

Maoist Information Bulletin - 37

January - June 2018

BIRTH BICENTENARY OF KARL MARX SPECIAL ISSUE

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

Hold high the revolutionary proletarian legacy of Karl Marx

Marx's name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work.

– Frederick Engels in his speech at the grave of Karl Marx

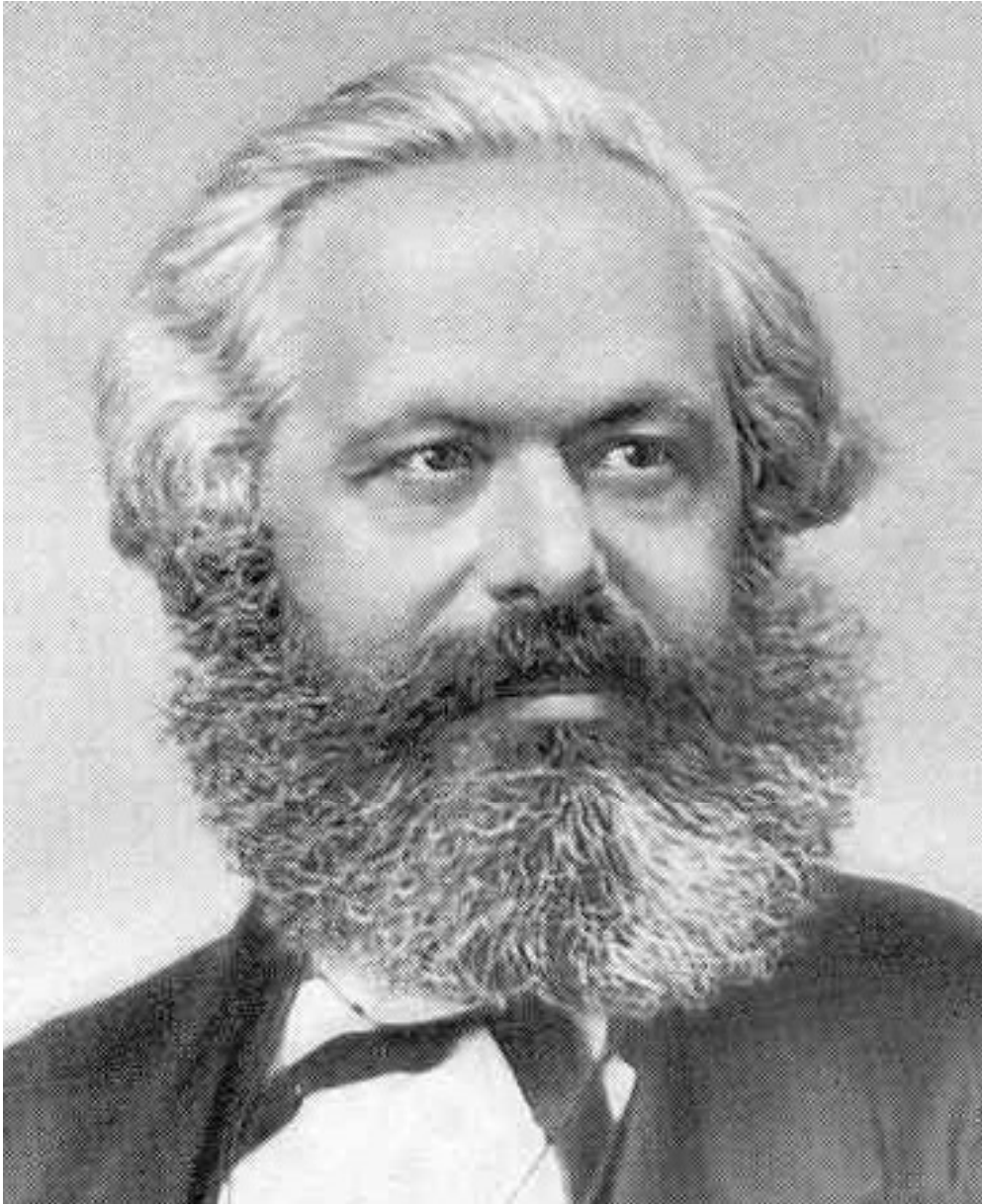
This year, the world proletariat and other sections of the oppressed people across the world are celebrating the bicentenary of the birth of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism and great teacher of the downtrodden masses. Born on 5 May 1818 at Trier in Rhine province of Prussia (later a part of unified Germany) in a middle class family of lawyers, Marx from his very youth displayed a profound and exceptional empathy for the dispossessed and the disinherited humanity, championing the cause of truth and justice at their service. From the beginning of his public life as the editor of the radical democratic newspaper *Rheinische Zeitung* in the early 1940s to his passing away in the capacity of the foremost leader of the international proletariat in London on 14 March 1883, Marx boldly and consistently lent his powerful voice to the cause of the oppressed, speaking up for the peasants persecuted under the draconian 'wood theft' laws up to that of the working class yoked to grinding wage-slavery of capitalism.

In the process, Marx made epoch-making contributions in the field of scientific research – founding the method of historical and dialectical materialism, unravelling the laws of motion of the capitalist society and particularly the theory of surplus value as the cornerstone of capitalist exploitation in his classic work *Capital*, identifying the dictatorship of the proletariat as the transitional form of state in the socialist society and outlining the path to communism – just to name a few. In fact, he along with his close comrade-in-arms Frederick



initiation of this struggle, which was fought on a sound scientific basis since the late 1840s was declared to the world by Marx and Engels through their path-breaking *Communist Manifesto* – the programme that continues to guide the international communist movement even to this today. Marx not only prepared the theoretical basis of this struggle but led it from the front through various working-class organisations he helped in founding – Communist League, International Workingmen’s Association, and so on. He hailed the great revolutionary uprising of the French proletariat – the Paris Commune of 1871 – and guided the communist sections within it, even while warning beforehand that the uprising was premature and doomed to failure. He fought a relentless and uncompromising lifelong battle against all forms of reactionary, petty-bourgeois and reformist ideologies within the working-class movement, exposed and defeated them one after another and played the pioneering role in establishing the predominance of scientific socialism.

In the process of this bitter class struggle, the theory of Marxism – the repository of the teachings of Marx and Engels – developed in the last century into the newer and higher stages of Leninism and Maoism, thereby enriching the proletarian weapon of interpreting and changing the world. It is under the guiding light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) that the genuine proletarian parties of a number of countries including the CPI(Maoist) are presently conducting communist movements and are holding high the banner of revolutionary Marxism. Though the international communist movement has suffered a serious setback due to the great reversals in the USSR and China, the consequent collapse of the socialist camp and the disintegration of the world socialist economy, every development in the field of economics and politics in the last five decades since then has vindicated the universal truth and continued relevance of Marxism as the only genuine guide for the final liberation of humanity. Disproving the bootleggers of the bourgeoisie who proclaim the ‘end of history’, the obsolescence of communism and the



permanence of capitalism, every new economic crisis is making even bourgeois economists run back to the works of Marx for direction.

Marx's works are still being read by millions and continue to be in print in a variety of languages all over the world. His life and works continue to be the inspiration for generations of communist revolutionaries, national liberation fighters, democrats and all sections of the oppressed people struggling for their emancipation. At a time like this when the international communist movement is going through a phase of revival and consolidation following the setbacks of the last century - and particularly when the countrywide revolutionary movement is

passing through a difficult period - while the capitalist economic and political system is heading for another of its severe cyclic crises, the best way for us in India to commemorate the birth bicentenary of Karl Marx is to more thoroughly and conscientiously study his teachings and learn more deeply from his exemplary revolutionary practice with the aim of advancing the revolution. Let us take pledge to uncompromisingly struggle against all forms of bourgeois ideology and revisionism in the light of Marxism to defend the revolutionary proletarian ideology and politics of the great Karl Marx! Let us boldly beat back the enemy's counter-revolutionary offensives to march forward on the path to socialism and communism under the invincible red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

Special Article

Birth Bicentenary of Karl Marx

This issue of MIB carries a special section on the occasion of the birth bicentenary of the great proletarian revolutionary leader and teacher Karl Marx. We are including in it the following article written by the Central Committee of CPI(Maoist) on the occasion and is reproduced from *People's War*, No.13 where it was first published - MIB

**Hold aloft the red flag of invincible Marxism!
March forward daringly on the revolutionary
path of the international proletariat!!**

**Celebrate the bicentenary of the birth of Karl Marx on 5 May 2018
all over the country with revolutionary enthusiasm!**

Central Committee, CPI(Maoist)

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

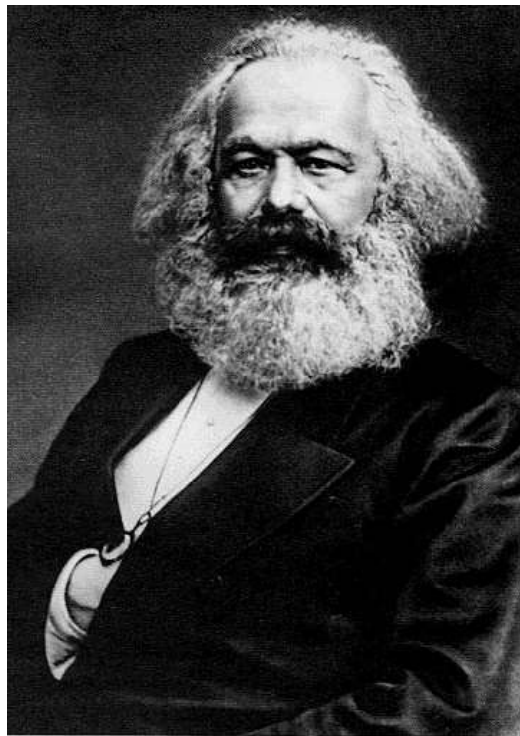
- Karl Marx

The theoretician of the international proletarian revolution, the most respectable among the world proletariat and the toiling masses, a great leader and teacher Comrade Karl Marx was born in the city of Trier in Rhine province of Prussia (Germany) on 5th of May, 1818. The bi-centenary of his birth, May 5th is approaching. The Maoist Parties-Organisations, the enlightened workers and the masses of various oppressed classes, and social sections all over the world shall celebrate his

birth bi-centenary on this day with revolutionary enthusiasm. On this occasion, the Central Committee (CC), CPI (Maoist) pays him its sincere red homage. It takes pledge to persist in revolutionary class struggle and organizational efforts in all the social sectors till the objective of establishing Communist society throughout the world under the guidance of the international proletarian ideology – Marxism that he formulated with this objective is fulfilled. Our CC calls upon

the Party, PLGA, Workers' Organisations, Mass Organisations, Revolutionary People's Committees and sympathisers to take Marxism widely into the people in the rural and the urban areas of the four corners of the country, generate interest in Socialism-Communism and utilize it to enhance their understanding. On this occasion, the CC calls upon all of them to study Marxism to develop a deep understanding of Marxism, International Communist Movement and the historic task of the proletariat with the aim of successfully accomplishing the ongoing New Democratic Revolution in India as a part of the World Socialist Revolution and the struggle for establishing a Communist society.

It would be 200 years by this 5th May since Karl Marx, the great teacher of international proletariat, was born. It has been 170 years since the beginning of the International proletarian movement with a class consciousness after Marx and Engels formulated the international revolutionary proletarian ideology Marxism. The heroic Paris Commune was established nearly 150 years ago. The great October Socialist Revolution took place one hundred years ago and the great People's Democratic Revolution of China took place nearly 69 years back. The International Communist Movement has been instilling great confidence among the proletariat, the oppressed nationalities and the oppressed people in Socialism and national liberation for the past 170 years; it inspired them with the courage of defying death and shook the imperialists and all the reactionaries with revolutionary storms; it achieved great victories for Socialism and national democracy and brought a great turn in the history of humankind. Although the Socialist societies of the Soviet Union and China existed only



for a few decades, the workers and the toiling masses in the leadership of the proletarian parties achieved magnificent successes in those societies in all spheres that were unprecedented in human society, that the capitalist countries never achieved and especially that represented the interests of the 90 per cent of the people in the society and that took the society forward in great leaps towards Communism. At the same time, there were serious mistakes, and shortcomings and big defeats too were suffered in the process of World Communist Movement. We especially forfeited many great victories that the International Communist Movement that were achieved since the Paris Commune up to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China. This made a serious negative impact on the international proletariat, oppressed nationalities and oppressed people in various forms. In view of the aim of the World Socialist Revolution, its protracted character, its complexity and the inevitable ebbs and flows in it, the victories we have achieved are partial and limited; and the defeats we have faced are

temporary. The imperialists, all kinds of reactionaries and traitors of the world point out these temporary defeats, our mistakes and shortcomings and try to smear Marxism and the Communist movement with muck even now. These enemies of the people have intensified the constant psychological war on the occasion of the bi-centenary of Marx's birth by utilizing their powerful propaganda machinery to instil disappointment and despair towards Marxism, Revolution, Socialism-Communism and their future among the world proletariat and the oppressed people and thus to create disbelief and blindness towards their historic task. They are making Goebbelsian propaganda that Marxism, Revolution, People's Democracy,

Socialism and Communism are wild dreams; that revolutionary violence is against democracy and is reactionary and terrorism; that the Communist Party means an organization of dictators and that capitalism and bourgeois parliamentary democracy are better and ever-lasting. But on the contrary, the spectre of Communism is still haunting the imperialists and all kinds of reactionary forces and is terrifying them. To be haunted by this spectre till their ultimate end is the fate decided for them by the law of social evolution.

However weak the International Communist Movement may be now, it has the most scientific, comprehensive, revolutionary, powerful and militant ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It has a protracted, rich and most valuable experience and a great history. The international proletariat has the rich experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China that continued the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Socialist society in China in order to eradicate the narrow-minded selfish thinking and ideology formed due to private ownership of the means of production that are the basis of exploitation and oppression, injustice, inequalities and suppression passed over from the class society which had thousands of years of history from the minds of the people and enlighten them, with the aim of containing the danger of modern revisionism and capitalist restoration and with the aim of consolidating Socialism to achieve Communism.

In the present capitalist-imperialist system there is an unprecedented growth all over the world in the gap between the rich countries and the poor countries and between the rich and the poor in every country. This is the negative outcome of the neo-liberal policies brought forward by the imperialists since the beginning of the 1990s. The proletariat, the oppressed nationalities and the oppressed people the world over are facing horrible massacres, exploitation and oppression, injustice, atrocities, insults, misery, dependence and displacement by the greedy, selfish and blood-thirsty imperialists and their lackeys. The imperialists are destroying the productive forces in a large scale. The greedy, selfish and

unscientific policies of these enemies of the world people are forcing the humankind and nature to disastrous repercussions. The fundamental contradictions of the world have intensified more and more since the introduction of the neo-liberal policies and after the collapse of Soviet social-imperialism. The conditions are more mature for proletarian revolutions and the destruction of the capitalist system. All the enlightened people of the world despise and hate the imperialists and their lackeys. In such revolutionary objective conditions, it is the great task of the international proletariat and its vanguard the revolutionary communist parties-organisations to mould the hatred and vengeance of the world people as a great power and will to overthrow this rotten system and to establish a new, higher system without any of these. The birth bi-centenary of Karl Marx is an occasion to re-comprehend the theory (Marxism) that this great teacher of the international proletariat formulated and to apply the international proletarian revolutionary line to the concrete revolutionary conditions of our country. Let us concentrate on the ideological tasks to revolutionise and strengthen the thinking and practice of our Party and the people with Marxism on this great historic occasion.

Marxist Theory

Starting from the latter part of the 18th century up to the mid-19th century, capitalism developed in North-Western Europe and North America in a dramatic and revolutionary way. As a result, capitalism gained conclusive victory over the then predominant feudal system. Marxism took shape in that period itself. It was a period during which one of the greatest transformations in world history had occurred – the establishment of the world domination of a few western capitalist governments, particularly the British. This domination led to the revolutionary social, economic and political transformation in the capitalist countries.

Two earth-shaking revolutions stood as the core of these immense transformations.

They are the Industrial Revolution centred in Britain and the French Revolution of 1789. Those revolutions led to numerous other bourgeois democratic revolutions. They represented the triumphant advance of the modern revolutionary bourgeoisie. Some ground for those revolutions had been laid to some extent in the numerous struggles waged by the nascent capitalist class in the previous centuries. The religious Reformation Movement (which according to Engels, was “the first phase of bourgeois revolution in Europe”) of the 16th century and the English Revolution of the mid-17th century are prominent among them. It showed that the social and economic forces and intellectual tools for the bourgeois transformation of this period had prepared and ripened for a long time.

However, the revolutions and transformations of this period also simultaneously led to the emergence of the forces destined to counter and defeat the bourgeoisie in the future. The triumphant new system itself gave birth to the struggling proletariat. It was exactly during this stage, at least in Europe, that the forces and ideas conceiving the death of capitalism were taking birth. The modern proletariat which was weak at that time and its ideology – Marxism – were the products of that period of the greatest revolutionary transformation of the bourgeoisie. Revolutionary socialist and communist ideology was born as a reaction to these two revolutions of this period. By 1848 it had been formulated scientifically in the *Communist Manifesto*.

Karl Marx was a great intellectual and revolutionary who brought to maturity the three main theoretical streams of the 19th century – classical German Philosophy, classical English Political Economy and French Socialism including French revolutionary theories – the three countries where the human race had advanced more than any other country till then. The excellent and comprehensive ideas of Marx in its complete form – modern materialism, economic theory and modern socialism – had taken shape as the theory, programme and tactics of the world proletarian movement.

Marx and Engels lived at a time when the capitalist class had come to power and capitalism was in its progressive stage. During that period capitalism was in the phase of free trade. During the last phase of the lives of Marx and Engels, the free trade phase of capitalism started to develop into monopoly capitalism. Marx and Engels saw the internal contradictions of capitalism and clearly stated the inevitability of proletarian revolutions to solve these contradictions. They handed over to the proletariat – the most revolutionary class in the society – the theoretical weapons that had the tremendous power to liberate not only itself but also all the oppressed people.

Pointing out the objective conditions that gave birth to the science of Marxism, Com. Mao stated, “For a very long period in history, men were necessarily confined to a one-sided understanding of history of society because, for one thing, the bias of the exploiting classes always distorted history and, for another, the small scale of production limited men’s outlook. It was not until the modern proletariat emerged along with immense forces of production (large-scale industry) that man was able to acquire a comprehensive historical understanding of the development of society and turn this knowledge into a science, the science of Marxism” (‘On Practice’, *Mao Selected Works*, Vol. 1, page 206).

And Com. Stalin succinctly sums up the essence of Marxism thus: “Marxism is the science of the laws governing the development of nature and society, the science of the revolution of the oppressed and exploited masses, the science of the victory of socialism in all countries, the science of building a communist society.”

Karl Marx, along with his close comrade-in-arms Frederick Engels, developed the philosophy of dialectical materialism as a method and world outlook. They applied the dialectical method to discover the laws of motion of social development or the materialist conception of history, that is, historical materialism; they developed the science of political economy which discovered the laws of motion of capitalism with its inherent class contradictions and the doctrine

of surplus value – the cornerstone of Marx’s economic theory – which uncovered the source of exploitation; developed the theory of scientific socialism based on the doctrine of class struggle and outlined the principles governing the strategy and tactics of the class struggle of the proletariat.

Marx gave to philosophy the revolutionary task of changing the world. This is expressed in the famous statement made by Marx in his ‘Theses on Feuerbach’: “The Philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it.”

Marx and Engels defined matter as material reality existing objectively and that it gets reflected in human consciousness. Marxist philosophical materialism thus resolved the fundamental question in philosophy – that concerning the relation of thinking and being – spirit and nature.

They also proved most scientifically, the second aspect in the fundamental question in philosophy, viz., can human consciousness properly reflect objective reality? Marxist theory of knowledge totally rejected agnosticism and skepticism, asserting that nothing in the world remains forever as a “thing-in-itself” or unknowable. Marxist theory of knowledge asserted that social practice is the source of knowledge. Completely rejecting rationalist and empiricist trends, it also stated that social practice is the measure of truth.

Marx synthesized the knowledge gained by humankind over the centuries and, basing himself mainly on all that was rational – in German classical philosophy, English classical political economy and French revolutionary doctrine and socialist doctrines, Marx discovered the Dialectical Materialist conception of history. He defined the human essence as the ensemble of social relations.

In the field of political economy, Marx’s greatest contribution is the analysis of *Capital*.

As explained by Lenin and cited by Com. Mao in his ‘On Contradiction’, “In his *Capital*, Marx first analyses the simplest, most ordinary and fundamental, most common and everyday relation of bourgeois (commodity) society, a

relation encountered billions of times, viz. the exchange of commodities. In this very simple phenomenon (in this ‘cell’ of bourgeois society) analysis reveals all the contradictions (or the germs of all the contradictions) of modern society. The subsequent exposition shows us the development (both growth and movement) of these contradictions and of this society in the [summation] of its individual parts, from its beginning to its end.” (*Mao Selected Works*, Vol. 1)

Thus where the bourgeois economists saw a relation between things (the exchange of one commodity for another) Marx revealed a relation between people. The exchange of commodities expresses the tie between individual producers through the market.

In his monumental work, *Das Capital*, he expounded the labour theory of value and showed how surplus value extracted from the worker is the specific form of exploitation under capitalism, which takes the form of profit, the source of the wealth of the capitalist class. He showed that exploitation takes place in the capitalist mode of production behind the façade of free and equal exchange. Marx refuted the erroneous views of the classical economists that exploitation arises from unequal exchange of labour for wage. Based on this analysis and the law of contradiction Marx discovered the basic contradiction in capitalist society. As Com. Mao explained:

“When Marx applied this law to the study of the economic structure of capitalist society, he discovered that the basic contradiction of this society is the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of ownership. This contradiction manifests itself in the contradiction between the organized character of production in individual enterprises and the anarchic character of production in society as a whole. In terms of class relations, it manifests itself in the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.” (‘On Contradiction’, *Mao Selected Works*, Vol. 1)

Marx explained capitalist crises also as another manifestation of this fundamental contradiction of capitalism.

Com. Lenin expounded the Marxist understanding regarding the capitalist crisis while refuting the Sismondian view that crisis manifests “precisely in the conditions of production. To put it more briefly, the former (Sismondian) explains crises, by under-consumption, the latter (Marxist) by the anarchy of production” (Lenin, ‘The Characterization of Economic Romanticism’).

Explaining how the capitalists try to resolve the crisis, *The Communist Manifesto* puts it lucidly, “The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand, by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for extensive and more destructive crisis, and thereby diminishing the means whereby crisis are prevented.”

Basing on the above understanding, Marx and Engels recognised that the proletariat has emerged as the most revolutionary social class and a motive force for social development; that the proletariat, in the course of liberating itself from wage slavery, will also liberate the entire society from all class exploitation and oppression and advance towards a classless society. They realized that, in order to liberate itself by overthrowing capitalism the proletariat should develop its own class ideology, that it should transform from the position of class-in-itself to a class-for-itself, and that it should form its own advanced organization – the Party of the proletariat.

They proved that the contradiction between productive forces and relations of production in class society manifests itself as a class contradiction and it is this class struggle, which serves as the driving force of society. Hence they described the history of class society as a history of a class struggle. *The Communist Manifesto*, an immortal work of Marx and Engels which appeared over 150 years ago, remains the international proletariat’s guide even to this day.

The birth of Marxism belongs to the period of one of the greatest transformations in human history and the establishment of the global domination of a few western capitalist regimes. This was the stormy period of revolutions of the bourgeois-democratic epoch and nascent proletarian-revolutionary movements from 1848 to the Paris Commune of 1871 and a relatively peaceful period of preparation of the proletarian revolutions after the fall of the Commune to the turn of the century. Through the correct analysis of great events of the period like the Paris Commune, Marxism became established. Marx and Engels played a major role in establishing and guiding the Communist Parties and the First International and gave the workers of various nations an internationalist outlook and camaraderie through their clarion call: “Workers of all countries, Unite!”

Marxism developed into an ideological weapon in the hands of the proletariat by defeating the various petty-bourgeois trends like the Anarchist trends of Proudhon, Bakunin and the like that rejected the need for the political struggle of the working class, rejected the need for a Party of the proletariat and rejected the dictatorship of the proletariat; the Blanquist trend that relied exclusively on conspiratorial methods; and the opportunist trend of Lassalle, who proposed a system of government-subsidised co-operatives, which would gradually replace capitalism, and opposed even trade union struggles and strikes by his infamous theory of the “iron law of wages.”

Marx criticized the opportunist Gotha Programme that was adopted by the new Party formed in Germany by the merger of the revolutionary Left led by Liebknecht and Bebel with the opportunist Lassalle who believed in the democratization of the state through universal suffrage, or so-called state socialism and collaborated with Bismarck.

Marx developed the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a form of rule of the proletariat and as a method of overthrowing the rule of capital by force. Marx and Engels explained the birth, development and the withering away of the State in the

course of development of human society from the slave-owning society to communism. They explained that “the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie” (*The Communist Manifesto*).

The most important principle derived from the experience of the Commune, according to Marx, is that ‘the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and use it for its own purposes.’ In other words, the proletariat should use revolutionary means to seize state power, smash the military bureaucratic machine of the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Dictatorship of the proletariat is a key concept in Marxist political theory. Marx proved that “the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; that this dictatorship itself constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society” (Letter to Wedemeyer, March, 1852). Marx and Engels thus exposed and defeated all petty bourgeois, utopian theories of socialism that rejected class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat and firmly established the principles of scientific socialism. (From MLM Document of UC-9th Congress, p.6)

Marx made new and revolutionary theoretical propositions regarding the vanguard party of the proletariat (Communist Party), nationalities-colonies, Eastern societies, worker-peasant alliance, family-women-children, socialist education-culture and environment.

When Marx was engaged in this great effort his health severely deteriorated and he breathed his last (on the 14th of March 1883 in London) at the age of 65.

Marx was the tallest of the proletarian revolutionaries of the 19th century. He was a great visionary, and a relentless scholar who had an unending quest for knowledge and was involved in study, writing texts and in the activities of the proletarian movement until his last breath constantly and tirelessly with a firm will. He was a great scientist who explored the

truth from objective facts. He was absolutely against subjectivism and utopian ideas. That is why he had enormous confidence in the leadership role of the proletariat and in the transformation of capitalist society into Socialism-Communism through proletarian revolution. His personality is a reflection of highest Communist values.

In spite of reeling under poverty, Marx formulated the most revolutionary ideology and led the organisation of the international proletarian vanguard for the liberation of international proletariat. He dedicated his life for the realization of proletarian revolutionary goal. No matter how much repression and sanctions the ruling classes of different European countries unleashed on him during his whole political life, no matter how much difficulty he experienced due to them, he faced it courageously and lived an uncompromising life. He had profound affection towards every member of his family and his comrades. His Communist life will always remain an ideal for proletarian simplicity. The friendship of Marx and Engels will be cherished forever as an example of the international proletarian revolutionary comradesly relations.

While Marx was extremely despised by the exploiters and oppressors, he was very deeply loved by the innumerable toiling people suffering from exploitation and oppression.

He is an ideal not only for the workers and other toiling people or the organisations of the workers and other toiling people, to the proletarian revolutionaries and Communist parties, to the international revolutionary organisations and to the Communist Internationals but also to the students, youth-intellectuals and the progressive organisations.

The great additions of Engels to Marxism are inseparable from Marxism. It was in close collaboration with Engels that Marx developed his theory. Engels assisted Marx and enriched the latter’s writings, simplifying and elaborating them where necessary. Engels also made great contributions to philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism after the death of Marx. One of the important contributions of Engels lies in his pioneering work *Origin of the Family, Private Property and*

the State based on anthropological evidence in which he showed that women's oppression began with the rise of surplus and the emergence of classes and that it is inextricably linked with family, private property and the state. This basic study is the basis for the Marxist understanding of the women's question. Engels' great contributions include his writings: 'Socialism, Utopian and Scientific' and 'Anti-Duhring'. He defended Marxism and led the ideological struggle against the opportunism in the Second International in the initial years of its existence. Thus the contributions of Engels are an inseparable part of the theory of Marxism (From the MLM Document of UC-9th Congress, p.6).

In the pre-monopoly stage of capitalism, Marxism was established as the first phase of the development of the proletarian ideology through the development of proletarian theory and tactics. This was possible through the struggle of Marx against the various opportunist trends with a strong will in the interests of the proletariat. Marxist method had been accepted to understand and develop almost all the sciences starting with the ordinary sciences to the strategy-tactics of revolution. (From MLM Document of UC-9th Congress, Page 6)

Marxism is the totality of the teachings of Marx. The revolutionary standpoint, political theory, the dialectical method and the all-embracing worldview developed by Marx, i.e., the doctrine of Marx, came to be called Marxism. To explain Marxism is to explain the wealth of Marxist knowledge and its distinctness. The international proletarian world outlook means the Marxist world outlook. These things are entwined with the name of Marx and are contained in his texts. It represents the first great milestone in the development of the scientific ideology of the proletariat.

Marx did inordinate service to the proletariat and all the toiling masses of the world through his theoretical and practical work. He represented the interests of the international proletariat and the toiling people as well as the whole progressive humankind.

The theory he formulated inaugurated a new era in the history of humankind. His revolutionary work made the international proletariat and the toiling people go in follow the direction of changing the whole world in a fundamental way. Thus, he laid strong foundations for a new and advanced society for the first time in human history through his great theoretical works.

Even though Marx and Engels were Germans who lived in the 19th century and conducted their revolutionary activities from Europe, Marxism is not limited to Germany and Europe. Marxism is the body of laws formulated from a scientific summary of social evolution. It is not only rooted in all the international developments but is also the depiction of the new society of the future. Marxism is scientific, revolutionary, comprehensive, lively and militant. Its spirit lies in dialectical, historical materialism. Marxism is not dogmatism. It is a lively proletarian revolutionary theory that is a guide to action to change the present society completely into a more advanced one, i.e., into a classless society.

Since the time Marx and Engels wrote the *Communist Manifesto*, the International Communist Movement started recognizing the scientific socialist theory of Marxism and gradually this recognition spread to all over the world along with the worker's movement in the last decades of that century. It was later accepted as the universal guiding theory of the international proletariat by the revolutionary communist parties and enlightened workers. The theory of Marx developed into Leninism, i.e., as Marxism-Leninism in new and different historical conditions and guided the International Communist Movement.

During the last years of Marx and Engels, *laissez-faire* capitalism gradually began to develop as monopoly capitalism. Starting from the 1870s, by the initial years of the 20th century capitalism developed into monopoly capitalism. The division of the world market between the capitalist countries was completed. Colonialism emerged. All the class contradictions of capitalism intensified. Lenin emerged as the leader of the world proletariat

at a time of relative peace when the international proletariat was preparing for revolutions and led not only the Russian Revolution but also the World Communist Movement.

Under the historic conditions of the epoch of imperialism and in the midst of the flames of socialist revolution, Lenin inherited and resolutely defended the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Engels. He creatively applied them in practice to the Russian Revolution and the world proletarian revolutions and developed them. Comrade Stalin briefly summarized Leninism in this way: Leninism is “Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions”. “Leninism is proletarian theory and tactics in general and the theory and tactics of the proletarian dictatorship in particular.”

Comrade Lenin made great contribution to enrich the three components of Marxism – Marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism in the new historic conditions. The science of Marxism took a qualitative leap into its second and higher stage of Marxism-Leninism. This qualitative leap called Marxism-Leninism occurred from the struggle against the opportunists of the Second International and from the process of proletarian revolution in the imperialist phase of capitalism.

The teachings of Lenin regarding the proletarian party, imperialism, revisionism, theoretical struggle, proletarian revolution, proletarian dictatorship, war and peace, class struggle in socialist society, the state, the national and colonial question, peasant question, women’s question, socialism and communism are lively and exemplary even now.

Comrade Stalin, the close associate of Lenin creatively applied, protected and developed Marxism-Leninism in certain spheres. The additions of Stalin are an integral part of Leninism. Basing on the theoretical foundations of Comrade Lenin, he played the great leadership role in building socialism in the first socialist country in the world, the USSR, and in the International Communist Movement.

After Lenin, Comrade Mao solved the problems of the proletarian revolution in the new historic conditions regarding the colonial policy, neo-colonial policy and social-imperialism and added new innovations to Marxism-Leninism. Mao creatively applied the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the revolutionary practice of China and the international proletariat. He inherited, protected and developed Marxism-Leninism. He developed the three components of Marxism – Marxist philosophy, political economy, scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism to a new and higher stage. Mao further developed the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics. He developed the concepts of Protracted People’s War and New Democratic Revolution in the course of 28 years of revolutionary struggle in colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal China in a situation totally different from capitalist Europe. These theories formulated by him are unique contribution to the arsenal of Marxism-Leninism.

Chinese Revolution was successfully completed in 1949. After that, he made some most brilliant contributions in the process of ideological struggles against various revisionist tendencies that arose in the Communist Party of China and through the process of leading a worldwide struggle against Khrushchev revisionism and modern revisionism. That struggle is popularly known as the Great Debate in the history of the International Communist Movement. He made great contribution to the Marxist understanding of neo-colonialism, social-imperialism, war and revolution, socialist construction and the constant class struggle in socialist society. He initiated and led the earth-shaking GPCR which marked a historical turning point in the history of International Communist Movement. During this period he developed the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to prevent the restoration of capitalism, thereby consolidating and strengthening the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat with the purpose of advancing it towards communism on a world scale. In addition, he made great contribution to Marxism-Leninism

regarding art, literature, the women's question and other fields. On the whole, Comrade Mao developed the science of Marxism-Leninism to its third, newer and qualitatively higher stage – Maoism.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is an integrated theory today. It is the most advanced scientific ideology of the world proletariat. This is as a whole the science of all the sciences. It is a comprehensive philosophical system and incorporates political economy, scientific socialism and the strategy-tactics of the proletariat that understands and transforms the world through revolution. MLM is the most powerful and wonderful theoretical weapon in the hands of the proletariat. We can combat and defeat bourgeois ideology and all brands of revisionism with this.

Today the Communist Party that accepts Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as its universal guiding theory and is in revolutionary practice is the genuine Marxist Party or the genuine Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party.

After the demise of Mao, modern revisionist Hua-Deng traitorous clique seized power through reactionary conspiracy, with which the world proletariat lost its last revolutionary base. All over the world the counter-revolution and the bourgeoisie respectively overpowered the revolution and the proletariat temporarily. There was confusion once again in the world communist movement. The genuine Communist Parties in many countries that were firmly committed to revolutionary Marxism (MLM) and worked independently basing on their subjective strength and the people, rejected the modern revisionism of counter-revolutionary Deng. On the contrary, the Communist Parties which talked Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought in words and followed the Deng revisionist line in practice, became very weak or have totally vanished. The organized world communist movement became very weak. When Socialist countries were existing, in addition to the betrayal of the revisionist leadership in the communist parties of the respective countries, due to the mistakes in the efforts of the revolutionary section of these parties to

consolidate socialism, mistakes in the theoretical and political efforts to defeat the modern revisionist section that was capitalist-roaders who became hurdles in the way of socialism, mistakes in the efforts to mobilise the vast toiling people in socialist construction consciously, due to the impact of the capitalist system that was a predominant system in the world on the people of the socialist countries and due to the innumerable conspiracies continuously hatched by the imperialists to destroy the socialist system, the world revolution suffered serious losses.

Therefore, we have to learn from the failures of the World Socialist Revolution, adopt the correct general line and policies to successfully accomplish the process of socialist construction in the socialist society under the dictatorship of the proletariat and also mobilise the proletarian and other broad toiling masses in all the fields in a conscious manner with the aim of establishing Communism. Depending on the victories in the cultural revolutions to defeat the counter-revolutionary effort of the retrogressive (that represent the outdated reactionary exploitive classes of the old societies in new forms) forces that come in the way of revolutionary transformation that goes on for a long time with the aim of achieving Communism under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Socialist society and for the total emancipation of the people from the ideology and culture of the earlier class societies; depending on defeating the intervention and offensive of the capitalist-imperialist countries from outside; depending on the efficient leadership role of the Communist Party so that the proletariat and broad masses of the socialist society fight back the effect of the capitalist-imperialist societies that exist on the basis of class exploitation and social oppression and on the basis of selfish ideology; depending on the success of the revolutions of the proletariat-broad masses in various countries to overthrow the capitalist rule and establish socialism; depending on the efforts for new experiments of all the societies of the world and by mutually and constantly receiving all that is advanced and by applying it creatively; and depending on the facing of new challenges that come forth in various

sectors, finally a society without any class-social disparities, i.e., classless society-Communism shall come into existence.

Just like in the past when the International Communist Movement faced revisionist betrayal and losses, revolutionary Marxism (MLM) refused to surrender and is continuing resistance. Genuine Communist Parties that are continuing People's War in several semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries and that are fulfilling revolutionary tasks in many imperialist countries are inspiring the International Communist Revolutionary camp. The proletariat, oppressed nationalities and the oppressed people of the world are struggling against imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction in a spontaneous as well as planned manner widely than ever before. The context and forms of struggle are different but the struggles have not stopped. Enlightened by the guidance of invincible Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, workers and revolutionary Communist Parties with abundant experience unprecedented in the history of the international working class movement are re-consolidating to wipe out imperialism and modern revisionism and establish people's democracy and Socialism-Communism. The victory of the imperialists and counter-revolutionaries shall not last long.

There were many unique, surprising and magnificent revolutionary changes all over the world even in the fields of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiments in the past 170 years. As a result, new challenges and new opportunities came forth for social revolutions. It is the great task before the revolutionary parties and democratic organisations to courageously face these challenges and utilize the opportunities and efficiently lead social revolutions.

For the past 170 years the international revolutionary proletariat could develop the communist movement from one phase to another only through carrying out intense class struggles against the capitalist system and through fierce class wars. The main reason for the great victories attained by the world proletariat is the revolutionary class wars it waged against capitalism and reaction in all spheres.

The class conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie reflected as the struggle between the Marxists and the revisionists in the ideological sphere. Revolutionary Marxism developed only through a non-compromising ideological struggle with revisionism as a part of the world revolutionary communist movement.

In its struggle with capital, the great world socialist revolution is changing its war centres and is advancing. In such a situation, as a vanguard organization of the revolutionary proletariat in India, CPI(Maoist) has realized the importance of its role in the world socialist revolution and is making efforts to work accordingly. Revolutionary proletarian parties and organisations in many countries all over the world are preparing for building revolutionary movements or are leading the movements in their countries with this understanding.

Path of the International proletarian revolution and the Indian Communist Movement

“Our, that is, my and my famous friend's teaching is not a dogma, it is a guide to action.”

– Engels

“[We] must never violate the fundamental principles of Marxism. If we do so there shall be mistakes. Viewing Marxism with a metaphysical outlook and considering it as that without development is nothing but dogmatism. It is nothing but revisionism to reject the fundamental principles of Marxism and to reject its universal truth.”

– Mao

The contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations and oppressed people is the principal contradiction in the present-day world. The countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are the main centres of the national democratic revolutions and national liberation movements to bring down the imperialists and reactionaries from power and achieve national independence and democracy. The end of direct colonial rule in

the aftermath of the Second World War due to the considerable weakening of imperialism and the growing national liberation struggles worldwide had compelled the imperialists to switch over to a new method of exploitation, control and rule of the former colonies, i.e., neo-colonialism. In this respect, they depend on their compradors of these countries which are selected and trained by them. This neo-colonialism is the more sinister, crueller and more pernicious form of colonialism and has extended its Octopus-like tentacles over the countries of entire Asia, Africa and Latin America. The oppressed nationalities and the oppressed people are fighting against neo-colonialism just like they fought against colonialism. In the later period too due to the fundamental contradictions in the world there are very rapid changes in social, economic, political, military, cultural, technical and environmental sectors in the imperialist countries and colonial, semi-colonial countries that made a considerable impact on the workers' movements. We must see these changes as a part of the neo-colonial policy followed by the imperialists and the social imperialists in the new conditions. The revolutionary proletarian parties can develop correct tactics through comprehensively understanding them with a dialectical and historical materialist perspective. Thus, the proletarian parties can successfully advance the revolutionary movements with new tactics in the new conditions. We have the history of the advancement of the world workers' movement and the great history of the great victories it achieved through the revolutionary effort of the proletarian parties in such scientific methods, since Marx and Engels wrote the *Communist Manifesto*. These are the important aspects to be considered when we analyse the social situation in these countries.

Marxist-Leninist theory became popular in our country after the great October Socialist Revolution of Russia in the leadership of Comrade Lenin became successful. Communist Party of India (CPI) was formed in 1925 with the influence of the October Socialist Revolution, with the influence of Marxism-Leninism and due to the heroic struggles of the proletariat against the British

Empire. Since the formation of the CPI to the historic Naxalbari peasant rebellion, a number of militant movements-outbreaks of workers, peasants, Adivasis, Dalits, students and other sections against imperialism and great revolutionary opportunities arose before 1947. Later a most favourable revolutionary condition emerged for the building of an armed agrarian revolutionary movement against imperialism and its compradors. But the CPI leadership not only utterly failed to utilize these but also betrayed the heroic Telangana armed peasant struggle and degenerated as a bourgeois parliamentary party. Since then this revisionist leadership behaved like a reliable agent to the ruling classes. The revisionist leadership of the two parties [CPI & CPI(M)] acted as advocates to the betrayer of revolution, the modern revisionist Khrushchev. CPI(M) as a social-fascist party and the CPI totally opposed the heroic Naxalbari rebellion. These parties talk Marxism but practice revisionism. Thus, since its formation up to 1951 the CPI leadership mainly followed a right-opportunist path and on a few occasions a left-opportunist path. This leadership by making right and left ideological-political mistakes and by taking a destructive opportunist path inflicted serious damage to the Indian Revolution.

