path of revolution that we can surmount hurdles and tackle all challenges successfully.

The global crisis of the imperialist system that broke out in 2008 is continuing. The masses in both the oppressed countries and imperialist ones are time and again coming out in struggle. PPWs are continuing. The people's war led by our party has gained widespread support all over the world. The unity of Maoist forces is increasing, facing up to the betrayal of the Prachanda-Bhattarai clique and liquidationism of Avakianism. The world situation shows great potential for a powerful new wave of revolution. But here too our subjective forces seriously lag behind the objective situation. Thus we see the contradiction, the glaring gap between the potential of the objective situation and the subjective capacities of the Maoist forces. The history of the world revolution teaches us that the principal way to overcome this is by waging revolution and advancing to victory. We have a great responsibility in this regard.

Various opinions combat each other in the party as a reflection of the class struggle going on in society. We should keep in mind that, generally, when movements are facing a difficult situation, the possibility of right and left opportunist trends coming to the fore inside the party would be more. If we are not alert to this and do not take up struggle against them in time we will suffer losses. If we over assess the strength of the revolutionary forces and look down upon the enemy, our party would suffer losses due to left mistakes. If we over assess the strength of the enemy and look down upon the strength of the revolutionary forces, again the party would suffer losses due to right mistakes. Today the latter is the main danger. We should carry on internal struggle by following correct party methods against both right and left trends. However we should not treat every difference of opinion as a basic difference on our line or enter into endless debates. Such matters should be clearly discussed in the concerned committees following proper methods according to our party constitution. This is the correct party policy followed by us towards differences of opinion and differing views that arise in the party. Some people have lost preparedness to continue along the arduous path of PPW and the will to sacrifice. They assess the might of the enemy as permanent and the people's strength as always being weak. They are making bankrupt arguments joining hands with the enemy. We should strongly fight back against such betrayers.

Recently, in our country some persons have once again brought forth views that capitalist relations have replaced semi-feudal relations in Indian society and that PPW line is not suitable for our country. Some among them are arguing vaguely about insurrection line. The Communist League of India (CLI) formulated its line with this understanding three decades back. It is well known that it has not succeeded even a little bit despite long years of trying to practice it. We should completely reject this trend. After Second World War, led by the US imperialists, many changes have occurred in oppressed countries according to the interests of the neo-colonialists and their lackeys. Despite this, all the national liberation struggles or new democratic revolutions that were waged in these countries till date followed the protracted path or PPW line respectively. In some countries revolutions are continuing on the path of PPW. This is possible because of the basic semi-colonial, semi-feudal nature of these societies and the basic contradictions in them. The NDR is continuing since decades in our country for

*In every country and society where class contradictions and class struggles are continuously sharpening, changes continue to occur. In our country too, not only in the economic, political and cultural spheres but also in other factors that seriously impact the revolutionary war, such as transport, communication, media, technology, art of war, topography, proportion of rural and urban population and in legislature, administration and judiciary, many changes have taken place.*

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similar reasons. It is due to these social relations that people are joining in making this revolution. After 1947 considerable changes occurred in our country's economic, political, cultural and other spheres. However they did not bring any qualitative change in the nature of our society. The history of NDR in our country is proving this very historical truth. So we should reject wrong views that deny this reality and expose the arguments brought forth by them.

In every country and society where class contradictions and class struggles are continuously sharpening, changes continue to occur. In our country too, not only in the economic, political and cultural spheres but also in other factors that seriously impact the revolutionary war, such as transport, communication, media, technology, art of war, topography, proportion of rural and urban population and in legislature, administration and judiciary many changes have taken place. Even during the LPG period, these took place unevenly in our country where uneven development is present. We should stick on firmly to our political and military line and study these changes deeply, keeping in view the dialectical relation between them and our strategy and tactics. These changes are impacting some aspects of our strategy. That is why we should implement our strategy creatively and develop our tactics. We should make necessary changes in slogans, struggle and organisational forms and priorities that do not help in mobilising the people vastly and actively into PW. This was necessary in the past and it is even more so at present when changes take place relatively rapidly. When class struggle is continuing fiercely, study and investigation of conditions and formulating tactics according to them has a lot of significance.

So far as our country is concerned we should study these changes from another point of view too. It is necessary to understand that the changes that occurred in various spheres in our country have occurred due to the unprecedented level of neo-colonial exploitation, oppression and control of the imperialists. It is necessary to decide the direction of our tactics keeping this in view.

Our 'Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution' document has stated clearly that constantly studying the phenomena in the world and the country, investigating and analysing them in the light

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of MLM, educating the party based on the summarisations, actively and widely rallying the people into the arena of struggles and developing the necessary struggle and organisational forms are of utmost necessity. When we continue to implement tactics that are no longer suited to the conditions, to that extent the movement too would be damaged. We had already reviewed that one of the reasons for the setback of the AP movement was such a mistake. We have also realised that some such mistakes have been committed in the past decade too.

The party must retain initiative where we are strong, regain it where we have weakened and develop the movement by rectifying mistakes in time. As long as we firmly grasp the ideological weapon of MLM, and develop the political and military line through its creative application, we can overcome our weaknesses by improving political, organisational and military struggle efforts. Such a correct practice will once again regenerate favourable subjective conditions in all our areas of work for achieving victory in the NDR by overcoming the present situation we face.

Analysing the post-election scene, our CC has pointed out that the formation of the RSS dominated NDA government and the threat of Brahmanical Hindu fascism has brought forward the urgent and important task of building broad-based

and powerful mass movements by uniting all the revolutionary and democratic organisations, forces and individuals and the vast masses. Attacks on religious minorities and atrocities against dalits will increase. Progressive intellectuals and movements will be targeted. Contradictions among the ruling classes will also sharpen as a fall out of the drive to Hindu fascism and the concentration of government power in the hands of a small coterie close to Modi. The stealthy attempt to impose 'Hindi-Hindu-Hindustan' on all the nationalities will bring up more opposition. All of this will provide new and diverse opportunities to unite a broad array of forces in struggle.

The Modi regime is aggressively pushing the LPG agenda and the neocolonial grip is tightening. It seeks to cover this up with false talk of nationalism. This nationalist posture of the Sangh Parivar must be challenged by facts about the wholesale sell-out of the country by the Modi government. Wide and concrete propaganda must be carried out to expose the real pro-imperialist, pro-feudal nature of Modi's agenda.

A new phase of Operation Green Hunt has started. The Modi regime will also be stepping up attacks on national liberation movements and people's movements. This attack on the people will be accompanied by more draconian laws, blatant violation of even formal justice, and more brutal persecution of political prisoners and suppression of activists who take up such issues. We must energetically intervene in such issues. There is good potential for building and strengthening civil rights/human rights movements in a broad manner. We must try to unite them with the ongoing activities against Operation Green Hunt and the defence of political prisoners' rights.

The aggressive promotion of Modi's 'development' agenda will see an unprecedented level of displacement. The very existence of the adivasis will be severely threatened. This will bring forward mass struggles. We should actively intervene in these, either directly through suitable forms or by playing a supportive role. We must keep in mind that it has the potential to give rise to a massive mass movement.

The aggressive neo-liberal policies of the Modi government will intensify the hardships faced by the peasantry, workers, government employees, and various sections like women, student, and youth. We must pay attention to intervene in such issues and organise the people in struggles.

To overcome the situation we are facing today, we must protect our subjective forces, consolidate them, strengthen our mass base and thus advance the protracted people's war more powerfully. The new situation emerging after the coming of the Modi regime must be utilised in this direction. It no doubt brings up serious challenges, but it also brings even more opportunities. We must boldly go more deeply and broadly among the different oppressed classes and sections of the people, mobilise them politically and unite them in struggle. We must respond to each and every anti-people, anti-country policy and measure of the Modi government, persistently expose them, mobilise all the people in struggles against it, and strive to link them up with the ongoing protracted people's war. We must go all out and seize these opportunities. □

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Continued from page 8

violence.

