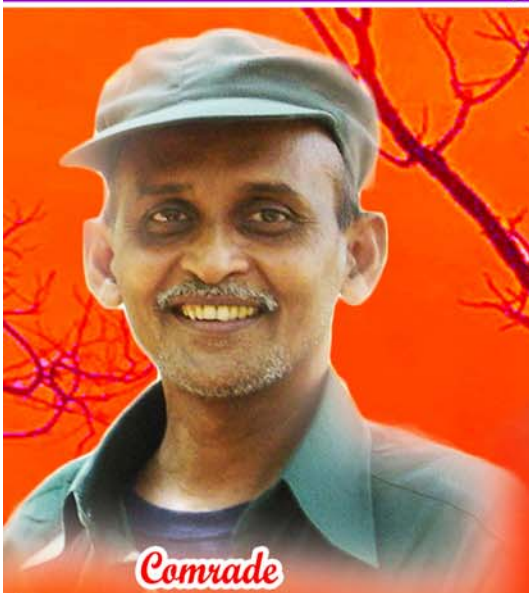


PEOPLE'S MARCH

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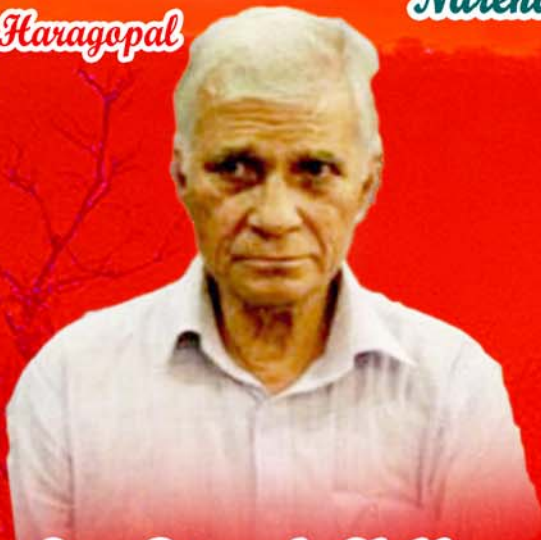
Comrade

Akhiraaju Haragopal



Comrade

Narendra Singh



Com. Purnendu Shekhar

Mukherjee

To die for the people is weightier than Mount Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather

- Comrade Mao Tse-tung



Comrade

Milind Teltumbde



Comrade

Yapa Narayana

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Hats off to the victory of farmers' struggle

The struggle of the farmers in the country achieved success after one year of relentless struggle. The militant struggle against imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and the Brahminic Hindutva fascist agenda of BJP in the country recorded a great victory in contemporary history of the country. The success of the struggle against the three Agrarian Acts put a break to the agenda that Narendra Modi had been aggressively taking forth since he came to power for the second time.

Since the BJP government passed an ordinance in 2020 June on the three Agrarian Acts, peasant organisations of Punjab organized and took up a program for struggle. The main demand of the struggle was to annul the three Acts. The farmers however understood that the government shall stop market yards, remunerative prices and Minimum Support Price (MSP) and also that Companies shall seize lands in the name of contracts and added demands against all these.

In fact agriculture falls under the list of the state governments. The Central government is not authorized to make laws in this regard. The fact that the ordinance would curb the rights of the states gave rise to nationality sentiment in Punjab. Several democratic organisations and nationalist forces of Punjab came forth. The urban business class realized the effect of private markets in the place of government ones in which they will have to register and pay taxes and they too joined the movement. Petty traders and employees settled in towns and NRIs became part of the agitation due to their umbilical relations with land. Struggle started in Haryana also during the same time. The struggle obtained wide support from workers, intellectuals and middle classes and also from other countries.

People participated in the tractor rally in large numbers on 28th July. Police indulged in lathi-charge on the struggling farmers in Kurukshetra on 10th September. This evoked anger among the farmers and became a turning point. Punjab bandh on 25th September was a total success. Thirty organisations of Punjab united in the agitation. They formulated demands and led the struggle. Twelve more organisations joined them taking the total number of organisations to 42. These led the struggle in the first 6 months. The Samyukta Kisan Morcha (SKM) emerged as a coordination of these organisations.

After the success of bandh on the 25th it was clear that they need to go to Delhi for annulment of the Acts. Then the organisations gave a call for a rally to Delhi on 26th and 27th of November. The organisations also called upon the farmers that there would be a tractor rally in Delhi and that they have to come prepared with ration to stay for 6 months. The state government of Haryana put up big barricades in several places on the way to Delhi in a bid to stop the farmers' tractor rally. In Ambala the tractor rally pushed forward through the barricades on 25th November. The farmers also stood against the water cannons in Karnal, Martula and other such places and went further.

Farmer youth played the main role in this militant march. Persons of growing age outnumbered the traditional organisations. But after the movement began youth joined in big numbers and strengthened it. The farmers reached Singhu and Tikri on the borders of Delhi by 27th November and tried to break through the barricades. But the Delhi police threw tear gas. Farmers made intense fight for two hours in vain. Then they camped in Tikri border. Since then Singhu border became the centre of activities of SKM. SKM led the movement from here.

Farmer's movement spread to Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and southern states and later to the entire country. The BJP government released statements that Khalistanis and Maoists are backing the movement in an attempt to suppress it. Central Minister for Agriculture Narendra Singh Tomar held talks with the agitating farmers on behalf of the government eleven times. The government made it clear that it is not possible in any case to dissolve the Agrarian Acts and that they would make certain amendments. The representatives of the farmers did not agree to it. They asked for a Yes or No. Talks came to a standstill. Then Amit Shah called the representatives and warned them that if these Acts are withdrawn the demand to withdraw all the Acts such as Article 370, CAA-NRC and Labor codes would come forth and that it is impossible to do so. The

representatives did not listen. At this point SKM called for All India bandh on 8th December. The Central Trade Unions and 14 opposition parties also supported the bandh. The bandh was a total success.

Farmers now started to discuss about holding a farmers' parade on 26th January. They were very enthusiastic about this. After a lot of discussion SKM decided on the parade with a change in the name. It was said 'Kisan Ganatantr Divas Parade' (meaning Farmers' Republic Day parade) despite the dislike of many. KMP road was selected for rehearsing the parade on 7th January. Thousands of tractors arrived from Punjab, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh. Many tractors went and jammed up the two roads leading to KMP. SKM applied to the Delhi police for permission for parade on outer ring road. The police instead of the ring road permitted it in the neighboring villages and towns without entering Delhi. SKM leadership agreed to this. But the farmers were angry. The demand for parade on outer ring road gained strength. Two lakh farmers have already arrived from the three states for the parade. This number was much more than those in the farmers' organisations. Ninety percent of the farmers who joined the movement were newcomers. All of them were determined to make the parade on the ring road. Revolutionary forces strongly supported the farmers' demands.

On the morning of 26th January, farmers broke the barricades in Singhu border. Farmers entered also from Tikri and Ghaziapur border and broke the barricades on the outer ring road and held the tractor rally. One farmer died in police firing during the rally. In a bid to suppress the farmers' agitation the government tried to remove the camps in Singhu, Tikri and Ghaziapur. BJP goondas attacked the farmers.

The agitation began to expand all over the country. There was a spate in February. Kisan Mahapanchayats were arranged. This was mainly seen in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Haryana and South India. In Punjab the Kisan Panchayats organized one from a family to attend the programs. Farmers carried lathis, held demonstrations and successfully fought back the BJP goondas and the police trying to attack their camps. While until then farmers' organisations and those who wanted the withdrawal of the Agrarian Acts mobilized the farmers, after the Kisan Panchayats came into existence these became the centers of mobilizing the farmers.

Revolutionary forces strongly implemented the programs of SKM and were also steadfast against state repression. They were in the forefront. This provided the basis for the SKM leadership to give a call for 'Anti-repression Day'. It also gave calls on March 8th and against privatization together with the workers on 15th March. Subsequently there were road blockades all over the country.

All these developments strengthened the determination to fight for the withdrawal of the three Agrarian Acts. The incessant activities of struggle of the farmers' committee and the strong support of the revolutionary forces sustained the movement like a rock. Owing to this Narendra Modi made a statement on 19th November 2022 annulling the three Agrarian Acts and also asked excuse of the farmers.

Farmers, especially young farmers and women had a prominent role in the struggle. Youth were the basis for the success of the struggle. They had an active role in each and every turn of the movement. They militantly broke the police barricades, fought back the water cannons and reached Delhi. They held the parade on the ring road. They faced government repression, mobilized the people and made non-compromising struggle on the demand for the annulment of the three Acts. Women farmers were all over in demonstrations and road and train blockades. They brought the hesitant leadership to the forefront in every turn of the agitation.

Comrade Lenin said in 1905, 'while the workers were in the forefront the Social Democratic leaders fell behind in this revolution...' Similar thing happened in the farmers' struggle. Struggle achieves success only in a leadership that militantly takes it forward keeping in mind the aspirations and determination of the struggling forces. The successful farmers' struggle teaches us that without such a leadership the struggling forces themselves shall step forward and achieve success.

However, the real solution for the farmers' problems is to accomplish New Democratic Revolution with the axle of Armed Agrarian Revolution.

Revolutionary Salutes to the farmers' struggle!

People of Afghanistan must take up arms against Imperialism and reactionaries

Political Commentator

Taliban took over the reins in Afghanistan after the US hastily withdrew its Army. This is no fundamental change in the lives of the people of the country. But the development brings forth issues related to both the internal situation of Afghanistan and impact on the ongoing geo-political alignments. People of Afghanistan know what Taliban would be in their lives. The world is now no more unipolar with China increasingly strengthening its alliance and assessed to have already bet the US in terms of economy.

The withdrawal of the US from Afghanistan and the way it withdrew invited a lot of attention of people world over. The defeat of the US in Afghanistan brought true for the umpteenth time, the famous saying of Comrade Mao Tse-tung that the imperialists are paper tigers. The US left the 'Bagram' base in Afghanistan in the midnight. There was a lot of criticism against the US government for not being able to take out at least the Afghan employees working for it, in spite of promises to do so. The hasty withdrawal reminded one of the withdrawal of the US armies from 'Saigon' in 1975.

In fact such humiliating defeats are nothing new to the US. The US imperialists turned

their economy into a 'war economy' during World War II and made their country a 'hub of production' of deadly weapons. It exported these deadly weapons to various countries of the world and also adopted a



reactionary strategy to gain world hegemony. As a part of this strategy they continue to cause several local wars. They tried to establish their hegemony through military and political intervention in these wars. They first met a big blow in Vietnam. They had to step back in Syria. And now it continued in Afghanistan.

It is interesting to see that the President of US is not ready to accept the defeat. The US formed its puppet government in Afghanistan but could not gain total hold on the country due to the resistance of Talibans and the people. The US spent 2.26 trillion dollars in the war on Talibans. It lost 2400 soldiers. The number goes above 4000 together with the NATO forces. Apart from them thousands of the US and

NATO forces were injured. On the other hand, during this period two and a half lakh people died in the attacks of the 'NATO forces' in the leadership of the US in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Thousands have been displaced within the country or took refuge in other countries.

There are various reasons for the humiliating defeat of the US. The people of Afghanistan have the legacy of resistance to foreign aggressions since the historic period. They have strong aspiration of independence. They resisted the Russian aggression in early 1980s. They clearly saw the US as their enemy. They knew it is war frenzy. They also understood the ruling class that came to power with the help of the US imperialists as its agent. There was one more important dimension in this. There was severe protest from the people of the US especially the families of the nearly 8 lakh US soldiers who served the US in Afghanistan over the past twenty years. The soldiers too felt they were deceived in the sense that they were actually making a war that was absolutely unnecessary.

The armed attacks of the US and its puppet military forces led to increasing hatred among the people. Lakhs of people including women and children

died in the attacks made by the NATO forces in the leadership of the US in the name of eliminating the Taliban. We saw that six people including a small girl died in the drone attack at the time of withdrawal in the end of August. The puppet government and the US employees were highly corrupt. Employees of lower levels also looted the people to the maximum possible extent. People faced endless miseries. Economic and financial crisis rose in the country. The whole country was in turmoil and like a volcano.

Taliban has to be acknowledged for its fierce guerilla war. It adopted strategy and tactics that ultimately brought down the US and the puppet government. This was revealing in their speedy occupation of the capital city that forced the US out.

It is interesting to see that apart from thousands of NATO forces in the leadership of the US there were three and a half lakhs of 'Afghan National Defense Security Forces' (ANDSF) of the

puppet government. The Taliban guerillas were 75 thousand in numbers. They had lower range of arms than the US. They did not have as much training. They also did not receive considerable help from other countries. But they had a clever strategy. They organised the opposition of the basic people's communities, minority nationalities and the war lords on the US imperialists and their agents. They molded this opposition into a resistance force against US imperialism and enhanced their fighting capacity. They thus achieved success over the US. The US had to hold talks with the Taliban in 2019-2020 and agree to withdraw by 2021.

The example of this success once again proves that it is possible to fight against a modern state possessing ultra-modern technology, communication network and war equipment and achieve state power with force.

The developments in Afghanistan made a sterling effect on all the imperialist countries keen to explore the abundant mineral wealth of

Afghanistan. The US assessed the wealth is worth 3 trillion dollars, for the sake of which they want hegemony on the country. There is copper, iron and gold in the soil of the country. The land also has rare elements such as Lantium, Tungsten, Lithium, Sesium, Aluminium, Zinc and Mercury. These are used in electronics, satellite, aero plane, rocket, ultra-modern military equipment. Apart from these Afghanistan is rich in crude oil and natural gas. There are diamonds and other such valuable things in certain provinces. Most of the wealth has already been shifted to foreign countries.

It is not surprising to see that Britain expressed the 20 year foreign rule as a 'failure'. The other NATO countries criticized the US for leaving them around with their hasty departure.

Now with the defeat of the US imperialists, the China Social imperialists and the Russian imperialists are trying to gain hold on Afghanistan. They are formulating schemes to exploit the mineral wealth. The Taliban is also bent on this exploration. They already stated that they have strong relations with China and that they would cooperate to the Belt and Road Initiative. This indicates the prospects of China in Afghanistan with its already good relations with the neighboring Central and South Asian countries particularly Pakistan.

India was taken aback with the developments in Afghanistan. Many Indians invested in Afghanistan in various projects such as dams and roads. It is the responsibility of the central government to protect these investments. The



Talibans assured security. But there is another issue that is worrying the BJP government. The rise of Talibans is in favor of Pakistan. Pakistan is a strong ally of China that is threatening India close to the US. The US is busy with strengthening its new alliance AUKUS with Australia and Britain and the ongoing changes in geo-political alignments is making India tense of its position.

After everything was over the US is now trying to pressurize the Talibans to continue its exploitation. It is trying to block 7 billion dollars of foreign exchange of Afghanistan in the New York Federal Bank in the US. The IMF and the European countries went back on their promise of economic assistance. Taliban is not like in the past. Their relations with the imperialist countries and their statements show that they are trying to understand the capitalist mode. It is inevitable for them to adjust to the capitalist system to sustain power. Anyway we have to wait and see how the Talibans cope up with the situation.

Now the fundamentalist landlords, war lords, the Taliban that represents them, the c o m p r a d o r bureaucratic bourgeois class, their masters the old and the new imperialists are the enemies of the people of Afghanistan. Taliban was once in power and did not prove to be pro-people in more than one way. There are 16 sects of people including the largely populated Pashtuns, followed by the Tajiks, Hazaras and Uzbeks.

The minority tribes that the Taliban considers non-Muslims are vulnerable in the rule of Taliban. Hazaras in the third place in population are also harassed. Their rights were not protected in the earlier Taliban rule. Women's rights has become a major issue of criticism on Taliban then. They now stated that they would guarantee the rights of women as per the Islamic law and imposed veils for women students in the co-education institutions. Artists are apprehensive owing to their earlier experiences of Taliban rule when one artist was brutally killed for singing. Taliban had declared to set up a full-fledged stable Islamic system in the country and it is not difficult to guess what and how this is going to be.

The Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan said in its statement in November on the occasion of Martyrs' Day, that the oppressed people of Afghanistan are destitute and suffocating under the yoke of Taliban regime. The country is now suffering with famine. Cost of living is on the rise with intensifying economic crisis. Nearly 22 million people do not have proper food to eat. In such

conditions the C(M)PA will and must strengthen in organising the workers, peasants, women and youth under the red flag of the proletariat. The Party that shows the way to bring down the Taliban shall become a stronger alternate political force of the country. The new reactionary Taliban government shed illusions among various sections of the people and is driving them towards the path of war. The Taliban rule is going to bring all the sections of the masses into struggle.

Now it is for the C(M)PA to mold the hatred towards the imperialists and the reactionary ruling classes of the country in the direction of developing a genuine people's movement. It must prepare the people to fight against the semi-colonial, semi-feudal system of Afghanistan constituted with Islam fundamentalism and the new imperialist forces that is going to become its master. It must lead the people to accomplish New Democratic Revolution in Afghanistan and advance it towards Socialism and Communism.



INTERNATIONAL PROTEST TO SAMADHAN-PRAHAR



DÍA INTERNACIONAL DE ACCIÓN EN APOYO A LA GUERRA POPULAR EN LA INDIA

Noviembre 24

- ¡Abajo la operación Prahara-3!
- ¡Muerte al régimen fascista y genocida de Modi!
- ¡Viva el PCI (Maoista)!
- ¡Viva la Guerra Popular en la India!

SOL ROJO



ICSPWI successfully observes Action Day on 2021 Nov 24th in protest to SAMADHAN-Prahar

The International Committee in Support to the People's War in India (ICSPWI) observed an Action Day on 24th November 2021 in protest to the 'SAMADHAN-Prahar' campaign unleashed by the Indian state in a bid to eliminate the Indian Revolutionary movement and the CPI (Maoist) leading it. Intense changes are taking place in geo-political alignments among the imperialist countries. Working class of imperialist, capitalist, semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries is increasingly exploited and is fighting for their rights. The situation needs and is leading to further unity of the world proletariat. The Action Day reflected the increasing solidarity among the Maoist forces of the world. We give here the report of the Action Day posted by the ICSPWI –

The International Day of action in support of the People's War in India and the CPI (Maoist), against the new genocidal operation 'Prahar 3' was successful.

Based on the appeal launched by the support committees of Galicia and Italy, both of which have always been part of the international support committee, it has been received in various forms in a big number of countries.

Due to the variety of organizations and forms, information on the day is still ongoing, also because several initiatives have taken place well beyond November 24.

The People's War in India which develops a process of liberation of the oppressed classes, a true hope for the proletariat and the oppressed of the world, is not alone. The CPI

(Maoist) resists and fights, and as like the operation 'Green Hunt', it will fight back the infamous 'Prahar 3'!

International and internationalist solidarity is a weapon!

The martyrs of the Indian revolution are immortal and November 24, 2021 was an international tribute to the immortal comrade Kishenji, cowardly murdered 12 years ago.

The offensive of Modi's government, the operation 'Prahaar 3', is and will be increasingly opposed, nationally and internationally. After the November 24 Day of Action, it actually becomes an international struggle, a long campaign that is and will be increasingly frightening the regime of the fascist and genocidal Modi and its imperialist masters in the world.

This has been said in the hundreds of actions that took place.

In Italy, the Indian embassy in Rome was sanctioned and the Consulate Milan attacked with a rally that addressed the many Indian migrants present in Italy. The Committee also has done something else. The representatives of the Indian workers already organized as members of the class union gathered in a meeting where they could take stock of the situation and expressed their solidarity with the peasants' masses in struggle and the masses in arms fighting under





the leadership of the CPI (Maoist).

Very importantly, for the first time in an imperialist country, the workers of Slai Cobas for the Class Union in several meetings on November 24 adopted a motion of solidarity with the people's war in India. In Italy, moreover, the campaign had already begun with the protests against the G20 summit, when Modi was in Rome, and also reached the huge demonstration of 100,000 women on November 27.

All the cities of Galicia have been reached by the agitation of the Committee in that country.

For the first time the call in support of the people's war was met in the Spanish State, with initiatives in various cities, organized by young Marxist Leninist-Maoists.

In Germany, there were meeting, large graffitis, banners in a number of cities.

The same occurred in Ireland, Great Britain, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Austria, France and Canada. A fighting action, which the Committee welcomes with enthusiasm, took place in Switzerland.

The solidarity blogs Datzebao Rojo, ICSPWI, Maoist Road, are documenting the campaign with reports and images.

There was a great celebration of support for Turkish fighters in the battlefields of Northern Kurdistan and Syria. Other Turkish comrades have sent a strong and great salute to the people's war in India, as well as the Filipinos comrades; the People's Wars in the Philippines and India have always marched together.

In Latin America solidarity with the people's war in India came strongly from one of the red bases of the world revolution, Brazil. Demonstrations and initiatives of various kinds, greetings in solidarity were held in Colombia, Mexico, Chile and Ecuador.

In Africa, the red flag of support for the People's War was raised in Tunisia, opening the path of support to People's war in this continent, which is also an indication for tracing and opening the path of people's war throughout Africa.

In Asia, the wind of international solidarity has

passed through Afghanistan, Nepal, and in various forms the message has reached many other countries.

In the belly of US imperialism, the main enemy of the peoples of the world and of People's Wars in India as well as in other countries, which strongly sponsored Modi, solidarity rose with strength in the hands of the Maoist comrades from various cities in the United States.

An important day!

It was fueled in a strong and clear way by the call of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Maoist): "Let's make the international day of November 24 a great success".

In this appeal the CPI (Maoist) highlighted the 10 years of support by the International Committee and the great decision to give life to the day of November 24. The CPI (Maoist) met and relaunched this call to the revolutionary sympathizers, the left, democratic and patriotic organizations, the anti-Hindutva secular forces, the proletarians, peasants, students, intellectuals, women, Dalit, Adivasi.

A revolutionary and solidarity bridge has been established between the proletarians and the anti-imperialist masses in India and the rest of the world. This bridge dealt a blow to the Modi's regime and imperialism.

Of course, all the Maoist, revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces would have wanted and could do more. But the current conditions, objective and subjective, did not adequately make it possible.

However, comrades and comrades, the November 24 is just the beginning!

Ideological, political and organizational limits can and must be overcome.

November 24 2021 is the new beginning of the international campaign!

Strengthened by its initial success, strengthened by the clarity of the indication, now we will do more!

Embassies, Consulates, masters of the economy, industry and finance who make business and get profits with the Indian regime, international institutions that close their eyes in front of the crimes of the Modi's regime against intellectuals, students, women, the people's masses, peasants'

and masses in all the states of India, will not sleep peacefully.

The media of the Indian regime and imperialism first spoke with alarm about the Day, then passed over it in silence or censored, in India and around the world.

This shows how much they fear the campaign and how important is to develop it.

The first point in order to give strength and continuity to the campaign is to organize a Support Committee in all the countries that have taken part in the Day, to unite them in a single wide, open, representative, International Committee, based on propaganda, actions in all forms, information and the liaison between the proletarian masses and the struggling masses in every country, the political and militant fight.

It is not only in the interest of the People's War in India, is intertwined and closely linked to the global international situation.

The Indian masses are writing a historical page in the ongoing class struggle in the world, the development of the people's war in India confirms that this path is possible in all countries oppressed by imperialism.

The world proletariat understands and will increasingly understand that the advancement of the People's wars in India and in the other countries in which it is developing at various stages puts into question the balance of power not only in the South Asian region but in the whole world imperialist system.

Strengthened by this conviction, an international meeting, based on a careful analysis of the situation and gathering all possible representatives of this campaign, will be held at the end of January 2022 and decide new days of struggle, new forms of solidarity initiatives and will strengthen the ties between the Committees in different countries and the people's war led by the Maoists.

STOP THE FASCIST AND GENOCIDAL THE PRAHAAR 3 MILITARY CAMPAIGN!

SUPPORT THE STRUGGLING MASSES AND THE MASSES IN ARMS IN INDIA!

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S WAR!

LONG LIVE THE CPI (MAOIST) IN INDIA!

TOGETHER WITH THE INDIAN COMRADES: "WE FIGHT UNTIL THE LAST AND WE WILL GET THE FINAL VICTORY"!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

**International
Committee in
Support to the
People's War in
India (ICSPWI)
December 2021**



LIFE HISTORIES OF MARTYRED CCMS OF CPI (MAOIST)

CPJ (Maoist) witnessed big losses in year 2021. It lost four comrades of its Central Committee and came to know of the martyrdom of another two CCM comrades in the previous years. Here are the Life Histories of the martyred CC comrades in brief

Life history of Member of Central Committee Comrade Purnendu Shekhar Mukherjee

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) lost one of its Members Comrade Purnendu Shekhar Mukherjee (Sahebda, Ambarda, Gaganda, Aakashda) at 5 am of 8th August 2021 in Bansdrone area of South Kolkata due to severe ill health. He was 77. He has been suffering from many diseases including Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease (COPD) for a long time. Comrade Purnendu was a veteran Maoist revolutionary of the Naxalbari generation.

Comrade Purnendu was born in a lower middle class family. In childhood he lived in Kaleetala of Bansdrone area in Taleeganj in Kolkata. He lost his mother at a young age and was brought up by his sister-in-law. He did his schooling in Naktala-Bansdrone area and joined Charuchandra College in South Kolkata for higher studies. The turbulent 1960s made a positive impact on Comrade Purnendu. He became active in the students' organisation of CPI. He became a graduate in 1964. Immediately after completing graduation he got a job in Calcutta Electronic Supply Company (CESC) as a Meter Inspector.

When the CPI split he became an active member of the

CPI (M). By that time the Communist Party of China (CPC) led the 'Great Debate' on the



revisionist line of Khrushchev of Russia. This led to intense debate against the revisionism of CPI. Comrade Purnendu was inspired with the heroic stories of Subhash Chandra Bose and other revolutionaries who sacrificed their lives for the independence of mother land during his school days. He actively participated in the militant food agitation of Bengal in 1966. Since this time he started receiving 'Chinta' document published by Comrade KC-Amulya Sen. Then took place the Spring Thunder of the historic Naxalbari Armed Peasant revolt. Inspired with the revolt, Comrade Purnendu was absolutely filled with revolutionary thoughts and started revolutionary life.

He first became a member of the Dakshin Desh group and

later joined MCC. He took forward the revolutionary work. He inspired several of his colleagues in CESC with revolutionary politics. He formed a party cell from among the activists. He was a participant in each and every open revolutionary program. All the members of his cell collected fund for the Party. Comrade KC gave a call 'true revolutionaries, go to villages'. Comrade Purnendu took the call to his heart. He resigned his job and became a Professional Revolutionary.

The party sent him to work among the villages around the Mica mines in Kodarma range in Bihar (now in Jharkhand). In a short time he selected few workers and formed a group and took up struggle against the atrocities of the contractors. The contractors came to know of him through their middle men. They got him arrested from Gaya station when he was going to attend another work and was jailed under a false case of possessing bomb material. He was released on bail after 7-8 months. He reached Kolkata.

Then the party gave him the responsibility to supply logistics in support to the Kanksha struggle. He did this work in a meticulous manner. This apart he also took part in organising the

people of Aadhaganj, Badaganj and Muhalla. He was once again arrested in 1979. He was tortured in the infamous police headquarters Lalbazaar lockup. Here he was physically tortured and interrogated. In spite of the painful tortures Comrade Purnendu only said, 'I know but I shall not utter a single word'. This made the officer of the police department wild. He told him, 'Say Charu Mazumdar down down'. But Purnendu said 'Comrade Charu Mazumdar Long Live'. The cruel officer hanged him upside down to a running ceiling fan and continuously beat him. Comrade Purnendu fell unconscious in no time. They put him one more day in police custody and continued to torture him in the same manner. But Purnendu told them nothing. The police then foisted cases and put him in Kal Kotri in Kolkata Presidency Jail. His unabashed dare amidst police torture is exemplary to all the revolutionaries.

It was 1975. Emergency was imposed. Atrocities rose inside the jail too. At this time Comrade Purnendu united the political prisoners and held struggle against the jail management. They protested emergency inside the jail. The struggle against emergency and for immediate unconditional release of all the political prisoners in West Bengal gained momentum. Committee to release prisoners was formed in many places. By the time emergency was lifted in 1977 the agitation was intensifying. Under this pressure the political prisoners had to be released. Comrade Purnendu also was released and he immediately became active in the agitation.

His health started to deteriorate when in jail. He acquired Asthma and had severe difficulty in breathing. He then worked in town among the students, youth and intellectuals and other such sections. By this time he was a member of West Bengal State Committee.

In the subsequent period there was an intense debate in the CC of MCC (especially on the question of 'Maoism', on the question of unilateral ceasefire on behalf of MCC regarding ongoing armed conflict with CPI (ML) (People's War) and on the question of whether to put Comrade KC's or Comrade Amulya Sen's photo first). Comrade Purnendu was with the majority and contributed to obtain a positive result out of the internal struggle. Comrade Purnendu was elected a member of the CC.

When on 21st September 2004 the process of historic merger of CPI (ML) (People's War) and MCCI took place and CPI (Maoist) emerged, he became a member of the CC of the new and united party. Later he became a member of the Central-Eastern Regional Bureau that the CC formed.

He made special efforts to consolidate the movement in Chhattisgarh and Odisha that fell under the CERB. He concentrated keeping in view the several distinct features of the two areas. After the arrest of Comrade Narayan Sanyal in 2005 Comrade Purnendu continued the work.

He was reelected to the CC in the Ninth Congress-Unity Congress of CPI (Maoist) in 2007. He worked with great skill to muster the support of people of various classes including the

working class, especially the urban people to fulfill the Central task of liberating Bihar-Jharkhand and Dandakaranya that the Party Congress took up.

In 2012 three members of the Regional Bureau were arrested. CERB became defunct. At that time Comrade Purnendu was working among the workers in certain places. This apart, he was part of a team of CCMs in regard to another important work. In one meeting of this committee in a village in Katihar district of Bihar in 2012 he was arrested. Now again he demonstrated great courage amidst interrogation and tortures. He was in the Bhagalpur Central Jail under the vigilance of the police department for a long time. His health deteriorated further. Knowing his health condition he requested to hand over his body after his death to the Medical College when he was in this jail. He was released in 2015.

He grew old and was suffering from severe breathing problem. He started to take part in open activities in the town area in such condition until almost near to death. He participated in several revolutionary activities for the past six years. He participated very enthusiastically in the celebrations of fifty years of Naxalbari. He was also part of anti-imperialist forum. He finally took his last breath in sleep. As per his decision his body was given to the Medical College.

Comrade Purnendu passed through several ups and downs in the movement in his 55 years of revolutionary life. He stood steadfast and relentlessly worked to advance the

Life History of Member of the Central Committee

Comrade Patit Pavan Haldar

Comrade Patit Pavan Haldar (Tapas), a member of the Central Committee of the CPI (Maoist) became a martyr on 4th September, 2019 at the age of 57 out of ill health. He was a veteran of the Party. He was the Secretary of West Bengal State Committee when he was arrested along with Comrade Susheel Roy in 2005. He died 2 months after his release.

Comrade Patit was born on 8th February 1962 in a middle class peasant family. He was inspired with the flame of Naxalbari struggle that spread to the nook and corners of India. The question of whether to live a life of slavery or to break the chains and go forward to fulfill their dreams rose and thousands of students and youth jumped into revolutionary politics. Comrade Patit saw the answer at a young age of 13-14. He came in touch with Comrade Kanhai Chatterjee. He obtained fundamental Marxist education from him. He intensely studied Maoism and decided to implement it in his life. He did not have formal education. He started propagating Agrarian

Revolutionary politics in a young age in Janai, Begampur, Aatpur, Baruyi Pada, Shiaakhala, Bheempur, Pero and other such

remote villages of Hugli district in West Bengal.

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

Comrade Tapas had a remarkable role in building Agrarian Revolutionary struggle in 1980-90. He worked under the provisional Bihar-Bengal Special

Area Committee and gained a lot of experience in building base area. He saw the distinctness of the various struggles and studied them with great effort. Whenever he came across a problem he strived to solve it.