The origin of this lies in this leadership's wrong understanding of Marxist world outlook, the revolutionary character of Marxism and the path of international proletarian revolution. They held an idealist world outlook and Left-wing bourgeois nationalism. Therefore, the leadership of CPI-CPM never sincerely accepted the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism that were accepted by the international revolutionary proletariat and their parties. This proved to be the case even at the time of the formation of CPI itself and thus they ignored the valuable lessons given by the history of international workers' movement, especially the heroic Paris Commune, the success of the great October Socialist Revolution, the success of the great New Democratic Revolution of China and the path of Protracted People's War. To put it in one word, they acted totally against the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. So this revisionist

leadership did not realize the importance of the ideological, political path to be followed by a genuine revolutionary Marxist Party. Regarding this matter Comrade Mao said, "The correctness and incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything".

However, the heroic cadres of the CPI joined hands with the struggling people and led many revolutionary struggles. Many laid down their valuable lives to achieve the high ideal of accomplishing the Indian Democratic Revolution. Many genuine revolutionary cadres representing the revolutionary ranks joined with the people and stood in the forefront of their struggles. They continued their ideological and political struggle against the opportunistic, erroneous and the revisionist lines and treacheries of the leadership dominating the CPI, and thereafter the CPI(M). Such cadres faced the anger of the leadership constantly. Although the ideological and political struggle of these revolutionary cadres was scattered at the beginning, gradually they gained experience and began to consolidate. With this, gradually the opportunist leadership was more and more exposed before the party ranks. But during the late 1950s and in 1960s this struggle assumed a totally new dimension. The Great Debate conducted by the CPC led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung against modern revisionism put forward by Khrushchev gang marked this new beginning. Just as this Great Debate continued to intensify further and further and finally culminated in the earthshaking GPCR, in the same way the ideological and political struggle of the revolutionary cadres against the leadership of the Communist Party also continued to intensify further and further. This led to a decisive break with the revisionist leadership and the revisionist line they followed. The beginning of the GPCR proved to be a turning point in this process. Under the direct impact of this process, the forces representing the struggle against revisionism of the then leadership of the CPI, and then CPI(M), began to uphold and assimilate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, both in theory and more particularly in their revolutionary practice. With this, these forces

condemned the programme of the 7th Congress of the CPI(M) as revisionist and the leadership as a modern revisionist clique. Thus, along with the most outstanding and front-ranking leaders like comrades Charu Mazumdar and Kanhai Chatterjee, a large number of Maoist forces emerged on the revolutionary political scene. Comrade Charu Mazumdar wrote and released the historic Eight Documents, solving the fundamental problems of the Indian New Democratic Revolution and made preparations for armed agrarian revolution among the peasantry in Darjeeling area; *Chinta-Dakshindesh* in the leadership of Com. Kanhai Chatterjee began ideological, political and organizational work for Indian New Democratic Revolution, the great Naxalbari armed uprising led by Com. Charu Mazumdar in May 1967 became a clarion call of "*Spring thunder over India*". Thereafter, the history of the country's communist movement took a qualitatively new turn. The Naxalbari rebellion not only helped the revolutionary forces to greatly expose revisionism and by breaking with it to form new revolutionary communist organizations, it marked the first conscious application of MLM and the shining path of seizure of political power through the protracted people's war in the Indian sub-continent which was already formulated and illuminated by Comrade Mao.

To say in one word, the main reason for the Naxalbari rebellion, for the formation of CPI(M-L) (on the 22nd of April, 1969) and MCC (on the 20th of October 1969) as the vanguard party of the proletarian revolution or for starting of Indian New Democratic Revolution-Protracted People's War is the correct understanding of Marxism and the international proletarian path by the genuine revolutionary forces in the Indian Communist movement and plunging into practice in a daring manner to make it successful.

The revolutionary movement all over the country temporarily suffered setback within five years due to the counter-revolutionary offensive, the subjective mistakes, the lack of experience of the revolutionary forces and the disruptive actions of the right and left opportunist forces that arose among the

revolutionary forces. Nevertheless, efforts were made to build the revolutionary movement amidst many difficulties in the light of MLM in the leadership that represented the genuine revolutionary forces in CPI(ML) and the leadership of MCC, taking lessons from the past practice and rectifying the mistakes unified the party ranks. The leadership of these two parties adopting appropriate tactics according to the social conditions worked to build the revolutionary movement. With this, by the end of 1970s another new upsurge began in the Indian Revolutionary Movement. Both these two Maoist revolutionary streams basing on correct revolutionary line put up ideological struggle against various kinds of revisionism and the right and left opportunist trends. They rectified their mistakes with a self-critical attitude basing on the genuine revolutionary line. They defeated the right and left opportunist trends that emerged in the Party internally. They continued the legacy of all the revolutionary aspects in the Indian communist movement. In this process, they merged the genuine revolutionary forces with them. As a result of this, on the 21st September 2004 these two streams merged and the CPI(Maoist) emerged. The formation of CPI(Maoist) is the result of the creative application of international proletarian path to the concrete conditions of our country and the enrichment of it. This is another great step forward in the history of the Indian communist movement.

After the formation of our party CPI(Maoist), the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA) and the people under the leadership of our Party daringly fought back the counter-revolutionary repressive campaigns that the Indian ruling classes unleashed with the support of the imperialists, especially the US imperialists in an unprecedented and intensified manner. In this process, we achieved many unprecedented victories with the sacrifices of thousands of martyrs. As a result of the creative application of the general line of New Democratic Revolution following the path of Protracted People's War having agrarian revolution as its axis, we formed Guerrilla Bases in some Guerrilla Zones of the country as a concrete form of establishing Liberated Areas. As part

of it, we formed organs of new democratic political power – Revolutionary People's Committees. We consolidated them from the village level to the Divisional level. In several areas of the country we mobilized the people in the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist struggles and expanded and intensified the guerrilla war. We fought against the modern revisionist line of Prachanda-Bhattacharai; we opposed modern revisionism put forward by Avakian. As a detachment of the vanguard of international proletariat, we are continuing Protracted People's War in the light of MLM for the success of New Democratic Revolution in India. Thus, we held aloft the international red flag of the proletariat. We further strengthened the party line and enhanced the unity of the Party by waging ideological struggle and defeating the right and left opportunist trends. We conducted education-rectification campaign and Bolshevization campaign to train up the Party, PLGA and the mass organisations ideologically, politically and organizationally and to rectify the wrong trends in the Party. We could create a more favourable condition for the political mobilization of the revolutionary and democratic forces amidst the severe repression of the ruling classes on the revolutionary movement all over the country. Although the revolutionary movement and our Party is facing a difficult situation in the country, the Party is strengthening its Bolshevik spirit that can fight and advance with the rich lessons gained from practice.

However, our movement is facing a difficult situation due to the shortcomings in the ideological, political and organizational efforts to develop the Party, PLGA and the mass base quantitatively and qualitatively as per the level and extent of the People's War, the counter-revolutionary offensive, the changes in the economic, political and cultural conditions and our tasks to achieve the specific objectives. We can protect and develop our subjective force by rectifying these shortcomings and mistakes. In this process, we can consolidate ourselves and develop our subjective strength and mass base quantitatively and qualitatively. In this way, our Party shall develop into a much stronger Party in the

country, can mobilise the people widely into the sphere of politics and expand and intensify guerrilla war. Thus, it can create another upsurge in the Indian revolutionary movement.

Our Party, as the consolidated vanguard of the Indian proletariat, will lead the New Democratic Revolution in India to victory in the path of international proletarian revolution established by the great Marxist teachers Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin, Stalin and Mao. It will go ahead staunchly in the same direction until the establishment of Socialism and Communism on a world scale. Our Party the CPI(Maoist) as the vanguard of the Indian proletariat adheres to proletarian internationalism. In addition to uniting with all the genuine revolutionary Communist parties-organisations-forces of the world with the aim of making successful the Protracted People's War in India and the World Socialist Revolution on the international scale, it shall unite with the worldwide proletariat, the oppressed nationalities and the oppressed people; it shall learn from the past and the present working class movements and class struggles of the country and the world; it shall wage ideological struggle against modern revisionism that constantly stands as a hurdle to before the working class movement and class struggle of the world and against the left and right opportunist trends that arise in various forms; it stands in support to the working class movements, to the movements of the oppressed nationalities and the movements of the oppressed people against the imperialists and reactionaries of the world to the best of its strength for the coordination and consolidation of the same. For this purpose, it strives to play its part for the formation of an international centre of revolutionary communist parties as the appropriate form of organization in the present conditions.

India is one of the very strong centres of imperialism and world reaction. So the advancement and success of the New Democratic Revolution in India aimed at imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism shall not only liberate the people of India from the merciless exploitation and oppression of imperialism

but also takes the struggle of the people of the whole world for independence, democracy, socialism and peace to a new stage. The success of Indian New Democratic Revolution and the establishment of People's Democratic government in India will play an important role in speeding up the World Socialist Revolution. It will stand up as a sign for the important and historical advancement in the effort to establish a new world which is liberated from imperialism, capitalism and the exploitation of man by man.

Tasks

Let us comprehensively understand Marxism by studying it deeply and extensively; let us deepen our world outlook. The great Marxist teachers Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao laid down their lives to formulate and develop Marxist theory. Their valuable writings are a repository of this theory. We must consider them as a body of very important historic revolutionary literature. We must take their great efforts as an ideal for us and the whole Party – from the Central Committee members up to the primary members must study Marxism with patience, will, attention and in depth; particularly we must study the important writings among them. We have to understand all the valuable lessons in them. We have to creatively apply them to the present concrete revolutionary practice. Only thus can we continue our practice in the light of theory and change the country and the world according to the laws of social development; we can further develop the theory in the process of practice. There are two methods for our study: One – the correct method, i.e., the Marxist method; Second – the incorrect method, i.e., the dogmatic method. Marxism is totally opposed to the dogmatic method.

Along with the study of Marxism, we have to pay attention to the study of the present domestic and international situation and the history of our country, the revolutionary movement and the counter-revolution along with the movements of various socio-political streams, various philosophical trends – the conflicts that took place and are taking place

between them and particularly the impact they have made and are making on the society. Thus, by paying attention on study alone can we correctly synthesise and apply creatively in the concrete objective conditions with a Marxist world outlook. By following this method alone can we develop our tactics according to the conditions of the society and the class struggle that are in constant motion and mobilise the vast masses politically in class struggle. If there are mistakes in following this method due to subjectivism we not only cannot avoid mistakes in practice but will also fail in providing efficient leadership. Therefore we must follow this method.

We must concentrate on theoretical education to unite the whole Party. Theoretical education is one of the most important tasks among all the Party's activities. While studying the science of Marxism and applying its principles is one aspect, participating directly in class struggle and learning from the masses is the other. Based on the knowledge obtained in the above process, the Party's policies should be further enriched and the Party ranks should be developed theoretically. Therefore, uniform education is essential to unify the entire Party based on study and concrete application of theory. Mao explained the importance of theory in one sentence in this way: "Theoretical education is the key to unify the entire Party. Without this, the Party cannot achieve a single political task" (quoted in *Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution*). We have to conform to this teaching in order to achieve this unity. The central committee and the state committees must concentrate on conducting political classes in our Party from the central level to the primary level in the light of Marxist theory in a more regular and efficient manner so that they contribute to understand the concrete problems of our revolution, solve them properly and advance the movement.

We must continue the revolution uninterrupted in the cultural sphere. In India, what predominates is primarily imperialist and feudal culture and ideas. It is basically this imperialist and feudal culture that is being widely propagated by the ruling classes, and it is these ideas that have

penetrated widely throughout society. Regarding imperialist culture, idealisation of the imperialist countries and promotion of the elitist consumerist culture basically destroys patriotic values. Feudal culture is primarily the Brahmanical caste-based culture of ingrained superiority. This Brahmanical culture puts its stamp on nearly all aspects of social interaction and thinking, from approach to labour, women, oppressed castes and other oppressed communities, marriage norms, birth, death, language, etc., and even has numerous caste symbols. Ironically, the so-called modern imperialist culture easily adjusts with the archaic and retrogressive Brahmanical culture. Both imperialist and feudal culture has to be continuously opposed and replaced by democratic and socialist culture. The task at the present stage of the revolution in the cultural front is the establishment of new democratic culture, i.e., a scientific, democratic and mass culture by uprooting the semi-colonial, semi-feudal culture along with the modern revisionist ideology. The people's democratic culture is an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal culture. It is an heir to all the secular, genuinely democratic, and scientific aspects of the rich cultural heritage of the oppressed masses that are passed on by history.

It is impossible to arm the people ideologically, make them conscious and organise them for the people's war without the widest propaganda of people's democratic culture based on Maoism. As Mao said, "In overthrowing a political power the first and regular task is to work in the ideological front and to create public opinion." To overthrow the exploiting classes and their state machinery, the first and foremost task throughout the course of the new democratic revolution is to wage ideological struggle and create public opinion in favour of agrarian revolutionary war and the protracted people's war.

Mao said that revisionism is the main danger. Modern revisionism is one of the chief enemies of MLM and the people's democratic ideology and revolution. The anti-imperialist anti-feudal revolutionary culture of the people cannot be established without

fighting against modern revisionism. In this respect MLM is the strongest weapon in the fight against modern revisionism.

Besides, in India, feudal thinking is deep-rooted and is manifested in many ways, particularly in casteism, biases against religious minorities, religious narrow-mindedness, communalism, untouchability, patriarchy, and numerous other forms. The Party must educate the masses against all such anti-democratic values and culture and replace them with those based on equality, self-respect, secularism, dignity of labour and values, culture based on a proletarian class outlook.

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

We must deeply criticize the outdated, reactionary theories. It is our ideological task to remove the non-proletarian ideology and its influence from the minds of the people, revolutionise them and mould them into a revolutionary materialist force. Without fighting to root out the chauvinisms of caste, religion and nationalism of the irrational, outdated Brahmanical ideology that is aggressively being introduced in the recent decades and had been going on for a long time to tie the people of the society to ideological slavery and all such reactionary anti-progressive ideology and theories from the society, we cannot establish new, scientific, progressive, democratic and socialist ideology. We need to constantly fight in the ideological sphere not only in the Party but in all the social spheres. It is necessary for our Party to play an effective role in this sphere not only internally but also in the society. We have to develop ideological unity in our Party

and must aim our ideological offensive mainly at the Brahmanical ideology, modern revisionism and postmodernism to establish our Party into a powerful, effective leadership organization and to develop the active role of people in the people's war. We must form appropriate organisations to take up theoretical and political propaganda among the people in an efficient manner.

The Party must relentlessly strive to declass itself. The revolutionary proletarian party must deepen its world outlook, proletarian character and proletarian line to complete the historic mission of the establishment of Socialism-Communism by rectifying-improving workstyle and lifestyle, taking up internal struggle as a part of class struggle to help this and remould itself ideologically (to declass). The Communist Party collectively and the members individually and consciously must strive relentlessly not only now, not only after the New Democratic Revolution but as long as the society needs the Communist Party and until the victory of Communism. Only thus, the majority of the society will be influenced by our correct ideology, politics, class struggle and practice and a situation will be created where the difference between the Communist Party and the people shall disappear step by step. For this purpose, we have to play an effective role in constantly studying MLM, combining theory with practice, participating in class struggle, firmly integrating with the people, being sincere in criticism and self-criticism, learning from practice, actively participating in the rectification campaigns, standing on the side of the correct line in the ideological and political struggle between two lines, and so on. We must not take them up in a superficial, partial, formal and casual manner.

Today our movement and the Party have reached fifty years and most of the comrades belong to the third generation in the Party. Majority of them belong to the peasantry and various sections of the petty bourgeoisie. It is our immediate task to declass their world outlook, work style, life style and all the above-mentioned aspects in a much deeper manner. Most of the others are old comrades but they

too need to seriously and constantly declass themselves due to their social background or the influences of the present society. They will have to make conscious efforts for this.

Therefore, in view of the immediate objective to be achieved and the character of the Protracted People's War to achieve that aim, our Party must make constant, conscious and planned efforts to develop itself ideologically, politically and organizationally as a united, strong-willed, sturdy and efficient proletarian vanguard. Only if we do so can we efficiently advance the People's War. We can utilize all the present effort as a foundation for the construction of Socialist society after the victory of the New Democratic Revolution. It means that we can continue the whole effort for achieving the immediate objective with a view of the future (with the aim of establishing Socialism-Communism).

Conclusion

Proletariat of the world, all the oppressed nationalities, all the oppressed people, hold high the Red Flag of Marxism to overthrow imperialism and all the reactionaries! Integrate strongly! Fight courageously! The people shall win ultimate victory! Beware of the character of the imperialists, all kinds of reactionaries, revisionists, social democrats, the exploitative and oppressive class, their liquidationist policies and their deceptive tricks! Though the imperialists, all the reactionaries and their lackeys appear to be real tigers tactically in the immediate struggle, from a protracted view, grasp that they are strategically paper tigers, fight against them daringly and seize victory! Break to pieces not only the capitalist chains but all the chains of class, caste, nationality, gender, religion, etc. and march forward to sing the song of liberation of the humankind! The victories achieved by the proletariat and the oppressed people in the light of Marxism are invaluable in the history of humankind. The international proletariat has in its hands the most powerful theoretical weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and it will destroy the old world through world socialist revolution and definitely create a new world.

The day when the workers, peasants, the middle classes, national bourgeoisie, various oppressed social sections – the Dalit, Adivasi, Women, Religious minority – the people of the oppressed nationalities unite in the light of Marxism, in the leadership of CPI(Maoist), the day when the flames of the People's War will spread all over the country, that day the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic capitalists, landlords and their cruel state machinery shall go to ashes and the Federation of free People's Democratic Republics with the aim of building great Socialism-Communism shall emerge. No force on the face of the earth can stop this. Then the Indian New Democratic Revolution shall fulfil the historic task on behalf of the international proletariat by acting as the main link for the humankind to bring down permanently the dark era of the imperialists and reactionaries.

The revolutionary proletariat and its vanguard the Communist revolutionaries who took up the weapon of the great scientific theory of Marxism shall stand as the symbol of commitment to theory and principles, proletarian integrity, proletarian internationalism, criticality, selflessness, fearlessness and sacrifice. They know that they are conducting an extremely difficult, cruel world socialist revolution that has many ups and downs and twists and turns and has a protracted character. In spite of any number of forfeiture of the great victories and any number of defeats in the process of revolution, in the light of the invincible revolutionary theory formulated by summarizing the utmost valuable experiences they gained in this process, they shall fight again and again until they achieve final victory. No reactionary on this earth has the strength to divert them from the struggle they are making to achieve this objective. The defeats of the oppressed people are temporary; the victories of the enemies of the people too are temporary. According to the laws of social development, ultimately the enemies of the people shall be permanently destroyed and the oppressed people shall certainly win permanent victory.

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Great Marxist teachers on Karl Marx



Just as Darwin discovered the law of development or organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history: the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc.; that therefore the production of the immediate material means, and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch, form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, art, and even the ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must, therefore, be explained, instead of vice versa, as had hitherto been the case.

– Engels, ‘Speech at the Grave of Karl Marx Highgate Cemetery’

One may not agree with Marx, but one cannot deny that he formulated with the utmost precision those of his views which constitute “something new” in relation to the earlier socialists. The something new consisted in the fact that the earlier socialists thought that to substantiate their views it was enough to show the oppression of the masses under the existing regime, to show the superiority of a system under which every man would receive what he himself had produced, to show that this ideal system harmonised with “human nature,” with the conception of a rational and moral life, and so forth. Marx found it impossible to content himself with such a socialism. He did not confine himself to describing the existing system, to judging it and condemning it; he gave a scientific explanation of it, reducing that existing system, which differs in the different European and non-European countries, to a common basis — the capitalist social formation, the laws of the functioning and development of which he subjected to an objective analysis (he showed the necessity of exploitation under that system).

– Lenin, ‘What the “Friends of the People” Are’

Marx and Engels were the first to show that the working class and its demands are a necessary outcome of the present economic system, which together with the bourgeoisie inevitably creates and organises the proletariat. They showed that it is not the well-meaning efforts of able-minded individuals, but the class struggle of the organised proletariat that will deliver humanity from the evils which now oppress it. In their scientific works, Marx and Engels were the first to explain that socialism is not the invention of dreamers, but the final aim and necessary result of the development of the productive forces in modern society.

– Lenin, ‘Frederick Engels’

Marx was the genius who continued and consummated the three main ideological currents of the 19th century, as represented by the three most advanced countries of mankind: classical German philosophy, classical English political economy, and French socialism combined with French revolutionary doctrines in general.

– Lenin, ‘Karl Marx’

It is to the great historic merit of Marx and Engels that they proved by scientific analysis the inevitability of capitalism’s collapse and its transition to communism, under which there will be no more exploitation of man by man. It is to the great historic merit of Marx and Engels that they indicated to the workers of the world their role, their task, their mission, namely, to be the first to rise in the revolutionary struggle against capital and to rally around themselves in this struggle all working and exploited people.

– Lenin, ‘Speech at the Unveiling of a Memorial to Marx and Engels’

Karl Marx, who died in 1883, was a materialist, an enemy of the utopians. He regarded the development of the productive forces and the struggle between classes as the guarantee of the liberation of mankind.

– Stalin, ‘Anarchism or Socialism’

It was not until Marx and Engels, the great protagonists of the proletarian movement, had synthesized the positive achievements in the history of human knowledge and, in particular, critically absorbed the rational elements of Hegelian dialectics and created the great theory of dialectical and historical materialism that an unprecedented revolution occurred in the history of human knowledge.

– Mao, ‘On Contradiction’

Marx took part in the practice of the revolutionary movement and also created revolutionary theory. Beginning with the commodity, the simplest element of capitalism, he made a thorough study of the economic structure of capitalist society. Millions of people saw and handled commodities every day but were so used to them that they took no notice. Marx alone studied commodities scientifically. He carried out a tremendous work of research into their actual development and derived a thoroughly scientific theory from what existed universally. He studied nature, history and proletarian revolution and created dialectical materialism, historical materialism and the theory of proletarian revolution. Thus Marx became a most completely developed intellectual, representing the acme of human wisdom...

– Mao, ‘Rectify the Party’s Style of Work’

Observe Martyrs' Memorial Week from 28 July to 3 August 2018 as per revolutionary traditions throughout the country!

Pay red homage to the immortal martyrs who have laid down their lives in the people's war!

Defeat the 'Samadhan' strategy of the ruling classes of India aimed at wiping out the revolutionary movement!

Advance the movement by safeguarding the Party leadership from top to bottom!

Call of the CC, CPI(Maoist) to its Entire Party Ranks, PLGA Commanders-Fighters, Revolutionary People's Committees, Revolutionary Mass Organisations and the Revolutionary Masses on the Occasion of the Martyr's Memorial Week from 28th July to 3rd August 2018

18 May 2018

The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

– Marx and Engels

Dear comrades and the revolutionary masses,

The martyrs' memorial week which is observed from 28 July every year is coming near. Advancing on the path of protracted people's war to victoriously complete the New Democratic Revolution in India with the aim of finally establishing socialism-communism as shown by the great leaders of Indian revolution and the founders, teachers and

immortal martyrs of our Party Comrade Charu Majumdar and Comrade Kanhai Chatterjee, over 180 leaders and cadres at various levels of the Party, PLGA, Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs) and revolutionary mass organisations and the revolutionary masses have sacrificed their invaluable lives between August 2017 and May



**Com. Dev Kumar Singh
(Arvind) (PBM and CCM)**



**Com. Daraboyina Swamy
(DVCM, CRB Press)**



**Com. Shankar Manjhi
(DVCM, KKBN, OS)**



**Com. Lakku Korram
(DVCM, KKBN, OS)**



**Com. Sudru Veko
(DVCM, BBM, OS)**



**Com. Sukhman Korram
(ACS, Gobra, OS)**



**Com. Gopal Meshram
(ACS, Darrekasa, MMC)**



**Com. Podiyam Baman
(PPCM, CRC Coy-2)**

2018. They include Politburo member Comrade Arvind (Sujit, Nishant), 10 comrades of the staff under Central Regional Bureau and PLGA forces under Central Regional Command in the Central Region, 125 in Dandakaranya, 17 in Bihar-Jharkhand, 4 in Telangana, 7 in Andhra-Odisha Border (AOB), 12 in Odisha, 5 in Maharashtra-Madhya Pradesh-Chhattisgarh (MMC) and one in the tri-junction area of the Western Ghats. Among them are 69 women leaders-cadres and village women. The Central Committee of our Party calls upon all to observe the martyrs' memorial week from 28 July to 3 August to commemorate the sacrifice of these martyrs with revolutionary enthusiasm and spirit.

Comrades, we have celebrated the centenary of October Revolution in our movement areas last year with revolutionary fervour and spirit. We recalled the experiences of that revolution and tried to take lessons from it with the aim of holding high the legacy of October Revolution. We are making efforts

to Bolshevise the Party on the basis of those experiences. We are commemorating the bicentenary of the birth of Karl Marx – the first of the great Marxist teachers – from 5 May this year. Marx was the first philosopher to declare that the point was to change the world and not merely to interpret it. Based on the theory of class struggle, Marx and Engels gave to the world's oppressed people their fighting slogans like “Proletarians of all countries, unite!” and “The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win”. Materialist dialectics, an objective approach to history, the theory of class struggle, economic theory, scientific socialism and the strategy and tactics of the proletariat that Marx has taught are extremely important even today after nearly one and a half century. Marxism, which has today developed into Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, is guiding the workers, peasants and the oppressed masses on their path to liberation.

The Indian ruling classes introduced the new ‘Samadhan’ strategy (2017-2022) when

Kasanur-Tumirgunda Martyrs



Com. Srinu



Com. Nandu



Com. Sainath



Com. Lata



Com. Shanta



Com. Limmi



Com. Jamuna



Com. Sandeep



Com. Rajesh



Com. Lalita



Com. Pradeep



Com. Chandrakala



Com. Nagesh



Com. Kartik



Com. Radha



Com. Srikant



Com. Sannu



Com. Pushpa



Com. Sunita



Com. Sanjay



Com. Jaisheela



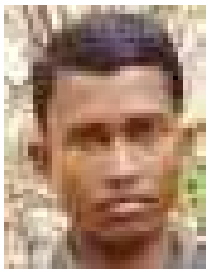
Com. Rukmati



Com. Rajni



Com. Reshma



Com. Tirupati



Com. Janaki



Com. Anita



Com. Manda



Com. Kranti



Com. Soni



Com. Ajay



Com. Mangu



Com. Irpa



Com. Mangesh



Com. Raso



Com. Anita



Com. Bujji

Com. Raso

Com. Nusse

their old strategy aimed at completely uprooting our Party and the revolutionary movement by branding it “the biggest threat to internal security” met with failure by May 2017. We had to suffer serious losses in the massacres carried out by the enemy this year as per their daily-intensifying barbaric attacks in places like Irpanar, Kalleda, Kassarur (Halbi Tumidigunda) and Aipenta in Dandakaranya (DK), Tadpal in Telangana, Badgaon in Bihar-Jharkhand (B-J), Koraput in AOB and Khojruguda in Odisha. Particularly after the Ramguda incident (AOB), we lost 40 comrades in DK’s Halbi Tumidigunda encounter in an unprecedented manner. In nearly two and a half hours of gunfight, five comrades were martyred there itself, while eleven comrades were caught alive by the enemy in an injured state. The police shot dead five comrades there itself, while six others were taken by vehicle to Khandla-Rajaram forests 40-50 kilometres away and executed. Failing to understand the deceptive enemy tactics, 31 comrades jumped into the deep gorges of the Indravati River flowing nearby as per a command given by the enemy after thinking that it was given by our commander. Seven comrades managed to swim into safety amidst enemy firing, while the rest of the 24 comrades either succumbed to enemy bullets or sank in the river unable to swim with their weapons. The four remaining comrades broke the enemy encirclement and retreated safely.

In this way, in the deceptive counter-guerrilla operations conducted by the enemy according to their LIC strategy, 85 comrades were martyred in fake encounters while 88 laid down their lives in encounters. Two comrades were martyred in a booby-trap accident, one comrade died in an attack by wild elephants, four passed away due to illness and three were

killed due to snakebite. Among the martyred comrades are a Politburo member, one Regional Committee member, six ZC/DC/DVC comrades, two Sub-zonal committee members, 26 AC/PPC members, 96 Party/PLGA comrades, one GPC comrade, three leadership comrades of different RPCs, seven leaders and members of mass organisations, 25 people’s militia commanders and members, and 12 comrades from the revolutionary masses (including two boys who were caught and shot dead by the police).

All these comrades are the people’s soldiers who have got martyred in the process of fighting back the unprecedented attacks of the Indian government’s armed forces under the ‘Samadhan’ strategy in the third phase of Operation Green Hunt. Of them, Politburo member of our Party Comrade Arvind passed away in the third week of March this year due to heart attack following serious illness. He was 65. He led the Party for a long time remaining firm on the Party line through many ebbs and tides, ups and downs, twists and turns of the revolutionary movement. Particularly after the temporary setback of the Naxalbari armed agrarian struggle, he played a major role in building a tide of revolutionary agrarian struggle in Bihar and in developing guerrilla war with the aim of establishing base area there. Among the other leadership comrades, Bihar Regional Committee member Comrade Meghnath Singh was martyred in a booby-trap accident in Burha Pahad area on Jharkhand-Chhattisgarh border. Senior Party Member Comrade Balraj (Prakash, organiser) passed away in Mumbai due to illness. DVCM Comrade Lata (Anu) was martyred in an attack by wild elephants in Kabani area of the Western Ghats. Member of CRB Staff Comrade Dandaboyina Swamy (Prabhakar,



Com. Sodi Pande (Rame)
(PPCM, CRC Coy-2)



Com. Punem Jugal
(PPCM, CRC Coy-2)



Com. Kuhram Kosi
(PPCM, CRC Coy-2)



Com. Junki Dorpeti
(PPCM, PL-3, Gadchiroli)



Com. Doddi Budhram
(ACM, WBT, DK)



Com. Oyam Sukki
(ACM, I-Team, DK)



Com. Uika Badru (Rakesh)
(ACM, BBM Div., OS)



Com. Kuhram Ural
(ACM, SAT Cmdr., DK)

DC-level) was martyred in the enemy's encirclement attack in Tadpal. South Gadchiroli DVC Secretary Comrade Srinu (Vijendra) along with DVCM Comrades Vasudev Atram (Nandu) and Dolesh Atram (Sainath) were martyred in the enemy's Halbi-Timidigunda attack in DK. In different encounters with the enemy, Bargarh-Bolangir-Mahasamund (BBM) DVCM Comrade Sanju was martyred in Odisha and Sub-zonal Committee members Comrades Shivilal and Shraavan Yadav were martyred in Badgaon under Bihar Region (Latehar) during this period.

In the same way, among the women AC/PPC comrades who have been martyred during the last one year are Comrade Madkam Raje (Soni, North Gadchiroli) in Tavvekasa encounter of DK, Comrade Oyam Sukki (Kranti, DK military instructor) in Mudum encounter, CRC Coy-2 Comrades Sodi Pande (Rame, Section Commander, PLGA doctor), Kuhdam Kosi (Section Commander), Telam Rame and Kumma Pramila in Tadpal

encounter, Aheri Area Comrades Maheri Vadde (Lata, AC Secretary), Mangli Padda (Shanti, Aheri Squad Commander), Chandrakala, Radha Pallo, Limmi Mattami (Perimili Area), Jamuna Ichami (PL-7) and Lalita Netam (PL-14), and Comrade Vanilla (Kandhamal) in Odisha's Milsikia encounter.

These immortal martyrs gave up their personal interests by considering the interest of the people and the Party as their own interest. They displayed high communist values, courage, dedication and commitment. On the occasion of the 200th birth anniversary of Karl Marx and martyrs' memorial week, the Central Committee (CC) of CPI(Maoist) pays its humble red homage with bowed heads to Karl Marx and along with Comrade Arvind to all the martyrs who have laid down their lives in the people's war in the last one year. It shares the sorrow of the families and friends of the martyrs and conveys them its heartfelt condolences.

In the same way, our CC pays its homage to the revolutionary leaders and cadres of



Com. Vinod
(PPCM, PL-1 Dy Cdr., MMC)



Com. Hemla Paiku (Sagar)
(PPCM, PL-1, MMC)



Com. Hemla Paike (Lalita)
(PM, CRC Staff)



Com. Undam Jogi (Lalita)
(PM, CRC Coy-2)



Com. Velladi Kamli
(PM, PL-11, WBT, DK)



Com. Hemla Sukhman
(PM, PL-11, WBT, DK)



Com. Allam Kamla
(PM, PL-11, WBT, DK)



Com. Oyam Kamli
(PM, PLGA member)

various countries who have been martyred in the course of advancing the world socialist revolution as well as the leaders and cadres of anti-imperialist and national liberation struggles of various countries in the last one year.

Comrades, let us take pledge to continue the fight to advance along the path made crimson by these martyrs till the end to win victory for the new democratic revolution of India as a part of the world socialist revolution. With initiative, perseverance, courage, preparedness for sacrifice and Bolshevik determination, let us take the movement one step forward. On the occasion of the memorial week of the martyrs, let us remember the immortal martyrs and learn from their practice. Let us inspire the Party rank and file and the masses to play their role in the revolution by placing before them the ideals of the martyrs.

Following the footsteps of Karl Marx, the oppressed people of India are carrying out

many economic, political, social and cultural struggles under different RPCs and mass organisations led by our Party CPI(Maoist) to complete the new democratic revolution in India with the aim of putting an end to exploitation by establishing a new, classless society – socialism-communism. Under the leadership of the Party, PLGA forces including the people militia and the masses are advancing the people's war-guerrilla war by connecting these struggles with the armed agrarian revolutionary struggle and by arming the masses. Thousands of women are getting mobilised in the movement with the conviction that the new democratic revolution alone can open up the path of women's liberation. They are upholding this truth which is being proved in practice. Many of them are joining the Party and the PLGA. Women comrades are fighting the enemy till their last breath with a great sense of sacrifice. They are shedding their warm blood and laying down their valuable lives towards achieving the goal. These martyrdoms should be seen as a part of the



**Com. Uike Maase
(PLGA, WBT, DK)**



**Com. Vetti Anita
(PLGA, WBT, DK)**



**Com. Madkam Kosi
(PLGA, WBT, DK)**



**Com. Kumma Pramila
(ACM, Telangana)**



**Com. Telam Rame (Ratna)
(PPCM, CRC Coy-2)**



**Com. Raju Atram (Akshay)
(PM, MMC)**



**Com. Madkam Mangu
(PM, MMC)**



**Com. Manu
(PM, RKB Division, DK)**

efforts to achieve the great objectives of the Party. Then there will be no scope for disappointment and demoralisation, and we will be able to continue the struggle till the achievement of communism.

Fascist attacks on the revolutionary movement have become even more intense since the last year under the ‘Samadhan’ strategy of Modi-led NDA government at the centre and various state governments. Using all the resources of the state machinery including the police, paramilitary and commando forces, the exploitative ruling classes are concentrating their efforts on this attack. They are deploying new battalions in the movement areas and increasing ‘Carpet Security’ day by day. They are raising many battalions by recruiting anti-people elements, reactionaries and local Adivasi youths by violating the judgments of their own highest court of law – the Supreme Court. They are deploying Adivasi battalions in the forest areas where the revolutionary movement is strong. The enemy is not allowing any gap or respite

in its combing operations that are conducted one after another. Coordination among the mercenary forces of the central and state governments has grown. This has resulted in the intensification of enemy attacks. Their intelligence network has been expanded many times over. Subjecting anyone who comes in hand to arrest, serious torture, killing in fake encounters and atrocities on women has grown. While concentrating its attacks mainly on the Party leadership, the enemy has increased its attacks on various Party committees, PLGA forces, RPCs and the people’s militia. There is no limit to the enemy’s barbarities.

The exploitative ruling classes are implementing state violence in coordination with their reform programmes and psychological warfare. They are conducting propaganda through all kinds of mass media by labelling the Maoists as ‘anti-development’. In the meantime, the Union Home Minister Rajnath Singh who had flagged off the fake ‘Gram Swaraj’ campaign from Chhattisgarh’s



Com. Lakke Karram
(PM, Supply Sqd., OS)



Com. Avalam Bapanamma
(PM, KKBN Div., OS)



Com. Mannu Mattami
(PM, Comm. Team, DK)



Com. Korsal Ungal
(PLGA Member, MMC)



Com. Rainu
(PM, NBT, DK)



Com. Oyam Sanjay
(Militia Member, WBT, DK)



Com. Oyam Mangu
(Militia Member, WBT, DK)



Com. Karam Nandal
(Militia Member, DK)

Dantewada has even surpassed Goebbels by starting the venomous propaganda that “Maoists are against the poor people”. On the one hand, they are making life hell for the people of the movement areas through white terror and brutal repression. They are making futile efforts to crush their fighting spirit, to damage the people’s mobilisation and to stop their growing recruitment. They are trying to push the people into the position of a mute spectator by generating an impression that it is not possible to fight and defeat the ruling classes and their mercenary forces many times stronger. On the other hand, they are implementing many reform programmes and ‘Civic Action Programmes’. They are stopping the functioning of rural weekly markets till the people accept the ‘freebies’ distributed by the police. They are trying to expand the intelligence network by somehow separate the people from the Party and the revolutionary movement.

Comrades,

The growing attacks on the revolutionary movement cannot be seen in isolation from the international and domestic situation. The imperialists are making serious efforts to come out of their crisis by transferring the burden of the economic crisis that they are facing for a long time on the oppressed people of the world and by exploiting the cheap labour and natural resources of the backward countries. On the one hand, they are intensifying their offensive against the working class and the middle classes of the imperialist countries and the oppressed nationalities and people of the backward countries. On the other hand, the dogfight among the imperialists to re-divide the world has intensified. West Asia and particularly Syria, South China Sea, Korean Peninsula, Iran, etc. have become centres of inter-imperialist contradictions. US President Trump’s serious threats of nuclear attack on North Korea are continuing. Trump has withdrawn from the nuclear deal with Iran that was signed by various Western powers to end

the Iranian nuclear programme and is now launching into a fresh round of offensive against Iran. Similarly, the US has amended its law related to travel in Taiwan which was in force till date. China has expressed serious objection to it. Alleging that the Syrian government forces carried out chemical attacks on the people, the US, Britain and France conducted one-sided missile attack against that country in a conspiratorial way. US-supported Israeli forces carried out one-sided aerial attack on the positions of the Iranian armed forces in Syria. The Palestinian nation is relentlessly fighting against the policies of the national-chauvinist Zionist Israeli ruling classes and against the opening of the US embassy in Jerusalem after recognising it as the capital of Israel. The US has fully supported the massacre of Palestinian protestors by Israel to crush their struggle. This has been strongly condemned throughout the world. On the other hand, Russian and Chinese imperialists have expressed their opposition of the above and are condemning the US. They are increasing their military budgets on a large scale. Russia has concentrated its attention on West Asia. Disregarding strong opposition, China is strengthening its military presence in South China Sea. All this are bringing back 'Cold War' memories throughout the world. The inter-imperialist contention is inevitably pushing the imperialist and oppressed countries towards fascism. Militant struggles of the oppressed nationalities and the oppressed people against the aggressive and exploitative imperialist policies are daily intensifying throughout the world.

Modi-led NDA government's collusion with US imperialism in all spheres is going on. It continues to function as a loyal US prop in South Asia to fulfil the US imperialist interests. It is mortgaging the country to the US imperialists and corporate houses. This is transforming the country into a fiefdom of the US. In order to remove all hurdles in implementing these anti-people policies, the Indian ruling classes have already given the existing Hindu chauvinism the form of Hindu fascism with the aim of establishing a 'Hindu Rashtra'. As a representative of the Indian ruling classes, all the Hindu fascist policies

implemented by Narendra Modi-Mohan Bhagwat-Amit Shah clique are only benefitting the imperialists, comprador big capitalists and big landlords, while making the lives of the vast masses miserable. In fact, this clique is instigating Hindu fascism to crush the militant struggles waged by the country's workers, peasants, Dalits, Adivasis, religious minorities, oppressed nationalities, women, employees, students-youths, teachers and professors, doctors and others for the resolution of their problems. It is serving the interests of the imperialists and the country's comprador big capitalists and big landlords by polarising the country on communal lines and making the people the sacrificial lambs. For this, it is deceiving the country with the slogan of 'Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas'. It is flaring up national-chauvinism, pseudo-patriotism and warmongering against Pakistan and China.

Due to these Hindu fascist policies, the disparity between the rich and the poor has grown enormously. In a report recently released by a non-governmental organisation Oxfam in Davos of Switzerland, one percent of the rich in India have accumulated 73 percent of its wealth. Their wealth has grown by 21 lakh crore rupees in a single year. This is equivalent to the Modi government's budgetary allocation for 2017-18. 17 new billionaires have emerged within a single year. The inherent fraudulent nature of the 'social service' of the 'poor' Prime Minister can be easily understood from this.