This period is a defining moment in Indian politics. Violence was liberated from stigma. Its validity, or otherwise, would now be debated on its merits — violence for whom, for what aim. Violence could no longer be the ultimate shame-word, the silencer of opposition, as in “but how can you justify violence?” Its denial had to be argued out. The new quality of the times was well seen in the wake of the Mukaram battle where 76 state forces were wiped out by the PLGA. Sensing an opening, the Indian rulers and their ideological apparatuses went on an offensive, trying to corner the critics of its ‘war on people’ and force them to come out with condemnations. Some kneeled over, but quite a few refused to back off. If anything, the attack allowed some among them to elaborate on the need to recast the whole ‘non-violence/violence’ debate and take it away from its hypocritically moralist frame.

Though couched in such terms this turn actually denotes an emerging polarisation in Indian politics. It signifies the countrywide political impact of the people’s war. This is as yet still to be clearly defined. Its various aspects and their implications are yet to be revealed. Nevertheless, it has definitely come into being and is sustaining. Many strands of opposition have gone into its making. Quite a number of them are stoutly opposed to the very idea of communism, let alone a violent revolution to realise it. Another section believes Marxism to be outdated. Despite this, all unite in opposing the ‘war on people’; all agree that the war led by a Maoist party has been the most effective in obstructing the rapacious plunder of the rulers and their foreign rulers. Apart from this, there is of course a large section who broadly sympathise with the people’s war, all the more so because its main force come from the most oppressed adivasis. But what needs to be understood, explained, are the factors that push the former, the formal opponents of Marxism, to a broad unity against the Indian state. They are rooted in objective developments, the rapid working out of the destructive and plundering dynamics of imperialist globalisation inaugurated in the early 1990s.

While everything done in the name of development since 1947 had their ultimate impulses in imperialist neocolonial policies, it was carefully packaged in ‘national’ terms, as the building of a self-reliant India. With the advent of globalisation, and its privatisation and liberalisation, that has been done away with. Now development is judged in terms of foreign capital invested and integration with the world market. National interests are posed as the gaining of recognition as a major international player, even when that calls for becoming more subservient to imperialism and opening up all of the country to its plunder and exploitation. This naked push of imperialist, comprador interests, the blatant sell out of resources, the soaring

levels of corruption that accompanies it and the wholesale attack on people to realise it has aroused broad opposition. No matter what the views on communism and all that, the role of the people’s war as the solid force blocking the plans of the rulers is too obvious to ignore. That is the broad sentiment which draws this array of forces to join up in resisting the Indian state’s ‘war on people’.

Within it there is a small but vocal and significant section that goes beyond this. It realises, at least in a broad manner, that the defence of resources and livelihood of the people, of a distinct way of life by the adivasis, is possible precisely because an armed struggle to create a new society and its political power is being waged. The new in Indian politics is located here. This is what gives the broad resistance stubbornness, continuity, despite its amorphous nature. What is indicated is the possibility of a deeper and broader polarisation, to go beyond a vague recognition of the central role of the revolutionary struggle for a new political power, towards a conscious acceptance that this is the only way out for this country. The realisation of that potential crucially depends on the successful advance of the protracted people’s war and an even more forceful and categorical projection of the new state and society it is building. It demands a deeper grasp of this revolutionary war as a total war, and its propagation of it as such.

This is a total assault on the existing system and its political power, aimed at its complete destruction, in each and every sphere of social life. Therefore it must necessarily be merciless in execution. However that does not mean brutality or pre-empt concern for human rights. This needs elaboration, particularly since this issue is quite live among a segment of people, who potentially form an important part of the

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support base of the people's war.

To begin with we must be clear that the issue is not human rights in general, but of addressing it in the specific context of a revolutionary civil war. Every war, operating on the basic principle of 'preserve oneself and destroy the enemy', involves the destruction of human life on a pretty large scale. Pacifists denounce war precisely for this reason. However good intentioned their concern for human life may be, their position amounts to discounting the enormous devastation of human life that takes place as part of the normal, day-to-day, functioning of an exploitative system. Their opposition reduces to advising the people to cope up with their misery or, at best, to seek reforms but never liberation. The views of those who wish to conceive human rights as intrinsically given by some eternal human values also share in this. They will expand the concept of human rights beyond constitutional rights to include the right to livelihood and such other social aspects. But, by deriving this from some absolute human values standing above time, and given by human existence as such, they deny the historical construction of the very concept of humanity and its close relation to the class struggles that have propelled humanity's advance. This ends up in opposing revolutionary violence, the ultimate weapon of class struggle.

The communist party organises and leads an armed revolution with the conscious and declared aim of overturning the exploitative system. While doing this it does not ignore the cost in human lives. It understands this as an inevitable price humanity must pay to end wars once and forever. Mao Tsetung explained it thus, "War, this monster of mutual slaughter among men, will be finally eliminated by the progress of human society, and in the not too distant future too. But there is

only one way to eliminate it and that is to oppose war with war, to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war, to oppose national counter-revolutionary war with national revolutionary war, and to oppose counter-revolutionary class war with revolutionary class war. . . . When human society advances to the point where classes and states are eliminated, there will be no more wars, counter-revolutionary or revolutionary, unjust or just; that will be the era of perpetual peace for mankind. Our study of the laws of revolutionary war springs from the desire to eliminate all wars; herein lies the distinction between us Communists and all the exploiting classes."

This distinction means that the class approach of the proletariat on war is, and must be, totally different from those of exploiting classes. The wars waged by these classes serve the purpose of establishing one or the other form of exploitation. But the force which it mobilises and deploys is overwhelmingly composed of the exploited. Therefore the true aim of the war it wages must be concealed and it must be legitimised through deceit. The compulsions faced by the proletariat in waging its war are diametrically opposed to this. The success of its war cannot be judged solely in terms of the defeat of the enemy. That success must lay the grounds, generate values, for advancing towards a classless society which will end all war. Its war aims must be transparent and it must make the force it mobilises as conscious of them as possible. This is all the more necessary because it must wage the war as part of a self-transformatory process. Marx and Engels pointed out, "Both for the production on a mass scale of this communist consciousness, and for the success of the cause itself, the alternation of men on a mass scale is necessary, an alteration which can only take place in a practical movement, a revolution; this revolution is necessary, therefore, not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class overthrowing it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew." Drawing on this guidance and the experiences of China's revolutionary war, Mao wrote, "Revolutionary war is an antitoxin which not only eliminates the enemy's poison but also purges us of our own filth. Every just, revolutionary war is endowed with tremendous power, which can transform many things or clear the way for their transformation."

It follows that the way the proletariat and its allies wage a war must necessarily be different from that of the exploited classes. This is well expressed in the Three and Eight rules formulated by Mao Tsetung for the Chinese Red Army and followed by all People's Armies — obey orders in all your actions; don't take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses; turn in everything captured; speak politely; pay fairly for what you buy; return everything you borrow; pay for anything you damage; do not hit or swear at people; do not damage crops; do not take liberties with women; do not ill-treat captives. These guidelines regulate the relations of the People's Army with the people and with the

captured troops of the enemy. They are not some tactical measures adopted for public relations, like Civic Action Programmes implemented by the Indian state as part of its US inspired Low Intensity Conflict (LIC) strategy. The disciplinary guidelines followed by the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA) are not a 'winning hearts and minds' programme. The proletariat is not out to 'win the hearts and minds' of the masses. Rather it needs to make them conscious of the reasons for the horrors of their lives and the need to join the people's war to destroy the social system responsible for it. The guidelines laid down by Mao flow from a profound ideological conviction that the war must be waged in a manner conducive to the world emancipatory mission of the proletariat. It must be guided by values commiserate with that mission. The people's war must promote and instil them.

The CPI (Maoist) trains its membership, the combatants of the PLGA and cadre of the Revolutionary People's Committees and revolutionary mass organisations in this approach. It does not condone torture of captured enemy troops. The party does not rule out execution of captured enemy troops or covert agents found guilty of grave crimes against the people. These are war crimes and they must be punished firmly as a deterring measure for the protection of the people. But it does not condone their execution, except in the case of those who have committed grave crimes like rape. In case where punishment is called for that is done following the due process of trial and verdict by a people's court. Even in the case of people recruited by the enemy to infiltrate the revolutionary movement or spy on it and have caused great harm, it puts them up for trial before the masses and abides by their verdict. Where possible this is done after political exposure. But that can't be made a die hard rule, especially in the case of enemy spies. Quick and sudden action will be necessary at times. If the question is of the validity of such a process, of the right of the party and the revolutionary masses it leads to arrest, try and punish such people, the answer is quite simple — it is as valid and legitimate as the right of the people to revolt, breaking the laws of an exploiting state and building a new society in that process. And if the question is, what if mistakes are made, the answer is quite straight forward — yes grievous mistakes can happen. All effort must be made to avoid them. But this cannot be made a reason to abjure the right of the revolutionary party to take pre-emptive action. As Mao put it, a revolution is not a tea party.