At the end of the last decade of 20th century MCC witnessed an intense internal crisis in its Central Committee. A small section of the CC started a conspiracy against the fundamental line of MCC in the name of two line struggle. They formed an opportunist alliance led by Bharat-Badal. The alliance brought forth an opportunist line totally against the Maoist line of MCC formulated in the leadership of Com KC, in parts of West Bengal, Bihar and Jharkhand. Revolutionary people held a struggle with revolutionary determination in the leadership of MCC and fought it back within a short time. Subsequently a section of Bharat-Badal clique turned into middle men for the police. Another section became politically inactive and supported the revolutionary movement in the leadership of CPI (Maoist) at times. Comrade Tapas played a considerable role

Red Salutes to Comrade Tapasda

Com Purnendu...

revolutionary movement amidst the several ebbs and flows and twists and turns and strived to advance the movement. He never stepped back. Comrade Purnendu once more proved that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism shall

continue to guide the oppressed people of the world for their emancipation and that the People's War shall advance in its light mobilizing several new forces.

He had a simple style of living. He became friends with

everyone. Such a brilliant human being left us forever. But he shall live among the people, in the revolutionary struggle and inside the hearts of the cadres.

in bringing an end to this intense crisis of the party.

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

Under his leadership the committee adopted a program for struggle and took up the task of forming guerilla squads. It took up several programs of armed resistance in the rural and urban areas. Comrade Tapas was friendly with the new leadership comrades. He was never seen to be angry. He tried to look into the problem and tried to solve it as per Marxian method. He never considered himself to be a big leader. He believed in Mao's theory that 'Correct ideas come

from struggle for production, class struggle and Scientific experiment' and practiced it always. He examined each and every issue according to the criterion of the theory of dialectical materialism. Through this he could find out the direction of the issue and suggest accordingly.

Comrade Tapas had a simple life style. He demonstrated great attention towards the working class. He normally took shelter in the houses of landless peasants. He wore ordinary clothes and used an ordinary vehicle for transport.

Comrade Tapas contributed a lot to the unity of MCCI and CPI (ML) (People's War). He also played an important role in holding talks with the various ML groups. He treated them equal and gave respect to them. He showed a big heart in the formation of unified party CPI (Maoist). He was elected CC member in the new party. He took up the process of unity in West Bengal. He was given the responsibility of Secretary of WB State Committee. He successfully completed the process of merging various Zones. Within 8 months of the formation of unified party he was arrested together with Comrade Varunda in 2005 May in Kongar area of Hugli.

He was in prison for a long period of fourteen years. He was in the forefront in struggles in prison. The court gave a hearing on three comrades in 7 months with a nominal enquiry. Comrade Tapas and Comrade Santosh Devnadh were given life sentence. Prolonged prison life did not lower his conviction in revolution. He never allowed

opportunism. He did not surrender to sugar coated pills. He was affectionate towards all the comrades in jail. He provided all the working class prisoners with daily necessities and not only to those of his party. He gave money out of his labor to the poor prisoners who obtained bail to reach home. He was a valuable asset in jail.

The fascist state neglected treatment to Comrade Tapas. Comrade Tapas suffered from heart problems. The little treatment he got was only through a struggle of the prisoners. His health deteriorated severely. He died within two months after his release. In fact for the past ten years one who is released from prison dies within 6 months to one year.

Comrade Tapas never acted sectarian and superior. He was a genuine communist revolutionary all through his life. He paid attention to proletarian theory, ideals and Party education. He tried to keep himself dynamic according to the times. The Indian Communist Revolutionaries can step forward only by imbibing the simple life style and high thinking in the path shown by Comrade Tapas.

Comrade Tapas stands as a symbol for the communist revolutionaries and the entire anti-imperialist, anti-feudal forces and continues to smash imperialism-feudalism, revisionism and all kinds of reaction. He shall continue to be a danger to the enemy.

[we could not obtain a photo of Comrade Tapasda]

Life history of member of the Central Committee

Comrade Akkiraju Haragopal

Comrade Akkiraju Haragopal (Ramakrishna, Srinivas, Saket), member of the Central Committee and Polit Bureau of the Party and the beloved leader of the oppressed people became a martyr due to kidney failure on 14th October, 2021.

Comrade Akkiraju Haragopal (Ramakrishna, Srinivas, Saket) was born in 1958 as the second child among four in Palnad area of Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh. Comrade Haragopal acquired democratic and progressive ideas from his father who was a teacher. He completed his schooling in Tumrikota and became a graduate from SKBR College in Macherla town.

As a student with democratic, progressive ideas, Haragopal was inspired with the Naxalbari Armed peasant struggle. He took part in the 'go to village' campaign that the Radical students took up in 1978. He was a delegate to the 1st district Conference of Guntur. Subsequently he joined the revolutionary movement as a full time revolutionary activist after being operated for kidney problem in 1981. Comrade Haragopal was one among the initial comrades who went to work in the rural area.

After the second Conference of Guntur district of the Party in 1985 enemy made several attacks. Few COs and PRs degenerated owing to repression and Comrade Haragopal stood steadfast. The plenum of Guntur district in 1986 December elected Comrade Haragopal into the District Committee. With the martyrdom

of Comrade Suryam, Comrade Haragopal took the responsibility of DCS. He was relieved from the responsibility



of district secretary in 1993 February and took up the responsibility of secretary of South Coastal districts Regional Committee. He was elected alternate State Committee member in the state plenum.

Comrade Haragopal took up the responsibility as a full time member of the State Committee in 1995. Owing to heavy losses he was also given the responsibility of South Telangana. He studied the concrete conditions of the movement in South Telangana and guided it. After a while he continued also as the secretary of the Regional Committee. Haragopal built and guided secret organisations along with the open organisations in various covers.

Comrade Haragopal was elected into the Central Committee in the Ninth Congress of the erstwhile People's War Party in 2001. He was successful in exposing the rising fascist repressive attacks in the state that attracted the

intellectuals towards revolutionary politics. This effort gained a respectful place to Comrade Haragopal among the intellectuals of the state. Comrade Haragopal (RK) efficiently led the team of representatives of the party in peace talks with the then AP state government. He declared the emergence of CPI (Maoist) with the merger of two revolutionary streams in Saranda forest of Jharkhand from Hyderabad during this time.

After the talks enemy targeted him and in view of this and the need of the movement party transferred him to AOB in 2006. The 3rd Conference of AOB Zone in 2006 assessed that the movement was in temporary setback and also adopted tasks for revival.

In 2009 the AOB movement was deeply reviewed, Political and Organisational Review was prepared and the 1st plenum of the 3rd Conference was held. Comrade Saket played a vital role in bringing unity of thought in the party committees at all levels regarding the tasks to be taken up to solve the problems faced by the AOB movement.

He gave proper direction to the Narayanapatna Armed peasant struggle. In 2010 CRC Company-3 was formed with the help of the forces sent by CRB that helped to retaliate the enemy in the area. These efforts led to the formation of RPC by 2012.

The 4th meeting of the CC in 2013 assessed that the revolutionary movement in the country is facing a difficult

Life History of Member of the Central Committee

Comrade Narendra Singh

Member of the Central Committee of CPI (Maoist) Comrade Narendra Singh (Ashoda, Chintanda) laid down his life on the 6th January 2020 in a hospital in a town. He was suffering with illness for a long time and was in Coma since 2018. He was 74. He was born in a village in the limits of Kesaria police station of East Champaran



district in the state of Bihar in a

middle class peasant family. He has a sister. He had his primary education in his village. His family shifted to Delhi where he had higher education in Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU). He did his Doctorate on the Tharu tribal people living in Bihar-Nepal terai of the Himalayas.

Com Haragopal...

situation and identified three main reasons for this. It gave a call to campaign for bolshevisation of the party. Comrade Saket took up the call with revolutionary spirit in the concrete conditions of AOB from the end of 2014 until mid-2016 and provided leadership to make it successful.

He fought back the right, left, opportunist line and politics in the party and upheld the party line. The 2nd plenum of the zone was held in the beginning of 2013 that reviewed the implementation of tasks that the 1st plenum formulated in 2009.

In 2016 a workshop was held with leadership core comrades on 'Social investigation – Our program' basing on the individual study reports of social, class investigation in 2015 regarding the changes in relations of production and new developments in class composition.

Comrade Haragopal made great political effort in bringing out the official organ of AOB, 'Bolshevik' regularly since 2013.

Comrade Haragopal made remarkable effort in the

theoretical and political sectors. He applied theory to practice, combined universality with particularity and developed tactics. He had a distinct role in formulating the various documents by the Central Committee. He clearly placed the conditions of the movement before the committee and enormously contributed to reach to proper conclusions and to adopt correct tactics. He was active in internal discussions of the party.

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

Comrade Saket escaped enemy attacks several times with the help of PLGA guerillas and the revolutionary people. He received injuries in Ramguda on 24th October 2016 when the enemy encircled and made indiscriminate firing. Thirty-one comrades lost their lives among whom Com. Pridhvi was the son of Comrade Saket. Comrade Saket narrowly escaped from such encirclement attacks until 2020 August.

Comrade Saket made intense efforts with new tactics to rebuild the revolutionary movement that suffered setback in AP. He was a tempered unwavering Communist amidst fierce repressive campaigns who sustained the test of the times, stood steadfast and stepped forward.

He developed into a leader of the highest level in the Indian Revolutionary movement but never demonstrated himself great. He was part of several turns, ebb and flows, victory and defeat, difficulty and losses in his long revolutionary life of 40 years. He did not swing to victories and get depressed with failures. He did not place himself in the forefront of victories. He sincerely stood forth in realising his responsibility in every defeat.

Comrade Saket has an important role in the cultural sector. He was part of drafting the history of 50 years of JNM. He looked after the women's movement and women cadres with great attention. Comrade Saket was truly democratic as a life partner and a father. He always taught Communist human relations and values, lived with the high values and stood as a model.

After being granted a degree of high qualification he did not wish to take up any job. He took up work for the oppressed people to establish an exploitation-free society. During his education he was attracted towards Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. He studied it in detail. After finishing his education he started to work among the workers in Delhi. He was one of the founders of General Workers Union of Delhi. He organized the workers under this banner. During this time, in 1998-99 he came into contact with members of the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC). He started to organize the peasants of villages as an activist of MCC. During his research he saw the horrible conditions of the Tharu and Uraon tribal, Dalit and landless peasants of West Champaran and was terribly moved. It is well known that the peasants of West Champaran not only face feudalism but also the dacoits. The people of the area were in terror and despair.

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

He also took up organisation among the peasants. He became part of the Party in Bihar in 2001. At that time work was going on with the perspective of establishing Base Area. He first made a thorough visit to the area. He developed mass base, formed the Krantikari Kisan Committee and guerilla squads. In the initial days an

incident took place. Dacoits attacked the house of a minority adjacent to Sundarpur School. The men of the family were out at work at the time of the attack and two girls and the mother were there. The dacoits attempted sexual assault. The women cried out on seeing the dacoits. On hearing them Comrade Ashoda took a stick and went there along with his students and those present around. He shouted at them to stop. The powerful voice of a red soldier and the resistance of the village people made the dacoits run out of fear.

He shifted the family the same night and gave shelter in the school for many days. The incident became an issue of organisation and struggle for the people. This forest area of West Champaran later became a guerilla zone. Land and arms were seized from the landlords, forest was protected and dacoits were chased away. There were attacks on the police and camps and arms were also seized from them.

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

Comrade Chintanda was not only a teacher of formal education but of Marxism. He took the responsibility of

educating the cadres of the party. He taught to cadres of the areas of struggle on Marxist philosophy, economics and politics. His method of teaching was simple and natural. He explained complex things in a simple manner. He applied Marxism to practice and explained it through contemporary examples. He had good hold on English and Hindi languages and taught grammar of both the languages.

Comrade Chintanda was arrested three times in North Bihar, first in 2005 in North Bihar and the last in Kanpur of Uttar Pradesh in 2010. Each time after his release from jail he was arrested immediately. His arrest in Kanpur was very awful. He was severely tortured. The arrest was not out of his personal weakness. The arrest affected him physically and mentally. He suffered from mental shock three times due to the tortures by the police. In 2010 he lost one ear. He acquired Bone TB in prison. He had BP, Hernia and Piles.

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

Comrade Chintanda was steady and brave in any condition. After his release from Kanpur jail he went to Bihar-Jharkhand border area. There was an encounter with the Para-Military. The police fired and shelled but Comrade Chintanda was neither afraid nor

Life history of member of the Central Committee

Comrade Milind Teltumbde

Comrade Milind Teltumbde (Deepak) was born in Rajoor village of Vani tehsil of Yavatamaal District in Maharashtra in 1966. He was born as the 7th child of Mr. Bapurao and Anasuya who were poor workers.

After completion of his high school education, he passed fitter training in ITI. He could not study further owing to his family condition. He had to take up a job.

He first worked in Ballarpur Paper mill. He later worked in western coal fields. During this period, he took up few militant struggles of the workers. In his leadership the workers achieved success in these struggles. He emerged as a trade union leader.

In 1982 he came into contact with CPI (ML) (People's War). He found the party theoretically correct and that it had a clear political line. He saw the lives of the Dalit people and the working



class. He understood that the problems of the oppressed sections of the society will be solved only in the path of revolution. He studied the theory of MLM, the documents of the party and was convinced.

He discussed with the party and became a Professional Revolutionary in 1992.

He worked among the working class for a considerable period. He led many struggles to success. He propagated revolutionary politics and the line of Protracted People's War among the workers. He became ideologically stronger and went ahead to take up higher organisational responsibility. He was promoted to the Area Committee rank and later to the District Committee rank.

In 2000 he was elected as a state committee member in a Conference. Given his rich experience in trade union movement, he organized workers, students and youth with great efficiency in towns which are the strong holds of the

Com Chintanda...

disappointed. He was physically weak but his voice was powerful. He slowly and heroically advanced in the battle. He enthused the PLGA fighters and attacked the enemy.

Comrade Chintanda was good at self-criticism. When he understood that he went wrong he was least hesitant to admit and rectify it. He followed strict discipline in his daily life. Mental shock deprived him the ability to read, write and speak.

Comrade Chintanda stood on behalf of worker-peasants and oppressed people of the tribal, Dalit and backward castes. He laid down his valuable life for the sake of revolution. He was a Communist of good characteristics. He sacrificed a life of conveniences and became

a Revolutionary Communist. He served the proletariat like a proletarian. His sacrifice and commitment are ideal and commendable. He thought that nothing should come in the way to accomplish New Democratic Revolution in India and did not marry. He stood steadfast in the arena of armed struggle until his last breath. He even sacrificed his hereditary property and lived like a proletarian in the Party and among the people. In difficulty he approached comrades and not his family. He did not compromise to anyone outside the party.

He believed that although he might not be alive the world will change. In spite of arrest three times and torture, he neither broke, surrender nor was afraid. He thoroughly maintained the secrecy of the Party. Each

time after his release he became part of class struggle and people's war tempered and determined. He had great confidence in revolution and people. In the utmost difficult conditions, he stuck steadfast to the official line of the Party, to class line-mass line and MLM.

Comrade Chintanda is a great teacher, energetic speaker, educated academician and relentless activist. His proletarian characters made him a strong Communist and unwavering Marxist-Leninist-Maoist. All the cadres are imbibing lessons and initiative from the life and work of Comrade Chintanda. They say, 'Comrade we march forward holding the Red Flag/Your loss grieves us but we go on marching forward'.

enemy. In 2005, he played a key role in developing Chandrapur as a strong base for workers', students' and youth movements.

In 2008 he was transferred to rural area (guerilla zone). This was a total change from his background of birth and work. But Comrade Milind took it up with indomitable revolutionary spirit and clear perspective. He continued to look after the urban movement but mainly concentrated on the development of guerilla zone in one part of Maharashtra bordering Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh.

He propagated revolutionary politics among the Adivasi people and organized them. Mining is taken up in a big way in Gadchiroli district of Maharashtra. The mining activity deprived the people of right to land, forest, water, identity and self-respect. The Revolutionary Mass Organisations were propagating the ill effects of the mining and organising the local people against it. The party understood that mining had become a major hurdle for the development of the area.