The real meaning of Modi government's 'Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas' ('Everyone's Cooperation, Everyone's Development') has been proved to be 'Corporate ka Saath, Corporate ka Vikas' ('Corporate's Cooperation, Corporate's Development'). For example, Reliance industries have made a profit of 504 crore rupees due to a single decision of the Modi government in the third quarter of last year. This means that 'Acche Din' ('Good Days') has come for the big landlords and the foreign and domestic corporate houses. Modi government, which is thumping its chest about preventing corruption, is looting public money in the name of democracy. Eight incidents of bank fraud are taking place each day on average for the last three years. Though such frauds had

taken place during earlier governments too, its number has grown substantially after Modi government came to power. People like Vijay Mallaya, Nirav Modi, Mehul Chauksi have embezzled thousands of crore rupees of public funds. 1,11,738 crore rupees have been openly looted from the banks in the last three years. Modi government too is following the footsteps of the erstwhile Congress government in waiving these bank loans, thereby serving corporate interests. All the oppressed classes and social sections of the country are coming to the streets and carrying out movements on a large scale against these Hindu fascist policies implemented by Narendra Modi-Mohan Bhagwat-Amit Shah clique.

After the 'lion' of 'Make in India' lost all its claws, it has gone into a slumber. Consequently, Modi government's claim of generating one crore jobs a year has proved to be yet another electoral gimmick. The unemployed youths are coming out on the path of struggle against the central and state governments which are following the same policies, no matter which political party is in power.

Due to the amendments to a number of labour laws made by the Modi government and the shrinking of the government and formal sector as a result of the intensification of the implementation of LPG policies, the private and informal sector is growing where the workers are left with very little social security. Exploitation and oppression of the workers is intensifying as a result. The working class is waging militant struggles against it. Policies like 'Rurban Mission', 'E-Bazaar', developing 22,000 rural weekly markets as agricultural markets, 'Van-Dhan', etc. are being used for no other purpose than to create favourable conditions for corporate farming and trading by foreign and domestic big corporations and to build the required infrastructure for them. These policies can neither stop the suicide of peasants nor can they resolve even their immediate problems. The agrarian crisis is deepening in the country as a result, and the conditions are maturing for the peasants to get prepared for a prolonged struggle for their demands. The BJP governments are deceiving

the peasants instead of fulfilling their demands on the one hand and are brutally crushing their movements with police forces on the other.

The youths are becoming victims of imperialist and patriarchal feudal culture promoted without restraint by the ruling classes. Women in particular are becoming targets of sexual violence and killing. Women throughout the country are struggling against the atrocities on them.

The governments are ignoring the demands of the Adivasis against displacement, for the implementation of PESA and other constitutional rights in spite of their militant struggles. The resentment of the Adivasi masses is growing day-by-day as a result. The recent 'Patthalgari' movement in several states for the rights over *jal-jangal-zameen* is an example of this.

Attacks on Dalits and religious minorities under the pretext of 'cow protection', 'Love Jihad', 'Ghar Wapasi', etc. have become common under Modi government's rule. It has brought the 'Triple Talaq' bill with the intention of interfering in the internal affairs of the Muslims under the pretext of addressing the so-called problem of 'Triple Talaq' as a part of its ongoing offensive against religious minorities. It is similarly bringing frivolous arguments about building Ram Temple at Ayodhya. The proposal to scrap reservations and the Supreme Court's verdict on SC-ST Atrocities Prevention Act are indications of the growing attack on the Dalits and oppressed castes. These are nothing but attempts at furthering the exploitative interests by breaking the unity among the people and stoking the fire of communalism through the policy of 'Divide and Rule'. The Dalits and religious minorities are getting ready for self-defensive struggles in their own ways. Their serious indignation has been expressed on many occasions like the resistance of the Dalits at Saharanpur and the wavelike protest of the Dalits of Maharashtra against the Sangh Parivar's attack at Bheema-Koregaon, the conversion of Dalits to Buddhism in Una, the successful bandh organised against the Supreme Court's verdict on the SC-ST Atrocities Prevention Act, etc.

In spite of the terror unleashed by the Indian Army through killing hundreds of Kashmiri youths in the region, the national liberation struggle of Kashmir is daily becoming more militant with the slogan of 'Azadi'. They are taking the path of armed struggle. The militant people's resistance on the one hand and the armed actions of the Kashmiri national liberation guerrilla fighters are intensifying to oppose the cruel atrocities and massacres of the government armed forces.

The national liberation aspirations of the nationalities of the Northeast have not been subdued. Different fighting organisations are carrying on their struggles in various forms. The people of Assam have started a militant mass struggle in the month of May against the Citizenship Amendment Act-2016 proposed by the central government which poses an existential threat to the Assamese nationality by allowing the rehabilitation of Bangladeshi Hindus in Assam.

Taking forward his Hindu fascist policies, Modi has declared his aim of building 'New India' by 2022. The 'New India' proposed by Modi means an India with the continuation of the rule of comprador bureaucratic capitalists and landlords and with domination of national chauvinism, Upper-Caste arrogance and Brahmanical Hindu religious frenzy. It will be an India which will be against the Adivasis, Dalits, religious minorities, oppressed castes, women and the oppressed nationalities like that of Kashmir and the Northeast; it will be an India which will not tolerate any kind of opposition. It will be an India reeling under hunger, inflation, black marketing, unemployment, illiteracy, ill health, homelessness, extreme impoverishment, corruption and scams. It will move from 'One Country, One Commodity, One Tax' and 'Ek Bharat, Shresth Bharat' ('One India, Great India') to finally 'Akhand Hindu Rashtra' ('United Hindu Nation'). Workers, peasants and other oppressed classes will have to unite and defeat this conspiracy of the Modi-Bhagwat-Shah clique to build such a 'New India'.

Comrades,

We will have to understand the growing Brahmanical Hindu fascism in India and the terror that it is spreading across the country in the context of the fascism that is spreading across the world. It is as a part of this that intense attacks on the revolutionary and democratic movement are being carried out under 'Samadhan' strategy. PLGA forces under the leadership of our Party have carried out a number of heroic tactical counter-offensive attacks against the enemy forces in various guerrilla zones and red resistance areas of the country this year with the aim of fighting back and defeating the 'Samadhan' strategy. The enemy forces have been destroyed in significant numbers. In spite of this, we too had to suffer serious losses in enemy attacks. Losses and sacrifices are inevitable in war. But the aim of war is to preserve our forces to the extent possible and destroy the enemy forces to the extent possible. We can avoid many losses by correctly implementing this Maoist principle. In fact, we could have avoided encounters like that of Irpanar, Kalleda, Halbi Tumidigunda and Pujari Kanker.

We can reduce our losses considerably by correctly assessing the enemy's situation, by putting into practice the already decided tactics and by taking up and implementing new tactics at the right time in order to fight back the enemy tactics that change rapidly during the war. The enemy wants to inflict losses on us through their continuous combing and searching operations. That is why we will have to be always on the alert. As Mao had said, we will have to change place quickly like air and water under unfavourable conditions. We will have to take the initiative by continuously remaining in a flexible condition, putting pressure on the enemy and hitting at them after identifying their weaknesses. During enemy operations in our movement areas, the revolutionary masses under the leadership of our Party are regularly maintaining vigilance and protecting themselves, they are protecting our Party, PLGA, RPC, mass organisations and the militia units like the pupil of their eyes. War mentality is relatively on the rise among the masses. Whichever side increases the active

and creative role of human beings in war can advance it towards victory.

But we are suffering a lot of losses due to our inability in developing tactics capable of hitting at the deceptive war of the enemy, in implementing the developed tactics and in bringing required changes in implementing the rules of guerrilla war. Our losses are growing as a result of tactically taking the enemy lightly, not putting hard work day and night in implementing the secret methods in the difficult situation and not giving primacy to active self-defence due to lack of war preparedness.

Today the Indian revolution is standing at a juncture. It is facing a difficult situation. We can safeguard the movement and take it a step forward only through everyone's active role and hard work. We can increase the self-confidence of our rank and file only when the entire Party, PLGA, the RPCs and the revolutionary mass organisations identify their weaknesses and limitations to become steeled immediately in the fascist repression of the enemy, conduct reliable reviews so as to avoid repeating those mistakes, formulate correct programme and new tactics as per the concrete condition of the movement in different areas, intensify and expand the guerrilla war in a planned manner by implementing the tactics of self-defence and attack as per the concrete conditions of various guerrilla areas. That is why, comprehensive reviews should be conducted to identify the political and policy-level mistakes, mistakes in adopting guerrilla tactics and in conducting guerrilla war. The enemy's network is getting stronger. Therefore, we should not become careless in our practice today without first arriving at a conclusion about the extent to which the enemy might have received information about our practice till yesterday. We will have to adopt correct tactics by considering the enemy as strategically weak and tactically strong. Only in this process can we increase Bolshevik enthusiasm among our rank and file to the maximum and overcome our mistakes and losses.

Due to the pro-imperialist, anti-people policies adopted by the exploitative ruling classes, anger among the vast masses is growing

and the conditions for revolution are becoming highly favourable. Militancy among the masses is on the rise. This situation must be utilised correctly. Presently when our movement is facing a difficult situation, we will have to carefully rectify our weaknesses and limitations and come out of them so that the enemy is unable benefit from them. If the enemy comes to know about our passivity, it can launch attacks more aggressively and inflict damage on us. We should be careful so that this kind of a passive situation does not emerge among us. We should be active and dynamic. We should make efforts consciously and in a planned manner in order to turn the conditions favourable to us in all spheres. All the leading committees in particular should provide courageous guidance to the movement. They should give active, enthusiastic and continuous leadership to the people's war-guerrilla war. They should not tail the situation. Weaknesses and limitations can be rectified through active and lively leadership. The ebbs and tides can be negotiated.

This is a total war. By identifying the changes in the enemy, the movement and the war, the leadership should remould itself and also remould the cadres under them and thereby develop the movement. No change can be brought about without developing new methods of work. For bringing about this change, we should develop within us collective activity and communist thinking in place of individual activity and individualism, revolutionary spirit in place of carelessness, vastness in thinking in place of sectarian thinking, and dialectical materialism in place of mechanical materialism. The entire Party, PLGA and the United Fronts should make efforts to internalise these qualities on the occasion of the bicentenary celebrations of the birth of Karl Marx.

No matter how favourable are the objective conditions for revolution, the revolutionary energy among the masses cannot be sustained without a strong revolutionary Party and a correct leadership. The revolution cannot be successful without a strong party, army and united front. Russian and Chinese revolutions had advanced in this very way. Similarly, the Indian revolution will have to

be taken out of the difficult situation. The final defeat of the enemy is certain. No one can stop its collapse. Chinese dictator Chiang Kai-shek had massacred twelve thousand people on a single day. In spite of this, the Chinese revolution advanced amidst ebbs and tides. The enemy is encouraging the reactionary elements in a big way. The movement is facing many serious hurdles as a result. Efforts will have to be made to overcome them. The masses will be steeled only in the course of struggles, losses, successes, sacrifices and betrayals. During Long March, the revolution in China had advanced towards liberation by suffering much pain. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is invincible. Therefore, the progress of the revolution will not stop, no matter how much the repression is. Nevertheless, subjective efforts in a conscious, planned, determined, courageous and active manner will have to be made in order to win victory. The subjective forces and the movement can be safeguarded only if the entire rank and file of the Party stand united and tackle the difficult situations actively.

Comrades, in spite of the enemy snatching away our martyrs from amidst the masses physically, they cannot wipe out the traditions of ideology and politics, ideals and sacrifice held up by them. Our martyrs have sacrificed in the interest of the workers, peasants and other oppressed people, for people's liberation and the establishment of a new society. The ruling classes are carrying out brutal attacks on us for their lowly interests. Against this, the immortal martyrs have sacrificed for the ideological and political line of the proletariat. Let us struggle according to the present situation of the enemy and the movement so as to realise the dreams and aspirations of our beloved martyrs. Let us march forward along the path of protracted people's war with patience through victory...defeat...again victory...again defeat to win final victory in the people's war.

Our programme for the Martyrs' Memorial Week from 28 July to 3 August

The class hatred against the enemy will have to be increased among the masses by upholding the sacrifices of the martyrs and their ideology, politics and ideals on the occasion of martyrs' memorial week between 28 July and 3 August. The consciousness of the masses will have to be raised to fight against state violence. The masses can be brought out of the illusion of reforms only by exposing their exploitation, oppression and repressive politics and the counter-revolutionary 'Samadhan' strategy and by preparing them to fight with class hatred. The enemy is seriously trying to spread the illusion of class collaboration by propagating that the ruling classes and the masses are not separate. This deceptive enemy tactic will have to be exposed among the masses. It will have to be widely propagated that the masses have the responsibility to protect the Party, PLGA, RPCs and revolutionary mass organisations and to catch and punish counter-revolutionary informers. The masses will have to be aroused. They will have to be motivated to resist using all means. By adopting appropriate methods as per the level of consciousness of the masses, programmes will have to be undertaken to build martyrs' memorial columns and pay homage to the martyrs as per the revolutionary traditions. The family members of the martyrs will have to be invited to the public meetings and requested to make speeches. The masses will have to be encouraged to extend them all kinds of material and moral support. The murderous nature of the enemy will have to be exposed by giving examples of the recent big incidents and posters, leaflets, booklets, photo calendar, photos of the martyrs, etc. will have to be widely distributed and propagated by upholding the sacrifice of our martyrs.

With revolutionary greetings,

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

Red salutes to Comrade Arvind, one of the leaders of Indian Revolution and member of the Political Bureau, CPI(Maoist)

One of the leaders of Indian Revolution, member of the Polit Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPI (Maoist) Comrade Arvind (Sujit, Nishant) died with serious ill health in the third week of March, 2018 at the age of 65.

Laying life for the sake of people and for a change in the society is heavier than the Himalayas. The life of such people will be especially ideal. There are certain general features and certain particular features in the life of every revolutionary wholay their life in the movement. They are ideal to all the revolutionaries and also be very helpful to bolshevising the Party. The life-history of our beloved leader Comrade Arvind too is a great mine of such revolutionary experiences.



Comrade Arvind was born in a middle class peasant family in Jehanabad district of Bihar. He did B.Sc (Science) in Patna, the capital city of the state. He was active in the student and the youth movement that rose when he was in graduation and was attracted towards the revolutionary movement in this process. He joined the Communist Kranthikari Sangathan (CKS) along with a few other revolutionaries. The CKS was merged in the erstwhile PU party. Comrade Arvind developed as one of the leaders of the CC in the erstwhile PU party. Later when PW and PU merged he worked as a member of the CC of the united PW. He worked as a member of the CC and the CMC in the united party, CPI (Maoist) formed with the merger of the erstwhile PW and the erstwhile MCCI. In the

fourth meeting of the CC in 2013 he was coopted into the PB and continued in this responsibility until his martyrdom. He had been suffering with diabetes and BP for a long time. Three years back his eyes were severely affected due to chronic diabetes. Lastly he became a martyr due to heart attack.

The life of Comrade Arvind since he entered politics in 1973-74 until his martyrdom was very much full of struggle. He stood on the side of the progressive, revolutionary section in every step and turn. Over four decades of his revolutionary life is inseparably entwined with the revolutionary movement of Bihar-Jharkhand and Indian Revolutionary movement. It handed over many experiences. We cannot separate his life from the political situation, the class struggle, the mobilization of lakhs of people in the anti-feudal struggles, the strategy and tactics the revolutionary movement adopted in the area, state and the regional bureau he worked, the ideological struggle against revisionism for a correct path, the ideological struggle against the wrong line that came forth opposing the correct Party line, the extension of the revolutionary movement from a small area to the vast rural area and strategic areas.

From democratic politics to revolutionary politics

The international and domestic situations were turbulent in the 1970s. Imperialism that was unleashing neo-liberalist type of exploitation, indirect rule and control all over the world after World War II was caught in severe crisis by the beginning of 1970s. This was expressed in the form of intensification of exploitation and oppression of the ruling classes on the oppressed people of our country. The conflicts between various groups of the ruling classes for shares in exploitation reached a serious level. It was the time of Congress rule in the leadership of Indira Gandhi. It violated the fundamental rights of the people. The anger among the students and youth on the problems of education and unemployment reached a peak stage. Students and youth like Arvind were full of hatred towards the autocratic rule of the government. As a result, Democratic movements rose against the rule

of the autocratic rule of the Indira government. Lakhs of students and youth participated in these movements in a militant manner along with the various ruling class opposition parties fought for their electoral purposes. Arvind worked in these movements by participating as a dynamic activist. He developed an understanding towards democratic politics and gained experience in conducting militant movements. But the quest of persons like Arvind for a correct line did not end.

In those days the Naxalbari peasant struggle in the leadership of Charu Mazumdar had a great influence all over the country. But By that time the Naxalbari Armed peasant revolutionary strugglesuffered a temporary setback after the martyrdom of Charu Mazumdar. CPI (ML) suffered a severe blow due to serious enemy repression and due to the ideological and political differences that emerged in the party. In this situation there were serious discussions about what tactics to adopt to re-build the movement. Persons like Arvind were active participants in the discussions in Bihar. They opposed the right revisionist line that came forth in the ML camp. On the other hand there was a strong influence of Comrade Jowhar who led the historic Bhojpur peasant armed struggle in Bihar in mid 1970s. With these two influences, people like Comrade Arvind entered revolutionary politics by considering the line of Charu Mazumdar to be correct and by keeping faith in it. But They took the stand to rectify the mistakes in these movements. Some of them joined the Communist Krantikari Sangathan (CKS) in 1977-79. This was the first step in the revolutionary life of Comrade Arvind.

In a reply to a question in an interview of the principal correspondent Brajesh Mishra of 'Delight of Bihar' on the 4th of April, 2005, Comrade Arvind said about his entering revolutionary politics,"I have been participating in movements against the system full of exploitation, atrocities and in movements against the government since my school life. I also played my role as a soldier in the movement against the Congress government in 1965-68 and in the people's

movement for 'Complete Revolution' against the system in the leadership of Jayaprakash (JP) between 1974 and 1977....but what happened finally? Both these unarmed, people's non-violent movements were attacked by the violent state-machinery of the autocratic rule of the Congress and killed thousands of people.....It imposed 'Emergency' in the country and violated the fundamental rights of ordinary people. It suppressed the freedom of press and turned the whole country into a jail. What was the outcome of these two unarmed people's movements? The leaders openly betrayed the people's movements. Both these movements, especially the failure of the JP movement instilled in me the trend towards Marxism-Leninism-Maoism....I studied it deeply....I concluded that without the proletarian leadership and the main role of the worker-peasant people, the people cannot achieve victory in the struggle for a change in the system. Without an army there is no value for the people's voice. It is possible to change the system not through parliamentary path but only through an armed revolution. After more consideration I saw clearly that it is only Naxalism which believes in changing the system through revolution.....I got associated with the worker's movement in Dehri-on-Sone (Rohtas) area. There were good successes in developing the workers' movement.... In those days the comrades of the CPI (ML) Party Unity contacted me.... That is why the JP movement is my first negative teacher which brought me to the positive path of Naxalism..."

As the leader of Armed Agrarian Revolutionary movement

After Emergency was lifted, hundreds of Communist Revolutionaries were released from jail all over the country. At that time the revolutionaries were divided into small groups and each group declared itself as the actual heir of CPI (ML). In that situation most of the revolutionaries released from jail started to join some or the other group they found correct. A few revolutionaries in the Bengal jails who considered the path of Naxalbari to be correct felt that they have to rectify the tactical mistakes and tried to revive the old relations. They started work among the people of basic classes.

They discussed with various revolutionaries with the single agenda of uniting the genuine revolutionaries, in the leadership of Comrade Narayan Sanyal and other revolutionaries. In this process they held a Conference in November 1978 and established CPI (ML) (Party Unity). They mainly decided to build revolutionary peasant movement in the South Bihar Central zone with a strategic view. A section of the CKS in the leadership of Comrade Arvind came into contact with the CPI (ML) (Party Unity). Both these groups merged in 1980 and formed the Unity Organisation (UO). This organized into the CPI (ML) PU together with a few revolutionaries of Punjab in January 1982. This was a second step in the revolutionary life of Comrade Arvind.

In the decade of the 1980s, The PU party concentrated in Magadh, Koel-Kaimur areas of Central and South Bihar where the social and geographical conditions were favorable for armed struggle. But The class contradictions reached their peak stage in Magadh region. In this area, a rich section of the Kurmis that released the Thekari estate from the traditional upper caste landlord's iron hold emerged as small landlords and reactionary rich peasants and established their control. This section used cruel casteist feudal autocratic power to exploit and oppress the poor and landless peasantry of the Dalits and Backward Castes. The Bhumihars had control in other areas. The movement in the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan in 1974 mainly attracted the middle and rich peasant youth of the Kurmis. The PU Party prepared its first cadres in this area from the few militant youth who broke away from the illusion of this movement. The party started revolutionary activities in Jehanabad depending on them. Arvind was one of them. In this way, as a result of People like Comrade Arvind joining the PU party in their search for a correct path and leading this party in their own Magadh area where they were born and brought up, it helped the initiation of anti-feudal class struggle and armed agrarian revolutionary struggle in that area in this subjective situation. The movement developed to a considerable level in hundreds of villages

in Jehanabad, Aurangabad and Patna districts by mid-1980.

Party demonstrated the consciousness of daring and self-sacrifice in developing the movement in Bihar, considered as the fortress of feudalism. It mobilized thousands of peasants against the cruel landlords and their private armies like the Bhumi Sena. Initially the movement centred round issues like self-respect, wages and bandit gangs. The landlords started organising private armies by organising their strength. The counter-revolutionary Kurmi landlords got organized under the banner of Bhumi Sena and started brutal attack to suppress the mass base of the movement. Naturally the people's anger erupted against these cruel landlords committing atrocities on the oppressed people. There were militant people's resistance struggles. The party formed regular red resistance armed squads to advance the struggles of resistance in 1981.

Comrade Arvind was a great agitator. He roused the peasantry through his speeches. He inspired thousands of peasants for militant struggles. The peasants chased away the landlords in his leadership. They attacked the private armies of the landlords and punished them with class hatred. The peasants mobilized in a big way and wiped out Ram Parvesh, Dukhan Singh of Sikaria village that was the centre for class struggle and cruel landlords like Raja Yadav, bandit gangs of Pekhan who were responsible for the Kansara and Rampurchai massacres. Mazdoor Kisan Sangharsh Samiti (MKSS) and its leader Comrade Arvind played the main role in this. Comrade Arvind gained the confidence of the peasantry as an efficient peasant leader. He had a prominent role in mobilizing the Dalits in successful retaliatory actions on the private armies against the massacres of the armies of the upper caste landlords on them in places like Pipra, Ruras, Bigha, Belchi, and Bhagodih of the Magadh region and also in seizing more than 50 weapons from them. With the development and expansion of the revolutionary movement shook the foundations of the landlords. Feudal power started to disintegrate. Since 1984 the leaders of the local Bhumi Sena started to surrender to the MKSS. The peasantry fined them. The Sena had to accept conditions like

lifting of police camps, withdrawing false cases on the activists and other such things.

The state government deployed thousands of police and Para-military forces in camps in Gaya sub-division to suppress these struggles and started a big offensive. In 1983 the police scattered the MKSS conference near Maduva. In 1985 the first state level police operation (Operation task force) started. In 1986 the state police fired in Arwal on the 19th of April on the state conference of MKSS bringing back the memories of Jalianwalabagh massacre. Twenty-three peasants were martyred and 70 injured in this incident. The police killed an activist of MKSS in the first encounter a few days before this conference. Around forty thousand people, activists and leadership comrades all over the state were arrested, tortured and put in jails. Additional police camps were turned into torture camps. Against this repression, Lakhs of people were mobilised like a great wave facing the Operation task force, protecting the Party and the armed peasant forces and many militant people's resistance movements were conducted. This became the main form of struggle. The people demonstrated their consciousness in all places against the state. The people's protest demonstration reached such an extent that the state Assembly was gheraoed in 1987 against Alwar massacre. The government had no other way but to withdraw STF temporarily. A few days before the Assembly gherao, the government banned MKSS for the first time.

A Few new aspects came forth in the Jehanabad movement. The people's movement took place especially in a legal form. Though the movement was limited to a small area the mass organisations made remarkable attempts with a strong will to organise their units from the village level to the state level. At that time there were active village committees of the MKSS in more than half of the villages in the area of the movement. By 1985 there were 2000 activists and twenty thousand members in MKSS. There were village defense squads in more than 200 villages. Almost at this time four to five armed guerilla squads were functioning. The activities of the armed squad were connected with the people's movement and the

open mass organization with the formations of secret organization. The policy of destroying the upper caste reactionary landlord elements by achieving the unity of all the oppressed classes and organizing the oppressed people of various castes on class basis was implemented. Forms of struggle like elimination of selected leaders of Bhumi Sena, economic blockade on cruel Bhumi Sena landlords (ban on cultivation of lands, non-cooperation movement of the tenants, seizing the selected crops or destroying them and other such forms) and people's courts were implemented everywhere. Better results were achieved from this tactics. The lower sections of the Kurmi peasantry were separated from their reactionary caste leaders through the armed resistance with the help of the armed squads. By propagating the politics of seizing power from the beginning and forming tactical united fronts based on broad mass base the movement was conducted on various social and economic problems. This led to the historic people's uprising in the entire Magadh region.

The experiences of Jehanabad helped the party rank and file and people's guerilla forces in the leadership of Comrade Arvind and other comrades to create an upsurge in the agrarian revolution in the undivided Palamu district of the strategic and broad Koel-Kaimur region. It is that area of the plains of central Bihar which extended to Gaya-Aurangabad in the north, Chatra-Hazaribagh in the east, Sarguja (Chhattisgarh), and Sonbhadra (Uttarpradesh) in the south and which contained big estates with hundreds and thousands of acres in the hegemony of cruel Rajput and Brahman landlords. After work was started in Palamu district from 1978, the movement extended to four blocks of this area by 1985. Two squads were working there. In 1984 Comrade Krishna Singh was martyred. The movement that emerged in protest against his murder demanding punishment to the murderers gave a momentum to the advancement of the agrarian revolution in Palamu. People's struggle speedily broke out on issues like just wage rates for agricultural laborers, bonded labor, feudal oppression and other such things in six months in 'Japla'

(Hussainabad) area. Armed squads were formed with the available weapons to counter the attacks of the armed gangs of the landlords. One year later the movement spread from Japla to Mohammadgunj, Hydernagar, Hariharaganj, Bisrampur, Chattarpur, Nabinagar (Aurangabad). Struggles erupted like waves. There were struggles for land, crops and against usury. There was an increase in the militant people's movement against the reactionary gangs levying 'Rangdari tax' from the people engaged in collecting forest produce. In Bisrampur area the movement developed through the fierce armed conflicts with the landlord's 'Krishak Sevak Samaj' army and spread to Panki, Majwimon and Garhwa areas in 1987. In Panki area there were large scale people's struggles on issues like land, wages, rights on forests and forest produce, right to collect mahua and against the landlords and forest officials. In some places the people seized rifles from the police collectively and participated in many heroic attacks on the landlords.

The second conference of the Party in 1987 decided to pay attention to land struggles. Thereafter, occupying the lands of the landlords and distributing them to the landless, poor peasantry spread like a movement in Central Bihar. After the leaders of the Krishak Sevak Samaj were wiped out and it was destroyed, the big landlords among the Rajputs organized the Sunlite Sena. The party implemented by combining the tasks of strengthening the village committees and conducting military actions. Through this the reactionaries were put down. The revolutionary peasantry held people's courts, imposed economic blockade, seized cultivable lands and attacked the paddy and wheat crops of the cruel landlords. There was a great struggle in Sigsig. The revolutionary peasantry destroyed the go-downs and kacheries that stood as symbols of feudal power. The Sunlite Sena failed due to the relentless blows of the movement. Reactionary organisations like the Kisan Sangh, Savarna Liberation Front were wiped out. People in all struggle areas consciously participated in programmes to boycott the parliamentary elections. Thousands of police forces had to be deployed

for holding elections in these areas. The movement extended to the whole of undivided Palamu district and some areas of Rohtas, Bhabua, Aurangabad, Patna, Bhojpur and Buxar districts. In the same way, There was a people's upsurge in Koel-Kaimur region too in 1988-1990. Some more guerilla squads too were formed during this time.

The government implemented the carrot and stick policy of giving the allurements of awards and the threat of punishment along with reform programmes and payment of money to crush the agrarian revolutionary struggle growing on a large scale in this way and conducted Operation Rakshak and Operation Siddharth in Jehanabad and Operation Agnidoot and Operation Devdoot in Palamu. The people could stop the reform program with the slogan of 'irrigation facilities instead of roads'. The people's guerilla forces took up tactical counter offensives with the support of the militia and could put a stop to the military operations of the enemy.

The favorable geographical condition of south Palamu, relative political vacuum and the sharp contradiction between the landlords and the vast masses not only contributed to the development of the resistance movement but also created favorable conditions to develop the movement to the stage of guerilla zone.

Efforts towards forming guerilla zones through the anti-feudal struggles with the aim of establishing liberated areas

As Comrade Mao said, in the New Democratic Revolution of any semi-colonial, semi-feudal country, armed struggle shall be the main form of struggle and army shall be the main form of organization. Comrade Arvind's role in building the movement and developing it to the next step with this understanding was very vital. The forces that came forth in the agrarian revolution were consolidated in the party units. Armed peasant squads were formed from MKSS and people's militia. Though initially only temporary armed squads were formed in Magadh region of Bihar, party formed armed peasant guerilla squads in Magadh zone in December of 1981 and conducted a military training camp. Though the squad members were temporary

the squad conducted their activities regularly and so they functioned as regular squads. In this way the formations of regular squads and temporary squads spread in all areas. Before 1995 militia members used to be more in number in the guerilla squads. Gradually the number of guerilla members rose and the number of militia members reduced. In addition to the development of the movement, Comrade Arvind made great efforts to explain the importance of professionalism in the armed squads and to rectify the shortcomings and weaknesses in understanding this. Thus there was progress in the efforts to build regular squads constituted by regular members. These squads played a decisive role in the development of armed peasant movement. In fact without these squads the movement could not have gone one step forward. In the process of intensification of armed agrarian revolution in Jehanabad and Palamu, the armed squads played a decisive role in rebuilding the mass organisations affected due to the repression campaigns of the government and in protecting the mass base.

Since the Enemy's weaponry is our source of weapons, so weapons were started to be seized from the landlords and reactionaries right from the beginning. The armed forces seized weapons from the police for the first time in 1980 itself. Comrade Arvind played the main role in formulating and getting implemented an appropriate political, organizational and military program in the state conferences of the party in 1987 and 1993 to raise the political and military level of the armed squads, to purge the bad elements from the squads and to apply the policy of carrying out actions by the squads on the basis of the decisions of the concerned party committees.

In 1987 'Command Committees' were formed under the Regional Committees of the party to develop the military capabilities of the armed squads. Later in 1993 they became the Sainik Sanchalan Team (SST, meaning military administering teams) that was a regional level military command system. SST was first formed in Magadh and later in Koel-Kaimur. In 1994 there was a full-fledged military training camp and later too many camps were conducted as per the necessity.

With this concentration on the military sphere the capability of the armed squads gradually increased. This was seen clearly in the actions carried out by them. The armed squads achieved success in big attacks in the plain areas too. In the Assembly election boycott campaign in the mid-1990s, these squads eliminated a few policemen and seized weapons thus demonstrating their capabilities. Police camps in Bihar were attacked for the first time during this. Our armed squads also conducted some counter-offensive actions on the government forces. The SSTs played a good role in this. In 1997 Military Affairs Committee was formed.

Comrade Arvind used to think much about advancing by basing on the progress in developing the anti-feudal revolutionary peasant struggle into a struggle against the state armed forces. By realising the necessity to develop the movement into a higher stage, he discussed in the Party about developing guerilla zones with the aim to establish base areas. He made some concrete proposals for this. As a result of the efforts of the Party, anti-state armed struggle emerged as the main struggle in Bihar in 1995.

Joint Coordination Committee (JCC) was formed in the leadership of the central Home Ministry in June 1998 and Joint Operational Command (JOC) was formed in 2000 April with Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Bihar and Odisha to eliminate the People's War advancing in the leadership of various Maoist parties of the country. With this, the offensive of the mercenary armed forces of the government on the revolutionary movements throughout the country intensified. The Bihar State Committee assessed that Koel-Kaimur-Magadh developed into a guerilla zone by 1995. In 1994-2000 there were 9 ambushes and 10 raids and 60 policemen and a few leaders of the landlord's private armies were wiped out. They seized 176 weapons from them. As per the decision of the Central Committee after the formation of united PW, Tactical Counter-Offensive Campaign (TCOC) was conducted in Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, North Telangana and Dandakaranya in coordination during the elections in 1999. Large movement and resistance came up in these four states against

the killing of the members of the Central Committee Comrades Shyam, Mahesh and Murali by the enemy in a covert operation. Just one year later People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA) was formed as the embryo of the people's army on the 2nd of December, 2000 that was a long time dream of the people of India and Comrade Arvind played an important role in its formation in Bihar-Jharkhand. The PW Congress in 2001 assessed that the stage of the movement in Koel-Kaimur-Magadh is at guerilla zone stage. It took up the immediate task of establishing guerilla bases in this area with the aim of forming base area. In order to fulfill this task it took up countrywide TCOC as a part of which TCOC was taken up in Bihar too. Guerilla war was intensified through the TCOCs in the purview of the state. In this way Comrade Arvind played the main role in many vital decisions in developing guerilla war and the Party line.

Comrade Arvind's role in developing People's War-Guerilla war

The united party, CPI (Maoist) placed four main tasks before the party. Comrade Arvind continued as a member of the CC in the united party and became a member of the CMC and the ERB. Comrade Arvind made serious political, organizational and military efforts to fulfill these tasks, utilizing the favorable condition to intensify the armed agrarian revolutionary guerilla war after the formation of the united party. The united party recognized 80 per cent of the total area under BJ SAC as guerilla zone. In the leadership of ERB, the BJ SAC selected many places and made efforts to establish guerilla bases with the aim of establishing base area. It made efforts to bring uniformity in the party, to relatively further consolidate the party committees, to strengthen Special Area Military Commission (SAMC), Regional Military Commission (RMC) and PLGA formations, to form zonal and sub-zonal commands, to intensify the armed agrarian revolutionary guerilla war and to rectify the alien class trends in the Party and the PLGA. The party committees strengthened to an extent. The PLGA formations strengthened. This helped to advance the movement at the ERB and SAC level in a more

systematic manner and to coordinate the movements of various areas in a better way. The movement advanced in the red resistance areas with slogans like 'land to the tiller', 'power to Krantikari Kisan Committee (KKC)' and with the slogan of 'power to revolutionary people's committees' in the guerilla zones. A favorable condition was created for the formation of 'Revolutionary People's Committees' as units of people's state power.

The successful Unity Congress-Ninth Congress of the CPI (Maoist) in 2007 January gave the immediate, main and central task of "Strengthening the three weapons of our revolution and advancing the guerilla war qualitatively into higher stage of mobile war and transforming PLGA into PLA in order to establish base areas in strategic areas". "Unite DK and BJ, transform them into base areas" has become a popular slogan among the party cadres. As a part of fulfilling the central task, after the Unity Congress East Regional Command (ERC) was formed in the leadership of ERB in which Comrade Arvind too became a member. He actively led many TCOCs for BJ Special Area Military Commission and Bihar Regional Military Commission, directly led many centralised (TCOC) operations, guided a few other actions and contributed his share to intensifying and extending guerilla war.

After the formation of the united party, the hope of the people of India about the victory of the revolutionary movement increased. The Party and PLGA made efforts for advancing the revolutionary movement as per this. The Party strengthened all over the country. It gained the support of the Maoist parties at the international level. Apart from leading the historic Lalgarh struggle, and the land struggle Narayanapatna, it led separate Telangana and anti-displacement struggles. By conducting tactical counter offensives in DK, BJ, Odisha, Bengal and AOB it shook the enemy.

The PLGA forces in the leadership of the party in the BJ Special Area carried out heroic tactical counter-offensive actions against the mercenary armed forces of the government, eliminated the leaders and goondas of private

armies of the landlords, cruel big landlords, usurers, many leaders and goondas of the state-sponsored counter-revolutionary TPC, JJMP, PLFI, JPC, Santi Sena, Nagarik Suraksha Samiti, Sendra and other such gangs. People's movements and resistance struggles were conducted against state violence, many people's problems, especially on the problem of displacement under various united fronts. These enthused the vast masses and also made a very good impact on the political scenario of the country. In this whole process Comrade Arvind strived relentlessly to fulfill his role in the area of his responsibility.

Since mid-2009 the central and the state governments launched the counter-revolutionary war on the people – 'Operation Green Hunt' in a bid to eliminate the countrywide revolutionary movement. Thousands of various levels of leadership, cadres, PLGA commanders, fighters, militia and revolutionary people along with the central and the state leadership martyred before this and in the intense enemy offensive before and after its initiation. Hundreds of party cadres along with many CCMs and SAC members were arrested. A few turned traitors. In spite of this, the People's War advanced in the leadership of our party fighting back Operation Green Hunt. A few actions with mobile war characteristics were conducted while advancing the guerrilla war in DK and BJ. Especially the movement developed in waves in the BJ SAC area until 2011. A few RPCs in the village level and one or two in the area level were formed and started functioning. But the movement had to face serious losses in the fierce war between revolution and counter-revolution and there was a heavy reduction in the subjective forces. This made a serious negative impact on the party and the movement. The fourth meeting of our Central Committee of our party held in 2013 assessed that the countrywide revolutionary movement was going through a difficult situation and especially with the loss of many leadership comrades and the reduction of the mass base the BJ movement fell into temporary setback. In such a difficult situation too the leadership, activists, commanders and fighters working in the field and the people stood in the forefront

to Bolshevise the party and are making efforts to bring the movement out of the state of temporary setback.

The party and the people of Bihar-Jharkhand got tempered in the past four to five decades of class struggle and people's war. In this process they fought back many repressive campaigns of the enemy and defeated them. Depending on this experience Comrade Arvind stood in the field with unwavering courage and revolutionary confidence and made efforts to intensify and extend guerilla war until his last breath in spite of his severe ill health in order to overcome the difficult state of the movement. Movement extended to a few new areas. Through the small, middle and big tactical counter-offensive attacks conducted by the party, PLGA and the people who got united in difficult situations, By damaging the police, Para-military and various commando forces to an extent through small, middle and big tactical counter-offensive attacks conducted by joining together of the party, PLGA and the people in difficult situations, by mobilising in various economic and political struggles for *jal-jangal-zameen-izzat-adhikar*, on the problem of displacement, against state repression and especially mobilising thousands of people and people's militia in resistance struggles against Operation Green Hunt, the aggressiveness of the enemy was contained and the revolutionary movement could be sustained. Efforts were made to fight back the enemy's psychological war through revolutionary propaganda. In spite of facing the three phases of Operation Green Hunt especially after the revolutionary movement facing a difficult situation since 2013, and in spite of facing serious repression as a part of the 'SAMADHAN' strategy (2017-2022) of the enemy at present, people's war is being able to sustain fighting back the enemy offensive amidst severe losses. Education was imparted to cadres of various levels to bolshevise the party. Zonal plenums were held and proper syntheses made, the conditions were properly assessed, proper tasks were formulated and new leadership teams were elected. This filled the cadres with new enthusiasm. Due to the creative implementation of active self-defense tactics

of the Party and PLGA in the direct leadership of Comrade Arvind as a member of ERB and ERC, there were many tactical counter-offensive actions on the enemy forces in 2013-2017. This instilled self-confidence not only in the party and the PLGA but also in the vast masses.

Firmly standing by the basic political line of the party in the internal struggles of the Party

Comrade Arvind also had an important role in the theoretical struggles of the PU party against the CPI (ML) Liberation which existed as a strong group in Bihar in the 1970s and the 80s and many such opportunist groups in the ML camp.

Comrade Arvind firmly upheld the party line in the internal struggles of the party. There were two main internal struggles in the history of Party Unity, one in 1987 and another in 1997. Mainly the CC secretary of the erstwhile PU party Ashok placed a resolution with a rightist line in the second conference of the party in 1987. He brought forth a document that our country is not a semi-feudal society but turned into a capitalist society and so it is necessary to leave the line of Protracted People's War. The party with a majority in the leadership of Comrade Narayan Sanyal rejected this wrong line and protected the party line and the party and advanced the movement. Comrade Arvind was one of those who stood at the forefront along with Comrade Narayan Sanyal.

Coming to the issue of the internal struggle of the party in 1997, the Bihar state conference reviewed the failures in advancing the movement in 1985-86. Then the Central Organising Committee (COC) of the PU party did not accept this review. As a part of the efforts of the PU party to unite with the erstwhile People's War, when the movement of 18 years was reviewed in the central conference in 1997, the struggle between these two lines emerged again. Comrade Arvind led the alternative line in this internal struggle which was centred round the party line. In spite of the majority in the Bihar state conference accepting the alternative line that was presented in the form of critical paper of Bihar, the majority in the central conference did not give

its approval. But it included certain valuable and correct criticisms of this critical paper in the political organizational review. In this way this critical paper of Comrade Arvind played a vital role in enriching the political line of the PU party and also to identify and rectify the ideological, political and organizational weaknesses. It also made a positive impact on the unity process of Party Unity and People's War.