The PLGA pays attention not to cause harm to the masses while carrying out military actions. Now, it is not the case that the approach of the party is fully imbibed or followed to the letter. Aberrations happen due to wrong thinking. Unforeseen losses are also possible. This is a grievous matter seen self-critically and a topic of continuous political education. When such mistakes happen the party makes it a point to publicly admit it and apologise. But any observer of the people's war as opposed to the 'war on the people' carried out by the Indian state will surely admit

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that the PLGA's record in this is incomparably far superior to that of the Indian forces whose very mode of operation intrinsically encourages rape, torture and murder of captured combatants and the masses and destruction of their means of livelihood.

The brutality of reactionary armies the world over, particularly when they are engaged in suppressing revolutionary movements, stands in stark opposition to the various treaties adopted by their states governing the conduct of wars. The various Geneva Conventions and additional Protocols are the most prominent ones among such treaties. They provide for the protection of sick and wounded soldiers, insist that prisoners of war should not be tortured or ill-treated, and prohibit the murder, torture, hostage-taking, and extra-judicial sentencing and executions of civilians. Protocol I extends the law relating to protections of victims of armed conflicts to situations where people are fighting in the exercise of their right of self-determination against colonial domination, foreign occupation, or racist regimes. Protocol II extends protection to victims of internal conflicts in which an armed opposition controls enough territory to enable it to carry out sustained military operations. The US has refused to ratify these Protocols precisely because they offer protection to those waging national liberation wars or revolutionary wars. The Indian state too has not ratified them. Even in the case of countries that have ratified all the

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Geneva Conventions and Protocols they have violated them with impunity when it suited them. In the ongoing imperialist invasion and occupation of Afghanistan the US declared those captured by it as 'unlawful combatants' and denied them the rights supposed to be guaranteed by the Geneva Conventions.

The victors of reactionary wars make it a point to prosecute and punish the vanquished of war crimes, as defined by such treaties. They of course cover up the crimes committed by their troops and their own culpability. The illegal detention of thousands of Japanese-Americans in concentration camps in the US, the aerial bombing of protesting masses in Medinipur (Paschim Banga) and Wasiristan during the 1942 Quit India movement by the British, carpet bombing of civilian areas in German cities by Allied air forces, or the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the US despite knowing that Japan is on the verge of surrendering are no less crimes against humanity than those committed by the Germans, Italians or Japanese states during the 2<sup>nd</sup> world war. But they were never put on trial for war crimes. This blatant misuse of such treaties is repeatedly seen, all the way up till the ongoing trial of Serbian leaders in the International Court of Justice at the Hague.

This hypocritical record is inherent in the reactionary nature of the wars waged by the exploiting classes. Compared to this the approach of the Maoist forces, as defined by Mao Tsetung's 'Three and Eight' rules is qualitatively superior precisely due to the class outlook guiding them. In the current situation in India where an armed revolution is facing an armed counter-revolution the best criteria for measuring respect for the rights of prisoners of war and non-combatants are these guidelines. The Geneva Conventions and Protocols can be of use to expose the Indian state's violation of accepted

### The Eight Points for Attention

- (1) Speak politely.
- (2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
- (3) Return everything you borrow.
- (4) Pay for anything you damage.
- (5) Do not hit or swear at people.
- (6) Do not damage crops.
- (7) Do not take liberties with women.
- (8) Do not ill-treat captives.

### The Three Main Rules of Discipline

- (1) Obey orders in all your actions.
- (2) Don't take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses.
- (3) Turn in everything captured.

international norms, even if they are nominal. But the demand to make them the yardstick of conducting the revolutionary war would be a step back from the heights of awareness achieved on this matter by Maoism.

Some friends of the revolution hold the view that a declaration of adherence to the Geneva Conventions by the CPI (Maoist) would be to its advantage. It is presumed that this will help put pressure on the Indian state to ratify the Geneva Protocols and pave the way for the formal recognition of the armed struggle as a civil war. As pointed out earlier, the Maoist approach on war upheld and implemented by the party is far superior to the Geneva Protocols. Besides, is it all that necessary to take this route for bringing out the character of the people's war as a revolutionary civil war? The state – when it chooses to imprison Maoists rather than murder them and fabricate an encounter story – charges those arrested with the crime of 'waging war against the Indian state'. The war is thus acknowledged for the purpose of prosecution, even when it is denied a political status. With the exception of Paschim Banga, Maoist prisoners are denied the status and rights of political prisoners despite the obvious political character of the act of 'waging war against a state'. As for unlawful detentions, torture, disappearances and false encounters, one need not appeal to the Geneva Convention. They are illegal acts by the very provisions of Indian law.

The CPI (Maoist) and all those led by it are engaged in a total war against the Indian state. Therefore, those captured (arrested) are prisoners of war. Given the political character of this war they should be given additional rights as political prisoners. It would be better if human rights activists and friends of the revolution focus on this demand, well within existing Indian law, rather than on adherence by the revolutionary party to the Geneva Convention. □

Continued from page 10

## A Decade of ‘Developing’ Displacement

*From the early 1950s to the early 1990s, 18.5 to 20 million people are estimated to have lost their agricultural and homestead land due to so-called development projects in the country. Between 1950 and 1993, 62,264 hectares of land were acquired in the State of Odisha for mines, industry and dams. This displaced 1,442 villages and 81,172 households.*

Not surprisingly, the amount of land the exploited classes – particularly the poor peasants and the landless rural masses – have acquired due to the official land reform programmes or won through their militant struggles, pales into insignificance when compared to the amount of land they have lost to their three main oppressors – the big landlords, comprador big capitalists and the imperialists. As the land question in the country remains unresolved in the absence of revolutionary land redistribution, dalit agricultural workers continue to be deprived of land, while the tribal poor peasants continue to lose whatever land they possess.

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*Over 40% of the people displaced between 1950 and 1990 are tribal peoples, though they constitute only 8% of India’s total population. In 1951, tribal peoples comprised 36.81% of the population of the State of Bihar, one of the favourite destinations of mining companies. By 1991, they were reduced to 27.66%. Genocides would not be very different from this.*

A mining company named Trans World Services has been trying to get permission to mine China clay at the mainly adivasi populated Manyam area in Visakha District (AP) since five, six years. To get past legal hurdles it filed for and got permission in the name of an adivasi woman. The adivasis came to know the facts only by March 2011. On May 10, when officials tried to conduct a sham opinion gathering meeting in Sarai, hundreds of women, men and children from the surrounding areas carrying bows, arrows, knives and axes gathered at the village. They blocked the roads. Sensing their seething anger the meeting was cancelled by the officials at the last minute as they did not dare to face the wrath of the people. At that time, local MLA Siveri Soma and MP Danne Rao (both belonging to the Telugu Desam Party) arrived on the scene. The anger of the people knew no bounds. They surrounded the MP who began running for his life. Women chased him for about one kilometer and hurled dung and stones at him. Soma’s vehicle was destroyed. Somehow managing to convince the people that he is opposed to this mining he escaped. The people conducted a meeting and took a vow that they would preserve their lands with their lives and demanded that the lease be annulled. When the police booked cases they declared that no officials coming for China clay mining or police coming to make arrests would be allowed into the villages. Manyam bandh was conducted to protest police cases. Women, men and children carrying their traditional weapons kept watch by blocking roads so as not to allow any new persons from entering into their villages. A massive rally was conducted in Visakhapatnam and people participated in it carrying their traditional weapons. They sat in dharna in front of the collectorate for three hours. They loudly declared their opposition to the mining and demanded the annulment of the lease given for it.