As per the decision of the Party to advance the movement he developed mass movement in Korchi tehsil against government sponsored mining in Agri, Maseli of Gadchiroli District and demanding people's power on water, forest and land. There were several struggles in this regard. He played key role in developing a mass movement against a project planned by the government for mining in a total of 40 thousand acres in 25 different places of Gadchiroli district.

In 2013, Comrade Milind Teltumbde was elected into the

Central Committee. He was forthcoming in discussions regarding particular issues in Indian society. He had a good study of Ambedkar's writings and caste question in India. He tried to combine the positive aspects of Ambedkar's writings and practice with revolutionary politics. He was not only straight and sharp in discussion but also highly critical. He did not compromise with any kind of left, right and opportunist trends in revolution or the Dalit movement. He made a fair criticism on anything that came in the way of the Party line.

In 2016 he took up the responsibility of reviving the movement in Maharashtra. He provided direct guidance to the newly formed Maharashtra-Madhya Pradesh-Chhattisgarh (MMC) Special Zone with utmost care and diligence. As per the decisions in the CC he consolidated the party in the area. Along with the leading comrades in the Special Zone he contributed to expand to the areas where the party earlier worked and also to new areas. People were facing problems for land, development and daily necessities. He organized the people in various Mass Organisations. The PLGA units stood in protection of the ongoing revolutionary activity. In the process MMC Special Zonal Committee was formed.

He discussed the problems faced in advancing the revolutionary movement in MMC in the 6th meeting of the CC in 2018. He placed proposals before his committee and the committee made necessary decisions. By this time the secretary of a division in MMC left the party and joined the enemy. This led to a heavy rise

in police patrols and all kinds of repressive measures in the area. Carpet security was strengthened as a part of the policy of the state. It became a difficult task to carry out normal revolutionary activity and to implement the decisions of the CC in the Special Zone. Comrade Milind made enormous efforts with the help of his colleagues amidst heavy repression to sustain the movement in MMC. He narrowly escaped from a number of encounters with the armed forces of the enemy.

In 2021, he attended the Central Committee meeting and played active role in finalizing the documents.

Comrade Milind was a zealous poet. He could write poems in any condition. He went by the pen names such as Jwalagrahi, Sahyadri and Anasuya. He was also a singer.

The Hindutva fascist forces led by Narendra Modi-Amit Shaw clique targeted Milind Teltumbde, a real Hero for the cause of working class, Dalit, Tribal and down trodden people. The mercenary armed forces of the central and the state governments made an attack on November 13th with sophisticated weapons near Gyarapatti of Gadchiroli district. The encounter lasted 10 hours in which the Indian revolution lost one of its beloved leader and warrior and 26 other leadership comrades, Commanders and fighters of Party and PLGA.

As a vanguard of the proletariat Comrade Milind Teltumbde fought for the cause of people with great dedication and sacrificed his life for the sake of liberation of his country. He was a beloved leader of the cadre and people. He had immense confidence in them.

Life History of Member of the Central Committee, Secretary of Telangana State Committee Comrade Yapa Narayana

Comrade Yapa Narayana (Haribhushan, Lakmuda) made relentless effort in the Indian Revolutionary movement for the past 30 years of his fifty years of life and took his last breath fighting with Corona pandemic at 9 am on 21st June, 2021. He was a member of the Central Committee of CPI (Maoist) and the Secretary of the Telangana State Committee.

Comrade Yapa Narayana was born as the eldest son in a tribal family in Madaguda village. The village and the surrounding villages witnessed the Telangana armed struggle. This gave birth to communist ideology in Comrade Yapa Narayana. He completed BA (graduation) in 1988. He came into touch with RSU during this time. After completing graduation he worked as a works inspector in the minor irrigation department in ITDA for some time. He took up several social development activities.

At that time the Naxalbari armed struggle broke showing the genuine path of liberation for the oppressed people of the country. Students, youth and toiling masses were inspired with the armed politics. Comrade Haribhushan came into touch with the Revolutionary Mass Organisations and started to take part in the activities. In 1985 there was severe repression on the movement and all open

activity ended. Comrade Haribhushan became a Professional Revolutionary in 1989.



The temporary relaxation in 1990 gave way to large mobilisation. During this period agrarian revolution advanced strongly. After the successful convention of APRCS in 1990 May in Warangal new generation joined the movement all over Telangana. Comrade Haribhushan entered the revolutionary movement as a youth of this generation and continued his life as a great Communist leader and guerilla war expert.

The New Democracy Party murdered Comrade Rajamkoti and Comrade Yapa Narayana escaped from the incident. In conditions of repression and these attacks he went underground. He was first sent to Pakala Kottagudem area. He especially made theoretical struggle against the anti-revolutionary policies of the New Democracy party. He

worked for issue based unity with them making struggle against their interclass right politics. Comrade Yapa Narayana worked first in Narsampet area as a squad member in 1991. He later worked in Nekkonda squad for one year. He was later transferred to Pandava squad as a Commander, organizer in 1992 where he worked until the end of 1998. He became a member of the Khammam district committee in 1996. In 1998 November he took up the responsibilities of the first Platoon of North Telangana.

In 2000 he was transferred to the protection platoon of the CC and continued up to 2005. He also worked as Central Instructor for some time. The CC realized the leadership characteristics in Comrade Haribhushan and made constant efforts to explore those and develop him. In 2005 he was promoted as a member of State Committee rank and transferred to North Telangana Special Zonal Committee. He was elected as the Secretary of Telangana State Committee in 2015 plenum.

The movement for separate state of Telangana gained momentum. Comrade Haribhushan contributed a lot in guiding the movement. Students, intellectuals, poets, artists, writers, lawyers, doctors, workers, teachers, employees, and women mobilized in a big manner.

Com Milind...

Comrade Milind was a versatile leader.

Today it is much more necessary to fight against the Brahminical Hindutva fascist forces who are selling away the

country to the imperialists and unleashing terror on the people. It is also necessary to unite working class, peasants, students, Dalit and Adivasis organizationally, politically, culturally and militarily like

Comrade Milind did. The present conditions of Indian revolution demand the youth, students and working class to become warriors like Comrade Milind.

In early 2000 Telangana landlords, comprador bureaucratic capitalists and imperialists intensified exploitation. Thus contradictions sharpened. Comrade Haribhushan led and mobilized people in several militant struggles against the projects that displace thousands of people. Thus our party developed into a stronger political force and new forces emerged from these militant struggles.

Comrade Haribhushan was a skillful Military Commander. He led raids and ambushes such as Karakagudem police station in Khammam district where 16 policemen were wiped out in this raid and arms seized. In 1999 Comrade Haribhushan was the commander of attack on RPF police station in Bellampalli in which police were injured and three 303 rifles and two revolvers were seized. He played a vital role as the commander of the raid on Asaravelli police station in Maharashtra in 2000 in which few policemen were injured and made to surrender and 20 SLRs, five 303 rifles and a revolver were seized. Comrade Haribhushan was the commander of the assault batch in Koraput campaign that attacked the headquarters. He instilled courage among the

cadres and encouraged them in military actions.

Comrade Haribhushan was in the responsibility of State Military affairs of North Telangana from 2005 to 2015. Since the Telangana movement setback there was a decrease in guerilla actions after 2002. There were few guerilla actions in the end of 2005 in Komararam, Gundala and Settipalli villages. These actions created apprehension among the enemy forces. He made remarkable effort in fighting back the enemy attacks through joint TCOC of the Telangana and Dandakaranya forces. The exploitive ruling classes targeted Comrade Lakmudada in a few operations. He had initiative and skills needed for a guerilla. Thus he could escape from many cruel encounters. The government forces announced him dead in a few encounters. They also took up 'Operation Haribhushan' to end him.

Yapa Narayana was humble towards the seniors and members of the upper committee. He was friendly with the cadres of the lower ranks. He realized their problems in time and helped them a lot to overcome the same. He made timely criticism on the erring cadres. He molded his entire family and childhood friends into

sympathisers of revolution. His class and social background contributed very much to make him a complete revolutionary.

He concentrated on political and theoretical study. He updated himself with the political developments and strengthened his theoretical foundation. He applied the party line to the concrete conditions of Telangana. He placed the stand of the party on the ongoing political developments in the name of Jagan as the spokesperson of Telangana State Committee. The people of Telangana became popular with the name and waited eagerly for his statement. He took classes on political and theoretical aspects to the cadres.

He was elected member of the CC in 2018 November. He was always alert in secret method of functioning. To quote him, 'I wish to do some or the other work always'. He suffered from respiratory problem and in a period of time it aggravated. Finally he was affected with Corona and breathed his last due to heart attack.

The real homage to Comrade Yapa Narayana is to accomplish New Democratic Revolution through Protracted People's War in India. We must firmly step forward to accomplish the task.



**Every comrade must be brought to understand that the supreme test of the words and deeds of a Communist is whether they conform with the highest interests and enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the people
- Comrade Mao Tse-tung**

Reports from Areas of Revolutionary Movement

Reports from Bihar-Jharkhand Special Area

The readers of 'People's March' are well aware that Bihar-Jharkhand is one of the areas that the CPI (Maoist) aims to develop into a liberated zone. In this issue we give a brief report of revolutionary programs taken up by Revolutionary Mass Organisations and retaliatory actions of People's Liberation Guerilla Army in this Special Area.

Bihar-Jharkhand have been being neglected for the past several years like any other states in the country. Genuine development of the people is not taken up by the governments of the two states. The government machinery is bent upon establishing carpet security in a bid to suppress the People's War going on in the leadership of CPI (Maoist). But the people need development. So they are taking up several programs to expose the repressive policies of the governments in collaboration with the central government. One of the people's struggles questioned 'Are the schools for education or for police camps?'

The Indian Reserve Battalion set up a camp in Kuyeeda of Goelkera in a high school. The people were angry with the camp depriving their children of education. They rallied up to the Block Development Office and held a demonstration under the banner of Goelkera Regional Committee of Manki Munda Sangh. The people questioned the right of the government to set up a camp without the permission of Gram Sabha and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the camp. They also demanded action on the concerned officials. People of thirteen villages of Kuldeeha Peed such as Buruduyiyaa, Behaduyiyaa and Keetapee walked a distance of 20 kilometers to reach the office to show their protest. A delegation of 11 representatives submitted a memorandum to the Governor through the Block Development Officer.



People of Paidampur village and the surrounding villages in Chakradharpur block are protesting the new police camp in Paidampur. They held a meeting and informed

the officials that they would take up struggle in a more intense manner if their demand to withdraw the camp was not fulfilled.

Another CRPF camp proposed to be set up in Pandeyadih-Parvatpur of Parasnadh hill under the limits of Khukhra police station of Pirtand Block of Giridih district gave rise to struggle in the surrounding villages. Villagers held a rally carrying their traditional weapons protesting the attitude of the government that did not heed to their earlier protest to the camp. They held a meeting in the place proposed for construction of police camp for two hours. They demanded school and hospital instead. When the MLA from Giridih reached the spot and discussed with the villagers they clearly told him that there was no need for a police camp in their area.

Despite the strong protest from the people there was no change in the decision of the government. Ten days later the people went once again and demonstrated in a stronger manner. They broke the barricades set up in front of the camp and destroyed the camp under construction. Twelve motorbikes, a JCB engaged in construction and a generator including water pipe and wiring were also damaged in the process according to the police. Instead of considering the demand of the people the police are busy filing a case against the demonstrators.



Here is one more incident from Giridih district. A police camp is being built in village Kalhabar in the name of a Degree College. Villagers protested the construction. The government did not heed to it. Then the people took the help of PLGA. PLGA burnt a JCB mixer machine after



which the contractor did not have the guts to continue the work.

People are also struggling against the illegal arrests of villagers. People of Kedabeer village



under the limits of Sonua police station in West Singhbhum district of Jharkhand encircled the police station demanding release of a youth picked up by the police from the

village. The police were on patrol into the area in the name of searching for Maoists. The people immediately followed the police up to the police station and blocked the main road. The people reached the police station with their traditional weapons such as bow and arrow.

In another incident of arrest in Ranjdakocha village of Otar panchayat of Karaikela people encircled Karaikela police station demanding the release of a villager by the CRPF and the local police. They also expressed protest to the beating of another youth of the village. Carrying their traditional bow and arrow the people encircled the station for almost one hour until their demand was met. They left the station only after the police released the youth. They successfully demanded the police treatment of the beaten youth. They warned the police that they would intensify struggle if they went on patrol again.

Government bent on new kinds of repression

While people are struggling for their rights to jal-jungle-zameen the government goes ahead with its draconian deeds in a bid to eliminate the people's movement. Resistance to such deeds is also brewing. There was sudden bombing by the CRPF on a Company of PLGA during elections in Langurahi-Pachrukhiya forest of Bihar from 11 am to 12 am. Nearly 60-70 bombs such as mortars and high explosives were thrown. On the same day Jan Militia Squad and the people together made an attack on a police camp situated in a school in Sondaha in Bankebazar in Gaya district at 10 pm. Two generators, electric equipment, tent, chairs, benches and food material were destroyed.



The government took up a big program of laying roads in the interior areas of the revolutionary movement all over the country. As a part of stopping this, PLGA burnt 2 JCB vehicles and 2 tractors that were engaged in road construction in village Charyeeya. A private contractor took up the work of laying the road from village Navadih to Charyeeya up to Mudgaada. The road passes through the forest area and would facilitate the movement of the Para-Military and State Armed forces to attack the people and the guerillas. In a similar incident 2 machines involved in road construction in between Jagarnadh dam to Canal in the limits of Dev police station in Aurangabad district. A roller and pinching machine was burnt in village Khakhda in Lugu area of North Chota Nagpur area of Bokaro district. Two more JCB machines engaged in road construction were burnt in village Phatriyapani in Hazaribagh district.

We add here a recent report of a Fact Finding into violation of human rights in Jharkhand in brief-

Report of Fact finding into Human Rights violation in Jharkhand

On June 12, 2021 the media reported about an encounter between security forces and Maoists in Kuku-Piri forest, which comes under the jurisdiction of the Garu police station of Latehar (Jharkhand). According to reports, one Naxalite was killed and guns were found. The next day, many local newspapers highlighted that 24-year-old Bramhadev Singh of Piri Village had died in this encounter. He had gone to the forest with other villagers to hunt on the occasion of the Sarhul festival.

Jharkhand Janadhikar Mahasabha investigated the matter by conducting a fact finding that included representatives of various organizations, journalists, lawyers and social workers. The group formed by the Mahasabha included the following social and media organizations – Adivasi Adhikar Manch, Adivasi Women's Network, Human Rights Law Network, The Gram Sabha. On June 17, the team visited Piri village, met the villagers and victims, analysed the response of the local administration and police, the registered FIR and reports published by the local media.

The team found that the incident of 12 June was not an "exchange of fire". Innocent villagers were fired upon by the security forces. The six Adivasis associated with the incident (including

Bramhadev) were out on a traditional hunting ritual, as every year, for the Sarhul festival. They all carried a Bhartua gun, which has been in their families from generations. This single fire gun is used to hunt small animals and birds like rabbits, pigs and chickens and to protect crops from animals.

On the day of the incident, as a group of six villagers moved about 50 feet towards the forest, one of them saw security force personnel at the edge of the forest. He took two steps back and asked others to move back. This caused a panic and the people who were behind started running. Suddenly, the security forces started firing without any warning. The villagers, however, did not hear any shots from the Bhartua gun they were carrying. They instead raised their hands, shouted that they are common people, not Maoists and requested the police to not shoot. But the security personnel kept firing. One of the bullets fired by them hit one of the villagers Dinenath in the hand. Another bullet hit Bramhadev in the body. The firing continued for about half an hour. Fearing being shot at, the five men ran away from the forest. Thereafter, the security forces took Bramhadev to the edge of the forest and fired three shots at him, which led to his death. The villagers also told the fact-finding team that none of the six victims were associated with the Maoist organization.

The FIR lodged by the police makes it clear that the police is trying to hide the truth. The FIR does not mention Bramhadev's death by the police firing. According to the FIR, this incident was an exchange of fire in which the first shot was fired by the group of armed villagers and some people fled into the forest. The FIR also mentions that Brahmadev's body was found at the edge of the forest. These statements are contrary to the facts. The police has led a case against the six Adivasis, including Bramhadev, under various sections (including the Arms Act). This too exposes the true intention of the police – it wants to maintain pressure on the villagers to prevent them from questioning the police firing and the murder. In the police station, all the five victims were made to sign (or put their thumb impression) on many pages (some blank and some written) without informing them about the content of these pages.