Prepared the Basis for the unity of revolutionaries

The movements that developed in Andhra Pradesh, Dandakaranya and Bihar in the decade of 1980 provided a basis for the unity of genuine revolutionaries in India. Comrade Arvind played his share of role in this. With the understanding that without building strong revolutionary movements following the correct political line, unity of genuine revolutionaries is not possible, Comrade Arvind built strong movements in Magadh. He made efforts to strengthen the revolutionary line. He took these two movements as invaluable experiences in Indian revolutionary movement during the time of fraternal relations with MCC party and the efforts for unity with PW (1995-98). He tried to learn from them. Thus Comrade Arvind handed over great revolutionary experience to the Indian revolutionary movement for achieving unity of revolutionaries. This brought out a turn in the erstwhile PU party. This formed the basis for the merger of PW and PU parties. Thus he played an important role in the merger of two important parties – PW and PU in the CPI (ML) stream that emerged with the inspiration of Naxalbari.

The nearly three years of armed clashes between the united PW after the merger of PW and the PU and the MCCI inflicted serious losses, which was identified as a dark chapter in the history of Indian revolutionary movement. By making determined efforts with a self-critical attitude, the Central Committees of the two parties put an end to this dark chapter by keeping faith in the belief that genuine revolutionaries can achieve genuine unity on the basis of correct theory and practice and on the basis of deep self-criticism, without

giving chance to any opportunist compromises and by learning from each other. Comrade Arvind was one of those who made such correct efforts. He was mentally very disturbed with the clashes between the two parties. This paved the way for the unity of the two prominent streams of the Indian revolution – MCCI and PW – and the formation of CPI (Maoist).

Comrade Arvind was one of the best high level commanders of the Party

Comrade Arvind was one of the best high level commanders that the Indian Revolution gave to the oppressed people. He played a very important role in developing guerilla war in Bihar. He made efforts by concentrating on developing armed struggle as the main form of struggle, the people's guerilla units of guerilla squads, platoons and companies into the main form of organization as per the party line and the decision of the Central Committee. After the formation of CPI (Maoist) he actively fulfilled his responsibilities as a member of the CMC and the ERC. His role was very important in defeating the many offensive campaigns of the enemy to eliminate the revolutionary movement, in intensifying guerilla war in the forest, mountainous and plain areas and formulating and implementing appropriate tactics with the objective of developing guerilla war into mobile war in Bihar-Jharkhand. He directly led many heroic, brave guerilla actions like ambushes, raids and encounters, guided many actions and played the main role in their success.

Comrade Arvind used to overcome any hurdles that came in the way of conducting guerilla actions with patience and by displaying limitless initiative, strong determination, perseverance and courage, a sense of self-sacrifice and presence of mind and made them successful. He heroically led and coordinated the PLGA forces in many encounters between the enemy forces and PLGA forces and gave appropriate response to the enemy offensives. He directly commanded by protecting our forces to the extent possible and giving blow to the enemy forces.

Comrade Arvind made serious efforts to develop the objectives of mobile war by

developing guerilla war to a high level through concrete guerilla war actions. Jehanabad jail break, Bhandaria, Dhardharia, Amuvatkar and many such guerilla actions stand as examples of this. He provided direct leadership to the first company formed in Keol-Kaimur area of the Bihar region under the purview of ERC. He handed over many new experiences in guerilla war through relentless efforts. By developing active self-defense methods in conducting political-military camps, he placed a model for the party and the PLGA. He not only formulated military plans but provided direct leadership in their implementation. He was constantly in the field with the PLGA Company and directly led the Party and the PLGA and so became one of the main targets of the enemy. Hundreds and thousands of enemy forces engaged in the hunt to eliminate him. In spite of this He never used to bother about the enemy offensives. He never showed his back to the enemy. The PLGA forces in his leadership conducted many daring counterattacks against the enemy's counter-guerilla operations to eliminate him and the enemy forces were eliminated to an extent. Dumra encounter (Latehar, 2008), Borha counteroffensive action (Gumla, Lohardaga, Latehar border, 2010), Piri Makanpur counteroffensive action (Latehar, 2011), Operation Octopus Break (Palamu, 2012) and the Karamdih encounter, the attack on helicopter as a part of it, the Chemo-Saneya encounter, Civil-luru Kerakona encounter (Gumla, 2013), Bhorvakhand Rajgarh counteroffensive action (Latehar, 2013), Kumadi Borha counteroffensive action (Gumla, 2014), the action against enemy ambush near Champi Path-Bans pahar (Gumla, 2015), Sanayi Tanger Ghaghra counteroffensive action (Gumla, 2015), the action against the enemy ambush near Dubchahi Khaira (Latehar, 2015), the action that fought back the enemy's 'Operation Prachanda' in Budha pahad (in the border of Garhwa-Latehar districts of Jharkhand and Balarampur district of Chhattisgarh, 2016), counteroffensive action in Budha pahad (2017), etc. can be cited as main and very daring counteroffensive action.

When the problem of supply to develop guerilla war was very serious, Comrade Arvind played a special role in the preparation of Improvised Explosives, in developing many kinds of mines and in the mine warfare. He deeply studied about the explosive material and gained a grip on them. He directly and successfully conducted many dangerous experiments in the preparation and use of the explosives. He conducted many training camps in the East Region and one training camp in the Central Region for the PLGA forces on the preparation and use of explosives. He made available notes on it. Comrade Arvind had a very important role in inflicting serious losses to the enemy forces by successfully experimenting the IEs and devices on them using the new knowledge and technique developed by him.

He fulfilled his responsibilities as one of the in-charge comrades of supplies in the CMC of the CPI (Maoist). Even in the difficult situation after the enemy targeted and damaged the supply mechanism of the party, he put serious efforts to send supplies to the guerilla forces, especially to the Central Region, He even engaged his friends and relatives for this purpose. After the Enemy continuously targeted and damaged the supply mechanism of our party, he put relentless efforts to revive it. He was a high level revolutionary commander and leader who never got scared when faced with defeat and made constant efforts to achieve victory by keeping confidence in the fact that defeat is temporary and the final victory is to the people.

Comrade Arvind was arrested two times. He always faced enemy repression. At the time when he was in the hands of the enemy, he faced mental tortures with great courage and protected the party secrets. He became underground immediately after his release from jail, reached the party ranks and led the party.

Comrade Arvind's life is an ideal for the Party and the oppressed youth of India

If we look at it in its entirety, Comrade Arvind's life history is one in which he never allowed despair to come near him in spite of

facing any number of ups and downs, ebb and flows, twists and turns in the protracted people's war, in spite of witnessing so many of his comrades getting martyred in front of his eyes, and made relentless efforts by keeping great confidence on the people, Party and the world proletariat. His services are unlimited in developing People's war, especially in concretely applying the Party line in India. In spite of his serious illness, he was underground till the end by remaining in the strategic area itself and directly gave leadership to the party ranks and PLGA forces. He was martyred amidst them. He is a selfless proletariat fighter, commander and leader dedicated to the revolution. He was a leader who got integrated with the people and party cadres and gained their confidence. The extent to which he gave firm political leadership to the party, to that extent he uplifted the spirit of the people and the cadres with his jovial nature. By sharing the experiences of his vast revolutionary life to all his comrades, he used to inspire them. He took up study on special issues. He lived a plain communist life. His ideals are exemplary for the cadres, PLGA commanders, fighters from the top to the bottom, the new generation cadres and the people of various oppressed classes. The Indian Revolution lost a great leader with his martyrdom. However, he shall

live forever in the Indian Revolutionary movement, in the International proletarian movement and in the hearts of the oppressed people. He shall continue to inspire all of them forever.

Come! Let us uphold the ideals of Comrade Arvind as one of the leaders of Indian Revolution and as one who made invaluable services to the revolutionary movement! Let us advance in the path he showed to overcome the difficult situation of the revolutionary movement and develop the revolutionary movement to a higher stage! Let us pledge to fight ceaselessly till the establishment of Socialism-Communism by making successful the New Democratic Revolution successful to realise his dream!

Love live Comrade Arvind!

Let us realise the ideals of the martyrs!

With Revolutionary greetings,

**Central Committee,
CPI (Maoist)**

25 May 2018

"The failure of the JP movement instilled in me an inclination towards Marxism-Leninism-Maoism... I studied it deeply... I concluded that in today's conditions without the proletarian leadership and the main role of the workers-peasants, the people cannot achieve victory in the struggle for changing the system. If the people have no army there is no value of their voice. It is possible to change the system not through parliamentary path but only through an armed revolution. I saw clearly after more thought that only Naxalism believes in changing the system through revolution... So the JP movement is my first negative teacher. It put me on the positive path of Naxalism..."

- Comrade Arvind

On Kasanur-Tumirgunda Encounter

In the morning of 22 April 2018, the reactionary armed forces of the Indian government serving the interests of the domestic ruling classes and imperialism carried out one of the most dastardly attacks on the revolutionary movement of India led by the CPI(Maoist). In the battle of Kasanur-Tumirgunda on the banks of the Indravati River (in Bijapur district of Chhattisgarh bordering Maharashtra), 40 sons and daughters of the Indian oppressed masses laid down their lives heroically fighting the enemy till their last breath, and thereby wrote one more glorious chapter in the history of the country's ongoing New Democratic Revolution. We are presenting this special section on the encounter which is being published separately as a commemorative volume - MIB.

A background to the Kasanur-Tumirgunnda encounter

The massacre of forty Maoist revolutionaries and people's militia members at Kasanur-Tumirgunda is one of the biggest losses inflicted by the reactionary Indian ruling classes on the country's revolutionary movement. Though unprecedented in the history of the unified CPI(Maoist) in terms of the number of revolutionaries martyred, they have always employed Kasanur-Tumirgunda-like method of large-scale massacres, summary executions, extra-judicial killings and murders through their fascist armed forces, private armies and vigilante gangs.

The ruling classes have brutally killed tens of thousands of communist leaders, cadres and revolutionary masses in the last five decades. From the murder of communist leaders like Comrades CM, Saroj Datta and Chandrashekhar Das, Comrades Shyam-Mahesh-Murali up to Comrade Kuppu Devraj, the snuffing out the lives of hundreds of people's leaders is continued by the enemies of the people. Like the massacre of hundreds of young Party workers in Kolkata by the

uniformed assassins of the ruling classes, the class enemy have used merciless state violence to murder thousands of Party workers in the country's rural and urban areas. After the formation of the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army, the government forces have targeted guerrilla fighters including the women combatants committing unimaginably cruel atrocities. Similarly, from the massacre of eleven protesting peasants in Darjeeling's Naxalbari in May 1967 to the massacre of fifteen Adivasi peasants in Sukma's Nulkatong in July 2018, it has carried out innumerable massacre of the revolutionary masses.

The ruling classes have been using these fascist means in their counter-revolutionary war to protect their reactionary, anti-people and dictatorial political power. The vanguard Party of the country's proletariat – CPI(Maoist) and its predecessors – have been leading the oppressed classes and the people of India to overthrow their political power that keeps the vast masses under subjugation and slavery with a national democratic revolution.

That is why, the ideology, politics and the organised strength of the revolutionary proletariat represented by the Maoist Party is the mortal enemy of the Indian ruling classes and imperialism.

Ever since the country's genuine communists led by Comrades CM and KC decisively broke with the revisionist line of CPI and CPI(M) and initiated the Maoist movement, it has remained the biggest threat to the Indian ruling classes and their imperialist masters. The reformism, economism and tailism practiced by CPI and CPI(M) had not only made them harmless to the country's rulers but had in fact become their willing tools in keeping the masses in the grip of feudalism and imperialism. Rejecting their class-collaborationist line which has dragged these parties into the parliamentary quagmire, the Maoist Party has been putting into practice the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in India's concrete conditions by acting on a consistent revolutionary programme with armed agrarian revolution at its axis.

Organising the four oppressed classes around the two main slogans of 'land to the tiller' and 'all power to the Revolutionary People's Committees' under proletarian leadership, the Party has been leading the country's masses in a protracted people's war for the last five decades. It has sown the seeds of a people's army and organs of people's democratic power by smashing the power and authority of the exploitative ruling classes in several parts of the country through this war. The Maoists have openly declared their aim of seizing countrywide power and establishing a New Democratic state in order to transform the present semi-colonial and semi-feudal India into a people's democratic India so as to pass over to socialism and communism as part of the world socialist revolution. With this great objective, the Party is working towards transforming the existing people's liberation guerrilla army into a people's liberation army and the ongoing guerrilla war into a mobile war so that the immediate, principal and central task of transforming the Guerrilla Zones into Base Areas can be accomplished.

It is with this aim and perspective that Maoist guerrilla squads had set foot on Gadchiroli from Telangana crossing the Pranahita River in 1980. Within a few days on 2 November, Comrade Peddi Shankar – a young member of the squad – was martyred in police firing. He became the first martyr of the revolutionary movement of Dandakaranya. Overcoming this initial loss, the Maoists gradually politicised, mobilised and organised the masses in an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and anti-state revolutionary struggle by implementing the line, programme and strategy inaugurated by Naxalbari. Advancing on this path, like in other areas of revolutionary class struggle, the Party has led the masses of Gadchiroli for the last 38 years in building their revolutionary organisations and organs of political power under the protection of people's guerrillas and militias and achieved significant successes. With these achievements in the political struggle, the masses have also won numerous victories in their economic struggles too like distributing land, increasing wage, reducing rent and interest, protecting their *jal-jangal-zameen* from the depredation of foreign and domestic big capital, and so on. Since the movement represents the interest of the proletariat and all the exploited classes and all oppressed social sections, it is growing and expanding in the last five decades in spite of some temporary setbacks and losses in the process.

The imperialists and the Indian ruling classes mired in ever-deepening economic crises have been resorting to fascist ideology, politics and organisations against the working people in the capitalist as well as oppressed countries to come out of their crises. In India, the ruling classes brought forward the bare-faced Brahmanical Hindu-fascist BJP-RSS in place of the liberal-faced Congress and its governments to represent their interests by wielding government power at the centre. The combination of state terror and Hindu-fascist terror has been unleashed on a countrywide scale against the genuine communists and all democratic forces. They have launched the counter-revolutionary plan 'Samadhan' in May 2017 to wipe out the Maoist Party by 2022 in what is being billed as a 'decisive battle'. This

is a part of the neo-fascist plan of BJP-RSS to build 'New India' modelled on their vision of 'Hindu Rashtra'. Within this overall strategy, they have conducted this heinous attack in the forests of Halbi-Tumirgunda village in Bijapur district, Chhattisgarh on the Maharashtra-Chhattisgarh border.

The state of Maharashtra is the country's second biggest province in area and the third biggest in population. Its capital Mumbai has been the most important economic and financial centre of the ruling classes for long. Apart from Mumbai, a large number of other big cities and towns too have developed over time due to the comparatively higher level of industrialisation. The largest of these industries are owned by the comprador big bourgeoisie and the imperialists. A large number of medium and small industries too exist side by side, but it is the former that play a decisive role in the economy and dominates it. Though these industries are mostly located in urban areas, they greatly depend for their labour and raw material on the industrially underdeveloped and economically backward rural and forested hinterland. This unevenness in industrial development has led to an economically advanced Western Maharashtra and a backward Eastern Maharashtra.

The economically underdeveloped vast rural areas are also the landlord class which represent the decadent semi-feudal production relations. This class also constitute the strongest social base and ally of the imperialists and the comprador big bourgeoisie in the countryside. Members of this class, those miniscule in number, are economically wealthy and politically powerful with their close connections with the state and the ruling-class political parties. In rural Maharashtra, and particularly in Marathwada and Vidarbha regions, the exploitation and oppression of the landlords coupled with the penetration imperialist and comprador capital has led to a severe agrarian crisis for the last several decades, leading to the pauperisation of a large section of the middle and poor peasants. The landlord and comprador classes belonging to the dominant castes use their caste authority and domination to keep the vast majority of the people belonging to the oppressed castes

including the Dalits suppressed. Any resistance from them is sought to be stifled through brutal caste violence as is exemplified by Khairlanji.

It is in the economically least developed regions that are found the most valuable raw material that are indispensable for the industrially advanced regions of the state and the country – be it the minerals, forest products, or the energy sources, etc. Some of this raw material is also used to feed foreign corporations abroad. Therefore, the continued accumulation of profit by the big capitalists – both domestic and the foreign – is contingent on keeping the avenues of exploitation of the economically backward regions open. To do this they use the entire state machinery which is at their command, including the government, the armed forces, the bureaucracy, the courts, police, jails, etc.

The two adjoining districts of Chandrapur and Gadchiroli are rich in natural resources. A number of cement factories, coal-based industries, paper mills, etc. are located in Chandrapur which source their raw material in Gadchiroli. It is endowed with rich natural resources including minerals like iron-ore and bauxite, forest resources like bamboo and tendu leaf, perennial rivers like Pranahita, and so on, but has remained economically backward. All these resources are extracted using primarily the labour of the people and their natural resources and then transported to feed the industrial centres of Maharashtra and outside. That is why these districts have much importance for imperialist and comprador capital which are concentrated in these two districts. The government and its bureaucracy including the forest department up to the police officials, Patels and Patwaris in the villages work as local agents of the ruling classes, the state and the private companies, subjecting the masses to oppression and humiliation.

But older than the exploitation and oppression of the big capitalists is that of the big landlords – both non-Adivasi and Adivasi. The royal family of Aheri was the biggest Adivasi landlords of the district, which wielded feudal authority and control to keep the masses subjugated and suppressed for centuries. Every Adivasi village had traditional

tribal chiefs who pledged their allegiance to the royal family. They were often the biggest landowners and bad gentry representing the landlord class in the village economically as well as politically. The royal family collaborated with the British colonial rulers to safeguard their position, and after the so-called independence, aligned with ruling-class parliamentary parties like Congress and others for the same purpose. Big landlords like them maintain close ties with the foreign and domestic big compradors for their joint exploitation of the people and their natural resources.

The results of this exploitation can be seen in the impoverishment of the Adivasi inhabitants of Gadchiroli and denial of democratic rights to them. The masses of the district have struggled against it in the past with tremendous sacrifice – be it in the colonial period or thereafter – but have not been able to alter the situation in any significant way. The main reason for this was that the leadership of all past rebellions and struggles were not in the hands of the proletariat, and therefore, they could fight but never match the combined might of the imperialists and the feudal forces to lead the masses to decisive victory.

The situation began to change from the 1980s. This was the period when the Maoist Party entered Gadchiroli, introduced Maoism to the people and started mobilising them in the people's war on the basis of a revolutionary programme. Not just the Adivasi peasants but people from the urban petty bourgeois class too started joining the movement or supporting it. With this, class struggle broke out on multiple socio-economic, political and cultural issues. An organised armed resistance was started to be put up against the feudal and comprador forces including the reactionary tribal chiefs of the Adivasi villages and their state forces. The masses found the correct ideology, politics and forms of organisation for their liberation. They formed units of revolutionary mass organisations like Dandakaranya Adivasi Kisan Mazdoor Sangathan (DAKMS), Krantikari Adivasi Mahila Sangathan (KAMS), Chetana Natya Manch (CNM), Balal Sangathan, etc. and joined the Party. They also joined the PLGA in large numbers

as guerrilla fighters and set up different types of people's militias that formed its base force. In the process of fighting the class enemies, they started forming Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs or Janatana Sarkars) as embryonic organs of people's democratic power.

In this way, the organised people of Gadchiroli began to question and challenge the political authority of the old exploiting classes and transform the economic base of the society by taking power into their own hands. The Aheri royal family and other landlords, contractors, usurers, forest department, etc., were pushed into the back foot. The king lost most of his old authority and power. The forest department officials, Patels and Patwaris, etc. were controlled by the people and were deprived of their previous influence. The masses organised in revolutionary organisations carried out militant struggles for raising the wage for collecting tendu leaf, bamboo and other forest produce and won unprecedented victories. These are one of the biggest victories achieved by the labouring masses in India's history. But these were not merely economic struggle as is the case with the struggles led by reformist and revisionist parties and organisations; these struggles were a part of the revolutionary class struggle for the transformation of their future which they are doing through the RPCs they have set up. This movement has continued for nearly forty years, which has laid a basis for a decisive break with the past and a qualitative leap in every aspect of the people's lives.

The ruling classes and their governments have observed the introduction and subsequent development of the movement with alarm and have been trying to wipe it out since its inception. Within a few days after the first Maoist squad entered Gadchiroli from Telangana crossing the Pranahita River, Comrade Peddi Shankar was killed in police firing. He is the first martyr of the revolutionary movement in Dandakaranya. After the first blood was drawn, brutal state repression has only grown in intensity and scale in the last nearly four decades. State Task Force (STF) and Special anti-Maoist forces like Commando-60 (C-60) were raised in 1992, a

number of additional police stations and camps were set up and nearly ten thousand paramilitary forces were deployed, turning Gadchiroli and the adjacent districts Gondia and Bhandara into a cantonment. The people of Gadchiroli have since been subjected to all forms of state terror as a part of the counter-revolutionary war – massacres, fake encounters, forced disappearances, rape, large-scale arrests and illegal detentions, custodial torture and beating, burning of villages, destruction of property, counter-revolutionary ‘Gaonbandi’ (banning Maoists from villages in exchange of government money) and ‘Tanta Mukti (Dispute Resolution) Committees’, and so on. Particularly since the early 1990s, the people here have seen continuous waves of fascist repression by the government’s armed forces in the name of anti-Maoist operations.

Just after the neo-liberal policies were introduced in a big way throughout the country in the early 1990s, the process of leasing out the mineral-rich hills of Gadchiroli like Surjagarh and Damkodiwahi to mining companies was begun in earnest. The masses began a movement to resist the opening of the proposed mines under the leadership of CPI(Maoist) because apart from its destructive impact on the existence and livelihood of tens of thousands of people in surrounding villages, the Adivasis considered the hills like Surjagarh as a sacred abode of their ancestral spirits. The masses started carrying out even armed actions against the project under the leadership of the Party from 1991 onwards and succeeded in stalling the projects. Moreover, since the masses of Gadchiroli have always been with the Party since the beginning of the revolutionary movement here, attempts to start a counter-revolutionary campaign in the name of ‘Shanti Sena’ in the late 1980s or ‘Shanti Yatra’ in 2006 on the lines of Salwa Judum did not succeed here and had to be wound up.

Apart from Surjagarh mining, the people are resisting such destructive large projects in all twelve tehsils of Gadchiroli and in areas where the revolutionary movement have a strong influence. In some places, the people are fighting against National Parks and Wildlife Sanctuaries. All these movements are creating problems for the ruling classes and their parties

in the government. That is why they have brought forward BJP to the helm of the government so that the path to these projects can be cleared in the most fascist way. BJP has always been an aggressive Hindutva-fascist Party, but after capturing government power with a clear majority at the centre and in the state, its aggressiveness has gone up even further.

While deploying an increasing number of police and paramilitary personnel in anti-Maoist operations, they are engaging a large number of bureaucrats and introducing reform programmes in the name of development on the other. A number of NGOs like ‘Srjana’ and ‘Search’ as well as counter-revolutionary vigilante gangs like ‘Bhumkal Sangathan’ are being sponsored by the government and domestic and foreign capitalists to create public opinion in favour of this kind of projects.

In the last one and half decades after the formation of the unified CPI(Maoist), the class struggle has become more intense and state terror is on the rise. While initiating the fascist Operation Green Hunt, UPA-2 government with the initiative of Rural Development Minister Jairam Ramesh tried to implement the provisions of Panchayati Raj Extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA) Act in Gadchiroli as a part of the counter-revolutionary LIC policy of ‘winning hearts and minds’. They did so by sponsoring a few NGOs to establish Gram Sabhas in some villages and presenting them as role models for other villages. Rejecting these state-sponsored Gram Sabhas, the people themselves started forming Gram Sabhas with their own initiative since 2014 in a number of villages. When the comprador capitalists in collusion with the state tried to open the mines and loot the forest products in spite of the opposition of the masses, the Gram Sabhas started to challenge it constitutionally and as per the legal rights given by PESA. The middle classes too joined their voice in this just struggle. But denying even the constitutionally mandated minimum democratic rights to the Adivasi masses as per the Fifth Schedule or PESA in deciding their own affairs, the people have been subjected to ruthless repression. The moment

the people started to ask for their democratic rights, the government lost no time to make clear through its repressive acts that no constitution, law or democratic rights other than the 'law' of brute force would be respected in Gadchiroli.

Particularly after BJP came to power at the centre and in Maharashtra in 2014, the multipronged attack on the people has intensified. In 2016, the government started building a new road to Surjagarh and the mining company started some excavation on the surface of the hills. Close to four hundred trucks are brought at one go to take away the excavated minerals under heavy police protection and guarded by MPVs. They brought a large number of earthmoving machines and workers from outside and also involved a few local workers too. With the aim of keeping the Surjagarh mines open, the enemy has set up six police camps around Surjagarh, first of which came up at Hedri and later in Dodenar, Mureveda, etc. It set up a new camp at Elseli in 2016 to facilitate mining. With these camps, the government have been trying to prevent our cadres from entering this area for organisational and military activities. Moreover, by depending on a highly fortified Surjagarh, the government is planning to open the Damkodi iron-ore mines at Damkodiwahi village nearby. The government, the companies and ruling-class parties like BJP, Shiv Sena, Congress and NCP and state-sponsored NGOs have recruited a small section of the Adivasis belonging to the old power-holders, local tyrants, evil gentry, lumpen elements and the people punished by the revolutionary movement to create a social support base for these anti-people and ecologically-destructive projects. But they have not been able to bring the vast majority of the people to their side or get their consent even after using all methods – be it persecution, enticement, bribe, false promise or propaganda.

The revolutionary movement led by our Party suffered serious losses in the district in 2013 in a series of encounters at Govindgaon, Bhatpar, Sindesur, Medri, Bethkathi, etc. We lost a total of around forty comrades in these incidents. Following this, the Party put efforts to come out of the loss in a planned manner.

Since 2014, our resistance too has grown in Gadchiroli. In Korchi and Agra-Macheli too, the people started protesting against proposed iron-mines. The protests were widespread and our Party too played a role in it. New organisations and people's militia were formed in which thousands of people participated, put up stiff resistance and forced the government to stop the projects. As a result, mining projects of Korchi and Agra-Macheli have remained closed for the last four years. Thus, between 2014 and 2017 we could reduce the losses and step up resistance by overcoming the losses of 2013. Recruitment to the Party and the PLGA also grew. The organisational structures of the Party, PLGA and mass organisations were strengthened. The RPCs were consolidated.

The efforts at this consolidation were helped by the mass movements under the leadership of the Maoist Party. Our Party have been organising the bamboo-workers in struggle for better wages and working conditions. The organised Adivasi peasant masses who worked as seasonal bamboo-workers for a few weeks every year won significant victories through this struggle. Their confidence in the Party and their own collective strength got enhanced in the process. The people's movement in Gadchiroli led by our Party developed as a powerful anti-imperialist and anti-comprador struggle.

Likewise, militant struggles have been organised for hiking the rate of tendu-leaves for the last few decades, achieving significant successes. From the last few years, Gram Sabhas took over the work of getting tendu-leaves collected and sold to the contractors/businessmen in most places. Contractors used to take contract from the forest department previously. There used to be auctions there. But now auctions are conducted by the Gram Sabhas. The people are using this income for their welfare through the Gram Sabhas.

Gram Sabhas under PESA were formed as a wave in the district since 2014. The active role of the Gram Sabhas in mobilising the masses played a vital role in opposing the Surjagarh and other projects. Out of 1,650 villages of the district, at least 1,300 are Adivasi villages. In almost all of them Gram

Sabhas were formed. But the government tried to dilute these Gram Sabhas. So the people got mobilised for proper implementation of PESA and against reducing the Gram Sabha to a toothless body. The people actively participated in the fight back.

The enemy's 'Samadhan' plan which was launched in May 2017 has made all these people's struggles in Gadchiroli a target of their attack. The cruel practice of extra-judicial killings has been intensified from August 2017. They have killed a number of revolutionary leaders and cadres, PLGA commanders and fighters, MO leaders and members and villagers in several encounters, fake encounters and massacres in Gadchiroli as in all other movement areas of the country. According to Gadchiroli Police, 42 encounters took place in the year 2017 in the district. Of them, only 24 are real encounters with our forces whereas the rest of the 18 are indiscriminate and one-sided police firing. This trend has continued in 2018 as well.

A total of twelve firings took place in North Gadchiroli in the last one year since July 2017. On 10 July, Comrade Jogi who was on her way to the expansion area was martyred. The next day the enemy caught two comrades Lalita (Cy-4 member) and Sukki (PLGA member going to expansion area) who had got separated in Ranwahi encounter (Comrade Lalita was injured in her foot) from Engaon village and killed them in a fake encounter. On 26 August, peasant Mannu Naroti of Hachkothi village in North Bastar Division was killed in a fake encounter. Chatgaon squad member Comrade Mangli was martyred in Bhendi Kanhar encounter on 15 September. Tiprgarah ACM and senior woman leader Comrade Soni was martyred in Tavvekasa encounter on 14 October. Comrade Kamalesh was martyred in Tadpalli encounter in Kasansur area on 10 January 2018. On 24 March, Comrade Pali was martyred in Medri encounter on 24 March. Villager Ramkumar Keshe who had gone out to the forest for hunting was killed by the police near Koyanvarshe in Gardewada Gram Panchayat of Etapalli tehsil on 5 February 2018. Similarly, Sonsai Micha Usendi of Rekhnar village was killed by the police on 30 March 2018. Thus,

while seven comrades and two villagers were martyred in enemy attacks, six comrades – one seriously – were injured during the period in North Gadchiroli. In South Gadchiroli, Koddur encounter took place on 2 November 2017 in which Comrade Karan was caught and killed in a fake encounter. In Kalleda encounter near the Maharashtra-Telangana border on 6 December 2017, we lost eight comrades including Aheri AC Secretary Comrade Aitu. In this way, in the two Divisions of West Sub-zone 36 encounters took place, 60 comrades were martyred (including 40 in Kasanur).

Given the economic and strategic importance of Gadchiroli, the ruling classes and their governments know very well that if the movement consolidates and expands then it will become a bigger political force by mobilising the masses, reduce their political power and create further hurdles to their plans for plundering the natural resources in the region. They have already seen that after taking a firm root in Gadchiroli, the revolutionary movement has expanded to the adjoining Gondia and Bhandara districts and also to the border districts of neighbouring Madhya Pradesh. The movement in Gadchiroli has also had a strong influence in other parts of the state including its urban centres like Mumbai, Nagpur and Pune since the 1980s.

Moreover, it is for the first time since the Dalit Panthers movement of the early 1970s that the people all over Maharashtra including Dalits, peasants and the youth are getting mobilised in militant struggles. This is ringing warning bells for the ruling classes. So the ruling classes are equipping their police, Special Forces and paramilitary forces with ultra-modern weapons and launching counter-revolutionary campaigns under different names to contain and crush the revolutionary movement. In this way, all social contradictions have intensified in Gadchiroli and other movement areas. With it the people's war and the counter-revolutionary war on the people have also become sharper and more ruthless. Large-scale massacre of revolutionary activists, fighters and masses like Kasanur-Tumirgunda is a direct outcome of this bitter war.

The persecution of the democratic and progressive voices in the urban areas who are siding with the fighting masses is an integral part of the enemy's war on the people. The arrest of Prof G N Saibaba and his five co-accused in 2014 and their life imprisonment last year by a Gadchiroli trial court, the arrest of five well-known social activists in June this year followed by the arrested of another five social activists last month on utterly fabricated charges are glaring examples of this state terror under the ideological and political leadership of the Hindutva-fascist BJP governments. Similarly, a fact-finding team consisting members of civil and democratic rights organisations, intellectuals and journalists from the cities visiting the encounter site were heckled by organised police-RSS sponsored goons.

In this way, with the intensification of the war between the armed revolution and the armed counter-revolution, the distinction between the real enemies and the real friends are becoming clearly visible. The people led by the Maoist Party, PLGA and mass organisations are fighting a just war against the unjust war of the reactionary ruling classes, their state and the fascist organisations at their service like the Hindutva-fascist RSS-BJP.

Our comrades have laid down their lives at Kasanur-Tumirgunda in heroically fighting the fascist enemy. They are the best sons and daughters of the oppressed people of the country. Among the forty martyred comrades, all were Adivasis and Dalits of Gadchiroli, Bastar and Telangana. The two non-Adivasi comrades among the martyrs too have spent most of their lives among the Adivasi masses, got closely integrated with them and spilled their blood for them. The masses embraced them as their own beloved children. The people's militia comrades too were local Adivasi villagers. These facts thoroughly expose the enemy's vile propaganda that a few Party leaders from 'outside' are misguiding the local Adivasi youth on the path of revolutionary armed struggle.

The truth is that guided by the Maoist ideology and the Maoist Party, the oppressed people have stood up against their oppressors

to fight for their liberation. Similarly, rejecting the so-called 'women's empowerment' sponsored by the imperialists and the governments of the exploiters, a large number of women are joining the class struggle with the understanding that only by following the Maoist Party can they achieve real liberation from class and patriarchal oppression and win real equality and dignity. Not surprisingly, twenty-three out of the forty Kasanur-Tumirgunda martyrs are women comrades. Moreover, the enemy's evil propaganda that teenagers are being recruited to the PLGA stands falsified by this incident as not a single teenager is there among the fallen comrades. In this way, Kasanur-Tumirgunda has exploded many myths created by the Goebblesian enemy against the revolutionary movement and at the same time brought the fascist character of the Indian ruling classes and their brutal counter-revolutionary war in clear relief.

A positive aspect of the encounter is that our comrades fought for nearly two and a half hours after the enemy forces encircled and cordoned them off. Not a single comrade surrendered during the battle even after the enemy asked them to surrender and save their lives. Our comrades fought till the last and gave their life in the battlefield. Ten comrades could swim to safety amidst a hail of enemy bullets while four other comrades broke the encirclement courageously and retreated safely even in an injured condition. These comrades have shown a great fighting spirit during the battle and thereafter. They have not lost heart after losing so many of their comrades in a single incident. They have analysed the losses self-critically and identified the mistakes and shortcomings on our part. They have pointed out that tactically we took the enemy lightly and underestimated it, which led to serious shortcomings in following the norms of secret Party functioning and guerrilla operational principles. The enemy took advantage of it to inflict such a big blow. Moreover, the masses played a key role in safeguarding the lives of the comrades who had retreated from the enemy encirclement by providing them all kinds of help including arranging medical treatment and safe shelters. They are standing

firm with the Party in the path of struggle that still constitutes the pillar of strength for the revolutionary movement in Gadchiroli.

Taking lessons from this negative experience and our mistakes and not losing sight of the strengths of the movement, the Party has formulated new tasks to make up for the losses and is redeploying the forces to carry on political, organisational and military work in Aheri and Perimili Areas without a major interruption. The comrades who have survived the Kasanur-Tmirgunda massacre have also gone back to the people with a redoubled resolve to overcome the loss and advance the

movement. They have willingly taken up additional responsibilities for this. The masses too are putting all efforts to protect our Party and PLGA comrades from further losses from the enemy so that the movement can continue by surmounting this temporary loss. The Party, PLGA and the masses will take lessons from every loss and every setback caused by the enemy and will advance the movement. Taking inspirations from the Kasanur-Tumirgunda martyrs, the people will not bow down, will not surrender, but will continue to fight back. The people alone are the makers of history; the final victory will be theirs!

The encounter

Like every year, commands were formed this year too in North and South Gadchiroli Divisions in West Sub-zone of the DKSZC for conducting Tactical Counter-Offensive Campaign (TCOC). Of the two operational commands in South Gadchiroli Division, one operational command is formed with the forces of Perimili and Aheri Area Committees (ACs), while another is formed with that of Bhamragarh and Company-10.

But within two days, South Gadchiroli Division Commander-in-Chief and Aheri-Perimili Operational Command-in-Charge Sunil deserted the movement and ran away with a woman Party Member on 17 March. Following this, his life-partner too insisted on leaving the movement and was sent home as per her wish on 24 March. The three met and were in hiding in a village when the information was passed on to the enemy. All the three were caught unarmed, tortured and shot dead by the cruel C-60 in a fake encounter at Sirikonda forest on 3 April.

After the desertion of Sunil, Comrade Nandu was made the Operational Command-in-Charge and Comrade Sainath the Deputy Command-in-Charge. Considering the possibility that the enemy might have extracted

information about the TCOC from Sunil through brutal torture before killing him in a fake encounter, the comrades in the command made some changes in the planning of the TCOC and also changed the area of its operation. They took up motivation of the forces and made efforts for some armed action against the enemy. They also investigated and cleared some police informers and held people's courts. From 5 to 17 April, they were operating in a perimeter of 15 to 20 kilometres of a single area. It appears that due to this, the enemy got information about their location by 5 April and conducted operations against them, but without success.

The comrades crossed the Indravati River on 18 April from the Aheri Area of Gadchiroli and entered the National Park Area of Bijapur. Two police stations are operating from Damarancha of Gadchiroli district to cover the border area and the two sides of the River Indravati. There are also a few villages in this area which we cross at night so that no one notices our movement. But our comrades this time passed by them at daytime and even crossed the river in the day so that many people noticed them. Even after crossing the river they moved in the daytime. There was the Damarancha weekly market the same day and

many people returning from it met them. They also kept contact with some people whom they should not have contacted due to their possible links with the enemy. Even before crossing the river, our comrades conducted people's courts to try some anti-people elements in Aheri area, the news of which might have reached the enemy. Moreover, after reaching National Park Area, the comrades kept contact with our organisational comrades of five villages nearby on both sides of the border – three on the Maharashtra side and two on the Chhattisgarh side, as well as some persons of doubtful credibility.

After reaching the National Park Area, the comrades held a Command meeting for two days and reviewed the month-long TCOC. They also made a plan to hold meetings of the AC/PPC and Party/PLGA members to convey the conclusions of the review and to hold two days of political classes for the cadres. With this plan, they arrived at the bank of Mogurkasa, a lake in Indravati at the foot of Jhandametta (Jhanda Hill) in the morning of 21 April. The closest village from here on the Chhattisgarh side is Halbi-Tumirgunda, about forty minutes away from the campsite.

In this new campsite, a Party Branch meeting was held where the conclusion of the Command's review and the future programme of political classes were discussed with the Branch members till around 9-10 pm. Some comrades raised the issue of the unfavourable position of the campsite in this meeting, pointing out that if there were to be any enemy attack here, it would be very difficult for us to retaliate. But the leadership comrades contended that since there was a problem of water and shade in other places and classes too were to be conducted for the next few days, it would be more convenient to stay near the river. After this, no further deliberation took place on the issue. The same day, the leadership comrades called two members of our village organisation from Aheri to the camp and held discussions with them. Then came the news that enemy forces had arrived at Tadgaon (a Police Station in Aheri Area close to the Chhattisgarh border). Our comrades considered changing the camp next morning in view of this but they did not do so, thinking that it was routine mobilisation of enemy forces.

In the morning of 22 April, it was informed during roll call that the PMs were to be told about the conclusions of the TCOC review that day after breakfast. Since this reporting was already done to the PPCMs and ACMs, they were now to do sentry and kitchen duty. The comrades on sentry duty left for their posts while three comrades went to a nearby village for some work. A patrol around the campsite was conducted early in the morning. But scout teams that used to be placed everyday around the camp to watch for enemy movement were not kept on that day. Likewise, there used to be teams of three comrades in each of the three sentry posts every day, but that day sentry teams were made up of only two comrades as the majority of them were to attend the political class. Defensive weapons like cannons, claymore mines, etc., too were not planted that day as was usually done by our comrades while operating in Maharashtra. These were kept in the camp itself.

At around 7.30 in the morning, the breakfast whistle was blown. Most of the comrades started to gather at the kitchen. The DVC comrades were in a discussion at the headquarters. At around 7.40, the assault batches of the police arrived near the camp. They had crossed the Indravati in the night itself and slept in the forest, then walked close to the campsite early in the morning. They were C-60 commandos in two batches, each batch containing about 40 to 45 policemen carrying assault rifles, UBGLs and other modern weapons. They came from the downstream side and came across our comrades at Sentry A.

Comrades Rajesh and Rukmati were posted in Sentry A. The two comrades opened fire immediately after noticing the advancing enemy. The encounter started. Both of these comrades stood their ground till the last without thinking about their lives and resisted the enemy without vacating their post, preventing the enemy from breaking in for nearly half an hour. Both were martyred in the sentry position itself when they were outnumbered and overpowered by the enemy by attacking from the flanks.

Soon after beginning their attack by targeting Sentry A, enemy batches arrived at Sentry B and C and fired at them as well. Sentry

B continued fighting from their position. Sentry C was forced to retreat some distance. After destroying Sentry A, the enemy entered Section A. There were not many comrades in the Section as most of them had assembled in the kitchen for breakfast. But the Company Deputy Commander and Section Commander came running from the kitchen to their position and fired at the enemy. But since no other comrade was there, they retreated to the headquarters section after firing a few rounds with their kits and whatever other material they could recover. The comrades in the kitchen too came to the headquarters. In this way, most of the comrades got concentrated at a single place of the camp.