Mocking at the belaboured arguments of ruling class economists that landlordism has disappeared and that there is increasing land fragmentation, land is getting increasingly concentrated in the hands of the richest 5% of the population. The old landlords have had their princely states, zamindaris and estates. The new ‘landlords’ have their mines, hills, dams, forests, factory grounds, real estate ‘land banks’, SEZs, airports; they have even bought islands and rivers. The old landlords dispossess the peasants from their land and turn them into tenants on their own land. The new ‘landlords’ dispossess the peasants of their homes and hearths and throw them onto the street, leaving them as paupers. The fact is, only the forms of landlordism have changed to some extent, not its essence.

*The Land and Land Revenue Minister of the last West Bengal government led by CPI(M) revealed in the State assembly that the government has acquired 1,20,000 acres of agricultural land for industry and urbanisation in five years [2003-2008]. He further stated that his government was planning to give more than 1,00,000 acres of farmland to various domestic and foreign companies and real estate promoters in the next five years [2009-13].*

After the floodgates of pro-imperialist policies were opened by the Indian ruling classes in the form of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation in the early 1990s, the trend towards concentration of land has further intensified. ‘Development’ has replaced ‘nationalisation’ as the banner of the displacement juggernaut that steamrolls rural and urban poor alike. In the name of ending ‘license & permit raj’, whatever namesake

barriers were in place against unrestricted exploitation of cheap labour and uninhibited acquisition of land and other natural resources belonging to the people are being rapidly pulled down. The land and its resources are thrown open to foreign monopoly capitalists and their domestic compradors — the Indian big bourgeoisie. As the experience of the last two decades of a 'liberalised' India amply demonstrates, by robbing and pauperising the vast masses the ruling classes have enriched themselves and concentrated the means of production at a scale that would even shame the colonial marauders.

*After the LPG policies were adopted by the Indian government, coalmines were allocated to private companies by making amendments to the laws. In accordance with the National Mineral Policy 1993, 100% foreign investment was allowed in the mining sector. Thirteen minerals, earlier reserved for the public sector, were opened up for to private sector. Taking ownership of coal blocks at a pittance, dispossessing people from the land designated as coal blocks, not to speak of rapacious excavation of coal — this was nothing short of daylight robbery. The Supreme Court has declared 218 coal block allocations made since 1993, i.e., from the beginning of the neo-liberal phase, as arbitrary and illegal. This period covers the rule of both UPA and NDA governments.*

In its bid to attract foreign and domestic capital, land which hid rich deposits of minerals in its bosom were handed over to big capitalists, synonymous to a sell-out of the country and mortgage of the interest of its people. An undisclosed number of MoUs worth several billion dollars have been concluded by the Central and various State governments in the post-liberalisation period, and particularly in the last ten years. So the dispossession of adivasi peoples and the landlessness of the dalits have not only continued in the last two decades; it has in fact exacerbated. Massive land alienation among the poor peasantry, displacement and deterioration in their material wellbeing are its immediate results, while the loss of cultural identity, dignity and ways of life are some of its irreversible long-term effects.

*According to one estimate, about 4.7 million hectares of forestland has been occupied by the Chhattisgarh government in the last one decade, displacing about 15 lakh tribal inhabitants. In Odisha, the land pledged to different companies had already crossed 1,00,000 acres by October 2006. This is in addition to the land the companies have already got for mines.*

The increasing requirement of energy for mega industrial plants and manufacturing units, construction in burgeoning cities and megacities, and similar projects, all of which are indices of lopsided, anti-people, pro-imperialist destructive development policies has pushed up the demand for electricity in the last few decades. The two major sources of electricity — hydropower generated by big dams and thermal power generated by burning coal — have been two of the most important causes of displacement in the country.

*The number of people displaced on account of various 'development' projects in Jharkhand (till 2007):*

<i>Coal mining</i>	<i>2,68,588</i>
<i>Dams</i>	<i>2,32,968</i>
<i>Industries</i>	<i>2,18,091</i>
<i>Mineral excavation</i>	<i>1,34,295</i>
<i>Wildlife sanctuaries</i>	<i>5,09,918</i>
<i>National Parks</i>	<i>50,000</i>
<i>Roads and buildings</i>	<i>50,000</i>

Two-thirds of India's mineral resources exist in the three States of Odisha, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh, and it is in these three that the mining sharks from across the world and their domestic compradors have set their eyes on. Most of the mineral-rich areas are also the lands of the adivasis.

*The Naveen Patnaik led Odisha government signed a MoU with South Korean steel giant Pohang Steel Corporation (Posco) on 22nd June 2005 for a steel plant and a captive port on the east coast in Jagatsinghpur district. 22,000 people of seven villages are going to be displaced. This project is billed as India's largest foreign direct investment till date, bringing in a massive 12 billion dollars (Rs. 51,000 crores). Posco asked for 4,004*

*acres of land for its project, and by now has completed its land acquisition by crushing the peaceful, non-violent resistance of the people of the threatened villages through brute force. From local politicians and the State's Chief Minister to former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, all showed keen interest in getting the project going at all costs.*

*Encouraged by the super-profits that lie in store, Posco has planned more steel plants in Odisha, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh with an additional investment of 27 billion dollars. This is more than India's total FDI inflow since 1991. With such high stakes, the response of the governments to any form of people's resistance to these projects can easily be imagined.*

Tata's Nano small care project at Singur in Hooghly district of Paschim Banga was declared in 2006. It threatened to displace 11,000 families or 50,000 people. They were mostly poor and middle peasants who were primarily dependent on the agricultural income from their multi-crop land which the CPI(M) led Bengal government wanted to acquire for the Tatas. Though the government cordoned off the 997 acres of land and the construction of the plant was started, the government had to finally withdraw bowing to the resistance of Singur's peasants. Tata shifted its factory to Gujarat, where land was acquired from peasants and given to it by the Narendra Modi government.

First, 41 villages and later, an additional 65 more villages are being razed down for setting up New Raipur - a glittering new capital region for Chhattisgarh's capital city.

In Kalinga Nagar of Odisha's Jajpur district, Tata Steel has been trying to build a large steel plant on 2,500 acres of land. This project will displace 15 villages and 15,000 people. On 1 January 2006, 13 adivasi protestors were shot dead and their bodies mutilated by the police.

But this is not all. Land has been acquired all over the country for plants and factories, infrastructural projects like roads, railways, metros, ports, airports, residential colonies and cities— all of which have led to forced displacement.

One of the insidious measures introduced by the ruling classes in the last decade to intensify the concentration of land by displacing peasants and other toiling classes is the setting up of Special Economic Zones (SEZs). The SEZ Act was passed in 2005. The Board of Approval (BoA) constituted under this Act cleared 148 of the 166 proposals in its first meeting itself. By October 2006, the BoA had given 'formal approval' to 232 SEZ projects across the country and 'in principle' approval to another 149. Such was the hurry to introduce these large industrial enclaves. The total land already acquired or to be acquired for the 181 projects is around 30,000 hectares. Including the land required for the 'in-principle' approvals and for those that are 'under consideration', the total would add up to a massive 1.25 lakh hectares. SEZs are virtually foreign territories controlled and run by private corporations as their fiefdoms. Regular laws of the land cease to operate within its four walls. While the entire world has only 2000 SEZs and China only six, India has crossed 200 approvals within a year of passing the Act.

The most talked-about SEZ in the last decade was that of Nandigram — a block of 38 villages located in a coastal area of East Medinipur district, Paschim Banga, 150 kilometers southwest of Kolkata. Approximately 27,000 acres of agricultural land were to be acquired for a 'mega chemical hub', a ship-building centre and allied industries. This SEZ threatened to displace 95,000 people. A total of 130 schools, 112 temples, and 42 mosques were to be razed. The developer chosen by the CPM led government was the Salem group of Indonesia, whose founder was a close supporter of the Suharto military dictatorship that massacred over one million members and supporters of the Communist Party of Indonesia. After a year of brutal state repression and bitter armed resistance, after a number of deaths in pitched battles and hundreds of arrests, CPM's Nandigram SEZ was thrown out by the people – a precursor to CPM itself being booted out of power in 2011.