Such incidents are continuously taking place in Jharkhand. For example, in June 2020, Adivasis of Chiriyabeda village in West Singhbhum were brutally beaten by the CRPF during a search operation. Although the Chaibasa superintendent

acknowledged the role of the CRPF in the violence, the FIR lodged by the police does not even mention about the CRPF. Till date neither the victims have got any compensation nor any action been taken against the responsible CRPF soldiers.

Along with the statement the Jharkhand Janadhikar Mahasabha and the fact finding team made demands to bring out the facts, to constitute a judicial commission and enquire the facts and to implement PESA.

People against Brahminic Hindutva Fascism

The people are also fighting against Brahminic Hindutva Fascism. One program taken up to save Cows from the saffron forces is interesting to know.

A Cow knowledge foundation is running a Cow house in village Bara in the limits of Dhibra police station in Aurangabad district of Bihar. It meant to stop theft of Cows and to save Cows from slaughter. The foundation collected hundreds of Cows and put them in the house. But there was neither proper fodder nor facilities for treatment. Ten to fifteen Cows died every day. They were being buried through a JCB. The people in the surrounding were discontent with this. They were also angry for the Cow house was built on the land that the people seized from a landlord and were enjoying the crop. The people understood that the Cow house was also a conspiracy to seize back the landlord's land. Moreover the house was in the midst of a road and caused difficulty in passing by. The issue was backed by the local gentry in collaboration with the ruling representatives and the BJP fascists. It needed force. So they approached PLGA. One fine day PLGA blasted the Cow house incidentally on 15th August and emancipated all the Cows. They distributed them among the people. Thus the people showed that the real protectors of Cow were they and not the saffron forces in the name of protection of Cow.

While the incident sent ripples of enthusiasm among the people it shook the 'protectors of Cow' and the police and government administrations. The people witnessed several incidents of harassment of the Dalit and Muslim people in the name of protection of Cow. The Cow knowledge foundation was a NGO of the saffron forces. This action of PLGA put the police department in an irksome position. In fact it was not aware of the house. It obviously got down to make an enquiry of the deaths of hundreds of Cows in the house.

People of Bastar make undulating struggles against police camps

Silinger. The name of a village Silinger in Sukma district of Chhattisgarh is reverberating all over Bastar and the state. The struggle of the



people against a new police camp in the village soon spread all over in waves involving more and more

people. It had already invited the attention of well-wishers of the tribal people, democrats and progressive minded people of the country. The people in struggle continue to obtain great support in spite of which the government is obstinate. This is how it began and is going on.

On 13th May 2021 the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) suddenly went and set up a camp in Silinger. This is against the provisions of Indian Constitution. The area falls under the Fifth Schedule and any activity such as procuring forest produce, cutting of trees and mining has to be done only with the permission of the Gram Sabha, meaning the people of the whole village. Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA) is the Act that specifies the right. The government considers none of these and set up camps all over the areas of people's movement in the state. Struggles gained momentum since mid-2020 (*Detail reports of these struggles in Narayanpur, Kanker and Bijapur were reported in the magazine in the Special Issue of 20 years of PLGA in 2021 February*).

People initially held protest demonstration in front of the Silinger camp on 17th May. The Inspector General (IG) of Chhattisgarh P. Sundarraj and the District Collector of Bijapur Kamalochan Kashyap personally directed the police to fire on the peacefully demonstrating people. Three persons died in the firing and 18 others received injuries. The first 4 days witnessed injuries to 296 villagers of 36 villages in police lathi-charge. One injured woman succumbed to injuries later.

The people were angry with the killings. They decided to perform the last rites of their beloved in the place of firing, in front of the new police camp. They set up firewood and completed their traditional rites of death. On 28th May people inaugurated a column in memory of the persons who died in the firing and paid homage.

By the time, the struggle invited unprecedented support from many sections of the people of the country and other countries. Political parties of Chhattisgarh belonging to all shades, few all India parties and organisations from Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Jharkhand came in support of the struggle. Bharatheeya Janata Party (BJP) also condemned the firing. The Adivasi Samaj (tribal organisation) of the state came in full support of the people. Few political leaders and others tried to pacify the people. Representatives were also taken to virtually meet the Chief Minister of the state. The CM only spoke about giving money, job and other such and the persons who represented the people in struggle only spoke of withdrawal of the camp in Silinger.

Moolvasi Bachao Manch

People formed the Moolvasi Bachao Manch (MBM, meaning Forum for protection of the indigenous).

By June 8th-9th the number of people reached above fifty thousand. The Bijapur Collector invited the leaders of MBM to a camp in Terrem that was set up in 2020 for talks in vain. Meanwhile People's Union of Civil Liberties (PUCL) went and released a book bringing out the reasons and facts of the ongoing struggle. Chhattisgarh Bachao Andolan met the people and expressed solidarity. The struggle spread to all the districts of the Bastar Sambhag that include Bijapur, Dantewada, N a r a y a n p u r , Kondagaon, Bastar and Kanker.

It is interesting to note that fear of Corona pandemic or the state did not cower the people



who stood and are still standing steadfast on their demand. When the police questioned them that they were holding rallies and demonstrations without permission, the people questioned them in turn, 'You did not ask our permission to set up a camp. So why do we need to take your permission to oppose it?'

The protest of an old man is revealing. The police walked through the place of the demonstrating people. Then the good old man caught hold of one. He would not leave him. The policemen had to plead him a lot before getting out their colleague from his hold.

Tribal, democratic, human rights organisations and individuals went in large numbers in support of the struggle. Memorandums started flowing into the Collector's Office of these districts. The struggle of the people became an important topic of discussion among many sections of the society. It went on enlightening the students, youth, teachers, government employees and women. Youth jumped voluntarily into the movement and expressed their commitment towards their society.

On 29th August there were demonstrations, rallies, road blocks in 15 districts and in 22 districts on 26th September that mainly protested firing in Silinger apart from few other related demands. Print and electronic media was busy with covering the daily events. Correspondents and camera persons reached the places of demonstration in large numbers. They interviewed the people, reported how the people were staying in plastic tents in splashing rains and severe cold. Social media groups released video songs, photos, power point presentations and so on.

The people told the media persons, 'We do have difficulty in leaving our farming and family. But police camps became a life and death problem in our lives. So we made arrangements to come here in batches'.

Sexual assaults on women on the rise

The difficulty is not only to continue their means of livelihood. It concerns the survival and protection of women, half of the population. There are quite a number of incidents in which the village women and even minors were sexually assaulted and murdered by the patrolling armed forces of the state. Few such atrocities have raised intense struggle of the people earlier. Now with the increasing police camps, the number of atrocities on women too are on the rise.

'Fifteen women of the villages where new police camps were set up were sexually assaulted. Women are increasingly insecure. Some of them were picked up while bathing. The mercenary armed forces chase the running women. We are fighting against these ill deeds. These violate our mere existence as the indigenous people of the country' said one of the activist of MBM.

Meanwhile the struggle was picked up by people in areas a little distant from these villages. On 19th September 5 thousand people held a rally in Kattakalyan demanding stop to police atrocities and punishment to DRG personnel. They also demanded schools and hospitals. People of 18

panchayats rallied in this program under the banner of Sarv Adivasi Samaj. The Samaj is a social organisation that aims to protect the life, culture and heredity of the local Gond tribe.

Solidarity to the peasant movement

The struggle of the tribal people expressed solidarity to the peasant movement. It held a Kisan Ekta Sabha (peasant unity meeting) on 27th September. The meeting demonstrated the unity of tribal and peasant people in struggle for their fundamental rights.

Few students of Gangalur in Bijapur district were arrested in relation to the struggles. People protested the arrests. They put breaches in 42 places on the road in front of the media explaining the reasons. On 6th October people gathered in Edsametta and held meetings and demonstrations on 7th and 8th. Later they held a rally up to Gangalur where they took up relay demonstrations until 15th.

They said, 'We shall not allow the police to beat us, send dogs on us or do any such unwanted things'. Dogs were sent on the protesting women in Gangalur one year ago. There was large coverage in the media of the atrocious behavior of the police. The present struggle also later transformed into that against police camps.

In October 7 thousand people from 35 panchayats of Bhopalapatnam held a rally placing 20 demands. In the same month relay demonstration was held in Dharmaram where the police propose to set up a camp that continues even now.

Moolvasi Adhikar Sabha



November 1st happens to be the day Chhattisgarh was formed into a separate state. On that day Moolvasi Adhikar Sabha (meeting for power of the indigenous) was held.

The organisers of the meeting emphatically said, 'Even after 21 years of a separate state, the tribal people are being deprived of Constitutional

powers. Now even after 75 years of so called independence the demands for implementation of the Fifth and Sixth Schedules and Autonomy of Bastar are not yet under consideration’.

On 5th November the police attacked Nahod village and made indiscriminate firing when 2 thousand people came together to hold a meeting. The police broke onto the stage and tried to manhandle the president of the meeting. The people held a rally and a press meet protesting the attack on the 7th. Then the police indulged in their typical method. They burnt the tent and beat the people. This led the people to intensify struggle. They went and sat in front of the Nahod camp.

In Gompad and Nulkanthong a meeting was held in protest to the proposed police camp on 12th November. Readers might remember that in Gompad Madkam Idime a village woman was caught from her house when she was pounding paddy for the family, sexually assaulted and murdered in 2016. In Nulkanthong more than ten villagers including two minor boys were killed in firing in 2018. ‘We know how it would be if a police camp comes in our village. So we are strongly against the setting up of police camps in the interior villages’ said one villager of Gompad.

On 26th November meetings were held in Empuram, Singaram, Gompad and other villages in the area around Silinger on the occasion of the Anniversary of Silinger agitation. Protest spread to Dabbakonta, Eladamadugu, Vechapal, Poosuguppa-Rampur, Nameedar and Oorepal.

Since the government did not come down on its decision of setting up police camps people started indefinite demonstration from 5th December.

People against bridge in Kanker district

In Kanker district of North Bastar people started an agitation more than a month ago against a bridge on River Mendki at Vechaghat near Chote Betiya where a camp was set up a few years ago. Now the government proposed to set up a camp of Border Security Force (BSF). The struggle also includes the demand to stop laying a tourist centre in Paralkot.

The people said, ‘The tourist centre shall destroy our culture and tradition. This is a place of worship for us but not for the outsiders’. The government until date neither informed nor took the permission of the people in this regard once again violating PESA.

The struggle against setting up of police camps continue in Gompad, Singaram, Dharmavaram, Nahodi, Poosnar, Elmagonda, Pusuguppa, Nameedar and Vechapal without break. People hold demonstrations in batches from each village. They go along with rice and other necessary material. They are also helped with daily food by supporting organisations.

On the other hand the government continues to be repressive on the struggling people. It does not allow the methods specified in its own rules. The representatives of MBM were arrested on their way to submit a memorandum to the Governor of state. People rallied in big numbers demanding their release in Silinger. All the parties that have been in support of the struggle also rose to the occasion. Owing to the pressure of the protest the police released them.

The demands

The ongoing struggles demand the withdrawal of all the police camps from Bastar; an end to massacres; rigorous punishment and expulsion of the police officers and police personnel including the DRG personnel responsible for all the massacres in Bastar; stringent punishment to the police officers and men responsible for burning houses in villages such as Sarkinguda, Edsametta, Tadimetla, Morpalli and Timmapuram basing on the report of judicial enquiry; stop sexual assaults by the police on tribal women; punish the accused in atrocities and murders of women; provide employment to local unemployed in all the departments in appropriate posts in Bastar; authorize the Gram Sabhas to release nationality/residential/income certificates; provision of school, hospital and pure drinking water in each and every village; appropriate remunerative price for all the forest produce.

The entire process of these struggles brought a change in the daily life of the people. The struggle has become a part of daily life of the people. People collect rice, grams, vegetables and cooking oil for the demonstrators. They also collect money for the demonstrators to buy necessary things. A stage and an office were constructed in all the places of demonstrations. People also started planting vegetables for the purpose around the places.

The people of Bastar continue the legacy of anti-British struggles led by their legendary heroes that made history.

Malkangiri tribals up in arms opposing limestone mining

Over 2,000 people of five panchayats in Malkangiri district staged protests Sunday at Katamateru against mining of limestone at



Matapaka and Niliguda panchayats. Shouting slogans against the administration over mining,

the agitating people said that they would not spare their land, forest and water for exploitation. They stated that through the Odisha Mining Corporation (OMC), the state government had auctioned 200 acres of land for limestone mining at Matapaka and Niliguda panchayats in 2015-16 without the consent of the local people.

“Well before auction of the limestone mines, neither the state government, nor the OMC, nor the administration took locals into confidence. No palli sabha was held over the stone mining,” they added. Over years, tribals have been living and depending on forests, they said, adding that the administration has not paid attention to development of the villages in the region. People have been suffering for lack of proper communication, they added. The SC/ST welfare department has set up a high school at Katamateru.

Over 500 children study in the school, but they have to suffer in the absence of a pucca road from Matapaka to Katamateru. “Over years, we are in misery as communication is still a problem in Katamateru, Niliguda, Koyagiri, Puruna Niliguda, and Uskalbag. Telephony has been inaccessible. Every village here has many widows, who are still deprived of pension. Many government schemes do not reach people. Farmers have to face distress sale of their crops every year. On the other hand, the government has been trying to displace them through mining,” the agitating people observed, adding that they would not let the conspiracy of the government take shape.

People from Kalimela, Katamateru, Nandibada, Uskalbag, Niliguda, Kayagiri and Iralgundi also stated that huge quantities of minor forest produce, groundnuts and sesame seeds are transported to other states, but the state government has never thought of setting up agro-

based industries to process the local produce and market them. They also pointed out that people in nine panchayats had been displaced due to the Chitrakonda reservoir, but many of them have not yet been rehabilitated. “So, we have been opposing the mining of limestone in the area,” said the sarpanchs of Niliguda, Matapaka, Gorakhunta, Materu and Tandapalli.

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Shouting slogans against the administration over mining, the agitating people said that they would not spare their land, forest and water for exploitation. They stated that through the Odisha Mining Corporation (OMC), the state government had auctioned 200 acres of land for limestone mining at Matapaka and Niliguda panchayats in 2015-16 without the consent of the local people.

Reproduced from an English daily 'Orissa Post' 2022 January 9th.

People oppose Carpet Security

Here is one more report from Andhra-Odisha Border Special Zone.

The Odisha state government has been laying roads and bridges, building cell towers and other such things in cut-off area of Chitrakonda block in Malkangiri district in the name of development for the past two years. But the people of the area are not ready to agree this. They have been solving their fundamental problems such as drowning due to dams in the path of struggle in the leadership of CPI (Maoist). They clearly state that the present so called development is part of intensification of repressive measures on them and the party that is guiding them.

The government is spending hundreds of crores of rupees in this projects and infrastructure facilities. It deployed hundreds of Para-military forces, arranged carpet security. BSF, SOG, DBF have been deployed and new camps set up in Ontalaguda, Darlabeda, Gurusetty, Ondralu and Mudilipada in the past one year. There are constant attacks on the villages. With the support of the police the landlords who earlier fled are returning and trying to seize back their lands from the people. The contractors are minting lakhs of money in collaboration with the government officers.

Nearly ten thousand people from scores of villages of Panasaput, Ondralu and Jodamba panchayats came together to resist carpet security. They held a rally in Gurusetty in summer. They demanded immediate withdrawal of camps, unconditional release of the arrested, to stop attacks on villages and combing the forest.

Protest to GO Nos 317&3 in Telangana

The government of Telangana made Government Order No. 317 on 6th December 2021 that caused severe protest from the concerned sections. Teachers are in the forefront in the agitation for the withdrawal of GO No 317. They are holding demonstrations, encircling the government offices and such other forms of agitation. The GO introduced a zonal system in the allocation of jobs regarding public employment in Telangana.