During the initial period of the encounter, the comrades at Sentry B had informed the comrades gathered at headquarters that there was a chance to retreat in their direction as the enemy had not yet encircled the route completely. Some comrades tried to break through there, but the enemy soon covered up that gap, forcing them to turn back. In this way, an opportunity for retreat was lost. After this, the headquarter comrades made an attempt to retreat by taking cover in a dry stream between sentries B and C. Seeing this, Sentry B comrades too joined them while firing at the enemy. But the enemy advanced through Sentry B and fired on our comrades. Due to this our comrades turned back to the headquarters again instead of advancing to break through the enemy encirclement. By that time the enemy had encircled from the side of Sentry C too. Attempts at retreating through Section C too were not successful as the enemy had already blocked that route.

DVC Secretary Comrade Srinu motivated other comrades for another attempt by advancing between Sections A and B. But as they were about to start he was hit by enemy bullets and fell down. Seeing him fall, his life-partner Comrade Shanta tried to come running to him to help without thinking for her own safety, but Srinu – who was no longer in a position to speak – raised his hand to signal her to stop. The comrade came to him anyway and was trying to help him stand up when she too was hit by a hail of bullets and was injured.

Seeing Comrade Srinu fall, his guard Comrade Srikant too came running to help him

amidst intense exchange of fire. He tried to lift Srinu but failed. He understood that it was not possible to save Srinu who was on the brink of death. Therefore, wiping his tears and firing at the enemy in between, Srikant removed the AK-47 and all the papers and other material from Srinu's body so that they did not fall in the enemy hands. He got hit in the leg in the process, but went limping back to his cover and continued firing at the enemy from the weapon of his leader. After some time, the remaining comrades got together and prepared to make another attempt at breaking through the enemy encirclement. But Srikant refused to leave his post saying that he had understood the situation and that he would not be able to make the attempt due to his injury. So he told the other comrades that they should leave while he decided to continue fighting till the end. Comrade Srikant stood in the battlefield with firm determination, commitment and self-sacrifice till the last bullet was spent. He thereby fulfilled his responsibility as a communist and a guard till the end.

By that time casualties on our side was mounting. Comrades like Pradeep, Nagesh, Limmi, Tirupati, Anita, Sannu and militia commander Mangu were hit by bullets and were either martyred or left seriously injured. Seeing our comrades getting hit and the attempts at retreat fail, thinking that there would be no escape one comrade issued a command to jump into the river and jumped into it. Hearing this, our comrades started to jump into the lake, which was 40-50 meters wide and much more in length. Those who jumped in the first group were fired upon from behind and the flanks, but they could come out of the lake safely. The comrades in another group included a woman comrade who was hit by bullet and was injured. She was helped by the others to swim and was taken to safety on the other side. A group of militia comrades too could swim across the lake and retreat safely. The police were firing on the comrades while they were jumping in the lake and also while swimming across it. They also ran to the far bank to block the escape route. A few comrades who swam and came close to the bank were shot dead by the police and they sank into the pool. In this way, a total of around eighteen comrades were martyred in the lake

while several comrades successfully crossed the lake in different groups and retreated to the Maharashtra side.

Though most of the comrades jumped into the lake, some comrades including Comrade Nandu remained at the encounter site. They tried to break through in a different direction. But comrades Pradip and Sanjay were martyred in the attempt. Comrade Sainath too was martyred after some time. Comrade Kartik was also hit and injured. Comrade Jaisheela, who was a guerrilla doctor, showed exemplary commitment to her duty even in this most adverse situation by treating a number of injured comrades amidst the raging battle. She administered blood-clotting injection to three-four profusely bleeding comrades in the battlefield. Her attempt to save the lives of the comrades without bothering about her own safety is an inspiration for all communists.

When a large number of comrades had been killed or seriously injured towards the end of the battle there was a lot of shouting and crying from our side and the enemy could understand that our comrades were in a dire situation. They started to call for the surrender of our comrades, saying that if they surrendered they would be spared. At the same time, they were hurling abuses at our comrades and showering them with bullets and shells. All this was to weaken the fighting spirit and resolve of our comrades. But none of our comrades surrender or fell into the trap of the enemy by believing their false promises. Comrade Chandrakala played an important role in this. It was she who was the first to respond to the enemy's call to surrender. She had taken over the responsibility of commanding the remaining comrades after the death or serious injury of the commanders. She ordered our comrades not to surrender before the enemy's running dogs and to fight on till the last bullet. In this way, she motivated and led our comrades in the fierce resistance.

Around fifteen comrades were left at the end including Comrade Nandu, Chandrakala, Jaisheela, Lata, Jaisheela, Manda, Kranti, Sandeep and Kartik. They planned another attempt at breaking the enemy cordon. Comrade Sandeep took initiative in this. He

made a reconnaissance of the route towards Sentry A and informed the remaining comrades that an attempt could be made as no enemy could be seen in that direction. The leadership motivated the rest of the comrades and started advancing one after another in a line by using whatever cover was available. Though the enemy was not covering that portion of the encirclement, they saw the first few comrades trying to break through and advanced to block this route too. The first comrades managed to come out while continuing firing, but the route of the rest of the comrades who were behind was cut off by the enemy who were firing from two sides. One of them was Comrade Chandrakala who was hit and fell down and the rest could not come out. In the firing a few other comrades were martyred while Comrades Nandu and Kartik were injured. Comrades Lata, Jaisheela, Manda and Kranti were not injured. These six were caught alive by the enemy and tortured in illegal custody. Then they were taken to Neiner forest of Khandla-Rajaram in Aheri Area with the purpose of staging an encounter. When Nandu told the police, "Kill me if you have to, but let go the rest", the cruel C-60 mercenaries first killed the rest before his eyes and then killed Nandu as well at the end. In this way, our comrades bravely faced the enemy till their last moment and displayed exemplary communist qualities in serving the Party and the revolution.

Among the comrades who made the successful retreat were PPCMs and PMs. They took two AKs from the fallen comrades and a rifle with them. Of them two were injured in the process. They were left with almost no bullets by the end of the battle – only five AK bullets were left in one weapon. Once they were out of the encirclement there was no more enemy presence in outer layer. Some comrades who went to a village on the Chhattisgarh side in the early morning were returning while the encounter started and they stopped there itself. All these comrades met in the afternoon. Subsequently, the comrades who retreated by land to the Chhattisgarh side and those who crossed the lake and retreated to the Maharashtra side regrouped two days after the encounter on 24 April.

The aftermath

After committing the massacre of forty of our comrades, the Indian ruling classes and their fascist armed forces are rejoicing. BJP-led central and state governments are congratulating themselves and their mercenary forces for carrying out this dastardly extermination, declaring promotions and cash rewards for the C-60 murderers. Union Home Minister Rajnath Singh to Maharashtra Chief Minister Devendra Fadnavis and their lackeys like K Vijay Kumar are making declarations that the days of the Maoist movement are numbered and that they are fighting a “lost battle”. Echoing these sentiments of the ruling classes, the corporate media and a number of intellectuals and journalists too are stating that it is only a matter of a few years before the revolutionary movement is over.

But their jubilations and boasts cannot hide the heinous crimes they have committed and the white lies they have resorted to. First, the government and their forces claimed that the encounter took place in Kasanur of Maharashtra, whereas it took place across the border close to Halbi-Tumirgunda village inside Indravati National Park of Bijaur district in Chhattisgarh. Secondly, they claimed that two encounters took place at two different places of Gadchiroli within 24 hours. But there were no two separate encounters at all. There was only one and that was near Halbi-Tumirgunda. The C-60 mercenaries found many of our comrades alive at the end of the battle, some in an injured state. They took six of them into illegal custody, brought them to the police camp, tortured them and finally killed them in a fake encounter in Neiner forest of Khandla-Rajaram in Aheri. They then floated the lie of two encounters at two different places.

The government kept the site of the encounter as well as the surrounding area cordoned off for several days after the massacre through a large deployment police and paramilitary forces. They prevented anyone from visiting the site fearing that it could expose their heinous crime and lay bare their

blatant lies. Only a few embedded journalists who would faithfully parrot their concocted story one-sidedly and glorify the ‘bravery’ of the C-60 goons were allowed to visit the place during that time. Even the local villagers were not allowed to come near the site. When an all-India fact-finding team of civil and democratic rights activists visited the site a few days later, state and RSS-sponsored goons including those of vigilante gangs like ‘Koya Bhumkal Kranti Sena’ and ‘Bhumkal Sangathan’ tried to disrupt their visit. These goons haranguing the members of the fact-finding team, hurling abuses at them and branding them as ‘Maoists’ at the cue of the police in an effort to intimidate them.

In Maharashtra, the enemy is boasting that it has wiped out the Aheri and Perimili Area Committees and the guerrilla squads and that it has broken the backbone of the Maoist movement Gadchiroli. Big capitalists like the Tata, Ambani, Mittal and Jindal or big corporations like Lloyds who have been coveting the minerals of the district but could not lay their hands on them till now due to the people’s resistance led by the Maoist Party are conveying their gratitude to Modi and Fadnavis governments for this ‘success’. Members of the old exploiting classes like the landlords, reactionary tribal village elders, bad gentry, lumpen and anti-people elements punished by the masses, etc. are telling the oppressed masses of their villages that the authority of the Revolutionary People’s Committees will be over and their old authority will come back with the killing of the Maoists. State-sponsored counter-revolutionary organisations and vigilante gangs are singing in the same tune, hoping to spread pessimism and defeatism among Gadchiroli’s revolutionary masses in an attempt to weaken the revolutionary movement). They are trying to influence and demoralise the masses using this encounter.

The people of Gadchiroli, on the other hand, are weeping for the martyrs. The martyrs were their beloved sons and daughters who had

served them in their life and through their death. Not all the dead bodies of the martyrs were handed over to the people by the fascist enemy even though the villagers demanded them. They gave the body of Comrade Sainath and some other comrades under pressure from the people, but refused to hand over others including some militia comrades' bodies. The dead bodies which the masses could reclaim were laid to rest in the villages with revolutionary tradition. The villagers of Gattekal, who have lost nine of their kin (Comrade Sainath and eight people's militia members) too are mourning the martyrs but are expressing their strong resolve to strengthen the movement by filling the void left by them.

The masses are holding meetings and discussing how such an incident could happen, how could the cruel enemy kill our comrades in such a big numbers, who were the traitors behind this incident, etc. and are reviewing it. They are also criticising the mistakes of our comrades. But the people have the firm conviction that the Party will sustain, it will form new squads and send to their area – because they have seen such reverses in the past as well – even if not on this scale – and the Party has bounced back after every setback. They want that those who are responsible for helping the enemy in carrying out this massacre should be punished and such big losses to the Party and the movement be prevented from taking place in the future. They are insisting on the presence of the Party, alerting it about the danger of depending on limited places and sources, and giving information about the enemy and the anti-people elements in the villages. While one or two individuals have gone to the side of the enemy, the vast majority of the masses are with the movement.

The organisational structures in the villages of Aheri and Perimili are still intact. The people's militia is still active and the people's resistance still formidable there. The morale of the masses too is good in spite of the grief of the loss. They have taken up protest programmes against Kasanur-Tumirgunda actively and with initiative. The bandh against the encounter was successfully observed on 10 May with the people's active participation.

They burnt Forest Department offices and go-downs worth over one crore rupees a few days after the encounter. Revolutionary literature about the Kasanur-Tumirgunda martyrs including the Martyrs' Week message of the Party are being circulated among the masses and they too participated in programmes to commemorate the Martyrs' Week from 28 July. They are paying homage to their best sons and daughters and are taking pledge to continue the revolutionary movement by protecting the Party and the people's guerrillas.

All comrades from DVC members to the Party members under the WSB are keen to work in Aheri and Perimili Areas in order to fill the losses and sustain the movement. The leadership of Dandakaranya and Gadchiroli have taken it as an important task and an immediate challenge to sustain and consolidate the movement in South Gadchiroli, particularly in the Aheri and Perimili Areas of the Division. The comrades who had safely retreated from the encounter are determined to carry on the work by taking additional responsibility. The people who have lost their kith and kin too are strongly with the Party. The TCOC taken up in South Gadchiroli Division for a month in June – nearly one and a half months after Kasanur-Tumirgunda – has sent out a good message. The cadre and the masses have confidence in themselves and the Party that the loss can be made good and the movement can be sustained if we work with enough dedication and daring. The Party has called upon the Party Members and the masses to come forward to fill the vacuum and take up larger responsibilities in memory of our martyrs and to carry forward their revolutionary legacy and to fulfil the aims for which they have sacrificed their invaluable lives.

The revolutionary movement in India has experiences many serious losses and setbacks in the last fifty years of its history since Naxalbari. Tens of thousands of revolutionary leaders, cadres and the masses have laid down their lives to keep alive this movement. Every time the exploitative Indian ruling classes and the imperialists have rejoiced thinking that they have crushed the movement once and for all,

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“We will fight back the negative and unfavourable situation resulting from this loss”

Interview with Comrade Sonu Politburo Member, CPI(Maoist)

1. How should the Kasanur-Tumirgunda encounter be understood in the context of the Indian revolutionary movement?

A: Looking at it in the context of the Indian revolutionary movement, Kasanur-Tumirgunda encounter is an extraordinary event. Never in the last five decades of the history of the movement since Naxalbari have we lost so many comrades in a single incident. It has impacted the revolutionary movement in Dandakaranya (DK) and the country, and particularly the Gadchiroli movement. It is natural that not only the people of our struggle areas or the people of India but also the friends of the Indian revolution abroad as well as the oppressed people the world over are saddened by the martyrdom of so many communist revolutionaries at Kasanur-Tumirgunda.

The enemy has been regularly launching a series of campaigns and operations against us since the late 1980s. It launched Janjagaran-1 and Janjagaran-2 in the 1990s, Operation Manthan in 1997-98, Salwa Judum in 2005-2009, Operation Green Hunt since 2009, etc. Each of these campaigns and operations has been defeated by the people led by our Party. After getting beaten by the revolutionary masses in this way every time in the past, the reactionary ruling classes have come up with a new strategy, a new plan called ‘Samadhan’ in May 2017. The enemy has declared that they will uproot our movement by 2022 under this plan. But things have not gone in their favour according to their plan. From January 2018 up to Kasanur-Tumirgunda incident, the enemy was suffering one blow after another at the hands of the movement. For instance, in the Irpanar ambush in East Bastar Division, we wiped out seven policemen and injured over twenty. Then there was the Eladmadagu ambush in South Bastar and the Kasaram ambush. As a result, the morale of the enemy

had gone down considerably. They started to doubt whether they would be able to fulfil the task of finishing off the Maoist movement by 2022.

Just a few days after a big ambush was conducted by the PLGA at Kasaram in Sukma district, PM Modi visited Bijapur district of Chhattisgarh. His real purpose behind the visit was to admonish the anti-Maoist forces entrusted with the task of wiping out our movement and to boost up their morale. Soon after his visit, 50,000 forces were deployed to launch another operation against our movement in South Bastar. Just a few days after he left Bastar, the enemy carried out Kasanur-Tumirgunda massacre. Following this, the enemy is using it to boost up the deflated morale in its camp by claiming that it is achieving big victories against the Maoists, that their days are numbered, that they are going to be wiped out soon, and so on. It is launching operations in all our movement areas with renewed aggression. So, looking at the overall situation, Kasanur-Tumirgunda incident will have a negative impact on the revolutionary camp. But this will be temporary. Our Party and movement will certainly get over this loss, although it may take some time to repair the damage caused to the movement of South Gadchiroli.

2. What is the impact of the incident on the revolutionary movement in Dandakaranya?

A: The movement in Dandakaranya is not separate from the all-India revolutionary movement, and hence the impact is no less on DK. In fact, since the attack happened in DK, the impact is naturally felt more strongly here. The people who are outside DK obviously have the curiosity to know how this incident could take place. Their information is indirect. But the cadres and the people here have direct knowledge of it and are affected more acutely

by the loss. Our comrades in Party Committees, PLGA and the mass organisations are asking us report about the incident and our review of it, and particularly about the mistakes of our comrades from a military point of view. They are also doing their own analyses. They are concluding that our comrades have made mistakes there militarily and underestimated the enemy. Three-four individuals in the Party and PLGA who have not been able to correctly analyse the reasons behind the incident, became pessimistic and deserted the Party. The vast majority of the comrades, on the other hand, are firm in their resolve after the incident. They think that the Party should be careful in the future and follow the guerrilla operational principles more closely by drawing appropriate lessons.

The enemy is using all means and methods to crush our movement, using covert operations and conspiracies, increasing communication and infrastructure, speeding up deployment of forces and their modernisation, etc. The martyrs of Kasanur-Tumirgunda – particularly the DVCMS – were aware of these fast-changing developments, and they took many steps in the past like identifying and eliminating enemy coverts to protect the Party and its leadership. They have also been involved in many actions against the enemy and also survived numerous enemy attacks. But they relaxed their alertness while going out of their Area to the National Park Area; they did not remain as alert in Chhattisgarh as they used to be while in Gadchiroli, they lowered their guard momentarily. In fact, our comrades thought that there would not be much danger once they crossed the border and they became careless. That is why they abandoned military precautions, did not take into consideration the unfavourable terrain, did not remain alert and ignored guerrilla operational principles. In this way, many serious mistakes were committed. This is a lesson for our Party and the movement.

This kind of incidents has taken place in the past as well, though on a smaller scale, and we have drawn lessons from them. The objective conditions are growing favourable for

us to trap and wipe out the enemy bit by bit through guerrilla war. But if we do not think on these lines, we ourselves will fall prey to the enemy. The comrades are taking Kasanur-Tumirgunda as a lesson to learn from. The martyred comrades have left us a lesson and our comrades are determined to prevent the recurrence of such losses in the future. The masses too are telling us not to make such mistakes in the future because the Party must continue to exist. They are urging us to be on the alert wherever we are, to understand that the enemy is intent on destroying the Party with large-scale massacres, that the times have changed and we too should bring changes to our method and style of in accordance with these changes. Following these lessons and suggestions, we can transform this loss into a gain, this setback into a basis for advancement.

3. Why have we not been able to prevent an incident like Kasanur-Tumirgunda that has taken place less than two years of the Ramaguda encounter?

A: Assessing the enemy subjectively is the main reason for it. The comrades who have survived the encounter too are very frankly pointing out and admitting the mistakes committed by us. Their opinion is that we have given the opportunity to the enemy to inflict such a big loss to us. The people of Gadchiroli are protecting us, giving us all kinds of help and support. This is clear from the fact that there has been no serious loss to us in Aheri and Perimili Areas in the last five years. Very few encounters took place here, and we lost only two comrades in Aheri in encounters after Govindgaon encounter in 2013. So there was no need to go to another Division or Area like National Park for camping. This was our mistake. Not to check for informers, putting blind faith on our contact persons, not having a critical outlook to changes, to violate Party's method of secret functioning and ignoring guerrilla operational principles, to ignore the warnings and suggestions of the masses, after the encounter started not trying to break through the enemy cordon in the first attempt itself even if suffering a few losses, failure of command and losing of initiative in the

encounter, etc. – all these mistakes were committed from our side.

There are two steps to prevent this kind of losses. The first is to prepare appropriate policies and plans. This is the duty of the Party's policy-making bodies. The second is the execution of these policies and plans. For this, the political consciousness of the cadres has to be raised. And here lies our principal failure. This is what is demonstrated by Kalleda, Tadpal, Timnar, Kasanur-Tumirgunda and many other incidents since Ramaguda. We can prevent or minimise such incidents by internalising and consciously implementing the guidance, instructions, circulars, etc. issued by the leading Party Committees. The higher-level Party committees had issued guidelines and educated our cadres about our mistakes and shortcomings in the Ramaguda incident. After 'Samadhan' plan was introduced, DKSZC had also issued a circular on how to assess the enemy in the changing conditions, the areas in which are we making mistakes and in what ways the enemy is preparing traps for us. But these were not implemented thoroughly in practice, resulting in continuation of losses.

Therefore, there is a need to bring about further changes in our cadre's military thinking and practice; we need to raise the average level of the Party cadre's consciousness. But this process naturally takes some time, and before the process is complete there is always the chance of losses. Moreover, the efforts we have made are not enough. More needs to be done in this direction. The seriousness with which the enemy is considering us, we too must consider the enemy with equal seriousness. Till this is done, some losses will be inevitable.

The enemy is constantly raising the level of its counter-revolutionary war. Its 'Samadhan' policy is a higher phase of the war within the LIC policy. In this condition, every communist revolutionary should learn to know well about themselves and the enemy. They should not be like those who blindly follow orders or instructions from above. They should be conscious beings with the ability to think and work independently according to their specific conditions. They should be capable

guerrilla fighters adept at understanding the changes in the objective condition and bringing about changes in themselves and their work-style by creatively applying the Party instructions. One result of not being able to do this adequately after Ramaguda is before us in the form of Kasanur-Tumirgunda.

4. What is the Party's plan to advance the movement by avoiding big losses like Kasanur-Tumirgunda?

A: If we compare the two sides in the war, the enemy has one kind of plans and we another; the enemy forces rely on violence and loot while we rely on the cadres and the masses to make and implement our plans. After Mukaram attack in which PLGA annihilated 76 policemen, the enemy made the plan of deploying more forces, using more advanced and lethal weapons, building more infrastructure projects for their war, bringing changes in their tactics, expanding their intelligence network, bringing more fake-reform programmes to separate the masses from the movement and isolate the Maoists, etc. But we take a totally opposite approach to our losses and therefore our plans too are completely different from that of the enemy.

Our plan is centred on how to raise the level of ideological-political consciousness of the cadres, how to make them more aware of revolutionary theory and the aims of the revolution, how to make them more alert politically and militarily. This helps them to arrive at a correct assessment about the enemy and the tactics that have to be adopted to face the enemy as per the changes in the war situation. This is how a revolutionary party like ours thinks and acts in such a situation.

When drastic changes come about in the situation, there is always the possibility of some confusion and self-doubt to crop up in the revolutionary camp. In such changing situation, or in the periods of changed tactics, the leadership must be with the cadre and help them grasp these changes. This is the role of the leadership in all places. With this, the confidence and morale of the cadre and the people grows. Even when leadership is with the cadres there can be losses at times, but then

they can analyse the mistakes and review by discussing with the cadres and even change the tactics according to the conditions. In this way we can bring favourable changes to the situation.

In fact, we did this in the first three-four months of 2018. The result was that 30 to 35 policemen were wiped out in a number of PLGA actions and the masses too participated actively in the war by digging over 50,000 spike-holes for their self-defence. DK has become a death-trap for the enemy. The enemy forces are hesitating to enter our movement areas. They are having a sense of insecurity. Contradictions within them are sharpening. But due to our occasional mistakes like in Kasanur-Tumirgunda, there has been an unfavourable change in the situation. But this will not last long. The confidence, morale and spirit of our cadres and the masses are high; they are working with determination and a spirit of self-sacrifice. This is helping us to fight back the negative and unfavourable situation resulting from this loss. Special meetings have been organised, the leadership comrades have been motivated and they are putting effort to overcome the shortcomings and limitations. They have self-critically identified the mistakes and taking lessons from them, they have vowed not to repeat them in future. They are determined to go to the masses that are looking for us and helping us. With all these efforts, we hope to advance the movement by overcoming the losses.

The Maoists have a history of rising from the ashes like the Phoenix after every defeat and advancing by bringing changes to the forms and methods of struggle. For instance, serious losses took place in Gadchiroli in April-June 2013, during which we lost 20-25 comrades in a series of encounters and fake encounters. We analysed our lapses and shortcomings and made plans to prevent them. Thereafter, in the five years between mid-2014 and mid-2017, only two encounters took place in Aheri and Perimili Areas. This is because our Party, PLGA, Janatana Sarkars and the masses have worked in this period by taking lesson from the losses of 2013. And the credit for so few encounters and losses during this period goes to them. While the leadership had made the

plans to minimise losses, it was they who had executed it effectively on the ground. This shows that we are capable of achieving successes in our plans, and even if on some occasions incidents like Kasanur-Tumirgunda take place, we will rectify our mistakes and shortcomings to recover from such losses to advance. This has happened in the past in our movement and we can do it again.

5. You have said that raising the ideological-political consciousness of the Party is the key to avoiding incidents like Kasanur-Tumirgunda and Ramaguda in the future. What has been the outcome of the Bolshevisation campaign that aimed at raising the Party's political consciousness?

A: Any revolutionary proletarian Party gets infected by the ideology and thinking of the non-proletarian classes existing in the society. Communist revolutionaries are not immune from them. This influence takes the form of alien class trends within the Party. By 2013, such trends in our Party had reached a peak. So our Party too initiated the Bolshevisation campaign in 2013 to educate the cadres and to struggle against the non-proletarian trends. After its completion, we have concluded that one-third of the Party cadre has benefitted from the campaign and their confidence on our ideology and politics has increased. The cadre – particularly the leadership cadre – has got a good opportunity to learn about the development our ideology, Party history, changes in the revolutionary movement, and so on.

The positive results of the Bolshevisation campaign are getting visible in the achievements of the Party, revolutionary movement and the masses. It can be seen in the successful PLGA actions against the enemy, in the defeat of the Operation Green Hunt. What is behind the determination of the Party cadres and PLGA fighters in braving and defeating one counter-revolutionary campaign after another? Behind it is the consciousness of our cadre who are imbued with our invincible ideology. It shows that a section of the cadre has got Bolshevised between 2013 and

2017 and the rest too are getting Bolshevised in different degrees.

It is true that a few big losses like Ramaguda and Kasanur-Tumirgunda have taken place in spite of the Bolshevisation campaign. We want to make sure that such incidents do not occur again or become a trend. For this, one Bolshevisation campaign is not enough. Bolshevisation is a continuous process and needs to be undertaken repeatedly since there is no medicine to immunise communist cadres from non-proletarian trends permanently. We have concluded one round of Bolshevisation campaign, but in today's changing conditions we will have to conduct it even more widely, deeply and effectively in future. The campaign that started in 2013 has brought some positive results and is concluded. But we will have to do it repeatedly as the movement advances and encounters new challenges.

6. Citing the example of incidents like Kasanur-Tumirgunda, some people are claiming that the Maoist movement will soon be wiped out from the country. What do you have to say about it?

A: The people on the side of the ruling classes are propagating this on a big scale. For instance, an organisation called Bhumkal Sangathan is active in Gadchiroli led by someone called Arvind Soni. This organisation is propagating on a large scale that the Maoist movement is on its death throes; that the Maoists are fighting a losing battle; that they will be wiped out in no time, etc. Such people try to take advantage of every reverse that we suffer. These are the same people who organised a rally at Nagpur by mobilising SPOs and their families to demand that Dr. G N Saibaba and his co-accused be given death sentence instead of life imprisonment. This is a class struggle, and the people are divided into two warring sides. In this situation, it is natural for the ruling class elements to propagate such lies against us. After our losses at Kasanur-Tumirgunda, the intensity of counter-revolutionary propaganda has once again picked up. But this is nothing new. When our CCM comrades Shyam, Mahesh and Murali were martyred in 2000, it

was said in Telangana at that time that this had broken the backbone of the Party. But the very next year the Party founded the people's army – the PLGA – and strengthened the backbone of the Party. This had blown the lid off the enemy propaganda.

The vile propaganda of the ruling classes against the Maoist Party and movement is a part of its multi-pronged counter-revolutionary war. With this, they try to confuse the middle classes which constitute a big section in our country. But the vast majority of the 130 crore people of the country are the oppressed people. They have an impression that our Party is a correct revolutionary Party, a genuine revolutionary party. That is why, during the periods in which we suffer big losses like Kasanur-Tumirgunda the ruling classes put much effort to conduct false propaganda of this kind to confuse and dishearten them. So they will go on claiming that the Maoist movement is going to be wiped out. But we should not ignore or take their propaganda lightly. Rather, we should closely study their propaganda based on falsehood and respond to it effectively through revolutionary propaganda based on the truth.

In this context, we wish to appeal to the democrats, patriots and the progressive forces of the country to see through the enemy propaganda. They are the people who can expose these lies and place the truth before the masses. They played an important role in defeating Salwa Judum and OGH. When OGH was launched in 2009, heeding to the appeal of the Party, a large number of democratic organisations came together to oppose it and declared that OGH was a 'War on People'. Their intervention went a long way in exposing OGH. In a period like this, our Party as a vanguard of the country's proletariat will try as much as it can to expose the enemy's counter-revolutionary propaganda and to place the truth before the masses. But this is not enough. To defeat the enemy's ever-intensifying war on the people, the entire revolutionary camp has to work together.

7. What is your message to the people of the country and the international friends of

the Indian revolution in the context of Kasanur-Tumirgunda?

A: After Kasanur-Tumirgunda incident, many well-wishers of our Party and the revolutionary movement are thinking that it is a very big loss. It is quite natural to think in this way. Nevertheless, we call upon them not to lose heart. They should first of all think why this incident has taken place. Why is it that today the government is deploying central paramilitary forces in Gadchiroli in their thousands? What is the connection with the mining of Surjagarh which did not start till a few years ago but has been started now? Why is it that CM Fadnavis, state Finance Minister Mungantiwar, Union Minister of State for Home Hansraj Ahir visiting Gadchiroli repeatedly and taking so much interest in the district? What is the role of the imperialist crisis behind it? What is the connection between identifying the Maoists as the “biggest internal security threat” and Kasanur-

Tumirgunda? And why are the people of Gadchiroli standing with the Maoist Party for the last four decades even amidst cruel repression? If you consider all this in totality, you will reach the correct conclusion as to why a Ramaguda or a Kasanur-Tumirgunda is taking place in the country.

The threat today is not to the Maoists alone. Dalits, Adivasis, religious minorities, etc. are all under the threat of Brahmanical Hindu-fascism. The threat is to all the democratic forces of the country. We are amidst a fascist onslaught. We need to stand steadfast on our ideology, politics and line to face this enemy offensive and smash it. We need to objectively examine and know the reality to draw the confidence and courage to change this reality through our subjective effort. So our message is for unity in a resolute struggle against the fascist enemy. We need what Danton said, *Audace! Audace! Encore la audace!*

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it has bounced back with redoubled energy and expanded to newer regions. This is testified by the history of the two main streams of the Indian revolutionary movement – the CPI(ML) and MCCI – as well as that of the unified CPI(Maoist). Similar is the lesson from the histories of proletarian revolutions all over the world including the October Revolution and Chinese Revolution. The enemy may damage the movement partially on some occasions through cruel state violence and fascist terror like it did in Kasanur-Tumirgunda. But it will not succeed in wiping it out because it is led by the most advanced and invincible ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, led by the vanguard Party of the proletariat which is the most advanced and

progressive class in history, and represents the interests of all the oppressed people of India who constitute the overwhelming majority of its populace. No matter how much heroic sacrifice it takes, organised and led by the Maoist Party, people’s army and united front organisations the country’s oppressed people are sure to complete the New Democratic Revolution by sweeping away feudalism and imperialism through the protracted people’s war and win final victory by establishing socialism and communism. To take pledge to rededicate ourselves to this sacred task will be the true homage to the Kasanur-Tumirgunda martyrs and all the martyrs of the Indian and world socialist revolution.

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

– Mao Tse-tung, ‘Serve the People’

AOB - Telangana - Andhra Pradesh

On 17 January, road-rollers and other machinery were consigned to flames by the PLGA at Lungler under Matheli Police Station Area of Malkangiri district, AOB.

Five vehicles and some motorcycles were burnt down in Khammam district on 27 January.

On 29 January, six vehicles were burnt down by PLGA guerrillas in Manugur Area of Bhadrachalam in Khammam (Bhadri Kottagudem district).

Eight vehicles engaged in road construction work were set on fire by the PLGA near Bhupathiraopet village close to the Godavari River in Pinapaka mandal of the same district on 4 February and a BSNL mobile tower too was destroyed in Vedira village on 4 February.

Red guerrillas blasted a bridge near Nannekalveru on the borders of Bhadradi Kottagudem (Khammam) and East Godavari districts in April to protest against the Supreme Court's judgment diluting the SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act.

PLGA blocked roads and destroyed bridges in Cherla mandal of Khammam district on 3 May in protest against the massacre of 40 comrades in Kasanur-Tumirgunda on Chhattisgarh-Maharashtra border. The Essar Company's slurry pipeline from Bailadila to Visakhapatnam was damaged two days later for the same reason.

Bihar - Jharkhand

One CRPF jawan was killed in a gunfight with PLGA guerrillas in Madanpur Police Station Area of Aurangabad district in Bihar on 2 January. Three PLGA fighters were martyred in the battle.

Jharkhand bandh called by CPI(Maoist) on 29 March against state repression and war on people was successfully observed in all movement areas of the state.

One jawan of the 85th Battalion of the CRPF stationed in Bijapur town was seriously injured when PLGA blasted an IED targeting one enemy unit near Mahadev Ghati on 30 March.

Two DRG jawans were killed and seven injured due to an IED explosion conducted by the PLGA between Kunnar and Tumnar villages on Kutru-Nemed road in National Park Area of Bijapur district on 9 April. A bus in which the policemen were travelling was destroyed in the blast. The PLGA left banners and posters at the site where slogans like “Modi Go Back!” were written. In a separate incident, a CRPF jawan was injured in a mine blast on the same day near Bijapur Ghati.

One ASI of the CRPF was killed by the red fighters near Kistaram in Sukma district on 12 April.

One BSF jawan was severely injured in a PLGA ambush near Mahla village of Bhanupratappur in Kanker district on 23 April. The same day, PLGA attacked an enemy patrol coming out of a new camp set up in Mahla village of Kanker district’s Pratappur area. Four police personnel were injured in the attack. On 30 April the same camp was attacked by the PLGA with improvised rockets.

On 29 April, three earthmovers, one road-roller and a JCB machine engaged in road construction were burnt down near Samri village in Balrampur district of North Chhattisgarh.

Seven jawans of the special anti-Maoist commando force Jharkhand Jaguars were wiped out and three were injured in a series of explosions using 80 bombs conducted by the people’s guerrillas in Burha Pahad area of Garhwa district of Jharkhand on 26 June. A few modern weapons including AK-47 and ammunition were seized from the dead jawans.

Dandakaranya

PLGA guerrillas arrived at a bauxite mine owned by Hindalco Company at Kukud in Sarguja district of North Chhattisgarh on 5 January and burnt down 9 vehicles including three earthmovers, one crane and several trucks. They also blasted the weighing shed of the company with explosives.

On 6 January, two constables were seriously injured in a blast conducted by the PLGA between Pumbad and Pular villages. The same day, one policeman was eliminated in Jangla village of Bijapur district, West Bastar Division.

One policeman was shot dead in Bhairamgarh weekly market by the red guerrillas in Bijapur district on 7 January. On that day a DRG jawan was injured after falling into a spike-hole in Vengur village of the same district.

On 7 January, DRG and STF forces set up a new camp in Malewahi village near Barsur town of Bijapur district. They forced the people of Malem and other villages nearby to work for setting up the camp without pay in spite of people’s protests. In the evening of 17 January, PLGA attacked the camp with two improvised rockets, in which four STF jawans were injured. The mercenary policemen ran to the villages in panic and remained there till the next day when additional forces were sent along with a rescue helicopter.

One C-60 jawan was seriously injured in an encounter with the PLGA on 9 January in the forest of Naingudem in Aheri tehsil of Gadchiroli district.

Rail traffic was disrupted on the KK (Koraput-Kirandul) line by felling trees on the track, resulting in the halting of goods train carrying iron ore from Bachel in Bailadila mines, Gangalur Area, Bijapur district on 15 January. Walky-talkies of the drivers and guards were seized by the PLGA.

Five vehicles engaged in road construction work were burnt down in Narayanpur district of Chhattisgarh on 17 January.

One policeman was seriously injured in a pressure bomb explosion in Bangapal Area of Dantewada district on 20 January.

Two policemen were injured in pressure bomb explosion carried out by the PLGA in Gangalur area of Bijapur district on 24 January. The same day one policeman was killed and one injured near Pidiya-Tumnar village of Bijapur district.

PLGA's heroic Irpanar Ambush

PLGA fighters carried out a valiant ambush on 24 January near Irpanar village of Dhaudai (Dhaura) area in Narayanpur district (East Bastar), in which six policemen including two SIs were killed and around 18 were injured. 16 companies of the enemy forces were engaged in an anti-Maoist operation, during which they committed atrocities on the people. The enemy, however, admitted only four deaths and eleven injuries to their personnel. The attack was carried out on a batch of around 60 police personnel belonging to DRG, STF and District Force. Two AK-47, one Insas rifle and ammunition were seized. The following is a English translation of a few extracts from the press statement released in Hindi by the DKSZC after the successful ambush.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) DANDAKARANYA SPECIAL ZONAL COMMITTEE

25 January 2018

Irpanar ambush is part of the resistance to the counter-revolutionary strategic offensive plan 'Samadhan' (2017-2022)

The Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee of Communist Party of India (Maoist) declares that the ambush conducted by the PLGA on a joint detachment of STF, DRG and District Force in Irpanar forest of Narayanpur district on 24 January is a part of the resistance to the countrywide 'Samadhan' (2017-2022) strategic offensive. In this ambush, two notorious Sub-Inspectors (SIs) of DRG and four others were wiped out by our PLGA forces and almost half a dozen were injured. PLGA did not suffer any loss of life. The PLGA seized two AK-47s, one Insas rifle and other war material.

The two SIs that were killed in the attack were involved in a number of encounters and fake encounters that were conducted in East Bastar, Maad and North Bastar Divisions. They were part of the enemy forces which cruelly tortured and killed the women comrades Karuna and Mali after they were injured in Asnar encounter, comrade Ratna who was injured in Irpanar encounter and comrades Vimla, Pramila and Sunita after Tuswal encounter, etc. During these encounters the brutal beating of innocent villagers, incarcerating in jails on false cases, looting people's property, killing and eating poultry and fowl of the people, burning down foodstuff or mixing poison in them, etc. have become a common practice for these mercenary forces. Just fifteen minutes before the Irpanar encounter, the DRG goons were taking away poultry from the village and had burnt a rice mill of the villagers...

The PLGA has successfully carried out the Irpanar attack targeting the government's armed forces, particularly the DRG and STF, which work as the nuts and bolts of the state machinery of the country's ruling classes and the foreign and domestic corporate houses. The government armed forces entering our guerrilla bases and areas of Janatana Sarkars will be given befitting reply with attacks like Bhejji, Burkapal and Irpanar.

On this occasion our Party appeals with a warning to the jawans and junior officers of the government armed forces that they do not become a part of the bloody game of the exploitative ruling classes. Don't remain a part of the state machinery which is



Arms and ammunition seized by the PLGA in Irpanar ambush

implementing the anti-people and treacherous pro-corporate policies of the ruling BJP government at the centre run by the Brahmanical Hindu-fascist Sangh Parivar. Don't remain enemies of the people; don't commit atrocities against the people; instead of continuing in the police jobs that bring you food soiled by the blood of the people, try to live a life of honour by using your labour; struggle for an employment with respect and honour.

Vikalp
Spokesperson
DKSZC

On 25 January, two jawans of CAF were seriously injured in a booby-trap explosion in Devalgaon, Madded Area, Bijapur district (West Bastar).

On 27 January, a PLGA Action Team with the help of the masses attacked one of the four bodyguards of local MLA Awadhesh Gautam in Nakulnar weekly market who enjoys 'Z' Category security. The bodyguard was injured in the attack and his AK-47 seized. The MLA was later found claiming in public that half of his guards were drunkards and it was because of their negligence that the attack could take place!

One policeman was killed due to an IED blast when a police party was on a combing operation in the Pamed Area of South Bastar (Sukma district) close to the Telangana border on 2 February. The next day, one more police jawan was injured near Tonguda village between Pamed and Cherla in the same district when PLGA carried out an ambush targeting a police batch.

Chhattisgarh-Telangana bandh was successfully observed in the Maoist movement areas including that of Dandakaranya on 5 February against the proposed amendments to the Chhattisgarh Land Revenue Act by the Raman Singh government. Railway tracks

were removed by the PLGA with the involvement of the militia and the masses between Bacheli and Bhansi, due to which two engines and six bogeys of a goods train on the KK line was derailed, stopping traffic on the track. Walky-talkies were seized from the drivers and guards. A bus, an earthmover and seven tractors engaged in road construction work were set on fire on this day. The people cut the Sihka-Nelsnar road at 35 places and destroyed 14 small bridges as a part of implementing the bandh. Three CRPF jawans posted in Rani Bodili camp were critically injured in a pressure bomb explosion by the PLGA on this day near Chingrinala between Kutru and Farsagarh Police Stations of Bijapur district.

One police jawan was killed in an IED explosion between Pamed and Cherla in Bijapur district on 12 February.

PLGA guerrillas carried out an attack on the enemy forces engaged for road construction on Chintaguppa-Injaram road near Elladmadagu village under Bhejji Police Station on 18 February, in which two policemen were killed and six were injured. Twelve vehicles on road construction work were burnt down as a part of this attack. Six PLGA comrades were injured in the attack, of whom two sustained serious injuries.

On 23 February, PLGA targeted a joint police team coming out of Kistaram Police

Station near Kumalpar village, in which one COBRA jawan of the 206th Battalion of the CRPF was critically injured. Due to the red terror struck by the people's guerrilla, the injured jawan could be carried to the camp only after six hours of the attack.