In addition, people have been displaced due to the setting up of forest reserves, national parks and wildlife sanctuaries. Once an area is declared as coming in one of these categories, people, who have been living in and around forests for generations, are declared encroachers and criminals and the government moves in to throw them out or punish them. Those who depend on the forests for their daily necessities and to supplement their income have been systematically denied access to the forests by the government by enclosing them in such reserves, parks and sanctuaries.

*Forest Survey of India of 1999 notes that an estimated 1.7 lakh villages with a total population of 14.7 crores live near forest areas. At present, there are 87 National Parks (total area of 40.6 lakh hectares) and 485 wildlife sanctuaries (total area of 115.4 lakh hectares). This amounts to 4.75% of the total geographic area of the entire country, and are in addition to the area under Reserved Forests. Between 1950 and 1980, 43 lakh hectares of forest land were diverted for non-forestry purposes. Only half of this was for agriculture. The rest was for 'development' works.*

The largest, most vicious and brutal displacement campaign in the history of 'independent' India for serving domestic and foreign big mining interests also took place in the last ten years. It came in the form of the fascist Salwa Judum (SJ), accompanying the counter-revolutionary war of the Indian state to suppress the revolutionary war led by the CPI (Maoist) and destroy the new power that is emerging. The very next day after the Chhattisgarh government concluded secret MoUs with Tata and Essar, giving them the right of exploiting mineral resources of South Bastar in mid-2005, the launching of SJ was declared. Tata and Essar contributed funds for it.

*As per 2001 government records, the population of Dantewada and Bijapur Districts was 7.19 lakhs, residing in about 1200 villages. Of them, more than 78 percent were adivasis. Between June 2005 when Salwa Judum was initiated and 2009 when it was decisively defeated, 644 villages or half of all the villages of these two districts were destroyed by SJ goons and the state's police-paramilitary forces. Half of the people of the two Districts, or 3.5 lakh adivasi peasants, were displaced, some of them permanently. While about 47,000 were hoarded into roadside camps set up by the State government, another 40,000 or so fled to the forest areas of Andhra Pradesh. The remaining 2,63,000 villagers abandoned their villages and took shelter in the safety of the forests.*

The Indian state provided all the necessary support to SJ, while the imperialist powers, most notably the US, did everything it could, remaining behind the curtains, to make this campaign a success.

*In 2006, two officers of the American Consulate in India, one heading its Commerce Wing and the other a Regional Security Advisor, had visited Kanker and Raipur and offered the Chief Minister American assistance in dealing with the State's 'insurgency problem'. In 2009, Michael Neville, the then chief of Economic and Political Affairs, and William Inman, a US Regional Security Officer, visited Kanker and Raipur with a similar objective.*

With a similar aim, a series of ground-clearing operations have been carried out in the Saranda forests of Jharkhand. Saranda is rich in minerals and parts of it has already been mined for iron-ore, coal etc. 'Operation Anaconda' was a massive encirclement and suppression campaign carried out in 2011 involving thousands of paramilitary and police troops, forcing the residents of some of the villages to hide in the forests. Atrocities were committed on the villagers and many were arrested. Complementing these armed operations was Saranda Action Plan – an extensive government-sponsored reform programme to lure the people away from the path of revolution and facilitate the unhindered acquisition of their land for extractive industries like mining, for which MoUs have already been conducted.

Such has been the brazenness of the dispossession of the peasantry from their land in the last decade by government-owned and private companies that it has been termed by a government-appointed committee as the biggest land grab ever after Columbus. When added to the dispossession of the urban poor – industrial workers, peddlers and hawkers, the slum-dwelling semi-proletariat, migrant workers and others – in the name of urban development, beautification, etc., this reveals a staggering all-out attack on the country's labouring classes. The violence and loss inflicted by this process on the poor peasants and the landless workers, mostly belonging to the adivasis, the dalits and the Backward Castes, has increased in proportion.

Thus, the last ten years have witnessed growing state repression on the people, particularly the peasants, in the process of forcible land acquisition, including cold-blooded murder in police firing of protestors defending their land. This is exemplified by Kalinga Nagar, Kashipur, Nandigram, Sompetta etc. The fail-



ures of some of the people's movements in the last decade, as the one against Sardar Sarovar Dam or the anti-Posco movement have not dampened the spirit of resistance. The slogan, 'Zaan Denge, Zameen Nahi Denge' ('We will give up our life but not our land'), reverberated in different corners of the country, displaying a firm resolve of the peasants to dig-in and fight in defence of their land.

In the tens years that have gone by, the question of displacement, and thereby the land question, has once again been brought to the forefront. People's resistance movements brought valuable lessons and experience. A series of successful movements – militant, and at times, armed – have, in the

last few years, forced the ruling classes on the back-foot. Singur, Nandigram, Niyamgiri, Surjagarh, Bodhghat, Koel-Karo, Raoghat, Gandhamardan, Salboni, Sompetta, Batta Parsaul, Korchi are but a few successful models of people's resistance against forcible acquisition of land and displacement. Most of them have been strengthened by the active support of the Maoist movement and the PLGA. The draconian nature of the colonial Land Acquisition Act was thoroughly exposed by these struggles. This forced the rulers to come up with new laws, such as the so-called Right to Fair Compensation, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act. Though this is mainly a change in nomenclature, the fact that the rulers were forced to bring a new Act and accept some minor reform in the old one is a marker of the significant achievements of the people's movements in the country and of its peasant masses in particular. More importantly, in large parts of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Odisha, where the masses are organised and politically aroused and backed by revolutionary armed force, no new project that threatens displacement has been allowed to take off in the last decade.

*“Lakshmi Mittal of Arcelor fame is finally about to deliver on his promise to invest in his home country. The plans he has unveiled are mind-boggling: Rs 1,00,000 crore (\$24 billion) to be invested in two steel plants and iron ore mines in Jharkhand and Odisha that will produce 24 million tonnes of steel when they come on stream. Planning for the project is going well: all that remains is to identify a source of iron ore for its Odisha plant. Herein lies the rub. For, if the Maoist insurgency in central India continues to develop at its present speed, he may never find the iron ore he needs to operate his plants” - Prem Shankar Jha, Outlook.*

But India's rapacious ruling classes and their imperialist masters, mired as they are in a deep economic crisis, will not sit idle. They are devising ever-new means to rob and exploit the people. If fresh attempts to begin the construction of Polavaram dam that threatens the submergence of nearly 500 villages and tens of thousands of adivasis spread over Telangana, AP, Odisha and Chhattisgarh is one such attempt, allotting 21 more battalions of para-military to open mines in the Raoghat area of Chhattisgarh is another. The Indian state threatens to displace thousands of Maria adivasis by opening an Army Training School in Chhattisgarh's Maad.

*750 square kilometres of land belonging to 90 villages of 14 panchayats in Maad, Narayanpur District, Chhattisgarh, have been allotted for a proposed Army Training School. This is nearly one-fourth of the entire 'Abhuj' Maad. There was neither any consultation with the adivasi masses nor any prior discussion with the tribal social organisations. The constitutional rights given to the adivasis under PESA or the Fifth Schedule as well as the international conventions guaranteeing the rights of tribal people, are being flouted with impunity. In*

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*May 2011, 1,700 soldiers of Indian army's Mountain Brigade put their foot in Bastar for the first time. Subsequently, many batches have received training.*

So, though some battles have been won, the war is far from over. If anything, this war over land – and by extension, over *jal-jangal-zameen* – will be fought with more intensity over an ever-expanding battlefield in the days ahead. While the immediate aim of people's movements against displacement would be to prevent land alienation wherever it is threatened, these movements will need to be linked up with the armed agrarian revolution, which includes the struggle for land, in order to put a decisive end to forced displacement.