The GO authorizes the District Collector and the concerned Head of the Department of the district to make decisions on jobs and transfers. The Principal Secretary, Special Chief Secretary, Head of the Department and Senior Consultant to



the government are authorized for zonal and multi-zonal posts. Transfers and allocation of permanent posts shall be irrespective of nativity. Nearly 3 lakh employees and teachers are against the GO. They say that they were not informed of the proposal that was normally the practice. The employees say that the government is trying to implement the GO against the rules.

The opinion among the related sections is that the government brought the GO in haste to cover up its earlier GO in this regard. The government made one GO when there were ten districts that now became thirty-three. One district is divided into three or four and a transfer would lead the employees to go to faraway places. The agitators also say there are discrepancies in the preparation of the allocation list owing to corruption. The teachers and employees also demand the government to appoint a commission of experts, employees and teachers to find an agreeable solution.

The government is trying to implement the GO in the most undemocratic manner that is inviting a lot of criticism from all sections of the society. Unemployed and teachers are committing suicides in agony.

The Maoist party criticized the government for its undemocratic attitude. Telangana State Committee of the CPI (Maoist) gave a press release supporting the demands. The statement released by the spokesperson of the committee Jagan demanded the TRS government to withdraw the GO and stop the employee allocation with immediate effect.

The Maoist party demanded that the government take up recruitment on the basis of nativity and reservations. The allocation of employees on the basis of seniority put a whole lot of employees especially women to distress, said the statement.

Tribal people are also protesting the Supreme Court ruling in favor of annulment of Government Order (GO) No. 3 that deprives them of obtaining teacher jobs. The ruling came under strong criticism in the backdrop of rising movements for the rights of tribal people in the country.

In fact the Fifth Schedule itself provided hundred percent reservation for the people of local scheduled tribes. Go No. 275 was formulated as per the Constitutional provisions way back in 1986. Few contended the GO in the court but rights activists were successful in countering it. Then GO No 3 was made by the joint Andhra Pradesh government on 10th of January 2000 that specified hundred percent Secondary Grade teacher posts in the Scheduled Area to the 'local tribal' people.

A writ was filed in the High Court against the GO. The court gave ruling in favor of the order. The Supreme Court now decided against the order.

The said GO was however, implemented in only a few schools run by the Tribal Welfare department. It was not implemented in the rest of the tribal residential schools and Colleges thus depriving hundreds of people of the ST category of jobs. The present decision of the Supreme Court formally and totally deprived the tribal people of the teacher posts.

One more related issue is the appointment of a commission to fill fifty thousand vacancies. The point of discussion is that while a procedure is already defined for this what was the need for the commission. This according to the activists is to manipulate appointments.

There is wide protest from employees, teachers and the unemployed to the GOs. They say that the state government of Telangana is not filling the vacancies and creating vacuum in their lives.



Changes that took place in the social system of the country after the transfer of power

The CPI (Maoist) released a document namely 'Changes in Relations of Production-Our Political Program' in 2021 January. We give here a part of it that summarises the essence

Since the beginning of the 1970s, imperialism fell in general crisis all over the world. In 1980s globalization policies were taken up to overcome it that put the burden of its crisis on semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries like India. Thus the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nationalities and the oppressed people went on intensifying. As mentioned extensively in this document, due to the policies unleashed by comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal ruling classes in the dictates of imperialism in our country before and after 1990s, economic crisis reached an intense state. Exploitation, oppression, suppression and discrimination on oppressed classes of workers, peasants, middle class, national bourgeoisie, women, Dalits, tribal people, oppressed sections like religious minorities and the nationalities of Kashmir and North East took a severe form. Due to the changes that took place in Indian economy for the past seven decades, briefly these are the changes in the situation of the forces of production, in the relations of production, in the relations between different classes and in class contradictions –

1. According to the Bombay plan the comprador gov-

ernments in the centre and states took up several plans and policies favorable to imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal classes. These policies were institutionalized during the period of globalization.

Global finance capital created seven severe crises that destructs the oppressed nationalities and people living on the earth in several sectors – economic crisis, employment crisis, environment/ecological crisis, fuel crisis, the crisis of forcible migration, socio-cultural crisis, politico-military crisis. The dependence, slavery and loot of the backward countries intensified. Economic inequalities reached the peak. Poverty, unemployment, hunger, lack of clean air and water, violation of fundamental and civil rights, punishments and tortures are on the rise. The number of deceased injured and displaced due to wars and violent conflicts rose to scores of lakhs.

As a part of it the country was made more dependent by allowing complete

foreign partnership in domestic industries, the uncontrollable exchange of global finance capital and control of imperialist MNC/enterprises on these and by dependence on foreign technology. Imperialist international monopolies and their comprador companies in the country constantly loot the labor power, products, services, especially the raw material in the export based, import based industries, especially in the outsourcing industries and agri-business companies. Joint ventures with the MNCs and TNCs of various imperialist countries, foreign ancillary industries, foreign investments, 'aid', grants and loans grew. Rupee severely lost its value.

The exploitive policy of Public-Private partnership (PPP) was further expanded and implemented. This constitutes the implementation of flagship projects (Bharatmala scheme, Sagarmala scheme, special transport corridor scheme and other such). This is part of the concept of transport oriented development created by the global finance capitalists. The international monopoly enterprises and its comprador companies are severely exploiting the workers and earning super profits by establishing startup com-

panies and light asset model companies along with the PPP project companies.

Large scale de-industrialisation and de-regulation in the organised sector and disinvestment in public sector are putting these sectors in decline. Unorganized sector and private sector became important. The real wages of workers are witnessing severe fall. The rights they achieved through struggle are violated. Casualization and contractisation of workers rose in a big way. A large number of them are working as bonded labor in medieval working conditions. Although statistics show that more than 50 percent obtained self-employment, in fact all of them are suffocated with semi-employment.

After the transfer of power the share of agriculture and its related sectors in GDP fell from 50 percent to 14.4 percent and it suffered heavy structural changes. At the same time the share of manufacturing sector in the GDP of the country is the lowest in Asian countries at 31.4 percent. Even without adding the agricultural laborers coming from rural areas in the GDP, the service sector extremely swelled, its share rising to 54.1 percent in GDP.

Agricultural products, half completed goods constitute a major part of the exports from the country. Imports mostly include completed industrial products from the US, Russia,

Europe, China, Japan and other imperialist countries.

2. The land in the rural areas is much more bound in the hands of a few. Although there is change in the earlier forms related to centralization of land, it rose in new forms. This is clear from the official statistics of the government. In 1970-71 the 3.9 percent landlord families out of the total agrarian families owned 5 crore hectares or 12.5 crore acres of land. As per the 70th round NSS in 2012-13, 7 percent rural elite own nearly half of the cultivable land. According to 2015 socio-economic survey, 55 percent of the land is centralized in the hands of the 10 percent landlords. Various studies prove that during the past seven decades, the old and the new feudal, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois ruling classes grabbed uncountable crores of hectares of land in new forms. These three big mountains are obstructing the development of forces of production in the country.
3. When compared with the British period, capitalist relations took uglier form in the past seven decades. There were considerable changes in semi-feudalism. Government reforms and various revolutionary, democratic struggles brought a change in feudal exploitation, forms of exploitation and the rural class composition. New forces became part of the feudal forces that brought

a change in the feudal hegemony. Government, Non-government 'party-cooperative-panchayat-police' networks collaborated and took a new feudal form. New forms of exploitation came forth.

4. As a result of the imperialist sponsored economic policies adopted by the comprador ruling classes after the transfer of power, before and after 'green revolution', agricultural and the related sectors of agriculture fell in severe crisis. Modern agricultural methods came into practice in considerable areas in the past seven decades. The utilisation of machines increased. As a result of all these, the exploitation, oppression and suppression by the imperialists and the comprador rulers rose further basing on the semi-feudal relations in agriculture. The country became more dependent due to the increased hold of imperialism. Agriculture fell in irrecoverable crisis. This led to increasing fragmentation of agricultural land holdings. In 1970-71, the total land holdings were 7.1 crores that increased to 8.89 crores in 1980-81. In 1990-91 it rose to 10.53 crores. The 59th round of NSS in 2002-03 showed the total land at 10,72,28,000 hectares and average land holding at 0.725 hectares. According to the 70th NSS in 2012-13, the average land of agrarian families to the assessed 9,23,69,000 hectares of total land decreased to 0.592 hectares.

The number of small land holdings and production of ordinary crops in the agricultural sector is growing. When compared with the capitalist countries productivity is very low in big land holdings also. This is the main criterion for semi-feudal relations and backward semi-feudal mode of production. It is not possible to transform into capitalism. As Lenin said, there is no such process in our country for the growth of capitalism so as to create big land holdings and to socialise the scattered labor through those.

5. There were considerable changes in the class composition in the peasantry in rural India for the past seven decades. In 1961 the total landless agricultural laborers of the country were 24.04 percent. This number rose to 46 percent by 1991. After globalization, the number of peasantry that lost lands due to imperialist onslaught and transformed into agricultural laborers, migrant semi-workers and 'rural reserve of unemployed' is on the rise. This reached 57 percent in 2001. It rose from 60.1 percent in 2002-03 to 66.1 percent in 2012-13. Landless farmers were high in number in few places. According to the socio-economic survey in 2015, 54.38 percent families have one meal a day. Their immediate demand and war slogan is 'land to the tiller' even now. Poor and middle class tenants are in the front line in this.

We see a rise in wage la-

bor in agriculture and agriculture related sectors in the past seven decades. The number of agricultural wage laborers and semi-workers rose. Some think apparently that feudal exploitation took capitalist form in the rural areas. In fact the wages of the semi-workers and that of the modern proletariat in the industries are absolutely different. No recommendations of wage board apply to the wage laborers/semi-workers. Therefore, this change cannot undermine the present semi-feudal exploitation. The wage labor contract between the hegemonic caste landlord and the Dalit landless laborer is of semi-feudal origin. This is at a time a base for economic and non-economic exploitation and oppression. This caste-class oppression is still prevalent in the rural areas.

Various kinds of semi-workers working in agriculture related sectors, professional experts and self-employed persons also were affected with the domestic market crisis and face severe problem for employment.

As toilers and farmers women, Dalits and tribal people face severe exploitation, oppression and discrimination from these three big mountains. At the same time they even now face several severe social problems. They are entwined with class struggle and New Democratic Revolution.

The policies of the

comprador rulers in the past seven decades after transfer of power fulfill only the interests of foreign MNCs and the domestic corporate companies and big landlords that are in collaboration with them. Food crops became less in number and commercial crops became more. Thus the exploitation of the imperialist MNCs, agri-business companies and its comprador companies, the prevalence of forward or the future trading in agriculture markets, comprador exploitation took a severe form. The rate of crop is less when the farmer obtains crop and it is many times high when it goes into the hands of the traders. Land question, tenancy question, question of remunerative prices, forcible displacement question and the question of agriculture related sectors pushed agriculture into irrecoverable crisis. The average monthly income of the poor and middle class peasant families is lesser than the minimum wage set by the government. This is leading the middle class peasantry to bankruptcy and their number is dwindling day by day. The rich peasants are also severely affected from agrarian crisis. So, the growth of the forces of production came to a standstill and they are destroyed in a big way. There is more number of suicides of farmers in places where commercial crops spread more.

According to the 2015

socio-economic survey rural population constitutes 74 percent of the total population of the country. Sixty percent of the population is dependent on agriculture. Farmers, agricultural laborers and semi-workers are the majority of the producers and industrial workers the minority; the present forces of production are being destroyed (closure of industries, agrarian crisis especially the suicides of farmers); that clearly shows that Indian economy is yet in the backward semi-feudal condition.

The schemes the comprador rulers took up after transfer of power to revive the small scale industries, cottage industries and other such things that were destroyed during the British imperialist rule are limited to superficial changes. The handicrafts that have been providing employment in the rural economy and playing an important role reached the stage of extinction in the past seven decades.

6. The acts to eradicate tenancy and other reform programs after the transfer of power did not achieve anything. The earlier forms of exploitation of direct tenancy prevail. Few changed in form but not in content. Especially we see the 'revival of tenancy policy' in post reform period. The poor and the middle class farmers that are forming into the 'rural reserve of unemployed' day by day depend on tenant cultivation for liveli-

hood. The inevitability to do tenant cultivation and the entwinement of the state power in the semi-feudal society with the feudal forces of the village and the government-police-judiciary organs allows the cruel feudal exploitation and bonded labor. On the other hand the 'reverse tenancy' of lands by the landlords and rich peasants is widely practiced as a new form of exploitation of the poor peasantry.

7. The feudal non-economic forms of exploitation unleashed on the peasantry earlier to globalization are still in practice. Especially bonded labor, semi-bonded labor and neo-bonded labor of Dalit people are continuing in various forms. Caste based Brahmanism is yet alive in the rural areas and especially the Dalits suffer from severe exploitation and oppression.

Intense exploitation of money-lending is going on in various forms. In the name of loans not only the landlords, money-lenders and market traders, but the various government and non-government finance institutions and other such things severely exploit the peasantry. During the period of neoliberalisation the investment and loans from the government to agriculture is going down. This gave new momentum to money-lending.

8. Contract-corporate agriculture is gradually spreading. The imperialists and

their comprador agri-business companies grab the entire lands of the peasants and transform them into agricultural laborers in their own lands.

9. Brahmanic Hindutwa communalism spread in a big way in the country in the past seven decades. Starting from the massacre of lakhs of Muslim people during partition in 1947, it unleashed several massacres, atrocities, putting in flames, destruction of properties and loot in Ahmedabad (1969), Bhivandi in Maharashtra (1970), Tellacheri in Kerala (1971), Jamshedpur in Jharkhand (earlier Bihar) (1979), Bhagalpur in Bihar, Meerut in Uttar Pradesh (1980), Tamilnadu (1982), demolition of Babri Masjid (1992), Gujarat (2002), Kandamal of Odisha (2008), Muzaffarpur of Uttar Pradesh (2013), Hindutwa forces coming to power for the first time in 2000, second time in 2014 and the third time in 2019, inhuman mob lynching murders on Muslims, Dalits and tribal people and the judgment of the Supreme Court in favor of construction of Ram Mandir in the site of Babri Masjid in 2019 November. These frenzy violent attacks mainly affected the Muslim religious minorities. Dalits, tribal people and women and also the Christians faced severe losses. The Congress and the BJP governments put aside the report of Sachar commission regarding the conditions of Muslims. The Hindutwa

forces went much ahead with the objective to transform the country into a Hindutwa state. We have to remember that all this is dictated by the global finance capital. The aim of finance capital is to facilitate the way to its exploitation by strengthening fascism in the country and by establishing fascist ideology and its hegemony in all the sectors of the country.

10. The hierarchical caste system based on the Brahmanic Hindutwa ideology is integral to the semi-feudal relations in India. The oppressor castes unleash Manudharm in the rural and urban areas under the leadership of comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal forces. Suppression, oppression, discrimination, untouchability, forms of social boycott, direct violence, massacres, setting ablaze alive, sexual atrocities on women, burning the houses, destruction of properties and loot of the oppressed/Dalit caste/tribal people has become a normal feature. Belchi (Bihar), Keelavenmani (Tamilnadu), Bathanitola (Bihar), Karamchedu, Neerukonda, Chundur, Sompeta of Andhra Pradesh, Khairlanji, Jeevkhedda and other incidents in Maharashtra, the massacres before and after Bhima Koregaon, Oona atrocity in Gujarat are a few examples of this situation. Brahmanic forces unleash hegemony in educational institutions of the

primary level to the highest level and in the Universities. The syllabus is Brahmanised. As a result students are murdered, they are committing suicides, there are threats, murders and attacks on Dabholkar, Pansare, Kalburgi, Gowri Lankesh and other such progressive, secular beings. The countrywide protest after the suicide of Rohit Vemula and several such protest demonstrations expose the barbarity of Brahmanic Hindutwa.

11. Discrimination in education, health, residence, division of work/labor, social status of oppressed castes, ownership of property and other such things and patriarchy towards women is still glaring. In the name of 'Ek Bharath, sresht Bharat' to transform the country into Brahmanic Hindutwa state and establish 'Akhand Bharat' there are relentless attacks on the religious minorities, especially the Muslims and Christians and on the nationalities in Kashmir and North East fighting with the aspirations of nationality liberation. The frenzy violent attacks of the dominant caste feudal forces out of intolerance towards the rising progressive, democratic consciousness among the oppressed/Dalit castes/tribal people, minorities and oppressed nationalities against the hegemony and atrocities of Brahmanic Hindutwa led to severe suppression, oppression and discrimination on several occasions.