Two CISF jawans were critically injured in a pressure bomb explosion conducted by the PLGA near Depal under Madded Police Station on 25 February.

Nine vehicles engaged in road construction work without taking the mandatory prior permission of the Gram Sabhas or the people were destroyed by the PLGA on 26 February. The people of Harrakoder and Pichhekoder panchayats have been at the forefront in their opposition. This work of building a 12-km road from Barsur to Kaknar was started only two days back, and was brought to a halt after the PLGA attack. After the attack, over 400 police personnel from Barsur, Mardum and Kaknar camps launched a massive attack on the villagers of these tow panchayats, detained nearly 75 villagers including women and took them to Kaknar camp where they were pressurised to allow the construction work. When the people refused to comply, four of them were booked under fabricated charges, arrested and sent to jail.

Two DRG and one STF jawans were injured in an encounter with the PLGA in

Tulad Metta counter-offensive teaches the enemy a lesson

A platoon of PLGA fighters carried out a valiant attack on a 400-strong joint enemy force consisting of CRPF, DRG, STF and District Force that was conducting combing operation on Tulad Metta (Tulad Hill) and attacked Todma village close to it on 26 February. One of the main purposes of the heightened search-and-destroy operations on Tulad Metta is because of its rich repository of minerals which the government is eager to open for exploration. The attempt to open it is going on since 2005 but has been unsuccessful due to the people's resistance led by the revolutionary organisations. The PLGA attacked when the joint forces were returning after attacking Todma village where they beat up several villagers on the suspicion of working for the Maoists and taking along some of them forcibly. Four DRG and STF jawans were killed and seven were injured in the attack. The rest of the policemen ran away in fright. This has dealt a blow to the enemy's plans to open Tulad Metta for mining and gave a fillip to the people's resistance against it.

Enemy's MPV blasted by the PLGA

At around midday of 13 March, PLGA guerrillas targeted a convoy of paramilitary personnel going from Kistaram to Palod village which included two Mine-Proof Vehicles (MPV) and Sukma SP near Palod village of Kistaram Area in South Bastar Division (Sukma district) carrying CRPF jawans of the 212nd Battalion. The first MPV was blasted with an IED on Bottetong stream near Kasaram village which was just a kilometre away from the new camp from where they were coming. The 11-tonne vehicle flew 25 feet into the air and was completely destroyed. Of the eleven jawans inside it, nine were killed and two were severely injured. PLGA guerrillas seized some of the arms and ammunition of the killed jawans amidst firing from the MPV and other vehicles behind. Four Insas rifles and some ammunition could be seized, while the rest had to be left behind as reinforcement had arrived from the camps on both sides of the road hearing the blast. Eight PLGA fighters were slightly injured due to a shell explosion, but all of them retreated safely after completing the attack within 12 minutes. The blast sent a strong message of retaliation on behalf of the people to the reactionary government forces conducting a war on people in Maoist movement areas. As an aftermath of the attack, the Commandant of the CRPF Battalion was transferred, while inquiries were conducted by the Jabalpur Vehicle Factory of the Ordnance Factory Board that manufactured the MPV to find out as to how could the vehicle – considered to be 'mine-proof' be destroyed by the PLGA guerrillas!

Barsur area of Dantewada district on 27 February.

Three buses and three trucks were burnt down by the PLGA on National Highway-30 between Dornapal and Errabore on 6 March and killed a Special Police Officer (SPO) travelling in one of the buses. This action was done in protest against the massacre of ten comrades in Tadpala encounter on 2 March.

The PLGA launched an attack by exploding a mine and then firing upon the personnel from the 134th Battalion of BSF in Kilenar-Masapur forest near Masapur village in Amabeda area of Kanker district on 7 March. They were returning to their camps after conducting five days of combing operation in the Kiskodo area of Antagarh block. Two personnel including an Assistant Commandant were killed and four were injured. The PLGA seized a Tor assault rifle made in Israel along with ammunition

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Arms and ammunition seized in Maspur attack

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On 13 March, a unit of the PLGA destroyed drilling machines, generator, borewell, etc., belonging to the Neco Company used for extracting minerals from Amdai mines in Narayanpur district of North Bastar Division.

Two CAF jawans including an SI were critically injured when the red guerrillas blasted an IED near Ullur village of Bijapur district under Bhopalpatnam police station on 23 March.

Five DRG jawans were injured in a PLGA blast between Phulbagri and Poga villages of Kerlapal area, Sukma district on 24 March.

On 26 March, one SI and one policeman were injured in the mine blast carried out by

the PLGA between Korsavalli and Kamal Camp of Sukma district.

A Small Action Team (SAT) of the PLGA consisting of three guerrillas attacked and seriously injured Bharatiya Yuva Morcha leader Jagdish Kondra in Bhopalpatnam town of Bijapur in the evening of 26 March merely 150 meters away from the police station. Raising slogans like 'Maovad Zindabad!' the SAT guerrillas retreated safely.

On 28 March, PLGA retaliated an attack of nearly four hundred paramilitary and policemen coming out of Orccha, Dhanora, Kadenar and Malem camps to forcibly build the Barsur-Dhaura road to facilitate the opening of Amdai and Tulad mines. These forces opened fire indiscriminately on a unit of PLGA near Wahkeli village of Tuswal panchayat in Narayanpur district. One STF jawan was killed in PLGA's retaliation.

On 2 May, the conveyor belt carrying iron-ore from Deposit-5 of NMDC's Bailadila mines was burnt down by the PLGA, due to which work remained suspended for four days causing loss of several crores to the company.

On 5 May, a Bandh called by the CPI(Maoist) in the states of Central Region in protest against the Kasanur-Tumirgunda encounter was observed. On this day, a police jawan was wiped out by a SAT of the PLGA at Sadak Banjari on the National Highway in Rajnandgaon, while a district-level leader of Ajit Jogi's Chhattisgarh Congress was injured. The policeman was a former Maoist who had surrendered to the enemy in 2011 and was helping it pro-actively in conducting anti-Maoist operation in the district.

PLGA forces including the people's militia and the masses seized two trucks in Chintaguppa-Bhejji area carrying provisions for the enemy forces and burnt down the vehicles on 19 May.

On 20 May, PLGA exploded a landmine near Cholnar village targeting a vehicle carrying police jawans from Arampur to Kirandul in Bijapur district. Six policemen died on the spot while another was seriously injured who succumbed to his injuries in the hospital. The dead included three jawans of District



Seized material from Cholnar ambush by the PLGA

Force and four from the 16th Battalion of the CAF. PLGA seized two AK-47s, two SLRs, two Insas rifles and a large amount of ammunition from the enemy.

The ancestral home of Kanker's BJP MP Vikram Usendi at Barrebeda was blasted with IED by the PLGA on 23 May, in which it got reduced to rubble. It is worth noting that the Bodanar camp of BSF's 44th Battalion is only one kilometre away from the site while an SSB camp is three kilometres away.

One SI of a road opening party of the CRPF was killed and one injured in an IED blast near Puswada village in Dornapal area of Sukma district on 24 May. The same day, a depot belonging to the forest department was burnt down in Mahla area of Rajnandgaon district.

Three engines and 22 carriages of a goods train transporting iron-ore from Bailadila was derailed after PLGA removed tracks between Bhansi and Kamalpur stations on the KK line in Dantewada district on 24 June, causing a loss of six crores to the railways.

Odisha

PLGA fighters set on fire eight vehicles in the Niyamgiri area of Kalahandi district in Odisha on 10 January.

Two SOG jawans were seriously injured in a PLGA attack in Nuapada district of Odisha on 25 February.

Two motorcycle-borne personnel of District Police were killed in an IED blast carried out by the PLGA in Amamora forest of Gariaband district in Chhattisgarh that comes under the Nuapada-Mainpur Division of the Odisha State Committee of CPI(Maoist).

Countrywide opposition to the arrest of five social activists by branding them 'urban Naxals'

Maharashtra Police arrested five renowned social activists of the country from different cities in a simultaneous operation on 6 June on fabricated charges by branding them as 'urban Naxals' and implicating them in cases related to the Bhima-Koregaon incident of 1 January this year. The additional case of a so-called conspiracy to assassinate Prime Minister Narendra Modi has also been imposed on a few of these activists. The real reason behind the arrest of activists Sudhir Dhawale (leader of Republic Panthers and the editor of 'Vidrohi' magazine), Surendra Gadling (Senior Advocate, Nagpur), Rona Wilson (Public Relation Secretary of CRPP), Prof. Shoma Sen (Head of the English Department, Nagpur University) and Mahesh Raut (Central Executive Committee member of VVJVA) is that they have been consistent and vocal opponents of the fascist Hindutva forces led by the Sangh Parivar, particularly after its parliamentary wing BJP came to

power led by Narendra Modi, inaugurating a more intense phase of Brahminical Hindu-fascist oppression throughout the country.

The activists have been involved in mobilising and leading the masses within the bounds of the law against the anti-people policies of the government including the ongoing 'Samadhan' plan – the new avatar of the war waged by the Indian ruling classes on the people of the country, particularly in the Adivasi-inhabited parts like Gadchiroli district of Maharashtra. The state government have already been quite perturbed by the heroic people's resistance against the mining of Surjagarh Hills in the district carried out by multinational company Lloyds, and the arrested social activists have stood in their support. Similarly, they had protested against the brutal massacre of the sons and daughters of the people by the government forces in places like Kasanur-Tumirgunda and took part in fact-finding visits to expose the lies of the government. In such a context, their arrest is nothing but an attempt to gag the democratic voices of the country in an authoritarian manner as per the direction of the Nagpur

headquarters of RSS, the real power centre of the country whose diktats are duly followed by PM Modi as well as Maharashtra CM Devendra Fadnavis.

The Sangh Parivar is using the state machinery and its various vigilante gangs to impose by force its decadent ideology on the masses and to crush its political opponents and critics in a fascist manner. The silencing of anti-Hindutva intellectuals and public figures like Narendra Dabholkar, Govind Pansare and Gauri Lankesh are some of its instances, to the list of which must be added the recent arrest of the five activists under the draconian UAPA. The Sangh and the governments controlled by them are scared by the growing organised resistance of the oppressed people like the Dalits who openly challenged them through 'Yalgar Parishad' at Shanivarwada in Pune and the bicentenary celebrations of Bhima-Koregaon earlier this year or the armed resistance of the Adivasis of eastern Maharashtra led by the CPI(Maoist). The Hindutva fascists are haunted by the spectre of Maoism and other people's movements rising up against them as a mighty tide. Hence is the latest crackdown on the country's democrats and revolutionaries.

The country's history has shown that each and every assault of Hindutva has been followed by the opposition of the country's masses and the democratic forces leading them. The arrest of the five social activists too have been widely condemned and opposed in the country and abroad by a cross section of the people. Protest demonstrations, meetings, petitions and other forms of protest as well a legal struggle for their release has been carried out in several metros, cities and towns. Not only democratic, progressive and secular people's organisations but even opposition parliamentary parties have come forward to voice their opposition to the BJP government's persecution of social workers. This has shown that the BJP-RSS's attempt to muzzle the democratic forces of the country has not succeeded, even though it will take a long and arduous struggle to ensure the release of the five social activists. The struggle must be intensified as a part of the countrywide struggle for the rights of the political prisoners and their unconditional release.

Police forces terrorise the masses of Saranda in the name of anti-Maoist operations

The paramilitary and police forces of Jharkhand launched a massive anti-Maoist operation in the Saranda forests of West Singhbhum and Goelkera block of Chaibasa districts from 13 April onwards, involving several thousands of armed personnel. They have fired hundreds of shells from mortars and rocket launchers purportedly targeting the Maoists but creating a reign of white terror in the region, forcing the predominantly Adivasi people from running away from their villages and taking shelter elsewhere. The reactionary government forces also conducted door-to-door search in the villages looking for Maoists. They are preventing the shopkeepers of the area from selling more than five kilos of rice to the villagers, suspecting that these would find their way to the Maoists.

But the fact is that the Adivasi people of the interior areas are suffering due to this undeclared ban, because they cannot come frequently to the shops and make do with five kilos like the townspeople. The people have also complained that the policemen have set up temporary check-posts on every path coming out of the forests, frisking and harassing the people, and also keeping the sources of water under their control. Their aim is to deprive the Maoists of food and water and thereby force them to either surrender or die. But this strategy has failed miserably as they have failed to eliminate any Maoists but have only inconvenienced and angered the villagers. In fact, it is the government forces which suffered casualties at the hands of the Maoists when 2 jawans each got injured in IED blasts and firings on 15 and 20 April respectively.

Frustrated that their strategy has failed, the enemy forces have arrested many village heads and other villagers to vent their ire, further infuriating the masses. This fascist counter-revolutionary operation under 'Samadhan' is a continuation of 'Operation Anaconda-1' of 2011 and 'Operation Anaconda-2' of 2012. During these operations

too, the police terrorised the masses and committed large-scale atrocities. The people of the area have called for a stop to this campaign of state terror under the garb of curbing Maoism.

Arrest of anti-displacement activist Damodar Turi opposed

Various democratic and people's rights organisations of Jharkhand and other parts of the country have come out strongly opposing the framing and arrest of Damodar Turi, a well-known anti-displacement activist of Jharkhand and a leader of Visthapan Virodhi Jan Vikas Andolan (VVJVA). Jharkhand Police arrested him on 15 February from Ranchi on cases related to the trade union Mazdoor Sangathan Samiti (MSS) which was banned by the Raghubar Das-led BJP government last year following the agitation led by it against the fake encounter killing of Motilal Baske. FIRs filed against the organisation had named several social activists working in the trade unions and other social organisations along with over 800 'unknown' persons.

It was based on these charges that Damodar Turi has now been arrested, even though he is neither a leader nor a member of this organisation. It is very clear that using the FIR and the ban on MSS, the Hindu-fascist BJP governments at the centre and in Jharkhand are trying to gag the democrats, social activists and people's organisations that have been leading various movements in the state. Of late, BJP government have faced the ire of the people for its anti-people measures such as the attempt to amend the Chotanagpur and Santhal Pargana Tenancy Acts, to introduce a new Domicile Policy, to attract foreign and domestic big capitalists to the state to plunder its natural resources by causing large-scale displacement, suppressing the people in the name of fight against Naxalism, and so on. All these measures are against the interests of the working people of the state, and particularly the Adivasis and other oppressed social sections.

Naturally, socially conscious and responsible activists like Damodar Turi have been at the forefront in politicising and mobilising the masses to oppose these measures. So the government is singling out, targeting and persecuting such persons under some pretext or the other. It is significant that just a few months before his arrest, the notorious DGP of Jharkhand DK Pandey had falsely accused in a press conference that Damodar Turi was the main coordinator behind MSS, thereby preparing the ground for his arrest. Moreover, the 'Annual Report' of the Union Home Ministry had maliciously identified VVJVA and MSS as 'frontal organisations' of the CPI(Maoist), clearing the way for their persecution. It is clearly a part of the Indian government's fascist war on people extended to the urban areas. Democratic and civil rights organisations have demanded the withdrawal of cases registered against Damodar Turi and his immediate release, along with the draconian ban on the MSS and other people's organisations.

Anti-Maoist forces continue extra-judicial killings under the garb of encounters

As has been regularly reported in the last issues of MIB, the use of fake encounters as an instrument of war by the anti-Maoist government forces to eliminate Maoist Party members, PLGA guerrillas and militia members, leaders and members of revolutionary mass organisations, sympathisers of the Maoist movements and villagers is being continued unabated in spite of protests by the masses and democratic organisations of the country. We mention a few of such cold-blooded killings between January and June 2019 below.

On 6 January, government armed forces indiscriminately fired upon youths attending their cattle near Karka village of Bijapur district, killing 13-year old village youth Madkam Somaru on the

spot, who was later presented as a Maoist killed in an encounter. A youth named Ramkumar Keshav of Koyanvarshe village in Gardevada Gram Panchayat of Etapalli tehsil in Gadchiroli district who had gone to the forest with a catapult in hand to hunt for birds was shot dead by the paramilitary and police forces on 5 February. Vetti Bhima, a peasant youth of Vengur village in Dantewada district, was forcibly taken from his home and killed in the nearby forest in a fake encounter between 6 to 8 February.

The enemy forces caught, tortured and killed two PLGA fighters Comrades Kunjam Sanni and Madvi Nanda in a fake encounter in Tokanpalli village under Chintaguppa Police Station of Sukma district on 16 February. Similarly, Comrade Kadtī Brahmaiyya, a resident of Vilgudatoli village under Errabore Police Station in Konta Area of Sukma district and the president of the Panchayat Janatana Sarkar was killed by the police in a staged encounter. Sonsu Mircha Usendi, a resident of Rekhnar village in Gadchiroli, was set on fire by the notorious C-60 commandos in the forests of Gummadi Nala on 30 March where he had gone for hunting. He was dragged to the road near Vedampalli and in a half-burnt stage and shot dead. The villagers, who got to know about the incident from a few eyewitnesses, went *en masse* to Gadchiroli and recovered the body through their protest at the police headquarters.

On 4 April, Dandakaranya Adivasi Kisan Mazdoor Sangh (DAKMS) member Oyam Manglu of Parasmudur village of Bhairamgarh Area in Bijapur district was killed in a fake encounter. Over four hundred villagers including his relatives protested in Bijapur town against this killing and forced the police to hand over the dead body. They brought back the body to the village and conducted the last rites as per revolutionary tradition.

Protest against the killing of a village youth by the police

Around 200 personnel of joint enemy forces deployed in Aranpur camp of Dantewada district combed the area and attacked Gompur, Boddod, Vengur and Hiroli villages from 6 to 8 February. During this operation, they opened fire upon the people and looted their houses. The villagers ran away to the forest to save themselves from this police terror. One such villager Vetti Bhima, a peasant of Vengur village, was caught by the police from his home in the afternoon of 7 February in the presence of his mother, took him to Dokapara near Hiroli village and shot him dead at 5 in the morning of 8 February. They put Maoist uniform on Bhima, placed a gun beside his dead body and took photographs. Later they floated the usual story of an encounter with the Maoists in which they claimed to kill People's Militia Commander Hunga with a reward of one lakh rupees on his head.

Hundreds of enraged villagers protested against this cold-blooded murder at Kirandul town and told the media what had actually happened. Led by the mother of Bhima Mangli Vetti and his wife Maase, more than 300 villagers of Vengur and adjacent villages blockaded Kirandul Police Station. They refused to receive the dead body, saying that cases should be first registered against the guilty police personnel responsible for the murder and they be suspended from their jobs with immediate effect. Dantewada SP Kamalochan Kashyap threatened the agitating villagers with arrest unless they accepted the dead body and went away, but the villagers continued their protest undaunted, calling for an end to the brutal method of eliminating Adivasis in fake encounters. They ended their agitation and received the body only after the police changed the name of the deceased in the official records from Hunga to Vetti Bhima and the cause of death as gunshots in place of encounter.

Opposition to the torture of a 15-year old Adivasi girl in illegal police custody

Social organisations of Bastar filed a complaint in the Chhattisgarh Commission for the Scheduled Tribes recounting the illegal detention of a 15-year old girl of Veccha village in Kondagaon district by the police over a week by the police. Kondagaon Police had picked her up early in the morning of 23 January 2018 from her home on allegation of being a Maoist aide and kept her in the police camp in illegal detention, during which she was tortured and sexually assaulted. According to the police, the girl had been involved in Maoist activities for the last five years, or from the time she was ten years of age! This police story and its act of keeping her in detention and torture have been opposed by the social organisations. On receiving the complaint, the Commission has issued an order to the Collector of Bastar district asking for a report into the incident.

No progress in enquiry into Sarkenguda massacre even after five years

The paramilitary forces had mowed down 17 villagers including seven minors of Sarkenguda, Morpalli and Rajupenta villages of Bijapur district in Chhattisgarh when they had gathered for a traditional festival in the night of 28 June 2012. Though the government forces claimed that it was a 'Maoist gathering' and the persons killed were all Maoists, the lie was exposed by the people of the village including the eyewitnesses and survivors who recounted the massacre to the media and fact-finding teams. The protests that erupted after the massacre in different parts of the country forced the government to order a judicial enquiry by a one-man enquiry commission. But even after five years have gone by, the enquiry still drags on and the commission is yet to submit its findings. In fact, the government has once again extended the term of the enquiry by another six month late last year in an attempt to further delay the process. During this period, the two villagers who had

been arrested by the police for being associated with the alleged 'Maoist gathering' has been acquitted by the court, driving one more hole into the police's claims. The inconclusive state of the ongoing enquiry proves that it was instituted in the first place to save the culprits rather than to identify and punish them, and that the oppressed masses cannot rely on the exploitative government but their own united strength to bring the guilty to book and justice to the victims.

Mercenary government forces burn down Janatana Sarkar school in Bastar

During a massive anti-Maoist operation conducted between 5 and 9 January this year, the joint forces comprising of paramilitary and police forces committed atrocities on the people of West Bastar under the ongoing 'Samadhan' counter-revolutionary plan. As a part of this, these mercenary forces burnt down a residential school run for poor Adivasi children by West Bastar Divisional Krantikari Janatana Sarkar (Revolutionary People's Committee). The school was built and run by the collective effort of the masses of the Division under the leadership of their people's government and with the assistance of the Maoist Party. In fact, it is the people who look after the needs of the school through contribution of labour, including providing round-the-clock security from the police by doing sentry duty. Before the police arrived to attack the school, the people took the young students and their teachers to the safety of the forest and kept them away from the hands of the enemy.

The government troops treated the school as an enemy property and did not spare even the textbooks, blackboards, warm winter clothes of the young children and other rudimentary material with which the school was run. This is an example of the attitude of the reactionary Indian government towards the education of Adivasi children – first it closed down 75 government schools in Bijapur district alone in the name of 'rationalisation', and now it destroys even the minimum

opportunity for education built up by the people themselves, thereby snatching away the right of the Adivasi children to basic education. The government has often claimed that 35,000 Adivasi children have abandoned school education due to 'Maoist violence'. But the heinous act of burning down a functioning school by the police forces clearly expose the fact that it is the Indian ruling classes who are actually responsible for depriving Adivasi children from education and keeping them illiterate. The people of Bastar are indignant at this outrageous act by the police forces and have vowed to rebuild the school so that the children can resume their studies at the earliest.

Fighting masses free villagers from the clutches of the police

Government armed forces picked up three residents of Indur village in Pratappur area of North Bastar on 3 January, took them to a BSF camp at Sangam village and beat them up mercilessly during the first three days and continued their illegal detention for another two days. The enemy forces were compelled to release the three of them only after the agitated villagers and their family members struggled incessantly for the five days at the camp.

In the same month, two villagers of Muttentod under Adnar Gram Panchayat in Narayanpur district were thrashed by the mercenary armed forces and kept them under illegal detention at Udanpur camp. They could be freed only after the people of the area strongly protested against it.

A joint force of more than 1,500 policemen consisting of CRPF, STF and DRG stationed in Dantewada and Bijapur districts attacked many villages of Gangalur Area including Mankeli, Gompur, Pumbad, etc. during an operation from 14 to 19 February. They fired upon the people indiscriminately, looted their property, detained several villagers and tried to rape a young girl of Pidiya village. But the women of the village got together, confronted the police forces valiantly and managed to rescue the girl from their clutches. Seeing their

heinous designs frustrated, the policemen beat up the women mercilessly, in which 33 of them were injured. But undaunted by the beating, the women went to Gangalur Police Station, *gheraoed* it and vocally protested against the detention of their fellow villagers and demanded their immediate release. They ended their protest only after they compelled the police to release all the detainees.

After the PLGA eliminated an anti-people contractor Vishal Sarvaiya of Bijapur on 19 March, the paramilitary and police forces attacked the surrounding villages in an act of revenge, beat up many villagers and took away 13 persons forcibly with them alleging them to be Maoist sympathisers. They were held in illegal custody in Bijapur Police Station and tortured. Protesting this, over 500 villagers from Kotpal, Tumnar, Pedakodepal and Musalur demonstrated in front of the Collector's office at Bijapur town demanding the release of the detained persons. They exposed the conspiracy of the police to brand villagers as Maoists by daringly speaking up through the media.

Women protest against anti-Maoist forces committing atrocities in Maad

Anti-Maoist joint forces from Narayanour district headquarters combed Idwai, Adder and Alweda panchayats under Indravati Area of Maad Division, Chhattisgarh in the first week of January. Four more batches of police personnel despatched from Bijapur district covered Kolnar, Palli, Bodga, Takilod and Rekhwahi villages of the same Area at the same time. The operation continued for three days, during which a reign of terror was unleashed on the Adivasi villagers. But they had to face the stiff resistance of the masses at several places. When one of the police batches reached Padkapara, they ordered the women of the village to give them rice, chicken, utensils, etc. (the men of the village had run away to the forest while women, elderly and children were left behind). But the women firmly refused to give anything to these mercenary forces, due to which they

had to leave the village empty stomach. Similarly, when in Takilod village the police caught a youth and were taking him away, his mother fought with them and even beat up one of the police jawans. In this way, she managed to get her son released. When these forces were returning after three days, they caught four women of Uvla village, two women from Bodga village and a man from Rekhwahi village and took them to Narayanpur town. The villagers got together and went to Bhairamgarh Police Station to get their fellow villagers released where they protested for three days. When they got to know that the detained persons were kept in Narayanpur, they went there too and got the detainees released through their struggle. The women participated in it in large numbers and were at the forefront in this struggle.

Protest against killing of teenager Madkam Somaru in police firing

Between 5 and 9 January, nearly 1,200 jawans of CRPF, DRG and STF forces from Dantewada and Bijapur attacked Pumbad, Pidiya, Karka, Tumnar and Gompur villages under Pidiya LOS Area of Gangalur AC, West Bastar Division. During this operation, on 7 January they indiscriminately fired upon youths attending their cattle near Karka village, killing 13 year old Madkam Somaru on the

spot and injuring 11 year old student Madkam Boti. Somaru and Boti had gone to the forest in search of their cattle when police and paramilitary forces combing the forest fired on them indiscriminately, killing Somaru on the spot and injuring Boti grievously. The police officials later claimed that they had killed a Maoist in an encounter, but this fiction was refuted by Boti who said that no Maoist was present at the site.

Enraged by this killing, hundreds of people from the villages including a large number of women led by the dead youth's mother Madkam Tumdi blockaded Gangalur Police Station in Bijapur. Later they also forced the police to hand them over the dead body and conducted the last rites in his village. The mothers of the deceased and injured youths along with some other villagers also filed a petition in the High Court at Bilaspur with the help of civil rights organisations demanding punishment of the policemen responsible for the fake encounter.

Girl students protest against harassment by BSF jawans

The jawans of 114th Battalion of BSF at Bande in Kanker district of Chhattisgarh is located in front of Bande High School and hostel. Girl students of the school and hostel faced continued harassment from the BSF jawans while commuting, but the



People of Sawnar protesting against police beating

police refused to register or even acknowledge their complaints, let alone taking any action against the culprits. The harassment thereby continued unabated under the patronage of the police. In the evening of 7 February, BSF jawans harassed a girl student coming from attending tuition finding her alone. Infuriated, the students and the principal of the school brought this daily harassment before the people by talking publicly through the media and declared that they would take up an agitation if the police did not register their complaint and take prompt action.

The BSF officials, on the other hand, denied these complaints outright and in a bid to cover up their guilt, called it an attempt on the part of the Maoists to malign the paramilitary forces. But this did not cut any ice on the agitated girl students. Finally, under pressure from the students, teachers, parents and the school management, the police was forced to register an FIR on 12 February 2018 and promise action against the guilty BSF jawans. But it is quite clear that the police are in no mood to bring them to book on their own, and it is not police action but the pressure of people's agitation that alone can keep the mercenary government forces under leash.

People get fellow villagers released through protest

Nearly 500 villagers from Tumnar of Bijapur district blockaded the Collector's office at the district headquarters on 22 March against the detention of 13 persons from their village for their alleged Maoist activities. The villagers said that they were forcibly brought and detained for no reason labelling them as Maoist sympathisers. After registering their protest before the Collector and submitting a memorandum, the people went to the police station to demand the release of the villagers. Finally, the government and its police were forced to bow before the resilient struggle

of the masses and released the villagers they had illegally detained.

Similarly, when the police detained three villagers of Kokra on the accusation of being Maoist aides on 9 March, the women of the village came forward to get them released. The three villagers including a minor were detained by the jawans of CRPF's 85th Battalion stationed at Pamalwaya in Bijapur district when they had come for some work. They took the three to the camp, interrogated and kept Aitu Korsam and Chotu Modium under illegal detention while releasing the minor. When the women of the village got the news, they all came to Bijapur town and sat in dharna in front of the police headquarters demanding the release of the detained villagers. Some policewomen on duty even attacked them and beat them up in an effort to break up the protest, due to which one pregnant protestor became unconscious and had to be admitted in the hospital. The protestors vociferously condemned the highhandedness of the police and its utter disdain for the people demanding justice.

Villagers oppose beating by paramilitary during anti-Maoist operations

The villagers of Sawnar and Todka in Gangalur area of Bijapur district, Chhattisgarh, have accused the paramilitary forces of beating them up with sticks and rifle butt during a combing operation by the paramilitary forces on 1 June 2018. They complained through the media that policemen beat up brutally 15 villagers including nine minors of the two villages on the suspicion of helping the Maoists. Five students who had come on vacation also bore the brunt of the mercenary forces and had to seek medical treatment in hospital. The government forces remained stationed in Sawnar for four days and terrorised the villagers with their presence.

Adivasi activists protest threats by government's armed forces

Two Adivasi civil rights activists – Sunita Pottami (20 years) and Munni Pottami (19 years) of Korcholi village under Gangalur Police Station in Bijapur district in Chhattisgarh – have been facing continuous threats from the police and paramilitary forces ever since they dared to raise issues of civil rights violation by these forces in Bastar. The two of them had filed a petition in the Bilaspur High Court in 2016 against six fake encounters in Bijapur district. They have been targeted by the police since then. But undaunted by such threats, they had been at the forefront in organising the villagers, and particularly the women, in opposing acts of state violence and violation of the civil rights of the masses by the anti-Maoist forces, the latest being the beating up of a large number of women by the police in December 2017. At that time, Sunita and Munni led a large number of women victimised by the police to Bijapur police headquarters and lodged complaints against the culprits and also daringly talked to the media, thereby bringing to light the brutal atrocities of the police that they want to keep under wraps. After this, on 27 December, officers of police and paramilitary forces separately threatened them with arrest under fabricated Maoist charges if they did not stop raising their voice and mobilising the masses against the police. Bijapur SP NK Ahire and ASP Mohit Garg told them that the police are facing a lot of difficulties due to the PIL filed by them in Bilaspur and alleged that they were complicit with the Maoists.

Following these direct threats, Sunita and Munni personally approached the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) on 10 January 2018 and reported about the danger they are facing to their safety. Hearing their plea sympathetically and taking note of the serious nature of the threat, NHRC passed an order the next day directing of DGP Chhattisgarh to personally enquire into the complaint. It also asked him to issue appropriate orders to the police officers so that

the two women activists do not have to undergo any kind of intimidation or action that is detrimental to their right to life, liberty and dignity. This order is a recognition of the patently illegal methods used by the police and paramilitary forces in Maoist movement areas to stifle the voices against its fascist war on people and the crimes committed against the masses as a part of it. The democratic and progressive forces of the country need to stand firmly with the two Adivasi activists and ensure that no harm is done to them in any manner. Attacks on Soni Sori and other social activists of Bastar in the past point to the fact that the Indian ruling classes and its armed lackeys can go to any extent to crush the voices of dissent unless prevented by the united effort of the masses.

1.5 lakh Adivasis of South Bastar migrated due to state terror, alleges Opposition

Indian National Congress, the main parliamentary opposition party in BJP-ruled Chhattisgarh has said that over one and a half lakh Adivasis of South Bastar including Sukma district have been forced to migrate to other states due to the continued state repression. This was stated by the Deputy Leader of the Opposition in Chhattisgarh Assembly and Sukma MLA Kovasi Lakma in a press conference held on 13 January at Jagdalpur. He said that state violence carried out by the government armed forces has become one of the biggest problems for the masses of the region, be it in the form of fake encounters or arrests under fabricated Maoist cases. Lakma promised that if his Party came to power in the next assembly elections, it will withdraw all the fake cases registered against the people during the BJP government.

Though Lakma and other leaders of the opposition are compelled to raise genuine issues of the masses of the Maoist movement areas for their own electoral benefit under people's pressure, they are hardly any better than the ruling party in addressing or resolving them. One cannot ignore the fact that it was Congress at the centre that guided the

launching of fascist extermination campaigns like Salwa Judum, Sendra and Operation Green Hunt in the past, resulting in the displacement of lakhs of Adivasi people. So it is to be seen how genuine Lakma and his party is on its promise of withdrawing fabricated cases if Congress comes to power in Chhattisgarh.

People's organisations protest against killing of villagers in fake encounter in MMC

People's organisations of Chhattisgarh has strongly raised their voice against the killing of two Adivasi villagers Ruplal Malgam and Rajkumar Kovasi of Khursipar village in Dongargarh area of Rajnandgaon district along with an unarmed Maoist leader Comrade Gopal Meshram (Azad) on 29 May 2018. In petitions addressed to the President of India and the Chief Minister of Chhattisgarh, the Adivasi organisation Chhattisgarh Sarv Adivasi Samaj has said that the police caught the above-mentioned three persons while they were bringing water, beat them up mercilessly with sticks and later shot them dead to present it as an encounter between the anti-Maoist forces and the red guerrillas. The dead bodies were then taken to Rajnandgaon town and post-mortem was done without informing the family members, villagers or even the local government functionaries in a bid to cover-up the fake encounter. Even though the villagers were never associated with any Maoist-related activities, the anti-Maoist police and paramilitary forces killed them tempted by out-of-turn promotions and cash rewards, the organisation noted.

The members of the organisation complained that if the persons had violated any law as per the police, the latter should have arrested them and presented before the court of law to initiate legal proceedings against them rather than eliminating them extra-judicially. They demanded that re-postmortem of the dead bodies should be conducted to ascertain whether the deceased were killed due to beating or firing, the guilty

policemen should be punished after high-level enquiry, the kin of the deceased should be given a compensation of Rs.25 lakhs each and government job and the cost of their children should be borne by the government. The Samaj also demanded that such incidents should be prevented in the future and a permanent solution should be found for the problems raised by the Maoist movement, or else the Adivasi masses would be forced to carry out a militant struggle against the government in the coming days, the sole responsibility for which would lay with the government.

But this is not the first time that the central paramilitary forces and the police of Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh have resorted to the killing of Maoist Party members, PLGA fighters and sympathisers in fake encounters in a bid to stop the expansion of the movement under the newly constituted Maharashtra-Madhya Pradesh-Chhattisgarh (MMC) Special Zone. Several such fake encounters have been carried out particularly in the last two to three years, and this policy has been carried over to this year too. Previous to this killing, on 9 February this year, two full-time Maoist activists Comrades Vinod and Sagar were caught unarmed near Borla village under Gatapara Police Station of Rajnandgaon district, brought to the police station, severely beaten and killed, following which the usual story of an encounter was circulated. The killing of Comrade Azad and two villagers is the latest in this series of fascist assassinations.

Opposition to illegal detention and arrests in Odisha

The police in Odisha are resorting to illegal detentions, torture and arrest of people alleging them to be working for the Maoists. Following an encounter between the police and Maoist guerrillas on 25 February 2018, the police picked up 19-year old Sumitra Dhruva of Kodripani village under Bhainsadani Panchayat of Nuapada district from Boden Bazaar the next day along with another person

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Odisha State Committee protests the brutal killing of Maoist cadres in fake encounters

State repression on the Maoist movement is going on at an intense level in Odisha, one of the forms of which is the regular killing of leaders and cadres of the Party and villagers by the government forces in fake encounters. On 12 May this year, Comrades Sevak, secretary of Gobra Area Committee was killed in this way by CRPF and SOG in Ravangdih village of Garaband district in Chhattisgarh, while Comrades Sanjeev and Rakesh were killed extra-judicially in Dudkimal forest on 13 May. Protesting against these killings, Odisha State Committee of CPI(Maoist) called upon the people to observe bandh on 4 June in Dhamtari, Gariaband, Balangir, Bargarh and Mahasamund districts. The following is a translation of the press release issued on the occasion.

Dear people and the democratic intellectuals,

The central and state governments are displacing the people on a large scale in order to hand over the natural resources of the country to the imperialists and big capitalists under 'Make in India'. Against this, our Party is organising and leading the masses to establish their rights over *jal-jangal-zameen*. That is why the reactionary government is unleashing brutal repression on our Party and the masses.

On 12 May, the police caught Comrade Sevak in Ravangdih village in Gobra Area of Gariaband district, tortured and killed him in a fake encounter. On 13 May, CRPF and SOG forces attacked our squad in Dudkimal forest of Bolangir district and killed Divisional Committee Member Comrade Sanjeev while Area Committee Member Comrade Rakesh was caught alive and shot dead. The same day five of our comrades were shot dead in the forests of Kandhamal. The killer policemen were congratulated by CM Naveen Patnaik and Home Minister Rajnath Singh. The ruling classes and their agents are celebrating any loss to the Maoist Party which has become a hurdle to the unhindered handing over of the country's rich natural resources to imperialists and big capitalists.

The mercenary forces of the government are attacking not only the Maoist activists and guerrillas but also the masses. They illegally detained, tortured and raped a woman in Kodripen village of Bhainsadani panchayat of Nuapada district. Government employee and malaria worker of Bhainsadani village Sukalsai Pahadia was 'disappeared' by the police after calling him to Boden Police Station. He is missing for the last one month. They are lying to the family members that he was never called by them to the police station. A few more people from the area have been arrested and sent to jail to establish a reign of terror. The people who have no connection with the Maoist movement too are being targeted for the same purpose.

We call upon the broad masses and the democrats to observe bandh on 4 June in Dhamtari, Gariaband, Balangir, Bargarh and Mahasamund districts against the fascist attacks by the government forces on the Maoists and the people under 'Samadhan' counter-revolutionary plan. Condemn the continued attacks on the revolutionary movement in the interest of the imperialists and the exploitative ruling classes. Oppose the killings, arson, loot, arrests, illegal detention, atrocities on women and other forms of state terror. Recalling that there is no liberation without struggle, join the revolutionary struggle for resolving the basic problems of the masses

**Chakra Bisoi
Spokesperson
Odisha State Committee
CPI(Maoist)**

Dalits and the progressives challenge the neo-Peshwai through 'Yalgaar Parishad'

On the eve of the bicentenary of the Battle of Koregaon on the River Bhima near Pune where several Dalit soldiers of the British Indian Army died fighting the Peshwa Army, the Dalit and progressive organisations of Maharashtra held a massive public gathering called 'Yalgaar Parishad' at the Shaniwarwada Fort (the seat of the Peshwa rulers) on 31 December last year. The gathering sent a strong message to the oppressed people of Maharashtra to unite against the neo-Peshwai of the RSS-controlled BJP governments and the entire Brahmanical Hindu-fascist Sangh Parivar, which is unleashing a reign of terror against Dalits, Muslims, Adivasis, women, the democratic individuals and organisations of the country and all other oppressed social sections.

'Yalgaar Parshad' was the curtain raiser to the commemoration of the bicentenary of the Battle of Koregaon by the Dalits the next

day which was fought on 1 January 1818. The successful organisation of the 'Yalgaar Parishad' which brought the Dalits, Muslims and the democratic-progressive forces on a single platform on such a large scale after a long while and threw an open challenge to the RSS-BJP had already enraged the Hindutva brigade. So they planned to disrupt by using all means the even bigger programme of the commemoration of the bicentenary of the Battle of Koregaon the next day with the active support of the government, police and administrative machinery. As nearly three lakh Dalits from across Maharashtra were coming to Bhima-Koregaon, they were attacked violently at Sirur, Chakan and other places by Hindutva gangs carrying sticks, rods, tridents, sharp-edged weapons, cooker bombs, etc. under the leadership of ringleaders like Sambhaji Bhide, Milind Ekbote and other close RSS affiliates. Even before the programme could commence, the Dalit participants were violently dispersed with many sustaining injuries, as the police remained mute spectators complicit in the crimes of the fascist goons.



Dalits protest in the streets of Mumbai on the daylong Maharashtra bandh on 4 January

This attack is a blatant attack on the democratic right of the Dalits to commemorate the death of those whom they consider as martyrs in the fight against the Manuvadi rule of the Peshwa rulers and against the Brahmanical caste-system itself. It is a heinous attempt to violently crush the political assertion of the Dalits and other oppressed sections by the most virulent advocates of modern-day casteism in the country – the Sangh Parivar. Ever since Dr B R Ambedkar started the tradition of remembering the battle by visiting the site of the column raised to the memory of those killed in the battle in 1927, Dalits of Maharashtra have been paying their homage there on 1st January every year. The significance of the commemorations this year was much more as it was the bicentenary of the battle. Though the Hindutva forces had never dared to disrupt the programme in the past, this time they were emboldened to carry out a pre-planned attack this year by the presence of BJP governments at the centre and the state on the one hand and the direct challenge to their authority posed by the Dalits and the progressive forces through ‘Yalgaar Parishad’ on the other.