*The People's Democratic state established through the New Democratic Revolution "will confiscate all the banks, business enterprises and companies of imperialist capital... It will confiscate all enterprises' capital and movable and immovable properties of the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie... It will confiscate all land belonging to the landlords and religious institutions and will redistribute it among the landless poor peasants and agricultural labourers on the basis of the slogan of 'land to the tillers'" Party Programme, CPI (Maoist)*

Only by realising the revolutionary slogans of 'Land to the Tiller' and 'All Power to the Revolutionary People's Committees', the basic rallying cry of the armed agrarian revolution, can the land-gobbling ruling classes be crushed. Only with the protracted people's war can the land in their clutches be freed and harnessed in the service of the masses. Only by establishing new democratic power can the menace of forced displacement be consigned to the museum as a relic of the inhuman and dehumanising semi-colonial, semi-feudal system. Revolutionary Bihar-Jharkhand and Dandakaranya, where the seeds of this new political power is sprouting, has proved this in practice in the last ten years. The coming years, bringing with them newer challenges, will surely bring newer victories to the people. □





Lalgarh; Kalinganagar



## The NBA Model of Struggle, or How We Must Not Fight Displacement

The two-decade long Namada Bachao Andolan (NBA) has no doubt brought into focus the massive displacement of villagers, particularly tribals, by such large projects ... But the question that arises and that needs serious attention is that what have they really achieved over these two decades? Has this path of non-violence given them any real relief let alone the stopping of the dam or restricting its height? ... the example of the NBA struggle, as with many others, has conclusively shown that the people cannot get justice either through non-violent protest or through legal action. In fact on many occasions peaceful agitators have been mowed down in cold blood as were the tribals of Kalinganagar, the peasants of Rajasthan or the workers of Gurgaon. On the other hand many projects in Chhattisgarh have been stalled for years (like the proposed iron ore mines at Raoghat) due to militant opposition of the masses led by the Maoists.

Today, it is quite clear to all that the NBA path of non-violence is at a dead end and it is time for all those associated with it and similar agitations to seriously reflect on what went wrong. Particularly the NBA had whipped up large support not only throughout the country but also internationally. Yet it could not achieve even its minimum goals. The reason for this is an incorrect understanding of the forces they are dealing with. The monstrous rulers and the moneybags who prop them up may be very civil in appearance but they are nothing but *Rakshasas* when their interests are hit. Touch even one paisa of their profit and they are ready to kill. They have contempt for all such peaceful struggles and could not care about them. They pour scorn on such passive, impotent attempts to try and counter them. They only fear the masses that are united and ready to take them on in the only language they know — violently. But, for that it requires a much greater readiness for sacrifice on the part of the leadership; very often it is this that they are not ready for.

Today, the question of displacement is going to be one of the biggest issues facing the country with gigantic comprador/imperialist projects (mining, dams, national parks, urban beautification projects, hitech parks, etc) coming up all over the country. Lakhs and lakhs are being displaced and crores more will be displaced in the days to come. The impact on the country is going to be colossal. There is an urgent and burning need for all progressives, democrats and revolutionaries to come together and actively resist not only these projects but the very model of development — a product of imperialist dictates.”

from People’s March, May-June 2006



Continued from page 3

## A Call to the People of India

access to literature and news, limiting or even preventing family visits and obstructing legal rights.

Why should we live in this hell?

The rulers accuse us of violence, of destruction. But what about the violence of this society they protect? Isn't their social system a continuous assault on human existence? When will they account for the countless lives destroyed every minute, or the living dead who barely manage to exist? Where will they answer for the destruction and havoc they create in society and the environment? Our violence is a just reply to this. What we destroy is this human-devouring system, its values and culture. But this is not some mindless act. With the participation and support of the vast masses of the oppressed people of this country, the PLGA led by our party destroys to create. Its violence is purposeful. It is ploughing up the land to clear out anti-people and obsolete relations, structures and institutions. Together with the masses, it plants and builds a new political power, a new social order. These now exist at the primary level as Revolutionary People's Committees (popularly known as Krantikari Janatana Sarkars, Krantikari Jan Committees or Viplava Praja Committees) in the guerrilla bases of Central and Eastern India.

These centres of new political power are as yet mere specs in this vast land. But they already make possible a meaningful life, vibrant with the strength of cooperation, collectivity, rich in values of humane care and concern. They realise the centuries old dream of the exploited to be their own masters. They ensure land to the peasantry. They allow the adivasis to foster the new while nurturing their distinctiveness. They enable the dalits to live a life of dignity. They create space for women by supporting their struggle for liberation. This is the promise of a future for India — a democratic, sovereign, federal, people's republic; self-reliant, just and equitable. This is what is possible if we dare to fight and reach for the heights.

What is this new society? What has it already achieved?

In these villages the Indian state has been destroyed. The outdated authority of feudals and those tribal elders, who lorded over people, has come to an end. The bondage of caste has been smashed and ground prepared for its annihilation. Organs of people's political power were established. This new democratic power is the biggest success achieved by the people through people's war. The Revolutionary People's Committee at village level, with 9 to 11 members, is directly elected every three years by all adults, except a few who oppose people and stand in support of the reactionary state and their armed forces and gangs. The voters have the 'Right to recall'. Women have right over half of the political power through equal representation. The people have all the fundamental democratic rights — - Right to meet, Right to form organization, Right to conduct strikes and demonstrations, Right to live according to one's wish, Right to primary education, Right to primary medical treatment, Right to gain minimum employment, etc.

The RPC addresses all aspects of the people's lives through its defence, finance, agriculture, trade and industry, judicial, education and culture, health and social welfare, forest protection and public relations departments.

On the basis of 'Land to the Tiller' forest lands were distributed by the RPC to all those who have no land or have scant land. Where people are well organised, women own half of the

*In these villages the Indian state has been destroyed. The outdated authority of feudals and those tribal elders, who lorded over people, has come to an end. The bondage of caste has been smashed and ground prepared for its annihilation. Organs of people's political power were established. This new democratic power is the biggest success achieved by the people through people's war.*

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proprietary right over land. “Equal wages for equal work” is being implemented. Bazaar committees are working to end the indiscriminate exploitation in weekly bazaars. Mass struggles demanding fair wage rates were successfully waged and there was an increase in fund collection to fulfil the needs of the people. All kinds of restrictions and taxes on collection of forest produce were annulled. Forest produce can be freely collected and consumed. The slogan of “All rights to the Adivasis/local people over Forests” has been realised. There is a ban on taking away any kind of resources from the forest without permission from the RPCs. New entry of imperialist multinational companies (MNCs) and comprador companies has been blocked.

Apart from creating irrigation facilities for crops to increase the average yield and encouraging the usage of organic manure and high-quality local seeds, the RPCs assist the poor peasantry in all possible ways to cultivate their lands. Where conditions permit, with the purpose of raising living standards, fulfilling the masses food needs and those of the PLGA, all efforts are made to develop agricultural production and thus ease dependence on the market. The RPCs are themselves establishing agricultural farms. Mutual aid/ work teams are formed to fulfil various productive tasks and services. Grain Cooperative Associations are formed. The effort to provide nutritious food to people through planting orchards and growing vegetables and greens has begun. Encouragement is given to fish rearing in ponds. The party and PLGA participate in productive labour as a responsibility.

The development of class struggle and building of RPCs has opened doors for new developments in people’s cultural life. As the free labour done for the tribal elders came to an end, people fulfilling their needs through mutual aid / work teams has increased. In adivasi areas, collective hunting which used to go on for weeks together was gradually discouraged. Instead, expending labour power on land levelling and creating irrigation facilities which promise growth in yield of agricultural products is increasing.

As the customs and rituals observed with blind faith are proving a hindrance to production and productive forces in the changing conditions, meetings are being held with traditional healers and priests and necessary changes are brought about through discussions. Apart from discouraging consumerism, RPCs are opposing forceful religious conversion of adivasi into Hinduism and Christianity. They also inculcate scientific thinking and atheism. Overspending in marriage ceremonies and death rituals has been reduced.

Women are more respected now. With the development of class struggle and the building of women’s organisations, sexual exploitation of feudal lords and demeaning practices have been eliminated. Forced marriages and the Gotul system (practiced in some adivasi areas) have come down considerably. This liberated women and young women from social and psychological pressures.