Changes due to class struggle

There were certain important changes in various sectors of the country after transfer of power in 1947. Also, there were considerable changes in the various states/areas of revolutionary movement as a result of intense anti-imperialist, anti-government movements in addition to the anti-feudal class struggles in the leadership of our Party in the past five decades. The countrywide anti-feudal armed peasant struggles that took place as a part of the surge of Naxalbari Armed peasant rebellion in the second half of 1960s and the first half of 1970s showed intense impact on the social order of the country. Later another such wave of armed peasant struggles took place in the end of 1970s. The nature of the class struggles that took place as a part of it and the resulting changes in Bihar, in few areas of Jharkhand, few areas of Telangana, Rayalaseema, the north and south coastal areas of Andhra Pradesh, West Bung, Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Odisha and Maharashtra where feudal relations are strong, is almost similar. Similarly the social condition, terrain, the nature of the class struggles and the changes in the tribal areas in Jharkhand, Dandakaranya (Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra), Visakha, East Godavari Manyam agency of Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, West Bung and

Odisha are fundamentally alike.

A new landlord class took birth from the anti-feudal class struggles in areas where the feudal relations are strong. The old landlords shifted their properties and investments to the urban areas. Many of the old landlord families settled in government and private top posts in urban areas. The number of landlords dependent on agriculture and their role in the rural life gradually decreased and the hegemony of cultivating and non-cultivating rural gentry took the place in these areas. Land was mainly concentrated in their hands. They brought forth several new methods/policies of exploiting the peasantry. Earlier, in addition to many kinds of non-economic forms of exploitation, the landlord class gained surplus by exploiting the peasantry through collecting illicit taxes, seizing several kinds of lands and other such forms. As mentioned above, due to the changes in conditions that took place in the society and as a result of the class struggle, the above forms weakened and many new forms of exploitation came forth. There are considerable changes in the class composition in the villages and distorted capitalist relations are spreading in production. Semi-feudal relations relatively weakened. Earlier to 1990s, class struggle took place normally between the landlords of the op-

pressor castes, one or two big landlords, few families of the oppressor castes propped by them and their compradors on one side and the broad masses on the other. We almost do not see this condition in the later period. Few of the earlier landlords and the rich and middle class peasantry developed into new landlords and are unleashing hegemony in the villages. They are looting the surplus of the rural economy together with the imperialists and the comprador bureaucratic capitalists with the support of the state. Today we need to aim the class struggle against this alliance.

We seized forest lands, we seized the surplus lands in the possession of non-tribal, tribal landlords and evil gentry, we suppressed a few landlords, heads of evil gentry, hierarchs and informers who were anti-people, class enemies and anti-revolutionary movement and gave a blow to the exploitation and oppression of the forest and revenue departments in the tribal areas where revolutionary movement is strong. People doing bonded labor for the tribal heads and gentry had stopped. Money-lending and the exploitation of traders in the weekly market was contained. The exploitation of landlords and tribal heads was lessened. The method of wage laborer is almost not seen. On the other hand, during the same time, there were

struggles against the imperialists, the public and private capital, state and their compradors in various such areas in the past two to two and a half decades. As the Revolutionary Peasant Committees/Agriculture labor organisations and Revolutionary People's Committees were being formed, consolidated and spreading, these stopped and controlled the exploitation and oppression of landlords, money-lenders, rich peasants and other such exploitive forces. Thus there were certain considerable changes in class composition in these areas. As a result of class struggle and the economic and political policies that the RPCs implemented, there are no landlords or their number considerably lessened in the areas of strong revolutionary movement. A new counter-revolutionary alliance entwined with old and new landlords, imperialists and comprador bourgeoisie emerged with the support of the state. The numbers of poor peasantry decreased and that of middle class peasantry increased in the rural economy. However, poor peasantry is yet the highest in class composition. As a result of globalisation policies and due to the implementation of class struggle-people's state power, a petty bourgeois section constituting middle class-student-employees rose. On the other hand, migrant workers and unorganised

workers are rising. The exploitation of traders is increasing. The exploitation and oppression of imperialist, comprador bureaucratic capitalists are rising.

We cannot separate the changes that took and are taking place in all the areas where the imperialist capital penetrated the social system of the country, especially the changes after the globalisation policies were introduced and the changes that are taking place as a result of class struggle. However, in places of intense class struggle, it showed vital impact on the changes in various sectors of the social system. Revolutionary movement temporarily weakened in areas of earlier intense class struggle because of our shortcomings in taking up class struggle with appropriate tactics due to the counter-revolutionary offensives unleashed by the central and the state governments and the change in social conditions. We witness a speedy process of rise and growth in new landlord class and new exploitive forces and in establishing their hegemony in such areas. Therefore it is immediately necessary to formulate and implement a concrete program of class struggle with proper tactics in the present areas of the revolutionary movement against the old and the new exploitive forces, keeping in view the changes in the social conditions in the past 7 decades and especially the

changes that took place as a result of class struggles in the leadership of our party.

The immediate task is to eliminate the semi-colonial, semi-feudal system and establish New Democratic system

Before synthesizing the mode of production in India, let us see what the document on 'The Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution' that the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress (2007) passed, said about the three great mountains, imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and feudal classes –

"Imperialism plunders the country's land, labour, raw materials, and other natural resources. It earns super-profits through ruthless exploitation by various means. It subjugates the entire economy, polity, military and culture of India; destroys indigenous industry particularly the small and medium industries, throws out millions of workers into the streets and hinders the free and independent development of the national economy.

Comprador bureaucrat capitalism collaborates with imperialism and allies itself with feudalism. It destroys the small and medium industries, oppresses not only the working class, peasantry and other toiling masses but also the national bourgeoisie.

Caste-based brahminical feudalism acts as fetter on the development of the productive forces by holding down the vast majority of the Indian people under backward relations of production. Economically, it keeps the overwhelming majority of the people in dire

poverty and destitution, and depresses their purchasing power. It thereby, restricts the growth of the home market, retards industrial development and leads to massive unemployment and stagnation of the economy. Politically, it suppresses the democratic rights of the masses and in some places, even creates a 'state within a state' i.e. a parallel landlord raj in the rural areas with their own private armies or with the support of state-hired armed mercenaries. It keeps the peasantry in perpetual subjugation and bondage. Socially and ideologically, Brahminism and the caste system brings an added oppression to the lower castes and dalits. With Dalits it takes the inhuman form of untouchability. These also act as measures for extra-economic forms of extracting surplus by the feudal interests.

These three big mountains that are weighing down the backs of the Indian people should be smashed in order to build the new democratic society".

The present document detailed the changes that took place in the social system of the country, especially in all the sectors in the rural agrarian sector after the transfer of power, especially from the 1990s to the present time. A synthesis of these developments and changes makes clear that the above statement is totally correct even now.

As per the changes in the past seven decades, it is undoubted that Indian economy is neither capitalist nor in the path of transformation into a capitalist society, that there is no such democratic trend in the country and that on the contrary semi-feudal relations relatively

weakened. Land question is still the main question in the vast rural areas and revolutionary land reforms on the basis of land to the tiller is yet the most important and relevant issue. The average agrarian statistics and the village surveys of academicians reveal these aspects. The peasant struggles that took place/are taking place extensively in most of the states all over the country in the leadership of the revolutionary and democratic forces for land is a clear example for this. The experience of West Bengal shows that even if land reforms and tenancy reforms are done, without the elimination of the exploitation of the three big mountains and establishing New Democratic system under the leadership of the oppressed classes in the dictatorship of the proletariat, they will not be of much help.

Imperialism has been obstructing the semi-colonial, semi-feudal economic system in our country from developing independently for the past seven decades. It transformed our country further into an ancillary economy to the imperialist economy. The colonial, financial economic relations of our country with the imperialist countries before the transfer of power further spread. Imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal classes collaborate to exploit the natural wealth and the labor power of the oppressed people of our country in a big way. Imperialist finance capital grew like a big spectre. It is grabbing a major share of the surplus in the industrial, agrarian and service sectors. Especially it is maintaining its control on the economy through unequal trade,

direct investments and loans in the agrarian, industrial and service sectors. The foreign MNCs and comprador ruling classes are earning super profits not only out of the cheap labor power of the workers and employees in tea, coffee, rubber, sugarcane and coconut plantations but also from the export of raw material, the sale of the imports from imperialist countries and through giving their agricultural lands for rent. Except for a few big light manufacturing companies, all the transactions of these companies are centralized in trade related aspects and not in manufacturing. These light manufacturing industries are also not 'make in India' industries but 'assembled in India', i.e. import based industries. All these objectively prove that like during the British rule India is yet an imperialist market. All these are semi-colonial, semi-feudal characteristics.

The bureaucratic control of banks/cooperatives, money-lenders, traders and various finance enterprises on the major part of the surplus created in agriculture is obstructing the accumulation of capital. There is no question of fulfilling the condition for capitalist reproduction. The semi-feudal relations obstruct capitalism to grow from the lower level. Money-lending and commercial investment grabs the agricultural products/goods of the farmers but not the process of production. This process binds the farmers in semi-feudal relations. It gains control over their labor power and neither transforms them into workers nor gives the opportunity to become capitalists.

There is no truth in the

propaganda of the comprador ruling classes that they are developing capitalism in the country, that the large scale foreign investments are considerably developing the economy of the country and that the Gross National Product of the country raised very high. Capitalism keeps the entire wealth of the society in the hands of the capitalists and extracts surplus value to the maximum extent from the rest of the toiling people and earns super profits. It does not bring any kind of progress to the worker, peasant, middle class and other oppressed classes but gives only difficulties, tears and utter poverty. This is the history of capitalism. Therefore, however much capitalist growth is shown by the comprador rulers, however ugly its form might be, it fulfills the interests of the capitalists but not the toiling masses.

Lenin formulated two chances related to capitalist transformation. Capitalist transformation takes place as a result of the transformation of feudal economic system (capitalism from the above) or through the elimination of feudal estates (capitalism from the below). But in India capitalist transformation took place in none of the two ways. Therefore the argument that 'capitalism developed from above' in India, that the Indian ruling classes are independent, they adopted the method of 'compromise, bargain' with the imperialist countries and are gaining hold on the economy of the country is not at all an objective reality. It is an objective fact that global finance capital is thousand times more powerful than the Indian comprador ruling classes. Their

historic collaboration with global finance capital is an undisputed fact.

British colonialism preserved feudalism in India according to its interests and utilized it as its social prop. It did not fundamentally change the giant hold of feudalism on the vast peasant masses but it also squeezed them and introduced capitalist relations. This resulted in the formation of semi-feudal relations of production. Even after the end of direct colonial rule these semi-feudal relations of production continued. Imperialism is utilizing both comprador bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism to unleash its neo-colonial kind of direct rule, exploitation and hegemony on India. It destroyed the domestic market and pushed the country into economic crisis. If we synthesise the developments and changes in the past seven decades, it clearly shows that the exploitation of the landlords, money-lenders and merchant classes on the vast people in the extensive rural area is going on unceasing due to these three big mountains, the enemies of the people of the country.

It is not correct to hypothesise that Indian economy is 'on the verge of capitalism', that it is 'semi-capitalism' and 'capitalism under transformation'. Such a hypothesis will understate the semi-feudalism that is still unleashing state power in our country and is strong and decisive. It will also understate the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal tasks of the national democratic revolutions in the era of imperialism and proletariat revolutions. It will ultimately push into confusion about the path to be followed by the

struggling revolutionary forces and the tactics to be adopted for a total change in the system. So these hypotheses are not correct. They do enormous harm to the New Democratic Revolution of India.

The hunt of global finance capital for super profits is destroying the lives of the entire proletariat, peasant, middle class and national bourgeoisie and other oppressed classes, sections and nationalities and is making a cruel attack on them. For this purpose it is bringing fascist parties to power in the backward countries. In this background the Narendra Modi government under the leadership of the fascist BJP with Brahmanic Hindutwa ideology took up power in the centre in our country and is unleashing severe fascist offensive on the people for the past six years. It is spending crores of rupees to arrange CC TV surveillance cameras all over the country for several surveillance products in the name of providing security for the people and their properties. It is mobilizing all kinds of data. It is monitoring communications. Imperialists and their comprador rulers are bringing forth undemocratic, anti-people acts to suppress revolutionary movements, democratic movements and protests of the people. They are militarizing the police forces. They are deploying police, Paramilitary, Commando and Military forces and are making inhuman attacks on the movements. The police firing on the people's agitation against the sterlite plant in Tamilnadu, the transformation of Kashmir into a concentration camp, firing on Dalits, farmers and students in several areas of the country are

recent examples. There are more attacks on the Dalits in Rajasthan, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh and on the tribal people in the North eastern states, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Odisha, Telangana, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. The oppressed people of the world and our country are taking up large scale protest against the imperialists and their comprador fascist rulers. Liberal democrats unable to understand the relation between the politics of globalization and economy preach post-modernism and look them separately. The NGOs bring forth legalism, reformism and economism and liquidate the struggle spirit of the people. Various kinds of revisionists see the form and not the content and divert the people politically. They liquidate the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggles. They conceal the necessity of a total change of the semi-colonial, semi-feudal society.

In fact the four major contradictions in our country further intensified in the past seven decades – 1. The contradiction between imperialism and Indian people 2. The contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses 3. The contradiction between capital and labor 4. The internal contradictions among the ruling classes. The first two contradictions are still the fundamental contradictions out of which the contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses is yet the principal contradiction. Caste question, women's question, tribal question, the question of religious minorities, especially the question of Muslim people

Agrarian crisis – Reservation for Marathas

Milind

The problem of reservations for Marathas that came forth in Maharashtra is a manifestation of agrarian crisis in the country. As long as this crisis continues there is no genuine solution to the problems of Marathas. The policies of the central and the state governments are made in favor of imperialist globalisation. Agrarian sector became a mere source to arrange cheap raw material for the industries of imperialist MNCs and domestic comprador corporate houses. Machines came in agriculture and there was technical development. There is a rise in yield. However the income of the farmers is on the decline and that of giant industrialists is on the rise. The green revolution that was launched in our country or the promises to double the income of the farmers are working centered at creation of market for Multi-National Corporations.

As a result, Maratha people living on agriculture faced economic problems and their work was badly affected. The root cause for the problem of reservations raised by the Maratha people is clearly economic backwardness. Therefore solving agrarian crisis shall be the only way for their development and nothing else shall be a permanent solution.

However, will reservations be useful for them in the existing conditions? The ruling classes of the country are creating illusions that reservations are the only way to abolish social inequalities. These are illusions and nothing but illusions! We have to primarily realise that no social communities shall attain equality through reservations. Reservations are not 'magic wands' for comprehensive development of communities. Very limited elements gain only representation through these. The history of reservations being

implemented in the country until now proved to be highly inadequate.

Reservations could not provide genuine representation to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes in our country. The implementation of reservations to those social communities is very pathetic. They did not gain any kind of justice through reservations. Indian Constitution provides the right to enjoy reservations for socially backward classes. But, we have to definitely consider what temporary solution for economic backwardness shall be, what kind of reservations should be given and other such issues. Economic incentives are needed to overcome economic backwardness. They must be uplifted from the conditions that pushed them into poverty. The reservations in education and jobs are not benefitting the poor among the Marathas. All the

and nationality question are the other contradictions in Indian society. Other major questions include environment question, the question of small industries, the question of contract labor, of child labor, of unemployment, of reservation, of education and health, of backward areas, of civil rights, of the old-orphans-physically and mentally handicapped and those with other defects, the question of share of river waters and border question. The decaying semi-colonial, semi-feudal system cannot solve these contradictions or the vital questions. It cannot develop the country.