The Dalits protested militantly throughout Maharashtra against the Hindutva-fascist violence at Bhima-Koregaon, demanding immediate action against all the culprits including Bhide and Ekbote. On 3 January, a Maharashtra bandh was successfully organised on the call of over 250 Dalit organisations which brought large parts of the state including

Mumbai to a standstill. A Dalit student Yogesh Prahlad Jadhav was killed in police lathi-charge on protestors in Nanded district. Rail and road traffic remained suspended, prohibitory orders were imposed and internet service was shut down during the bandh. After a long time Maharashtra witnessed such a massive and widespread mobilisation of the Dalits in a united struggle against the government. It has sent a clear message to the ruling classes and their most loyal servants the BJP-RSS that the Dalit masses are no longer ready to take casteist repression and humiliation by lying low and will respond with militant united resistance. This struggle now needs to be carried forward as a part of the broader countrywide united fight against Brahmanical Hindu-fascism.

Though the Maharashtra government has assured punishment of the culprits responsible for the Bhima-Koregaon violence under pressure from the enraged Dalit protestors, it is unlikely that they will be brought to book unless compelled by sustained mass struggle. While Milind Ekbote was arrested, he was soon released on bail, while Sambhaji Bhide is yet to be even arrested. Moreover, the Sanghi forces have already started using the ploy of pointing at the Maoists – and particularly the so-called ‘urban Naxals’ – for organising the ‘Yalgaar Parishad’ and the bicentenary commemoration of Bhima-Koregaon in a bid to divert attention from their own culpability in attacking the Dalits. Following their cue, Maharashtra Police booked youth leaders Jignesh Mevani and Umar Khalid for

participating in 'Yalgaar Parishad', raided the houses of a number of social activists in different parts of the country by branding them as 'urban Naxals', and arrested five of them in June by falsely implicating them in cases related to Bhima-Koregaon. The Dalits as well as the progressive-democratic forces of Maharashtra and the country need to strongly condemn and come out in protest against these machinations of the Sangh Parivar and its governments to suppress the emerging united struggle of the people of the country against Hindutva-fascism.

Massive countrywide protest against dilution of SC/ST Act

In an extremely reactionary step, the Supreme Court on 20 March passed a judgment whereby it substantially diluted the provisions of the SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989 in a bid to protect the 'upper'-caste perpetrators of Dalits and Adivasis from immediate and effective prosecution. According to the judgment pronounced by the bench of U U Lalit and Adarsh Kumar Goel, FIR under the Act can only be filed after a preliminary enquiry to verify the veracity of a complaint, the accused named in the FIR under this Act need not be arrested within 24 hours as was the case earlier, arrests can only be made after prior permission is taken from a 'competent authority', and the accused can avail anticipatory bail. All these amendments under the excuse of preventing the misuse of the Act and protecting the 'innocents' have left the Act completely toothless, effectively burying it as a tool for Dalits and Adivasis in their struggle for justice. It presumes that complaints of caste-based crimes are prone to be false and malicious, unless declared otherwise by the authorities. No wonder, the victims of caste violence and discrimination and humiliation can hardly expect the country's Brahmanical and casteist administrative and judicial system to allow speedy prosecution of the perpetrators and deliver justice. It rarely happened even when the Act was in full force; now that it has been watered down, the probability of it has all but vanished.

The Act, legislated by the Congress government in 1989, was an outcome of a prolonged struggle particularly by the Dalits of the country against caste atrocities committed by dominant-caste elements often related to the ruling classes. It was a bi-product of the struggle against heinous massacre of Dalits in Kilvenmani, Tsundur, Karamchedu, Kambalapalli, Shankarbiga, Bathani Tola, Laxmanpur Bathe, and many other places in different parts of the country, which forced the government to legislate a special law addressing atrocities, humiliation, and other caste-based crimes against Dalits and Adivasis. Though this Act introduced some stringent provisions against the perpetrators of caste violence, the ruling classes and their governments have ensured that conviction under this Act remain less than 2% during the last three decades after its enactment (it has come down further in 2016, when the conviction rate was a mere 1.4% for SCs and 0.8% for STs). This is at a time when the recorded instances of caste atrocities against the Dalits are continually on the rise. Even this namesake piece of legislation has now virtually been done away with by the Supreme Court, proving once again that the state institutions are fast abandoning even their formal neutrality and independence under the Brahmanical Hindutva-fascist Modi rule in serving the interests of the dominant social sections. It is worth noting that Lalit and Goel were appointed SC judges in July 2014, months after Modi government had assumed office. As an advocate, Lalit had represented BJP president Amit Shah in the Shohrabuddin Sheikh and Tulsiram Prajapati fake encounter cases where Shah was a prime accused. In diluting the SC/ST Act, both the judges have acted as henchmen of the Sangh Parivar and the reactionary social forces it represents.

The Dalits and Adivasis throughout the country rose up militantly against this blatant attack on their legal right. The uproar of protest grew louder and culminated in a countrywide bandh jointly called by Dalit, Adivasi and democratic organisations on 2 April against the judgment. During the successful bandh, over 12 protestors – mostly Dalits – were killed in police firing and attacks

by Hindutva goons. CPI(Maoist) too called for the observance of a protest day in Telangana and Dandakaranya on 25 April. Due to the powerful agitation, the Modi government was forced to file a review petition after much dilly-dallying on 2 April challenging the judgment. The reluctance of the central government is understandable, given its arch anti-Dalit Brahmanical Hindutva ideology and its dominant-caste social base. In fact, the government is equally guilty in the tearing down of the Act, as it refused to strongly oppose the reactionary measures of dilution during the hearing. Not the goodwill of the Modi government but the united struggle of the masses alone that can save the Act from becoming redundant and reinstate it in its original shape.

The people of Lohandiguda fight for their land

Thousands of peasants of ten Gram Panchayats in Lohandiguda block of Bastar district have been struggling to get back their land which was forcibly taken away by the government to set up an iron smelting factory. In 2005, Raman Singh-led BJP government had snatched 10,000 acres of fertile agricultural land from them and handed over to one of the largest comprador bourgeois companies of the country, the Tatas, for setting up a steel plant. The land was captured by the government not through the mandatory process of taking the prior consent of the Gram Sabhas and the peasants as per the provisions for taking over Adivasi land under the Fifth Schedule, but by conducting fake Gram Sabhas, using the police and private goons to threaten the landowners, by slapping false charges and putting the leaders and active members of the anti-displacement movement in jail, false promises of jobs, and such other coercive means. The government used all the powers of the state machinery to acquire the land, but the Tatas could not take possession of the land or begin construction of the plant due to the stiff resistance of the masses. Finally after more than ten years of valiant struggle, the Tatas had to abandon the Lohandiguda project in 2016. It was a great victory for the fighting masses

of Bastar (refer to the back issues of MIB for reports on this struggle).

After chasing away the Tatas, the people concentrated their struggle for getting back the land from which they were fraudulently dispossessed, since even after the Tatas were ousted, the government refused to give back the land acquired for the project to its rightful owners. The people are using peaceful means of protest such as dharnas and rallies at the district headquarters Jagdalpur raising their legitimate demands for land and compensation for the loss incurred in the last twelve years. This year too they have continued the struggle by raising slogans like “We will take back the right over our land!”, etc. They have also declared that the movement will be intensified in the coming days if the BJP governments in the state and at the centre failed to fulfil their demands.

People oppose efforts to reopen korandam mines in Bijapur

Three blocks of high-grade korandam granite mines had been in operation by the Chhattisgarh Mineral Development Corporation (CMDC) near Kachnur village of Bhopalpatnam tehsil of Bijapur district, but had to be closed down in 1998 due to a strong people’s resistance led by the Maoist Party. Even though illegal mining by smugglers had continued intermittently and on a small scale since then, the threat to the people and the environment due to large-scale mining had been averted. Now after two decades, the CMDC has resumed preparations for reopening these mines and has also obtained the necessary permission from the government and the mandatory clearance from the Ministry of Environment and Forest, which are nothing but servants of the imperialist and comprador bureaucratic capital. This has put the lives of the Adivasi people and the fragile environment of West Bastar already endangered by the iron-ore mines of Bailadila into graver danger. The people of the area are once again bracing up to resist the opening of the korandam mines.

Chhattisgarh govt. withdraws the anti-Adivasi amendments to land revenue act

Raman Singh-led Brahmanical Hindu-fascist government of Chhattisgarh got an extremely reactionary and anti-Adivasi amendment to the existing land revenue act passed in the winter session of assembly on 21 December last year amidst widespread opposition. It is similar in its intent and purpose to the amendments proposed by the Modi government to the Land Acquisition Act of 2013, which had failed due to the countrywide mass resistance. Failing to alter the land acquisition act at the central level to benefit the big corporations, BJP has been attempting to make amendments to such laws at the state level wherever it is in power. As per this conspiracy, the BJP government of neighbouring Jharkhand had already made amendments to the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act 1908 and Santhal Pargana Tenancy Act 1949, which are being resolutely opposed by the Adivasi masses of the state.

The Raman Singh government in its turn introduced Chhattisgarh Land Revenue (Amendment) Bill 2017 in the assembly, which brought changes to Article 165 of the legislation originally enacted in 1959. This Article prohibits the buying or selling of Adivasi land coming under the Fifth Schedule for any purpose or under any pretext (which amounts to 65 percent of the state's territory), thereby providing a safeguard against the danger of alienation of tribal land through the legal route. But precisely for this reason, this provision has become a formidable hurdle before the foreign and domestic big capitalists who are eying the vast natural and mineral resources of the state for private profit at the expense of the masses. As the big corporate houses were finding it difficult to acquire the land of the Adivasis directly or through the government because of this provision, Raman Singh government introduced the amendment to the act and got it passed through the assembly on the basis of the majority it enjoys in the house.

This amendment provided that the government or its enterprises would be able to acquire Adivasi land for “developmental work” and “with mutual consent”, and that too through a ‘fast’ and ‘simple’ process. This was nothing but a fig leaf to make this utterly reactionary and anti-people provision palatable to the Adivasi masses and to hoodwink them to accept it without demur. This is one more glaring example of the fact that every government in the present parliamentary system – no matter which political party is in power – is in the last instance the representative of the big capitalists and the big landlords and serves their class interests.

Contrary to the calculations of the corporate-lackey BJP running the government, there was a strong opposition to the amendment from the people across the state, particularly in the Adivasi-inhabited areas. Assessing the non-compromising mood of the people and the upcoming assembly elections, the opposition parties had already started protesting against the Bill on the floor of the assembly, whereas the resistance of the people took the form of a movement on the streets led by various democratic and people's organisations. Many Adivasi ministers, MLAs and leaders from within the BJP had also voiced their displeasure at this step fearing the backlash from the people, who vented their ire through rallies, meetings, demonstrations, bandhs, burning of the effigy of ministers, and other forms of protest ever since the bill popularly termed as a “black law” was passed. DKSZC of the CPI(Maoist) voiced its opposition to the bill and extended wholehearted support to the people's movement against it, leading several protest programmes on its own. Finally, bowing to will of the people, the government decided to withdraw the amendment in a cabinet meeting held on 11 January, less than a month of its passage. This is a major victory for the oppressed people of Chhattisgarh, particularly its Adivasis, who have added another chapter to their glorious history of militant struggle against exploitation and oppression.

Anniversary of Bhumkal rebellion observed in Bastar

The 108th anniversary of Bhumkal rebellion that erupted in Bastar against the British colonial rulers in 1910 was observed all over Dandakaranya on 10 February. Various social organisations of the Adivasis held a rally at Jagdalpur – the headquarters of undivided Bastar district – to commemorate the martyrs of the uprising including its leader Gundadhur, Debridhur and others. A large number of Adivasis in their traditional attires carrying traditional weapons and beating drums and other musical instruments coming from faraway places assembled in the town. Speaker after speaker reminded the audience of the glorious history of the Adivasis in fighting against oppression and said that the present rulers too have failed to understand and address their aspirations much like the British rulers over a hundred years back. They complained that the government had failed to honour the memory of the Adivasi fighters for justice who made supreme sacrifice in the struggle for the cause of the people.

The meeting demanded that Gundadhur and other martyrs of Bhumkal be given the status of freedom fighters, a public holiday be declared on 10 February or the Bhukmal Day, the statue of Bastar ruler Praveer Chandra Bhanjdeo who was martyred fighting the Indian state be erected, the places of historic importance connected to the rebellion like the place where Gundadhur and others were hanged be preserved, a museum for preserving the memory of the uprising be built, and so on. A memorandum containing these demands was forwarded to the Governor. The revolutionary organisations including the CPI(Maoist) too organised meetings commemorating Bhumkal rebellion the same day in different parts of Dandakaranya with the participation of the people. Homage was paid to the martyrs of the historic people's movements like Bhumkal and the ongoing revolutionary movement in India and pledge was taken to fulfil their dreams by advancing the true inheritor of the Bhumkal rebellion – the Indian new democratic revolution.

Bandh called by CPI(Maoist) against displacement observed successfully

CPI(Maoist) called a daylong bandh of Odisha and Chhattisgarh on 25 June 2018 against forcible displacement of the people by the governments of the two states. This includes government's attempts to forcibly displace the people from Udanti, Sitanadi, Sonabeda, Simlipal, and Satkosia Wildlife Sanctuaries under the pretext of wildlife protection, Manibhadra and Lower Suktel big dam projects in Odisha, Bodhghat dam in Chhattisgarh, proposed mining projects in Niyamgiri, Gandhamardan, Khandwalmali, Kudrumali, Sijumali and tens of other hills inhabited by the Adivasi people, displacement due to plants by multinational companies like Posco in Jagatsinghpur district, and so on.

It is to be noted that the people have been resisting for the last several years attempts by the governments to displace them from their ancestral land for setting up these mines, dams, power plants, river-linking projects, highways, railways and other large infrastructural projects or in the name of wildlife sanctuaries, reserve forests, etc. In places where CPI(Maoist) is working, it is leading or actively supporting these people's resistance movements.

The people of the two states affected or threatened by displacement therefore responded to the bandh and it was implemented successfully. National Highway-130 connecting Chhattisgarh and Odisha was blocked at several places by felling trees to implement the bandh, due to which traffic remained suspended on this busy road for over 15 hours. Similarly, road and railway traffic, government establishments, markets, etc. remained closed in the areas of the two states where the Maoist movement has its presence.

Maharashtra government working as agents of Lloyds ignoring people's protests

Devendra Fadnavis-led BJP government of Maharashtra is colluding with the multinational Lloyds and Metals Company to excavate the Surjagarh Hills for iron-ore mining and to process it in a smelting factory to be constructed nearby, in spite of the fact that the predominantly Adivasi inhabitants of Gadchiroli have been opposing this project for years together. Apart from starting extraction of iron-ore by deploying a ring of paramilitary and police camps around Surjagarh and under the shadow of police guns for the benefit of the Lloyds, the government is now going all out to pave way for the iron-ore smelting factory at Konsari village in Chamorshi tehsil of the district, not far away from Surjagarh.

This will cause double destruction to the environment of the region severely affecting the lives of the people – first, due to the excavation of the hills, and second, due to the water and air pollution to be caused by the proposed smelting factory. Stooze of the Lloyds Chief Minister Fadnavis had laid the foundation stone of the factory in January 2017, during which the first hectare of land was acquired and the owner was paid compensation money. But since then, the land acquisition process has slowed down mainly due to the reluctance of the peasants in parting with their land. After a year of this ceremonial beginning, now the Maharashtra Industrial Development Corporation (MIDC) has intensified the process of acquiring the rest of the required 50.29 hectares of agricultural land from the peasants under pressure from the company.

Though the government and the company are dangling a number of enticements before the people like offer of jobs in the factory and large monetary compensation, etc., the people are not eager to take the bait. They are worried about the loss of a permanent source of livelihood that the land provides and also the environmental degradation that will be caused by the setting up of the factory. Given the shimmering opposition of the masses of

Gadchiroli against Surjagarh project, it is likely that the BJP government and the Lloyds Company will not find it easy to forcibly acquire the land and set up the factory in the coming days.

Peasant movement forces the government to submit in Maharashtra

Nearly fifty thousand poor peasants of Maharashtra brought out a 'Mahamorcha' ('Grand March') and walked for six days covering over 180 kilometres from Nasik to Mumbai in the month of March, compelling the Devendra Fadnavis-led BJP government to concede to their demands at the end of it. Many peasants walked this distance barefoot, the severity of which left their feet swollen and bleeding. Undertaking such serious hardship, they aimed to march up to the state assembly to highlight their condition and raise their demands. On their way they mobilised public opinion in favour of their struggle and won the support of the other working masses and the democratic sections of Maharashtra. At the end of it, on 12 March, they blockaded the Maharashtra assembly. The government was forced to give a written assurance that all their demands would be considered and fulfilled in a time-bound manner. The demands included implementation of the recommendations of the Swaminathan Commission and the farm-loan waiver schemes, compensation for crop loss, ensuring the rights of the Adivasi peasants over forest land, settlement of their claims on land under Forest Rights Act 2006, remunerative price for their products, updating of their ration cards, etc.

To discredit the agitation of the peasants, Maharashtra CM Fadnavis had earlier condescendingly remarked that 95% of the marchers were 'technically' not peasants but were only "poor Adivasis", as if Adivasis could not be peasants in terms of their livelihood! The revisionist leadership of Akhil Bharatiya Kisan Sabha affiliated to the CPI(M) leading the march ensured that the peasants confined themselves to a few reformist demands and did not adopt any militant form

of struggle to raise them. These leaders were satisfied with the vague assurances made by the BJP government and promptly declared the withdrawal of the agitation. It is unlikely that the BJP government – which is an arch enemy of the working people – would keep its promises to the peasants and fulfil their genuine demands in the coming days, making more militant and sustained struggles to address the dire problems of the peasants inevitable.

Voices of opposition to Telangana government's new draconian law

K Chandrashekhar Rao led Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) came to power riding on the separate statehood movement in which the masses participated wholeheartedly with the aspiration of a better future. But after using the popular movement as a lever to government power, TRS has left no stone unturned to maintain the status-quo, due to which the people's expectations have been cruelly betrayed. Behind pro-Telangana rhetoric, TRS has only intensified the anti-people policies of the previous governments of undivided Andhra Pradesh, which include the recent attempt to gag political opponents using the state machinery.

One of the latest such measures is the amendments brought by the TRS government to the Sections 506 and 507 of the Indian Penal Code on 25 January. According to the amended provisions, the police can now arrest any person which it thinks has used 'expletives' or 'abusive words' in public without filing any complaint or taking any order from the court. These provisions which made prior permission of the court for arrest on such crimes mandatory have been removed, giving the police and their political bosses a free hand to use the law against political opponent who dare to criticise the government or the ruling party.

The CM had been threatening his parliamentary opposition as well as the members of the state's democratic organisations with arrest if they did not desist from making allegations against his

government. By passing these amendments, he has taken one more step towards clamp-down on the democratic and civil rights of the people. Telangana Joint Action Committee and other people's organisations have strongly condemned this move and demanded that the TRS government shelve these amendments at the earliest.

Glorious people's struggle forces Vedanta to close down copper plant at Thoothukudi

The people of Kumareddipuram and adjoining villages abutting Thoothukudi (Tuticorin) town of Tamil Nadu had been protesting peacefully for the last three months against Sterlite Industry's copper smelter plant near their villages, a subsidiary of the multinational Vedanta Resources owned by British business tycoon Anil Aggarwal. The scale of the plant can be imagined from the fact that it is the largest copper plant in the country and the seventh-largest in the world.



A policeman in plainclothes shooting at the protestors



Protestors opposing the Sterlite copper plant at Tuticorin

The people, mostly fish-workers, were aggrieved that this giant plant has been causing environmental havoc, polluting the earth, air and water of the area and causing serious health hazards, putting their livelihood and the future generations at grievous risk. In fact, the people's struggle of Tuticorin against the copper smelter plant is over two decades old, as old as the plant itself when it was inaugurated by the then CM Jayalalitha in October 1994. But it was forcibly set up at that time ignoring the people's opinion, billed as one big step towards industrialisation of the state.

The agitating people under the banner of the Federation of Anti-Sterlite Movements have recently revived this movement to oppose the 3,500 crore rupee expansion plan of the company covering an area of about 400 acres and demanded a closure of the entire plant. Led by the people of Kumareddipuram, they have been conducting a continuous sitting-in protest for over three months, receiving the wide support of the people of the region and entire Tamil Nadu. But the central and state governments acting as the lackeys of the company (which holds 36% of the copper market-share in the country) had been criminally ignoring the genuine demands of the people and sidestepping all statutory provisions to protect the environment. Many coercive measures including the clamping

down of Section 144 around the plant was taken by the AIDMK government to thwart the intensifying movement.

On 22 May, armed policemen brutally attacked the agitators in a bid to violently break up the struggle when over ten thousand protestors including the aged, women and children marched to the District Collectorate on the occasion of the "100 Days" of the recent phase of their movement. The police intimidated, abused and taunted the peaceful protestors all along the march who were converging on the collectorate for a token protest, lathi-charged them and finally opened fire when the exasperated protestors responded by pelting stones. The police, using unjustifiable force in violation of all procedure, shot to kill and cause maximum damage, committing the worst act of police violence in the history of the state. At least 13 protestors including nine at the Collectorate were massacred and over 40 were seriously injured in this unprovoked firing.

In this way, the government at the behest of the multinational corporation used the force of arms against unarmed agitators in a blatant display of state terror. Justifying the killing, Tamil Nadu Chief Minister E K Palaniswami blamed the protestors for resorting to violence and said that the police were compelled to open fire in "unavoidable



People overturning an ambulance in front of the government hospital where the killed protestors were brought

circumstances” to uphold law and order and prevent the loss of life and property. No doubt, the police and the government directing it had been working to protect the property and interests of the imperialist Vedanta-Sterlite. Yet, the very next day the determined struggle and heroic sacrifice of the masses made the state government order the closure of the plant citing non-compliance of environmental norms – the very reason the people were trying to get across to for over three months to no avail. On 29 May, the government cancelled the allotment of land for the proposed expansion of the plant. It took the laying down the lives of 13 agitators and scores of injuries to compel the powers that be to concede to their demand. It is another glorious victory of the people’s movements of the country against anti-people and anti-environment big corporations along with the governments at their service.

Widespread condemnation of the lynching of Adivasi youth Madhu in Kerala

Adding one more sordid chapter to the incidents of macabre mob lynching throughout the country in the last few years, a 27-year old Adivasi youth Madhu belonging to the tribal hamlet of Kadukumanna was tied, mercilessly beaten and lynched by a mod at

Attapadi in Palakkad district of Kerala this February for ‘stealing’ a few handfuls of rice and coriander powder to placate his hunger. The extreme class hatred that the privileged hold for the poor, the hungry and the politically disenfranchised was in naked display through this incident. It highlighted the historic oppression and injustice that the Adivasis of Kerala have faced at the hands of the dominant sections of the non-Adivasis who have kept them crushed and downtrodden for centuries. It also depicted the racist nature of the discrimination that the Adivasis of Kerala and in other parts of the country are subjected to by the people of dominant classes and castes under the influence of Brahmanism and other ruling-class ideologies of hierarchy and superiority.

As has been pointed out by the Western Ghats Special Zonal Committee of CPI(Maoist) in a press statement protesting the killing of Madhu, “The incident has exposed the real retrograde face of the Kerala society which boasts of being a progressive society. We call upon all the sufferers to rally together to resist those who perpetrate racial onslaught by beating to death even those who are starving.” Pointing out the recent death of another Adivasi named Kandan of Nilambur at the Kozhikode Medical College Hospital due to denial of treatment, the statement issued by Party Spokesperson Jogi noted that “Mainstream political parties in the state,



Protest in Kerala against the lynching of Madhu

including the CPM, which nurtures a culture of political killings and tramples on human rights, have been trying to portray such atrocities against tribespeople as chance events. It is nothing but an attempt to whitewash the recurring attacks against the tribal community.”

The Adivasi masses inhabiting the Western Ghats have been facing an existential threat to their lives due to malnutrition, disease, lack of healthcare, etc. as a result of decades of government apathy. The systematic destruction of their forested homeland by encroachment of mines, plantations, tourism industry, etc. facilitated by successive governments to serve the interests of the ruling classes has made their

lives even more precarious. Pushed back to the margins of society and facing daily exploitation, oppression and humiliation – of which Madhu’s heinous lynching is but one example – the Adivasi people have no other way out but to fight back by all means. CPI(Maoist) is putting efforts to mobilise them in the revolutionary class struggle against their tormentors so that they can win a life with economic independence, political freedom and human dignity. The widespread protest evoked by the killing of Madhu and the condemnation of the social-fascist CPI(M) government from the progressive forces of Kerala must be garnered for the people’s war which alone can liberate the tribal people of the Western Ghats from harrowing incidents like the lynching of Madhu.

“Even a bird needs a nest. How can you force people to move without consultation and without proper settlement? You Deng Xiao-ping also had a nest and what you would do if your nest was destroyed? I welcome the fact that the masses threw stones and waved their hoes as protest.”

– Mao Tse-tung to CPC General Secretary Deng Xiao-ping while commenting on 15 November 1956 on a protest by peasants against attempts at forcible displacement by the government for constructing an airport in Henan

Overcrowding in jail reaches serious level in many states

Indian jails are overcrowded by more than 53,000 prisoners, most of whom belong to the poorer classes and socially oppressed communities who have been put behind bars for petty offenses. This well-known fact has been once again highlighted by a governmental body itself. A parliamentary committee related to the empowerment of women which undertook a survey of the jails recently have found that Chhattisgarh has the highest rate of overcrowding with 233 percent more prisoners than the estimated capacity, followed by Delhi with 226 percent, Meghalaya with 177 percent, UP with 166 percent and Madhya Pradesh with 139 percent. The committee has remarked in its report presented to the

Parliament in the last winter session that this percentage may exceed 300 percent in some districts of these states. According to government data for the year 2015, 4,19,623 prisoners are being lodged in 1,401 jails of the country whereas their total capacity is only for 3,66,781 prisoners. Due to the filling of the jails above their mandated capacity, prison inmates are suffering from serious problems of lack of living space, hygiene, healthcare and wholesome food, etc., the committee noted.

Citing the findings of the National Police Commission, the parliamentary committee has remarked that 66% of the imprisonments are 'unnecessary'. Most of the jail inmates are entitled to get released on bail or after paying a fine but failed to do so due to their poverty, absence of legal aid, etc. In its suggestions to the Union Home Ministry, the committee

OVERCROWDING IN JAILS



	Capacity of Jails	Actual Occupancy	Occupancy Rate
INDIA	347,859	411,992	118%
Chhattisgarh	6,070	15,840	261%
Kanker District Jail	65	278	428%
Dantewada District Jail	150	557	371%
Jagdalpur Central Jail	579	1,508	260%

2013 data compiled by Jagdalpur Legal Aid Group



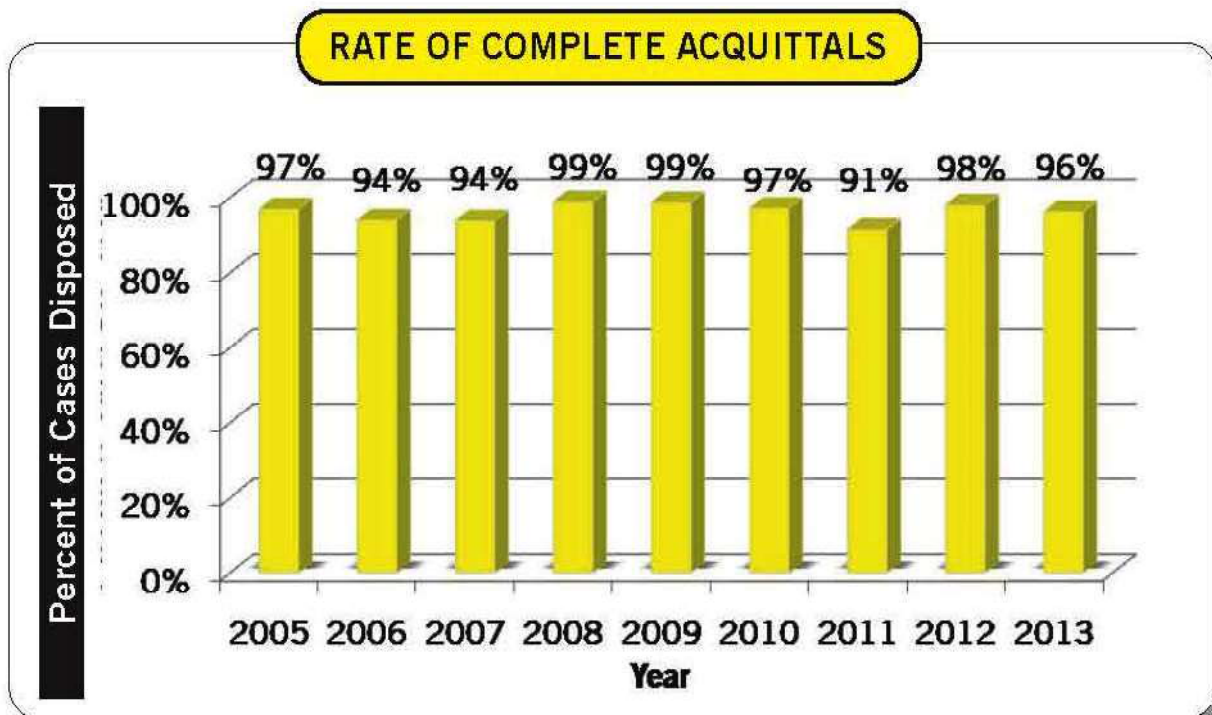
Of all the states in India, Chhattisgarh has had the highest rate of overcrowding in Jails for the past 6 years.

Source: NCRB

recommended alternative mechanisms to settle the cases of the prisoners lodged for petty offenses, regularising court hearings, avoiding unnecessary arrests and imprisonment, etc. Though the parliamentary committee has thrown some light on the true condition of the Indian jails in its report and made recommendations that may benefit the majority of the prisoners, it is unlikely that the Modi government – or for that matter, any government in the centre or the state – would take such measures with any seriousness. The ruling classes, who use the jails as an instrument of class rule over the country's exploited and oppressed masses, cannot be expected to take any step favouring the vast majority or bring about the urgently necessary jail reforms even if these are recommended by its own bodies. It will be compelled to do so only by powerful struggles of the people inside and outside the prisons.

Government data reveals widespread filing of fabricated cases by the police in DK

Information furnished by Chhattisgarh government in response to RTI queries from a lawyers' group in Bastar has revealed that about 96 percent of all criminal cases filed by the police in Dantewada district between 2005 and 2013 has resulted in acquittal by court, showing the extent of fake charges filed by the police. A large number of these fabricated cases are related to the Maoist movement. It is in common knowledge that the police file charges against political activists and villagers after every revolutionary action by the PLGA and other organisations of the CPI(Maoist), falsely implicating them under a number of criminal cases carrying severe punishment. As the government record has itself demonstrated, hardly any of these charges ever stand judicial scrutiny, ending up in the acquittal of the accused. This does not prevent the police from foisting multiple charges – particularly on



Dantewada Sessions Court data obtained through RTI by Jagdalpur Legal Aid Group

senior political prisoners – to prolong their incarceration as undertrials to the maximum extent possible. The activists and the Adivasi villagers thereby end up spending years in prison before their acquittal, while no action is taken against the police personnel who are guilty of framing false charges.

‘Pocket’ police witness speaks up against the fraudulence of police in Bastar

It is usual for the country’s police to regularly use fake witnesses to bolster their cases in courts against the people accused of fabricated charges, but the recent instance of a youth from Bastar who has been used as a ‘witness’ in over 300 cases has revealed the extent of the crooked methods which the police deploy. A youth named Somesh who works as a grocery shop owner in Jagdalpur town of Bastar district in Chhattisgarh has come out in the open complaining of a threat to his life, accusing the police of putting his life into jeopardy.

Somesh has started to supplement his shop business by working as a police informer about

four years back. The police started to use him as a witness and he gave fake testimonies in court from the side of the police in over 300 cases since then, including a large number of Maoist-related offenses. In fact, 25 year old Somesh used to visit the court premises of Jagdalpur almost on a daily basis and thus became a familiar figure known to the judges, advocates and the court officials. But of late he started receiving threats from the accused and their associates against whom he falsely testified in courts, forcing him to open his mouth against the police through the media. He complained that while the police used him as their ‘pocket’ witness for nearly four years, but has now left him to fend for himself by refusing to provide him security from his adversaries.

Responding to these complaints, though Bastar Police has denied that it has ever used fake witnesses like Somesh, this episode has once more revealed the true character of the Indian judicial system where the police is licensed to use any fraudulent means against the accused including forged witnesses, particularly in the regions where people’s movements against the government like the Maoist movement is active. It is common for

the police in Maoist movement areas to arrest a large number of political activists and the masses under fabricated charges and then using false witnesses and manufactured evidence to prove their guilt in court. Democratic and civil liberties organisations should raise their voice against such wrongful methods used by the police of the country to persecute political opponents and innocent persons.

New jail coming up in Bastar to incarcerate more revolutionaries and people

Jails in Bastar region are among the most heavily filled jails in the country, mostly due to the detention and imprisonment of a large number of Maoist political activists and Adivasi masses by the government with the aim of crushing the ongoing revolutionary movement. Detainees and prisoners are thrust into the six jails of Bastar region, some of which are overfilled by as much as three times. For instance, over 2,000 prisoners are behind bars in Jagdalpur Central Prison whereas its designated capacity is only of about 600. But even this inhuman method is now becoming inadequate, as the number of political prisoners

is daily increasing in Dandakaranya and other Maoist movement areas with the growing state repression as a part of the government's counter-revolutionary war on people. Now the government is planning to set up more jails in the region to lock in even larger number of prisoners in the coming days. As a part of this, a second jail is being planned at Bhanupratappur town of Kanker district in North Bastar in the form of a sub-jail in addition to the one already functioning in the district headquarters. Ten hectares of land has already been allotted and Police Housing Corporation of Chhattisgarh is given the task of carrying out the construction work.

The reactionary Raman Singh-led BJP government of Chhattisgarh, which has no qualms about reducing public spending in providing basic amenities like health and education and is cutting its budgetary allocations in public welfare, has no dearth of funds when it comes to suppressing the people's just struggles using the coercive organs of the state like its armed forces, courts and jails. But these fascist measures will prove to be dismal failures in weakening the indomitable fighting spirit of the masses who are no alien to all forms of state violence and terror including prolonged and rigorous jail terms.

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Mokran Pahadia of Koimunda village. Both were kept in illegal detention for 16 days and were not produced in any court within 24-hours of arrest as is mandatory as per the law. They were interrogated under illegal detention and were pressurised to admit complicity with the Maoists even though they had no connection with the CPI(Maoist).

Similarly, petty shopkeeper Yusuf Pathan of Kudupani village in Boyargaon panchayat was arrested on 5 March and produced in court on 8 March allegedly for helping the Maoists. Following this, a rural malaria worker in government employment Sukalsai Pahadia of Bhainsadani village was called to Boden Police Station in Nuapada district on 19 April and has been missing since then, presumably kept under illegal detention by the police. When

around 30 villagers approached the police asking the whereabouts of Sukalsai, the police denied having called him or keeping him in their custody. The police also threatened the villagers not raise the issue in public. With this kind of illegal acts, the police in Odisha and particularly in Nuapada are terrorising the people with the aim of weakening the mass base of the expanding Maoist movement in the state. But rather than weakening the fighting spirit of the masses, each of such acts are only unravelling the true character of the state machinery of the ruling classes before them, making them feel the need of the revolutionary class struggle even more strongly. This is emboldening them to face all forms of state repression valiantly and put up resistance to them.

44 out 126 'Naxal-affected' districts of the country declared 'Naxal-free'

In its recent report submitted in April this year, the Union Home Ministry has removed 44 districts out of the category of 126 'Naxal-affected' districts in the country citing reduction in Maoist activities in them. Presently 106 districts of 10 states are covered under this category. The number of 'Severely Naxal-affected' districts too has been brought down from 35 to 30, the five districts which have been reduced belonging to Bihar (Nawada and Muzaffarpur) and Jharkhand (Dumka, East Singhbhum and Ramgarh). This reduction has been claimed by the Modi government as a success of its eight-point 'Samadhan' plan adopted in May 2017 as a part of its 'National Policy and Work Plan' against Naxalism started in 2015. At the same time, contradicting its own claim of a reduction in the area of the Maoist movement, eight new districts including that of the tri-junction region of Kerala, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu have been added to the list of 'Naxal-affected' districts.

Central government approves plan for 4,072 mobile towers in Maoist movement areas

On 23 May, the union cabinet chaired by PM Narendra Modi approved a proposal to set up 4,072 new mobile towers with a cost of 7,330 crore rupees. It will be a part of the second phase of expansion of telephone connectivity in the Maoist movement areas of the country. These towers, which will be equipped with 4G technology enabling internet data unlike the first phase where 2G technology was used, will be set up in 96 'LWE-affected' districts spanning across 10 states. These include 21 towers in Jharkhand, 18 in Odisha, 14 in Telangana, 16 in Chhattisgarh, 8 in Andhra Pradesh and Bihar, 5 in West Bengal, 3 in UP, two in Maharashtra and 1 in MP. This plan has been billed by Modi government as a step towards 'empowering' the people of the revolutionary struggle areas of the country, but are in reality aimed at strengthening the telecommunication network for the government forces conducting counter-revolutionary activities including anti-guerrilla operations in the interior rural areas under 'Low Intensity Conflict' (LIC) policy.

False claims of wiping out the Maoist movement continue

At a joint press conference held on 4 January this year, top officials of the central and state governments including police officers posted in Chhattisgarh once again claimed that the Maoist movement in the is on the wane with 60 percent of the area under the movement has been already made 'Naxal-free'. These officers including Additional Chief Secretary of the Union Home Ministry BGR Subhramanyam, DGP AR Upadhyay and Special DG (Naxal Operations) DM Avasthi also claimed that the remaining 40 percent too will be wrested from the Maoists and the revolutionary movement will be completely wiped out by 2022. They informed that over 75,000 armed personnel have been already deployed in Bastar Range for anti-Maoist operations and five more battalions including the newly-formed Bastariya Battalion would be deployed by April. The state government has also sent a proposal to the central government to declare Kabirdham (previously Kavardha) as a 'Maoist affected district'. Presently, 16 of the 27 districts of Chhattisgarh are designated by the white government as 'Maoist affected' of which 8 are termed as 'severely affected'. But the very fact that additional forces are being sent to the state and new districts are designated 'Maoist affected' puts paid to the government claims. Had the Maoist movement really weakened as the government officials are projecting, then what was the need of reinforcing the already dense deployment in Bastar and other parts of the movement areas?

The officers also claimed that 68 Maoists were killed in 168 encounters, more than 1,010 have been arrested and 365 surrendered during 2017. But it is common knowledge that a considerable section of those killed as 'Maoists' are in fact unarmed villagers shot dead in fake encounters. Several Party and PLGA cadres too have been killed in a cold-blooded manner and not in so-called encounters. Similarly, most of the arrested persons are implicated in fabricated charges and put behind bars in an attempt to terrorise the masses and to advertise the 'success' of anti-Maoist operations. The

same is the case with the number of 'surrendered' Maoists, the great majority having being staged dramas scripted by the police. The officials were also forced to admit that this year the government armed forces sustained more casualties in 2017 than the previous two years, with 58 deaths and many more injured.

All these demonstrate that there is no basis in reality for these claims and these are nothing but white lies of the central and state governments. Such false claims can neither demoralise the fighting masses and their revolutionary organisations nor can they boost the sagging morale of the mercenary government forces waging an unjust and cruel war on people.

Union Home Minister four more counter-revolutionary battalions for Bastar

On 21 May this year, the union Home Minister Rajnath Singh took part in the passing out ceremony of the training of the 241th Battalion of the CRPF which has been christened as 'Bastariya Battalion' in its training facility in Kapigaon of Ambikapur district in Chhattisgarh. Among its total strength of 743 personnel, the Battalion incorporates 540 Adivasi youths of Bastar including 189 women and have been trained for a year in jungle warfare and counter-guerrilla warfare. This unit is set to be deployed in Sukma, Bijapur or Dantewada districts of Bastar where the Maoist movement has one of its strongest mass bases. He claimed that the Maoist movement was rapidly shrinking all over the country and that the Maoists were fighting "a lost battle". He declared that four additional battalions of paramilitary forces would be sent to Bastar in the next two to three months as a part of the government's plan to completely wipe out the movement from Chhattisgarh. Two days later, the central government announced that 4,072 mobile towers would be set up in the ten most 'Maoist-affected' states of the country at the expense of 7,320 crore rupees of tax-payers' money.

By strengthening the coercive apparatus of the state with these and similar measures, the Indian ruling classes are dreaming of uprooting the revolutionary movement by 2022 as a part of its reactionary Hindu-fascist project of 'New India'. But neither the deployment of Bastariya Battalion and additional forces nor the strengthening of communication facilities for intensifying the ongoing war on people can wipe out the revolutionary class struggle led by CPI(Maoist). It is based on a correct ideological and political line and is firmly rooted among the most oppressed masses of the country, which gives it the kind of resilience it has displayed in the last five decades of its existence. Lackeys of the ruling classes like Rajnath Singh have time and again pronounced the death of the movement in the past, but every time it has proved them wrong by making advances in the face of the most adverse circumstances. The present declarations like "lost battle" and the "end of Maoism" too would be proven wrong in the times to come.