Schools are opened as part of fulfilling the basic needs of the people. For the first time in Dandakaranya’s history, education is imparted in ‘Koya’, the majority people’s mother tongue. Syllabi were prepared in the light of democratic-socialist ideas. In Bihar-Jharkhand too, special emphasis is laid on reaching education to the adivasi, dalits and other sections deprived of it. Health care is provided as part of fulfilling the basic needs of the people. Sanitation work and providing safe drinking water facilities are taken up actively by training up people’s doctors in villages. Construction of houses with mutual cooperation is taken up for people who do not have proper houses.

Indiscriminate felling of forests and the robbing of valuable timber by the government and the timber mafia was stopped. Instead of people felling trees according to their will and wish for agricultural and domestic needs, RPCs are striving to fulfil the needs of the people and are regularising the felling of trees. Ban was imposed on pouring poison in river water to catch fish and catching birds which come to water sources in summer. Ban was imposed on hunting which is carried out for commercial purposes to sell the meat. Thus preservation of wildlife is encouraged.

Delegates elected from village level RPCs have constituted Area RPCs. Similarly elected delegates from the Area level form the Divisional (District level) RPCs. This represents an extension of territory over which people exercise political power and create the new. It strengthens the advance towards building liberated areas and establishing a People's Government, confronting the Indian state.

Such are the fruits of the protracted people's war. More than three decades of hard sacrifice had already made significant advance in the war zones of Dandakaranya, Bihar-Jharkhand. Given the different situation in these two regions this advance took different forms, but was always guided by the politics of new democratic revolution. In Bihar-Jharkhand a stubborn struggle, backed by arms, to break the bonds of caste-feudalism, defeat upper casteist private armies, seize and distribute land, paved the way for the development of Krantikari Kisan Committees as leading centres. In Dandakaranya, grounds were laid through struggles in which the adivasi peasantry was mobilised, arms in hand, to smash the authority of the forest department, private contractors and, in some areas, feudal lords or feudalistic tribal elders and end their exploitation. Party and mass organisations were built. Revolutionary armed forces, the People's Guerrilla Army and People's Liberation Guerrilla Army, were formed step by step. Thus embryonic forms of people's power emerged. The merger of the two revolutionary streams in 2004 made these gains, its experiences and lessons, the solid foundation for a bold, powerful, push forward. Its results are before you.

The growth of powerful mass struggles led by our party directed against anti-people projects and state repression is another significant development. Among them the struggles in Nandigram, Lalgarh, Narayanpatna and Kalinga Nagar stand out for the new forms of struggle they brought out and the broad unity they achieved. Forces led by our party have contributed much to the success of the long drawn struggle for separate Telengana. It has also provided strong support to many other mass struggles. This has helped them withstand state repression and attempts to divide them. Through all these struggles the right of the people over water, land and forests (jal-jangal-zameen), their right to lead a life of dignity has been asserted.

On this occasion, we must specially mention the unparalleled role played by the people in the main war zones of the revolutionary movement. It is they who bore the brunt of the repression. It is they who gave us confidence. Without their immense sacrifices and unbound enthusiasm this protracted people's war would have been impossible. Run down and scorned as 'backward', they are becoming the advanced in the process, the path breakers. We hold them up, these makers of history, as glowing models before the whole country. We greet them and salute them!

The formation of the CPI (Maoist) as the single directing centre of the Indian revolution was acclaimed by the people in India and throughout the world. Where the people were inspired, their enemies despaired. True to the nature of all dying forces, they gathered their forces for more and more murderous attacks on the revolutionary forces. This was a total assault. Brute military force was combined with targeted capture and murder of CPI (Maoist) leaders. False talk of peace was coupled with filthy lies and canards. Killer gangs and vigilante forces were armed and set loose in a bid to pit the people against the people. Even then, braving heavy attacks and overcoming major losses the party, PLGA, RPCs and the revolutionary masses stood firm. Heavy blows were given, such as the heroic storming of the Jehanabad jail to liberate imprisoned revolutionaries and the historic seizure of the Nayagarh armoury to arm the PLGA. The historic Unity Congress-9th Congress (country-level gathering of party delegates) of the united party was successfully held.

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Ideological, political unity was deepened and strengthened. Its unified thinking was raised to a higher level. Its fighting capacity sharpened.

Rebuffed in their counter-revolutionary plans the Indian ruling classes launched Operation Green Hunt in mid 2009 and are intensifying it day by day. They were backed and guided by imperialism, particularly US imperialism. This is a deadly 'war on the people'. It is not green, but red. Red with the blood of adivasis and other masses gunned down by the mercenary troops of the Indian state. Red with the blood of the sons and daughters of the people who bravely fought till their death, however poorly armed and outnumbered they were. This is a manhunt. Party, PLGA members are poisoned and murdered by coverts and counter-revolutionary gangs like the Trithiya Prasthuthi Samithi. It is a frenzied spree of attacks on people — murder, rape, razing down houses, loot, destruction of harvests and granaries, looting and slaughter of poultry and livestock by counter-revolutionary gangs, police and paramilitary forces. In Bihar, Jharkhand and Paschim Banga, relying on the worst traditions of British colonial suppression known as 'kurki japthi', the houses and property of those associated with the Maoist movement are seized by court orders. The hideous attack in Chintalnar area of Bijapur District, where they razed down four villages, killed and raped is a recent example of state repression. The firing on a gathering of villagers, massacring 17, mostly women and children, at Sarkeguda, Bijapur District is another one. The Indian ruling classes and their political parties often cite lack of funds for not providing even basic amenities to the masses. But they think nothing of pouring in crores of rupees in order to deploy the latest technology in their war on the people. Already 500,000 Central and State mercenary troops have been thrown into this war. Another fifty thousand is on its way. The Air Force provides drones. It is now preparing for aerial attacks. The Army is engaged at brigade level in command and training. With great haste it is raising a special force within the Army for deployment against the Maoist led revolution.

The Indian state is getting ever more desperate and ferocious in its attacks. There is a macabre logic in this madness of waging 'war on people', of 'pitting the people against the people'. Day by day the true condition of the country is being revealed. With 70 per cent of the population scrapping on at Rs. 20 per day, the rulers' tall claim about India entering the league of world powers is seen as a cruel spin story. In opposition to this stands the new armed force, new people's movements, new political power and society emerging in Central and Eastern India. This is beginning to attract wider attention, not only among the deprived but also among a broad section of patriots and progressives. It is increasingly seen as a real alternative to the destruction of human and natural resources by the rapacious exploitation and loot and oppression carried out in the name of development by the imperialist and Indian corporates. It holds up a democratic model where the oppressed classes and social sections— workers, peasantry, urban petty bourgeois, women, adivasis, dalits, national and religious minorities — will be freed from the domination of Brahminical caste-feudalism and all the reactionary values it promotes, serving as the social base of imperialism and colluding with the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie. It shows what is possible — how the landless and poor peasants will get land, how the tremendous energies of collective labour can be unleashed, how traditional knowledge can be harnessed in service of the new, how it is possible to preserve the environment keeping people's interests at heart and achieve a truly sustainable development. It shows in embryonic form the immense

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potential for a new India. An India that can only arise on the ashes of the existing one, after destroying the Indian state. Yes, there is every reason for the desperation of the Indian rulers. Everyday this new power and society exists, it drives in another nail into their coffins. They see their death in it. Therefore they madly hasten to destroy it.

There is something more. The Central and State governments in these regions had already signed a huge number of agreements, selling out the resources to foreign and Indian corporates. But the advance and expansion of the people's war, with the involvement of the people, and the establishment of the people's power over land, water and forests spoilt their plans. Now they are under greater pressure. The imperialist system is in the grip of the worldwide economic crises. This is severely impacting the Indian economy. This crisis situation makes the enemies of the people, the imperialist MNCs and Indian compradors, ever more desperate to plunder the resources of our country and exploit the labouring classes to the hilt. Therefore the added haste to crush the struggling people, no matter how much blood is shed.