Therefore, in order to accomplish the tasks of the incomplete national democratic revolution in India, to establish New Democratic system with the objective to establish Socialism-Communism, we have to depower the outdated semi-colonial, semi-feudal system and definitely end the exploitation, oppression and suppression of the three big mountains – imperialism,, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal classes that stood as the burden on the shoulders of the Indian masses. New Democratic Revolution with the axle of Agrarian Revolution on the basis of land

to the tiller is the only way. It follows the path of Protracted People's War. Proletariat will lead this revolution. Peasantry shall be the main force in this revolution. Middle class (petty bourgeoisie) shall be a reliable friendly force. National bourgeoisie shall be a vacillating friendly force. India achieves liberation from the exploitation of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic big capital only through this revolution.

opportunities are grabbed by the higher classes. In that case their demand for reservations must be supported. However, this support must not create direct or indirect harm to the rights of others and other communities. Then although reservations are provided the implementation lies on the mercy of the respective state governments. In a way they are dependent on the sincerity of the ruling classes. Only then reservations shall work as an instrument to bring social equality. But in the society where the ruling classes that serve the interests of the rich follow divide and rule policies, why would they create equal opportunities for the backward? Therefore it is not at all possible to attain equality in the society through reservations in the existing system.

Coming to the Dalits and the backward classes, there is no strong clique in the ruling ranks that represent them. The situation is absolutely different in regard to the Marathas. Since the transfer of power Marathas are influential in Maharashtra. Chief Minister and several ministers are from among them. There are no restrictions on the Marathas in the hierarchical caste system to be deprived of education. They have enough resources for livelihood and even now the Marathas are living a respectable life in a socially high status. Their hegemony continues on lands and other instruments of labor. However why do differences exist in the conditions of Marathas in the society? If we do not understand the classes in power we cannot understand the objective conditions that led to this miserable state.

The ruling classes think in terms of a class for exploitation and to attain wealth. At the same time they approach the castes in the society in regard to unleashing power. Coming to Marathas, they declare their hegemony with the right to power. But in the economic sector they unhesitatingly exploit the vast Maratha community. Whether in case of implementation of reservations or in the case of economic development, elite class sincerity works more than caste. The Indian Comprador Bureaucratic Capitalist class undoubtedly is constituted with higher castes but in a period of time economically backward classes arose in these castes also. The higher castes definitely utilize their social dominance to exploit the lower castes, especially the Dalits. And they exploit people of their caste also without any exemptions. Caste, religion, tribe, language and gender are no exception for exploitation. Moreover exploiters very cleverly utilize those in vested interest. Poverty does not have caste, but the beneficiaries of caste are depriving the poor.

The comprador capitalists that emerged from 'higher' castes are consolidating themselves as a class, collaborated with the big feudal forces to fulfill their class interests and molded all the organs of the state accordingly. They wish development as a class but do not bother the community they originated from. The oppressed people must realise their exploitive character. Otherwise casteist attitude disillusions class consciousness.

Like in all the societies this class division is seen in Maratha

society also. The community is economically and politically better in Maharashtra and is unleashing social dominance. However in the changing conditions three kinds of classes came into existence among the community. The first kind constantly stick on to power and mint profits out of its hold on sugar factories, cooperatives and cooperative banks. Those of this kind also run educational institutions. They have fertile and vast lands. The second kind are engaged in transport sector, small cooperative organisation and medium kind contract works. Apart from fertile lands they take farmers' lands for rent and gain good yield. The third kind are the small and middle class farmers that live on land. They constitute the majority of Marathas. They are suffering with many problems day by day. As the family grows in size the size of their land holding reduces. The imperialists are increasingly using chemicals in agriculture in their greed for profits. So although there is growth in yield initially, we see that the later consequences are turning the land into a graveyard due to loss of its strength to absorb chemicals. In order to yield crops in those lands, more and more amount of chemicals are to be utilised. While on one hand expenditure on production of crops is on the rise, on the other yield in crops is decreasing. There are no remunerative prices for crops. The farmer is caught in this net of agricultural policies of the anti-farmer government. The Maratha farmers and all the small and middle farmers of the country are suffering from such exploitive policies of the government.

Apart from the higher classes of other communities, the first kind of the Maratha community and the compradors of the second rank engaged in accumulating profits for the imperialists are involved in the formulation of such kinds of agricultural policies. If we keenly observe the upper layer of the first kind, there are around 150 families. These families exercise all kinds of authority on the Marathas. Most of them are from Patil community. They not only have a good hold on the Maharashtra politics but on the entire Maratha society. These handful are the cause for the economic backwardness of the entire Marathas. They need the vote bank of the Marathas in order to serve their political interests. These forces are unable to bring forth any kind of policy to solve the intensifying problems of the people of Maratha community. In fact they are the reason for these problems and so they do not have any solutions. However, they cannot deny these objective burning problems. Therefore they ignited the issue of reservations that works as a harmless safety valve. This is only nominal but does not show genuine, permanent solution for the fundamental problems of the poor and the middle classes.

Indian Constitution realizes the provision of reservations for backward classes. But it speaks of confining the entire reservation to 50 percent. As a 'nationality' Marathas are not socially backward. It also does not come under the limits of reservations as per Constitutional regulations. Therefore the various courts including the Supreme Court of the country held reservations of

Marathas unjust. However the logic of a few leaders of the Kunbi (an agrarian labor) caste of Maratha society must be observed. The Marathas initially belonged to the Kunbis but gradually they became rich and sped forward. They cannot now be considered as Kunbis. In such conditions although the reservations for the rest of the Kunbi society goes beyond 50 percent it shall be confined to representation alone. 98 percent of the Dalits in our country that is celebrating 'Azadi Ka Amrut Mahotsav' are unable to gain the benefits of reservations. Therefore economic policies that could provide livelihood in a speedy way as a part of immediate ways for economic development of the poor and the middle class Marathas must be included. However, all the government policies, laws, rules and controls in the way of this must be removed. In spite of all these the fundamental solution shall be agrarian revolution and nothing else. The powerful Maratha elite class and the ruling class shall never allow this. The contradiction between the entire oppressed Maratha 'nationality' and the Maratha elite is taking shape. The Maratha elite class lobby created the question of reservations that makes the society blunt in order to divert this contradiction. The outdated kings and the princely families constitute this elite class. As per the tradition of the society they are easily cashing on the social feelings of the people and benefiting out of it. Today a section of the feudal class that developed in the comprador bureaucratic class is utilising the outdated powerful casteist bondages in the utmost cruel manner. As long as the vast Maratha oppressed people do

not understand these casteist bondages their struggle shall not go forth with a proper objective and in a proper direction.

With the social consequences new institutions and forces emerged among the Marathas. A section of them is merging with the outdated elite classes with unlimited entwined social bondages out of vested interests. They are elected as MLAs, MPs and presidents of cooperative banks and organisations. Anyhow they are not bothered about the contradiction out of which they developed. The ordinary Maratha people must also take these consequences into consideration and become enlightened. While the framework of social traditions is the socially powerful form, the Indian Constitutional framework is the authoritative form of the Comprador Bureaucratic Capitalists. Both these frameworks are the actual cause of the problems of the Maratha people. Only when we break these frameworks genuine people's movement shall breakthrough. The Maratha people must identify with this consciousness.

Since caste is deeply rooted in our society the elite classes in power are able to utilize those frameworks easily. This class also claims to be inheritors of Rajarshi Sahu Maharaj. They largely speak about Phule and Ambedkar in their speeches. They erect the statues of Sivaji and Ambedkar in all places starting from the streets to the Mumbai port. But in practice they only follow social, economic, political and cultural 'divide and rule' policies. They make all kinds of attempts through their organisations,

instruments and power to see that the foundation of caste is not affected. They deliberately bring forth the violence occurring regarding issues such as provision of drinking water in the villages, elections to Sarpanches and so on, as casteist scuttles. These have a key role that help for the development of the elite classes in the basic level. Casteist feeling that is propped to stop the broad masses from uniting in militant struggles against the elite classes that caused the miserable state of the Marathas is standing in the way like the China wall.

The agrarian crisis created by the ruling classes of the country is not the problem of Maratha peasantry alone. The entire peasantry of the society are suffering with this problem. The Maratha ruling elite forces and the ruling elite forces of the other castes collaborated with the big feudal class organized as the Comprador Capitalist class and are unleashing power. They are formulating anti-farmer, anti-people policies in their own interests. However the Maratha people did not yet distance from the casteist feeling propped by these classes. However the present conditions demand the necessity of unity of the entire oppressed people against exploitation. The unique wave of farmers' great rebellion for the past six months encircling Delhi is the reflection of class struggle. This must be built from the village level to the state level. For this purpose the ordinary Maratha people must surely unite with the Dalit and other backward classes.

The elite class in power is instigating the mounting discontent among the Maratha youth at times against the

reservations of Dalits and at times against the reservations of other backward classes. They lack an answer to the prevalent hunger, poverty, the problem of loans, unemployment and finally suicides among the Dalits and other backward classes and the poor of the Maratha community. Today if one needs better higher education, it is available in the private schools, colleges and other educational institutions that collect indiscriminate fees. The poor classes cannot attain education in these institutions that demand high fees and do not provide reservations. As a result of the scientific and technological development in the society, the process of production became easy and speedy through higher technologies. This reduced labor force and led to heavy retrenchment. The rest of the jobs need highly skilled forces with higher technical education. The poor youth cannot afford and are deprived of job thus being thrown away from the race. These jobs are being reserved to educational elite classes without any kind of reservations.

We see the decline in the public sector due to the neo-liberal economic policies being unleashed in the country. We are experiencing the wish of make in India. Do the private enterprises that are flourishing daily implement reservations? Does the elite class that is injecting the issue of Maratha reservations take the lead to demand it? Does the anguish of the ordinary people of Marathas come out against the Maratha elite in power, against the sugar lobby, against the rural and land development bank boards and

especially the forces instituted in power! If not so their struggle will be a search in darkness. The Maratha peasantry are coming into the streets and taking up struggle for the past few years. However to whom is their organized force helping? Who are backing them? They seem like the sheep that believes in the butcher. How long would they just see and experience? The difficulties of the oppressed and economically backward Maratha youth must be understood. They must unite with the Dalit and other backward oppressed classes to become a big formidable force and step forward. They must be alert towards the evil forces and the Hindutwa fascist forces that instigate casteist chauvinism. The people must be always alert so as not to allow the fascists and the ruling elite Maratha evil elements to utilize their strength for their own political benefit. The oppressed, poor Maratha youth must walk in the footsteps of Rajarshi Sahu Maharaj and unite the entire oppressed people.

After elections all the political parties enjoyed power one after another. All those parties lack sincerity regarding reservations. All these parties only serve imperialists, feudal and comprador bureaucratic capitalist classes. Those never think about the ordinary Maratha people. Their mathematics simultaneously depends on two sides. One is the imperialists and compradors like Ambani and Adani. The second is to fulfil their personal political interests. Therefore they need the Maratha people only to serve the needs as a vote bank. In fact a few people that emerged as comprador capitalists out of the

Maratha community must bear the responsibility for the backwardness of Maratha society. We must know that regarding Marathas the backwardness is not social but political. It is clear that the fundamental reason is the government policies. Therefore the Maratha people must identify their real enemies. But the ruling, the opposition and the forces and organisations that serve them rallied around the angry Maratha youth. They are posing themselves as their spokespersons. Whereas, in fact they are deceptive evil political elements. They shall only finally betray the Maratha youth. There should not be any illusions on them. On the contrary the Maratha youth must realise the sincere forces emerging out of them.

Reservations are shown as a sure medicine. But we should not forget the fact that they are only a relief and not a remedy. Reservations are mere instruments of consolation that blunt the struggle consciousness of the people. Instead of going around those, one must know the root social causes for economic backwardness and fight for it. Apart from Marathas the lives of the entire people

have become miserable in this rotten system. Their survival became a question in the present conditions. Therefore we must understand the economic backwardness as a part of the comprehensive development of the entire people of India and not only of the Maratha people. Agrarian Revolution and nothing else is the solution for it. The evil political leaders tell-tale that Sivaji took up struggles in the limits of law to deceive the people. Sivaji built armies against Moghul Empire and took up guerilla war. He tore the heart of Afjal Khan and paved the way for independence. None of the people's heroes except traitors took the side of foreign rulers.

The present day needs to tear the heart of the exploitive atrocious system and form a society of equality, peace and without exploitation. When the state becomes cruel and anti-people, some fighter must stand armed to lead the people against it. The time has come. One must be prepared to build a genuine welfare state of the people. All the oppressed people including the Dalits are friendly forces for the poor and middle class Maratha people. The Maratha elite classes, big bourgeois, feudal forces that serve the

interests of the imperialists are their enemies. Their objective will be people's democratic revolution with the axle of Agrarian Revolution. Protracted People's War is the only way to achieve revolution. People's Army in the form of People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA) is fighting in the arena of war.

The Maratha youth must unite with the People's War going on in Gadchiroli, Bandara, Gondia, Chandrapur and Vidarbha forest areas. The reservations that the Constitution provided did not attain social equality to the Dalit and indigenous people's communities of the country that Ambedkar expected, even after 70 years. Therefore as he warned, the Indian social condition is like an explosion. The exploiters are ruling seated on this social explosion. Especially the youth must realise that comprehensive development of the Maratha people is possible only in Indian Democratic Revolution together with the entire oppressed masses. Let us hope the Maratha youth aims its struggles in this direction.

**Reservations and other special privileges for dalits and other backward castes should be considered as an integral part of the struggle for democracy
- Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution
CPI (Maoist)**

Member of the CC and Polit Bureau of the CPI (Maoist) Comrade Kishanda and member of CC Comrade Sheeladi arrested



Member of the CC and Polit Bureau of the CPI (Maoist) Comrade Kishanda and member of CC Comrade Sheeladi were arrested in Saraikhela in Bihar on 11th November. The couple were on their way for treatment to their long ailments. Comrade Kishanda is a patient of BP, Diabetes and his eye sight is falling out of old age. Comrade Sheeladi had



been in jail for a long time that aggravated her various ailments. Comrade Kishanda is 74 and Comrade Sheeladi is above 60. The CPI (Maoist) appealed in a statement to demand the release of the two veteran comrades.

The Central Committee of CPI (Maoist) expels Kobad Ghandy

Excerpts of a statement of the CC, CPI (Maoist)

Kobad Ghandy, a member of the CC of the CPI (Maoist) wrote a book named 'Fractured freedom – a prison memoir' and published it in 2021 after his release in 2019 from prison. He wrote and released the book in violation of the party constitution. The book speaks of 'freedom, equality and happiness' irrespective of revolution. It reveals that he completely divorced from MLM.

Kobad Ghandy entered the revolutionary movement with the inspiration from Naxalbari Armed peasant rebellion. He joined the CPI (ML) (People's War) and developed into a member of the Central Committee. He continued in this rank in the united CPI (Maoist) and was also a member of the Polit Bureau.

The party had been trying to rectify Kobad through internal debate and struggle in practice for a long time. But he did not overcome the deviation. The present book is a clear manifestation of this ideological deviation.

Every Revolutionary Communist needs to rectify oneself through direct participation in class struggle, people's war and by studying the concrete conditions. Kobad gave least importance to this in his four decades of revolutionary life.

He could not analyze the difficulties and setbacks that are bound to come in the protracted revolutionary movement. After his arrest in 2009 he took a U-turn that is reflected in the book. He rejected revolutionary politics and stepped into the mire of bourgeois idealism. He turned towards the corporate world out of fear of state repression.

It is true that a stone that fell from the top of a hill can travel to the lowest point of distance. The opinions brought forth by Kobad are not new. Kobad joined people like Bernstein and Dangey who agreed Marxism in words but opposed it in deeds.

The Central Committee expels Kobad Ghandy from the party according to the Party Constitution for his total deviation from the ideology and political line of the Party. It opines that he joined hands with the ruling classes, is promoting class collaborationist theory instead of class struggle, violated the discipline of the Party and became a mystical preacher.

We appeal to the revolutionary people, sympathizers, democrats and intellectuals to refute the anti-revolutionary opportunistic and ruling class ideology of Kobad Ghandy. We appeal to the rank and file of the party to expose Kobad Ghandy's propositions and theories.

Kobad is not the first person who turned coats with selfish ends. In spite of any number of such betrayers, our party in the leadership of the proletariat shall continue to work in increasing strength with its ultimate goal to establish communist society in the world.

Note: We will soon release an answer to Kobad's book.

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