The boots of the mercenary troops trample on the people. They beat them up and shoot them. But that is not all. They also come with 'gifts'. They shower all sorts of gadgets, hand out clothes and food, and insist on giving adivasi children lodging and free tuition. They take them from the remotest villages on "India tours". This is the 'soft touch' complementing the boots and bayonets. This is the sinister plan of US imperialism and their lackeys to lure a section of people and make them the base for building an informant network. They come with promises of reform and development, but only to divide the people. The aim is to isolate the Maoists and hasten the suppression of the revolutionary movement, destruction of the new political power and blocking the expansion of the people's war. And once that is realised it is back to business as usual, the business of denying basic rights and amenities to the people, the sell out of resources. If you want proof take a look at Saranda in Jharkhand. First, a sudden and all-out brutal attack with more than 10,000 troops to destroy the revolutionary organisations and drive out the PLGA. Then the establishment of a Special Saranda Development Authority with the promise to take basic amenities to all. And finally the real thing — a wholesale sell out of thousands of hectares of pristine forest land to Tata for its mining of iron ore and the entry of around 100 imperialist and comprador corporations into resource rich area; the return of the hated rule of the police station, bureaucrats and local exploiters. This is the actual course of the counter-revolutionary campaigns waged by the Indian state.

In our country, armed revolution is confronting armed counter-revolution. Combating the superior forces of the Indian state with guerrilla tactics of people's war the PLGA fights back. Unlike the aggressor, its strength lies in close ties with the masses, in its creativity and steely determination. The annihilation of a whole company of the CRPF at Mukaram (Dandakaranya) by the PLGA was a resounding rebuff to the Indian state's 'war on people'. In a protracted people's war, it is not the control of territory but the preservation of the revolutionary military force that is decisive. Grasping this principle, the PLGA has evaded efforts of the Indian state to pin it down and destroy it. It has broken out of heavy encirclements by attacking small units of the enemy and breaching its circle. Withdrawing in the face of massive forces it circles around to hit back with all force when an opportunity arises. The Tongpal ambush (Dandakarnya) in which 15 mercenaries were annihilated, and 20 weapons and a large quantity of ammunition were seized and the Farsagaon (Jharkhand) ambush where 5 mercenaries were wiped out and 5 weapons seized testify to the strengths of a protracted people's war, a war that is led by a Maoist party and draws in the masses in their thousands. It is significant that this ambush came in an area claimed to be 'cleared' by the Indian state. From January till June of this year, in the midst of two intense country-level suppression campaigns, covering



PEOPLES  
MARCH  
SUPPLEMENT

9 States, carried out during December-January 2013-2014 and in March, 39 actions were carried out by the PLGA.

The resistance to the Indian state's aggression against the new political force, new movement, power and new society is not just a matter of the PLGA. The masses are involved in it greatly. They participate in actions and in their preparations, provide food, shelter and information, help in maintaining supplies, and refuse to cooperate with the enemy. The People's Militia is a very important component of the PLGA. Apart from its role in actions, it has played an exceptional role in defeating the Salwa Judum and the attacks of Sendra and other counter-revolutionary vigilante gangs in various States. There are many instances where the masses have braved repression to seize back the bodies of martyrs and give them a befitting funeral. On some occasions they have collected all the goods distributed by the enemy forces and burnt them in bonfires. In Minpa the people joined with the PLGA and waged continuous struggle for more than a week forcing the enemy to close down its military camp. In Harra Koder masses mobilised from surrounding villages and forced the closure of a newly established camp through peaceful, but resolute, agitations. Women played an exemplary role in this. Broad sections of intellectuals, progressives and democrats have also come out in large numbers, in India and abroad, to protest the Indian state's 'war on the people' and expose its atrocities.

Dear people,

Our livelihoods, dignity and very existence are under multiple attacks by neo-liberal policies that intensify foreign and Indian corporates exploitation. In the name of mega projects, mines, power plants, dams, ports, airports, super-highways, metros, hi tech cities, tourist spots/resorts and Special Economic Zones, etc, lakhs and lakhs of our people are being driven out of their habitats. The destructive policies of the rulers are triggering of environmental disasters which take the lives of hundreds and render thousands homeless and penniless. They are enacting laws to cut down, one after the other, the rights won by workers. They are handing over more and more sectors of the economy to the control of imperialist multinationals. Agriculture is being shaped for deeper penetration of foreign capital and technology like genetic engineered plants. Land concentration is taking place in new forms as real estate 'land banks' and SEZs. Corporate farming is being promoted. Existing laws are being amended to assure that the chiefs of MNCs cannot be prosecuted here, no matter what crime they commit.

While they grab land for their projects, nothing is being done to address the cry for land from the deprived sections of the peasantry. Big landlords continue to monopolise this precious resource. They have branched out into sellers of chemical fertilisers and other modern inputs and buyers of agricultural produce. They either function directly as usurers or control co-operative societies. They are also MLAs, MPs and ministers of ruling class political parties, control the local bodies and wield influence over the police forces. Thus they exercise total control in alliance with the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie over the peasants and rural poor and are a big obstruction for country's progress.

Wherever the people protest they are met with brute force and black laws. While the farce of democracy is enacted with elections, the ground reality is one of increasing fascicisation. With the genocidal Modi, this tool of the fascist RSS, in the Prime Minister's chair, Brahmanical Hindu fascism is consciously promoted by the ruling classes and their imperialist masters. The most reactionary religious fanaticism is fanned up to instigate sectarian violence, specially targeting the Muslim minority. Narrow chauvinism is whipped up to foster illusions of becoming a world power and thus cover up the abject dependence of the country. National cultures and religious diversities and even the formal federal structure of the country are sought to be effaced by sinister moves to impose a 'Hindi-Hindu' mould as supreme.

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The rulers know very well that the people's anger is boiling over. Every one of their political parties has been in government at the Central or State level or is now in power. All of them are exposed as equally anti-people, anti-corrupt and corrupt. From time to time they parade one or the other reform. Through such reforms they hope to pacify the masses and breed inactivity and hope to continue and further intensify their exploitation and oppression. Thus the horrendous penetration of imperialism in the form of globalisation, privatisation and liberalisation is now window dressed as "globalisation with a human face". Yes, they will be smiling while they kick you out of your houses, or throw you out of your jobs, or bury you alive in your ancestral lands. It is like in the tactics of their 'war on the people'. First they brutalise you and then give you presents!

Dear people,

Our country is at a critical juncture. Which road should it take? Onwards, to spread the flames of the people's war all over the country and achieve real liberation? Or backwards, to more deprivation, more dependence and more devastation? We await your decision, confident that you will recognise your destiny too in the fight we wage. Meanwhile, we hasten by throwing ourselves and all we have into battle against the Indian state and its foreign mentors. Starting from the martyrs of the historic Naxalbari armed peasant rebellion till today more than twelve thousand have laid down their lives for the great cause of destroying the three mountains bearing down on us. We well know that many more will have to bear that supreme sacrifice as we fight on. We communists will never shirk from sacrifice, for serving the people, for liberating the country. But we hasten. We hasten to quicken the advent of that day when the enemies of our people and the country are finally destroyed, when the imperialists are driven out, and we can begin building a future of self-reliance, of all-round and equitable development of our country, of all our national and ethnic peoples. Let us celebrate the 10th anniversary of the formation of our glorious party in every guerrilla zone and red resistance area, in the villages and the cities, in the country and abroad with revolutionary fervour and spirit; spread the message of people's war far and wide; and carry the revolutionary movement forward with redoubled determination.

***Celebrate the 10th anniversary of the formation of CPI (Maoist) with revolutionary fervour!***

***Join us in this great endeavour to build a New Democratic India!***

***Join the CPI (Maoist) and PLGA, they are yours!***

***Take up the people's war in India, expand and carry it forward!***

***Spread the flames of armed agrarian revolution!***

***Oppose, resist and defeat 'Operation Green Hunt', the Indian state's 'war on people'!***

***Get organised, rise up in the crores, fight back against the anti-people, country-selling policies of the Indian state.***

***Unite in struggle against the Brahmanical Hindu Fascist Modi government!***

***Dare to struggle! Dare to win!***

***Dare to Take Your Destiny into Your Own Hands!***

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



(clockwise from top) PLGA training; rally at Kolkatta in support of Largarh; weapons seized in Nayagarh raid; weapons seized at Manpur; militia training; PLGA parade; saluting martyrs; Greyhounds annihilated in Balimala ambush; rally at Largarh; rally at Narayanpatna; 'Boycott Election' campaign poster in a guerilla zone; PLGA training.