Government's anti-Maoist forces plan to target PLGA's Guerrilla Battalion No.1

The central paramilitary force CRPF has decided to single out and target the Guerrilla Battalion No.1 of the PLGA stationed in South Bastar for its future armed attacks in a bid to blunt the main striking force of the revolutionary movement in Dandakaranya. In fact, the Battalion has become a big threat to these mercenary armed forces as it has carried out several daring attacks in recent times including the ambushes at Bhejji, Burkapal and Eladmadagu and Palod MPV blast this year, thereby keeping the enemy on the back foot. With its presence and armed actions, the Battalion has helped sustain the structures and activities of the revolutionary organisations including the people's governments (Janatana Sarkars), provided security to the revolutionary masses in their activities including cultivation and collective labour, and thus playing an important role in the ongoing class war. That is why, the CRPF and other armed wings of

the white government under the direction of the central government's Home Ministry is making plans to enter the areas where the Battalion is active with large number of forces to carry out continuous operations and inflict maximum damage. According to one paramilitary official, if the Battalion is reined in, 80 percent of the 'Maoist problem' in South Bastar would be brought under control! As per this plan of a massive operation prepared during the visit of Union Home Minister Rajnath Singh to the state on 21 May, nearly 50,000 paramilitary and police forces stationed in the seven districts of undivided Bastar and in Rajnandgaon with the backup of additional forces from AP-Telangana and Maharashtra bordering Chhattisgarh will be deployed to encircle and wipe out the Maoist Battalion in the coming months.

No matter what the government's plans and fond hopes are, like any other unit of the Maoist guerrilla army, Battalion No.1 too has its roots dug deep among the struggling masses of South Bastar. It is they who have given birth and reared it like their own child and saw to it that all attempts by the fascist enemy to crush it in the past were foiled. The PLGA and its units protect the interests of the broad masses and mix with them like fish in the water. No doubt that the battalion will once again defeat the enemy's cruel latest plans to eliminate it with the cooperation of the masses.

Counter-revolutionary AGNI making attempts to regroup

The state-sponsored counter-revolutionary gang AGNI (Action Group for National Integration) was propped up during the tenure of notorious Bastar IG SRP Kalluri by putting together a handful of reactionary tribal elders, traders, intellectuals, journalists, RSS-affiliated Hindu-fascist functionaries, etc. Acting as the henchmen of the ruling classes, they carried out foul propaganda against the revolutionary movement and other people's struggles and attacked democrats and social activists standing on the side of the masses under full protection and patronage of the state. But it had ignominiously shut shop after

Kalluri was shunted out of Bastar following allegations of atrocities committed in the villages of Bijapur by the government armed forces under his direction were confirmed by the government's own agencies like the CBI. After its appeals to reinstate Kalluri came to naught, it wound up its activities.

After one and a half year of lying low, now AGNI is once again trying to regroup. It conducted a meeting of its members in Jagdalpur (significantly, the venue was adjacent to the District Collectorate) on 10 February this year. Addressing the gathering, leaders like AGNI coordinator Anand Mohan Mishra reiterated their old agenda of fighting Maoism 'ideologically', countering the 'white-collar Naxals', supporting the Maoist movement and giving all kinds of support to the government in its counter-revolutionary war. Undoubtedly, the revival of AGNI under the guidance of high-ranking government officials is a part of the ongoing 'Samadhan' plan, integral to which is the use of white terror and a barrage of misinformation campaign targeting the fighting masses using vigilante gangs. With no social base other than the miniscule minority belonging to the ruling classes such as the landlords, bad gentry, reactionary tribal chiefs, etc., organisations like AGNI largely depend on the government for their existence, get propped up by it and are swept away by the rising tide of people's movements. This has happened to such organisations like Salwa Judum, Sendra, Shanti Sena, etc. in the past. The masses of Bastar will once again brace up to consign pests like AGNI to a similar fate through their glorious struggle.

Informer network to be expanded in Bastar villages

According to media reports, Chhattisgarh Police has decided to raise an 'army' of informers in the Maoist movement areas of the state with the aim of completely wiping out the movement, whereby it plans to induct ten village youths as police informers in each village of such areas. They would be provided monetary incentives and security for their work, while their identity and activities would

be kept under secrecy. The government armed forces would carry out anti-Maoist operations on the basis of the intelligence inputs provided by these informers. This new tactics is being planned primarily for the interior villages of Bastar, where the police say that its intelligence network has become weak over the years. According to government records, the Maoists have eliminated over 200 police informers in Bastar in the last five years, retarding its ability to gather information about the Maoist movement. Therefore, top police officers under the guidance of the government are working to build this new and extensive network of local informers.

But in the areas such as Bastar where the revolutionary movement has a long history, a strong presence and a politically roused mass of people, it is not possible for informers to conduct their counter-revolutionary activities surreptitiously against the people and their movement for long. Nor is it easy to entice the oppressed people to become part of the enemy's informer network with offers of money and material, etc. Therefore, though such informers are sometimes able to cause some temporary damage by passing on news about the Maoist activists, members of local revolutionary organisations and the guerrillas, they are identified and punished on most occasions. Acting as its eyes and ears, the people safeguard the revolutionary movement with their active vigilance and defeat the conspiracies of the class enemy. The present endeavour by Chhattisgarh government to raise an 'army' of informers too will certainly falter before the revolutionary vigilance of the masses.

Police attempt to attract Bastar Adivasis with 'Tadamunta Bastar Abhiyan'

The police in Bastar region of Chhattisgarh have launched a new counter-revolutionary campaign called 'Tadamunta Bastar Abhiyan' ('Bastar is Rising Campaign' in Koya), under which it is conducting meetings in the Adivasi villages to tell the people not to join the Maoist movement or to

cooperate with the Maoists in any way. As a part of this, the police in the second week of April held meetings in Rangaiguda, Ramaram, Godelguda and Toyapara villages of Sukma district by forcibly assembling the villagers. Addressing them, the police officials asked villagers to unite to prevent the masses from entering their villages and not to participate in sabotage activities like burning police vehicles and damaging roads. They also told the village youths to join school and concentrate on building their career by excelling in studies rather than joining the Maoist movement. Reiterating the usual rhetoric that Maoists are against development, the police asked the people to take advantage of the government's various development schemes. Finally, the police claimed that the assembled villagers gave their 'consent' when they were asked their opinion about wiping out the Maoist movement, though anyone can well imagine whether the villagers had any other choice than to comply given that they were menaced all the while by gun-totting policemen around them. Such Goebbelsian propaganda work by the police cannot hide the fact that the masses of Bastar have risen up against the ruling classes of the country and not against the Maoist movement. Well aware of their own interests, the vast majority of the people cannot be made to stand up against their own revolutionary amount by any amount of prompting or coercion by the state.

'Black Panthers' force to be raised against the Maoist movement in Chhattisgarh

Raman Singh government of Chhattisgarh has decided to raise a new special counter-guerrilla commando force called 'Black Panthers' on the lines of the Grey Hounds of AP-Telangana. This special force will be a special unit of the state police to carry out targeted operations against the Maoist guerrillas. Initially a battalion will be formed with selected police personnel from the regular police forces and given special commando training. Hailing the decision, Union Home Minister told a press conference on 21 May in

Raipur that it demonstrated BJP government's commitment to fully root out Naxalism from the state. This is another measure of the Brahmanical Hindu-fascist BJP in power to intensify the cruel war on people under 'Samadhan' plan.

A variety of armed forces belonging to central paramilitary and state police are already operating in Chhattisgarh and other states where Maoist movement is active. Many of these are commando forces like the CoBRA Battalions of the CRPF. Commando forces have already been formed to carry out operations against the people's guerrillas in many of these states like Grey Hounds (AP-Telangana), C-60 (Maharashtra), SOG (Odisha), Jharkhand Jaguars (Jharkhand), Hawk (Madhya Pradesh), Thunderbolt (Kerala), etc. These are specially trained to ruthlessly suppress all genuine people's movements including the Maoist movement of the country. Nevertheless, no matter how well-trained and equipped these forces may be, their basic character as counter-revolutionary and anti-people mercenaries serving the narrow interests of the ruling classes cannot be changed. The so-called 'Black Panthers' will only add up to the ranks of government forces already operating in the state for decades which have failed to crush the people's resistance in Bastar, and it too will find itself to be ineffective before the resolve of the fighting masses.

State-sponsored counter-revolutionary mobilisation against Soni Sodi

The Adivasi people got united in large numbers to protest against the fake encounter carried out by the government armed forces on 7 February this year at Hiroli-Dokapara village under Kirandul Police Station in Bijapur district. The police had claimed that they shot down a Maoist commander named Hunga in a shootout whereas the reality was that they shot dead a peasant of Vengur village Vetti Bhima in a cold-blooded manner and presented him as a Maoist (see the section 'Voices against War on People' for more

details). Many democratic organisations, social activists and opposition political leaders including AAP leader Soni Sodi called it an extra-judicial killing and came in support of the just struggle of the people demanding punishment for the killers of Bhima.

Infuriated by the protests of the people and their support by the social activists, the government and its police mobilised a few hundred residents of the Salwa Judum camps of Bijapur and Dantewada districts to demonstrate against Soni Sodi in Dantewada town on 13 February. These 'relief' camps – which are actually akin to concentration camps – were set up over a decade ago during the fascist Salwa Judum campaign to forcibly detain villagers suspected of taking part or supporting the Maoist movement. Most of the people have returned to their villages, and only a handful of families opposing the revolutionary movement are still residing in these camps. Prompted by the police and the administration, these so-called protestors raised slogans against Soni Sodi, accusing him of being a Maoist sympathiser and a traitor to the country. They submitted a memorandum to the Governor of Chhattisgarh demanding the arrest of Soni.

Soni Sodi has been facing the ire of the government and the counter-revolutionary gangs propped up by it like AGNI for many years due to her vocal opposition to fake encounters, violence on women and other forms of state terror perpetrated by the police and paramilitary forces on the Adivasi people of Bastar under the garb of anti-Maoist operations. She has faced death threats and even chemical attacks from these forces for standing by the people. This is the latest attempt to silence her voice through intimidation and veiled threats. It is worth noting that several social activists and democrats have been already forced to leave Bastar by these same forces using violence or threat of violence. The democratic and progressive forces need to come forward to condemn and oppose the targeting of Soni Sodi and other social activists by the government for siding with the struggling masses.

Maharashtra government's flaunts success in its 'Naxal Gaonbandi' scheme

The people's war in Gadchiroli district led by the Maoist revolutionaries began in the 1980s. Since then, the reactionary government is carrying out ruthless suppression campaigns on the movement and its mass base on the one hand and a number of fake reform programmes on the other to wean the masses away from the revolutionary agrarian programme. One such programme that was started in 2003 by the Maharashtra government is 'Naxal Gaonbandi' scheme. Terming the Maoists as 'anti-development', the government introduced this scheme purportedly for the development of those villages which declared their opposition to the Maoists. Apart from the ban of entry, the government claims that the villagers have vowed not to participate in Maoist organisations and their activities, not helping them in any form, not joining Maoist meetings, not allowing their sons and daughters to join the Maoist ranks, facilitating the development work of the government, etc.

As per this scheme, apart from starting the so-called 'development' work, every village is given a cash reward of three lakh rupees. Citing the figures of the villages which have applied for getting inducted into this scheme since its inception, the government has claimed that recently it has achieved better success in bringing villages into the scheme. As per government records, a total of 1036 villages of Gadchiroli have so far passed resolutions in village assemblies since 2003 declaring a ban on the entry of the Maoists into their village and sent proposals to the government expressing their willingness to join the 'Naxal Gaonbandi' scheme (the corresponding figures for Gondia and Chandrapur districts are 73 and 80 respectively). Of this, the government has approved 870 proposals, while 146 proposals including 140 received till August 2017 are under consideration (103 villages in 2011, 6 in 2012, 10 each in 2013 and 2014, 84 in 2015 and 82 in 2016 passed such resolutions). According to government claims,

an unprecedented 140 villages expressed willingness to join the scheme last year by August, which it cited as a sign of the declining support for the Maoist movement among the villagers of Gadchiroli.

The fact is that the government is trying to cover up its utter failure to provide the Adivasi masses of eastern Maharashtra with even the basic necessities of life like healthcare, education, safe drinking water and means of livelihood in over seven decades of so-called independence by branding the Maoists as 'anti-development'. It is known to all that the Maoists never oppose any government programme or scheme which genuinely benefit the masses, but only oppose those which are meant for their further exploitation and plunder, like mines and roads, etc. It is the reactionary government which is against the real development of the people and the country. Realising this, the people are participating in the revolutionary movement to defend their collective interests and are sustaining it with their immense efforts and sacrifices. Through this, they are opening the path for their real development. Thus, there is no real basis for the government's claims of the so-called success of 'Naxal Gaonbandi' scheme or other such counter-revolutionary policies. The resolutions against the Maoists are often passed in fraudulent ways through the ruling-class elements of the villages and using the threat of the government armed forces, with no actual consent of the majority of the villagers. Moreover, even the villages which have joined this scheme have not seen any of the purported 'development', exposing the false claims of the government. Just as the people of Gadchiroli have rejected the fake reform programmes in the past, 'Naxal Gaonbandi' scheme too will meet the same fate in the hands of the revolutionary masses.

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Comrades,

On the occasion of the bicentenary celebrations of the birth of Karl Marx, we have to propagate in our Party, PLGA and Revolutionary People's Organisations and among the people about his inspiring life, Marxism, development of Marxism into Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the conditions of new and historic class struggle as well as construction of Socialism, about the great victories of the proletariat and the oppressed people in the guidance of this theory and their importance, about the defeats-mistakes-lack of experience in this process and about the lessons learnt from all these; study the important writings of the great teachers; apply the fundamental principles of MLM and the path of international working class to the concrete conditions of our country and take up education campaign about the lessons learnt from practice. CPI(Maoist), the proletarian vanguard organization of Indian Revolution, proudly states that it shall firmly and daringly march forward successfully along the path shown by the revolutionary theoretician of the international proletariat and the builder of this revolutionary path Karl Marx, hold aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism and on the path of Protracted People's War for the success of the New Democratic Revolution as an integral part of the World Socialist Revolution with the ultimate aim of establishing Communism.

Long live Marxist theory!

Unite under the revolutionary banner of invincible Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

Workers of all countries, Unite!

Long live World Socialist Revolution!

Down with capitalism-imperialism!

Red Salutes to the millions of fallen comrades in the World Socialist Revolution!



COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Press Release

1 January 2018

Part of the aim to establish Hindu Raj - The 'Supreme' battle!

The New Year brought forth the battle of the Supreme Court. Those who consider our country democratic consider the legislative bodies, administration and the judiciary as three pillars and media as the fourth pillar which is known to everyone. The issues between the judges of the Supreme Court and the Chief Justice were placed before the people for their judgment. Justices Chalameswar, Madan Lokur, Ranjan Gogoi and Joseph Kurien revealed to the media about their grievances against the CJ Deepak Mishra. This is unprecedented in the history of the Supreme Court. Their appeal to protect democracy was a great jolt to the lovers of Constitution. In fact this is only a signal showing that the influence of the Hindutva forces develops to a dangerous level. This is the expression of the intensity of crisis in the system and nothing else.

Since the Hindutva forces came to power in the centre there are heavy changes that are shaking the country. The attitude of the present

Chief of Army BP Ravath who is being compared to the infamous murderous Brigadier Dayyar of the Jalianwala Bagh massacre during the British rule, saffron forces being released not guilty, the withdrawal of cases on people like Yogi, the retirement of the Central Election Commissioner AK Jyothi, the disqualification of the MLAs of Delhi Assembly, the appointment of Anandi ben as the Governor of Madhya Pradesh, the election of Ramnadh Kovind as the President of India, the election of Venkayyanaidu as the Vice-President and such things are not at all separate incidents. The imposition of ban on beef, the selection of Cow as the national animal, the reduction of subsidies to Haj pilgrims, the preparation to make an ordinance though the bill to make a law banning Triple Talaq and other such things are mutually related.

The transfer to the CBI Special Court and murder of Justice Brij Mohan Harikishan Loya in Nagpur who was conducting the trial of the

Sohrabuddin case in which the President of BJP and ex Home Minister of Gujarat Amit Shah is the chief accused, was denied by his family members to be a natural death but now they said they do not have any doubts about it. Dr. Praveen Thogadia elected as the President of VHP in its Conference in Bangalore disappeared suddenly and surfaced the next day crying out his life is under threat. Media revealed that the infamous goonda Nayum of Hyderabad killed in police firing was involved in the murder of Sohrabuddin. Those who know about the saffron terrorist politics certainly know that the Modi-Shah clique is related to all these. Those who know about Amit Shah, who held 12 Ministries including the Home Ministry during the 2002 massacre in Gujarat, his boss Modi and Maya Kodnani, know the secrets behind these things. Those who know about Adwaitha which says that everything is an illusion and about Sankaracharya do know their magic. Those who are in touch with the Vyapam scandal are not surprised with these deaths.

In fact the drastic changes and the developments in the country are not coincidental. They are going on as a part of a well-knit protracted plan. In order to understand these we have to first understand the original ideology of the mother organization of the BJP, the RSS. We need to know the Constitution written for it. We need to know about Manusmriti that they say to be the founder of the foremost law in the world. Madhav Sadasiva Golwalkar imbibed all these and wrote 'We are our Nationhood defined' in 1939. The present generations must have heard of it. This is equal to the Christian's bible and the Muslim's Kuran for the RSS. It was not reprinted after 1941. He mentioned five characteristics and unities regarding a nation. He said unity by virtue of geography, race, religion, culture and language. In the geographical unity he defined India to be 'a land from sea to sea'. It means starting from Afghanistan to Burma including Sri Lanka it is the Indian sub-continent. The ideology behind the Sagarmala-Bharathmala of Nitin Gadkari is nothing but this. Golwalkar is very much in the mind of Modi in inviting the leaders of various countries, especially the ASEAN leaders on many occasions since he came to power. Most of what Golwalkar said about religion has

come into practice. Eighty percent of the people of the country are said to be Hindus. Yogi and Thogadia say it must be made hundred percent. His inheritor Mohan Bhagavath gave a dangerous signal in a recent meeting in Raipur that 'all of us are the inheritors of adivasis'. Their mentor Golwalkar used Hindu and Aryan synonymous. In the changed conditions Bhagavath said they are the inheritors of adivasis and suggested that they are the inheritors of the Aryans. Coming to culture they do not give any opportunity to the celebrations of any religion in the country. The audiences of radio and television understand the growing influence of Hindi language. Hindi is imposed as the national language on the rest of the hundred languages. Golwalkar's teachings are implemented with the aim to change the country into 'Hindi-Hindu-Hindustan'. He worked as Sangh Chalak for 33 years from 1940 to 1973 during the time which he formulated a total ideology. This is the guide for the present rulers.

We have extensive information to know about the massacre that Amit Shah and Modi created in Gujarat. 'Gujarat files' the outcome of a risky sting operation reveals their murderous character. 'Scars of Minority' reveals the murder stories of Modi from Salma ben, Sajida ben, Ayesha ben and Ameena ben. They reveal the facts that Nanavathi Commission did not dare to. The Naroda Patiya, Sachir Kanta and Bilkis Bano's heart rending reports speak about the Brahmanic Manusmriti's morals. We cannot understand the necessities of this clique without knowing these.

The cancer surgeon Dr. Praveen Togadia who cried out that his life is under threat joined VHP in 1983 and Modi joined BJP in 1984. Both of them are close associates and shaakha mates in RSS. When Modi could not find place in BJP, Thogadia sheltered him in 1995-2001. He convinced Modi to become the CM on the request of Advani. However RSS wanted him out of the post of President in the recent Conference of VHP. He did not heed to it and became the President. Since he knew the danger from them who are well known for their murder game he came before the media. Saffron terrorism saw the blood of many intellectuals

who stood against their politics. Intellectuals like Dabolkar and Gowri Lankesh died in their hands since they wanted real secularism. Without doing such kind of things it is not possible for them to establish Hindu Raj and to make Bhagavadgeetha as the Constitution that Sushma Swaraj and Ananth Kumar Hegde have been openly stating.

In fact the three and a half years of Modi rule has been facing unprecedented problems in the country. FDI is flooding the country unprecedented in the ten years of the UPA rule. Modi feels great of this and is challenging the opposition parties. The peasantry of the country, especially the adivasi peasantry is absolutely against to giving their land and forests and is fighting courageously due to which the corporate classes are unable to invest. In such a situation Modi laid red carpet for foreign investments. But in spite of this, the business at ease and many other things cooled down Made in India. GST is brought forth that is destroying lakhs of small industries and benefiting the corporate classes. The growth rate of the country too is shown in a false manner. Modi went to Davos with a jumbo delegation. But dollars did not respond. Modi's promises are not fulfilled in spite of the demonetization, digitalization of money, the many finance bills and the major amendments of laws for the corporate classes. The peasantry is in the path of militant struggles leaving behind their protest with suicides. Workers, employees, students are coming onto the streets. Modi and company are indulging in heavy destruction to divert the people in the present severe crisis of the country. They bring issues like surgical strike, ram mandir or the Padmavathi movie and are getting ready for the 17th Lok Sabha. Their formula is that murder too is oxygen to succeed in elections. Hindutva forces like the Karani Sena are cashing on the sensitive feelings of the people and are violating the directions of the Supreme Court. This is nothing but the barbarity of the Hindutva.

Dear people, democrats and intellectuals!

There is an aggressive and intense offensive of the foreign capital on one hand and Hindutva on the other, on the people of the country. Foreign investments are invited in all

the sectors of the country. All the sectors are filled with Hindutva forces. This is fascism. Our country is suffocated in the utmost dangerous consequences. Consequently Justice Chalmeswar, Ranjith Gogoi, Madan Lokur, Joseph Kurien placed their wish to protect democracy before the people. In the Communist Manifesto that Marx and Engels wrote nearly 170 years ago they said thus – 'A part of the bourgeois theoreticians who understand the dynamics of the total history take the side of working class struggles'. 'The working class gives them the instruments necessary to make war with the bourgeois classes'.

This is the time to fight for the sake of our country, for maintaining people's democracy and to implement real secularism with more courage. Four judges are asking for the people's judgment in this path of struggle. This is not the problem of the four judges. This is the opposition to the fascist trends of the Hindutva forces. This is the expression of the crisis of the system. Let us stand in support to them and defeat the murderous, reactionary Hindutva politics. Alternate organs of political power are being established in some areas under the leadership of the Maoists. The Hindutva forces and the world capital are together implementing 'Samadhan' military strategy to eliminate them. Senior security adviser of internal affairs, K. Vijayakumar recently explained the people's courts as 'to prevent subversion to our own system'. There is no alternative to our country except for establishing Revolutionary People's Committees. Let us fight staunchly against the forces that dare to eliminate it and the strategies in a united manner. This is today's need. This paves way for the future. All their talk about republic is false. Their republic stands on gun running, bribery and killing. We must not allow this. Let us end it through people's struggles. Let us go hand in hand in the struggle.



(Abhay)

**Spokesperson
Central Committee
CPI(Maoist)**



COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Press Release

9 January 2018

Koregaon-Bhima is the symbol of Brahmanical arrogance and the self-respect of Dalits!

The Hindu fundamentalist forces wielding deadly weapons attacked thousands of Dalits, progressive and secular forces who had assembled to commemorate their historic victory day at Koregaon-Bhima of Maharashtra on 1 January and created a riot on the occasion which is observed as a symbol of Dalit self-respect. Our Party CPI(Maoist) strongly condemns this heinous attack. There is no other way to stop the serious threat of Hindutva which has emerged as a threat to the existence and dignity of the Dalits, Adivasis and religious minorities than fighting courageously against the Brahmanical religious fanatic forces and defeating them.

Shivaji's reign in Maharashtra lasted from 1674 to 1680. Thereafter the Maratha rule was run under the leadership of the Peshwas. While the Marathas could defeat the attacks of the Mughal rulers, they could not defeat the British Indian armies. The British made Pune the military and administrative centre of their rule after defeating the Marathas. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the Peshwas tried to capture Pune with their army of twenty-eight thousand. Then the British Indian army resisted for 12 hours and did not allow Pune to fall into their hands. Dalits were among the Indian soldiers who had joined the British Indian Army and resisted the Peshwas. By separating the British from themselves, the Dalits have been commemorating the defeat of the Peshwas at the hands of the Dalits as their victory day and a symbol of their dignity for the last many decades. The Brahmanical forces have not been able to tolerate the celebration of this victory day every year in this manner. From the arrogance of establishing their rule at the centre and in the state, under the leadership of the

Hindutva goons Sambhaji Bhide and Milind Ekbote they reached Koregaon-Bhima on 1 January 2018 and attacked the Dalits and their supporters with lethal weapons. Saffron goons blasted tens of cooker bombs and terrorised the masses. They terrorised the people of Koregaon. One Dalit youth lost his life in these attacks and many got injured. In spite of the leaders of Dalit organisations giving intimation to the government and the police about holding their programme long before, they not only did not make any proper security arrangements but instigated the violence of the Hindutva goons. The government and the police instigated the saffron goons with the intention of teaching a strict lesson to the Dalits so that they do not dare to commemorate such days of self-respect in the future. In fact, all this took place as per a pre-planned conspiracy. The gangs of Sambhaji Bhide and Milind Ekbote implemented the evil designs jointly prepared by the central and state governments, their intelligence departments and the forces of the Sangh Parivar. Our Party appeals to the Dalits, Adivasi and religious minorities, democratic and secular forces to expose the clever saffron tactics of Maharashtra Chief Minister Devendra Fadnavis.


Condemning the attack on the Dalits in Koregaon-Bhima, tens of Dalit, democratic, secular, progressive, rationalist and revolutionary organisations had called a Maharashtra bandh on 3 January. The rage of the people flared up against the Hindutva attacks not only in the state but throughout the country. The people took up militant activities against the government at many places. But the withdrawal of the bandh witnessing the militancy of the masses by one of the prominent callers of the bandh Comrade Prakash

Ambedkar and Republican Party of India led by him dejected the people. The saffron terrorists attacked using guns and bombs without making any distinction between men and women and broke their heads with sticks – to call off the bandh forgetting all this when the people protested against it, being sacred by the people’s militant actions and being satisfied by the treacherous Hindutva leaders is not a happy occasion for anyone.

Sambhaji Bhide and Milind Ekbote responsible for the attacks on the Dalits are still roaming free. How close are they the followers of ‘Pradhan Sevak’ of the people Modi can be understood by recalling the election rallies of 2014. Our Party strongly condemns the arrest of many persons by Maharashtra Police in Mumbai under fabricated charges including youth leader from Gujarat Jignesh Mevani and JNU student leader Umar Khalid who have stood in support of the Dalits by upholding their self-respect on this occasion.

Modi’s shouting about the upliftment of the Dalits and the upholding of Dr Ambedkar as the leader of the oppressed masses is nothing but a part of Hindutva conspiracy. We should declare in one voice that people like neo-Manu Modi who like the Bhagawat Gita emphasises on one’s ‘Karma’, justifies the Brahmanical

varna system, casteism and untouchability have no moral qualification to praise Ambedkar and the Dalits will not tolerate if he talks about them. Our Party appeals to all the oppressed peoples to unite and struggle in an organised manner against the heinous acts of the Hindutva forces whose rule is replete with the blood of many starting from Rohith Vemula to the Dalit youth killed at Bhima-Koregaon. This is the time for all the democratic, secular and progressive forces to stand with the people’s movements by exposing the opportunist Brahmanical politics. Modi’s promise of building a ‘New India’ by 2022 which is above religion and caste is nothing but hyperbole. Our Party is openly declaring that by no ‘New India’ will be built without fighting for a new democratic society and their exploitation where there will be no religion, caste and gender-based discrimination by rooting out the problems of the people.



(Abhay)

**Spokesperson
Central Committee
CPI(Maoist)**

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government. You must boycott the Republic Day celebrations of 2018 explaining the increasing intensity of the danger of the Hindutva forces on the oppressed masses in the country. Condemn severely the inviting of the representatives of foreign corporate classes to pave way for looting the resources of the country, not caring the survival of the indigenous people who have been preserving these resources for generations. Declare this constitution fake and make true the warning of Ambedkar that “...those who suffer from inequalities will blast the democratic political organization that this constituent assembly built with great labor”.

The anti-people fascist policies of the rulers of the country make them violate the constitution. The first citizen of the country President Ramnath Kovind and Vice-president Venkayya Naidu are talking highly of Modi. The anti-people fascist policies in the country are not allowing the people to abide by the laws. The peasants of India who committed suicides in the past are now taking up militant struggles. Students, teachers, government employees and workers are taking up struggles for the fulfillment of their demands. The soldiers of the Indian Army are announcing their difficulties to the world through internet and are exposing the nature of Modi’s rule. Suicides and fragging are on the rise in police forces. A policeman of Basaguda police station of Bijapur district recently killed four officers. All these reveal the intensifying revolutionary conditions in the country. In such a situation, let all of us fight bravely for a new society and a new constitution.

**Abhay
Spokesperson
Central Committee
CPI(Maoist)**



COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Press Release

9 January 2018

**The Triple Talaq Bill is a demonstration of the Hindu-fascist forces;
it undermines the sentiments of the Muslims!!**

The Indian ruling classes seeped in Brahmanical Hindu majoritarian ideology are treating the Muslims who constitute 15 percent of the population as second-class citizens since the transfer of power in 1947. Lakhs of people have lost their lives in the riots carried out by the Hindu religious fanatics in the last 70 years since 1947 like in the massacre of three thousand Sikhs in 1984, the pogrom of over two thousand Muslims in Gujarat in 2002, etc. Their property was destroyed and they were made homeless. Many women were raped and have faced forced to live a humiliating life. Muslims are in larger numbers among them. As a result, the Muslims are daily living a life under terror. No matter which party is in power – be it Congress or BJP – the attacks of the Hindu fanatics are on the rise. In this condition, attacks of different kinds on the Muslims after the fascist forces came to power in 2014 under the leadership of Modi notorious as a Hindu fascist. These fascist forces are aggressively advancing in order to establish their dominance in the country by attacking Muslims, Christians, Dalits, Adivasi, women, students etc. in the last three years with the aim of building a Hindu Rashtra in the name of cow protection, Ghar Wapsi, Love Jihad, nationalism, Manuvad, etc. Now the Talaq-al-Bidat bill has been introduced in a conspiratorial manner demonstrating the domination of these fascist forces and undermining the sentiments of the Muslims. Our Party CPI(Maoist) considers that facing and defeating all these attacks by giving support to all oppressed classes and sections including the Muslims is present

as a task before the oppressed classes, sections, nationalities, democratic and secular forces. Our Party appeals to them to come forward to fulfil this task.

Modi government introduced a bill in the winter session of the Parliament in 2017 where the Islamic custom of Muslim men divorcing his wife by pronouncing ‘talaq’ thrice has been considered a crime. It did not get passed in Rajya Sabha despite it was passed by Lok Sabha. There is no basic difference among the parliamentary parties about this bill apart from some minor differences of opinion. It is not a new thing for all the parliamentary political parties to scuffle in the parliamentary pigsty on this serious issue related to the life of Muslim men and women by confining it merely to the issue of maintenance. It is nothing but a part of the vote-bank politics to divert the masses, particularly the Muslim masses, from their basic problems.

Modi government – which claims that one out of every ten Muslim women is oppressed by the custom of Triple Talaq – is blatantly ignoring the basic problems of the Muslim masses. In fact, the unbearable conditions in which the country’s Muslims can be easily understood from the Sacchar Committee Report of 2006. Compared with the average literacy of the country, the literacy among their children is negligible. According to the census of 2011, one-fourth of the Muslim children between 6 to 14 years of age are not in a position to attend school. More than 17 percent children

could not even pass matriculation. Only 4.9 percent of Muslims are in jobs. These jobs too are of a low grade. Their presence in Indian services like IAS and IPS is not more than three percent. Muslims are 6 percent in the police forces. In this way, whatever may be the field, discrimination against them is continuing. Bringing the triple-talaq bill by ignoring all this, Hindutva forces want to display their hegemony. They are making preparations to bring an ordinance in the next budget session of the Lok Sabha.

There is no doubt that it is undemocratic for Muslim man to one-sidedly pronounce triple talaq to his wife. Talaq-al-Bidat has been already prohibited in many Muslim countries. Triple-talaq was banned in Pakistan way back in 1964. Muslim countries like Egypt, Sudan, Jordan, Syria, Iraq and Morocco too are opposing it by saying that the custom of triple-talaq has no place in the Quran. In the same way, Al-e-Hurriyat related to the Sunni faction of Islam too is opposing Talaq-al-Bidat. But the Muslim masses of our country are observing triple-talaq as per their religious beliefs.

But women of the Muslim community with democratic ideas have been struggling against triple-talaq for a long time in different ways. Various democratic and secular forces are supporting these movements. Our Party supports these movements. But the masses should try to resolve the issue of ending the practice of triple-talaq amongst themselves as per their aspirations. This problem cannot be resolved democratically by the Brahmanical Hindutva ruling classes. Muslim women will have to further widen their struggle with the support of the democratic and secular forces and try to bring the masses out of the clutches of social evils through it. Only by developing democratic ideas and culture will it be possible to raise the consciousness of the masses so that they can be brought out of the influence of patriarchal ideas that give a status of second-class citizens to women. Only in this way can the masses themselves independently solve the problems like triple-talaq that violates the democratic freedom and rights of women.

The country's ruling classes – the comprador bourgeois class and big landlord


class – remain as hurdles to the development of the country by maintaining the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system with the support of the masses and by mouthing secularism and socialism. They are using religion as an instrument to crush the people politically, economically, socially and culturally. No matter whatever may be the religion, all of them give women the status of second-class citizens by upholding patriarchal ideology. All the religions are historically at the service of the ruling classes and are anti-development. They remain as hurdles to the development of scientific thinking by encouraging idealist thinking. Muslim women are being oppressed – making this claim the Hindutva fascists are weeping crocodile's tears, but are not talking about the Hindu women reeling under the yoke of Manuvad. No matter what the religion is, women from their birth to death are treated as chattel to men. The ideology of male-domination in various religions is mainly responsible for the practices of child-marriage, female feticide, dowry killing, honour killing, cruel domestic violence, etc. No matter how many laws are made in the hollow parliamentary platforms on these issues, all of them are limited to hoodwinking the masses. The proposed legislation on triple-talaq too is nothing but an attempt to delude the Muslim women.

Uttarakhand's Saira Bano, Afreen Rahman of Rajasthan or Israt Jahan of West Bengal have come to the limelight due to petitions in the Supreme Court. But there are innumerable women like them. They will continue to be crushed under the burden of patriarchal ideology like Manu Dharma – whether it be Hinduism, Islam or Christianity – till the time they continue to give the status of second-class citizens to women. In spite of amendments to the Hindu marriage act to ensure inheritance of property to girl child, how many fathers are respecting this provision? Under what laws are child-marriage and the dowry system still continuing? According to the census of 2011, 55 lakh child-marriages were registered in India. Which woman is in a position to decide whether to abort her pregnancy or not in spite of the Supreme Court's judgment that the woman does not need to take the permission of her husband on this issue? In spite of Madhya

Pradesh government legislating to give capital punishment for culprits committing rape and murder of minor girls below 12 years, has there been a reduction in the number of such atrocities? The Supreme Court has ruled that it is a crime for a husband to establish physical relation with his wife who is below 15 years of age. But has the Hindutva organisation Rashtra Sevika Samiti (RSS) stopped propagating their patriarchal Manuvadi ideas by asking “what does it mean by marital rape?” The fate of the triple-talaq bill which has been brought by violating the personal laws enshrined in the constitution of our country too will not be any different from this. The ruling classes want to continue their rule by befooling the people with laws and courts. In fact, it is not possible to liberate the masses from the superstitions related to religion without making them conscious about it. Women getting freedom on issues like marriage and divorce, right over children, abortion or political rights like right over property, equal pay for equal work, equality before the law cannot even be imagined under the present exploitative system. The conspiracy of the Hindu-fascists to bring up the issue of triple-talaq without addressing all these issues and to sow division among the Muslim masses should be condemned and defeated. Upholding all the democratic rights of the Muslim women, a struggle should be waged for gender equality and liberation from exploitation.

Dear people, democrats and secular forces! The building of a Ram temple at Ayodhya, introducing Uniform Civil Code and abrogating Section-370 – all these are in the agenda of the Hindu-fascist forces from before. In fact, whether it is the Modi government

which represents the feudal-patriarchal Brahmanical Hindu-fascist ideology or the Hindutva forces, they have no moral right to talk about the rights of the Muslim women. This is because Hindu-fundamentalist forces themselves are the main source of patriarchal exploitation, oppression and discrimination that are continuing on women who constitutes half the population of the country. Whether it is the custom of triple-talaq that is undemocratic for Muslim women or the patriarchal exploitation, oppression and discrimination continuing on women related to different religions, it is not possible for the country’s exploitative ruling classes to end them. That is why, come, let’s make successful the New Democratic Revolution in the country to end the exploitation and oppression continuing on the oppressed sections including women by overthrowing the imperialist, comprador bureaucratic capitalist and feudal classes. Let’s advance on the path of protracted people’s war to destroy the country’s semi-colonial and semi-feudal system and to establish in its place a voluntary union of federal democratic republics representing the four classes – workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie – based on the worker-peasant alliance.



(Abhay)

**Spokesperson
Central Committee
CPI(Maoist)**



COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Press Release

10 January 2018

Raise voice against the namesake Constitution! Fight bravely for the formation of a new society and a new Constitution!

January 26th is said to be the Republic Day of India. For the rulers who celebrate transfer of power on August 15th, 1947 as Independence Day, this is a day of the Republic. The rulers are happy that the Indian Constitution is the biggest written Constitution in the world. But in fact half of the total 395 Articles in it were taken from the British Constitution and the rest from that of other countries. This duplicate Constitution gave many assurances including fundamental rights and directive principles. None of those that the Constitution assured the citizens of India are being implemented. They are on paper but the people never experienced them. The history of 67 years of the Republic of India proved this. All the people must raise their voice that they do not need a namesake constitution. It is time the lovers of the constitution realize the fakeness of it. Our Party said way back that it is not worth more than a toilet paper. Our Party appeals on the eve of the 68th Republic Day celebrations to bury such a constitution and to fight bravely for the formation of a new system and a new constitution.

For the last three years of the rule of Hindutva forces they have been unprecedentedly praising the constitution. We have been seeing the diehard saffron terrorist and the Prime Minister of the country Modi highly praising Ambedkar known as the architect of constitution on the eve of his birth and death anniversaries. Lovers of the constitution must remember that Ambedkar complained that he worked as an instrument in the formulation of the constitution and against his opinions. Moreover, he declared that if the constitution is being utilized in a wrong way he shall be the first person to consign it to flames. We remind you that in the present time you must dare to

do this. If not so, the saffron brigade might do it silently and declare Bhagavadgita as the constitution of the country.

Modi decided to celebrate Republic Day in a grander manner in 2018 than in the past three years. The reason behind this can be easily understood in the background of demystification of the illusions in the ordinary people in the constitution and their increasing questions on it. This time they are inviting the leaders of many countries for the Republic Day celebrations. The present rulers need to do so. Due to the increasing aggressiveness of the Hindutva forces in the country they are losing their prestige and so they are striving to show that they abide by the constitution. All lovers of the constitution must expose this in a united manner. Otherwise, as the great Marx warned, “the rule of the ruling class would turn stable and dangerous to the extent to which it embeds the intellectuals of the class being ruled”.

Our country is said to be a Sovereign, Democratic Republic and after many years the rulers are deceiving the people with words like Socialist and Secular. More than thirty to forty per cent of the voters in the so-called democratic country are not utilizing their right to vote. The people of Kashmir who were forcibly included in this country are still fighting for ‘Azad Kashmir’ (Freedom for Kashmir) and are boycotting elections. This is the kind of our Republic. The people of the Northeast are bravely facing the Indian Army for their right to self-determination and the right to secession and burnt the constitution many times in protest. It is a shame to say that our country has a Socialist Republic constitution.

Brahmanism interpreted secularism in our country in a quite intelligent way. It distorted

the meaning of secularism and is raising high the flag of Hindutva giving it the meaning of 'equality of all religions'. In our country with a secular constitution thirty people lost their lives in the violence instigated in the name of protection of cow. There were 70 incidents of mob lynching. The social media reports that 98 per cent of these happened under the rule of Modi and 70 per cent of the murdered were Muslims. Muhammad Akhlaq of Dadri, people's singer Muhammad Khan of Jaisalmer district, worker Afrad of Rajasamund district of Rajasthan and many such Muslims were killed. This is the barbarity in this secular country which claims to be a place of equality of all religions. Meanwhile, the violence of the Hindutva forces on the Dalits are increasingly becoming very barbaric, insulting and a shameful to the civilized society. Mahesh Thakur of Azadpur village of Nalanda district of Bihar was forced to lick the earth. Jayed Solanki, a Dalit of Gujarat was murdered for his big whiskers. In Kashmir the army personnel cut the hair of girls. Such incidents do not highlight a secular, equalitarian constitution but the Chaturvarna system and the pathetic situation of the castes. So it is time for the oppressed to think what can be done with this constitution except destroying it. The fundamental rights to expression, assembly and press freedom mentioned in the third part of the Indian Constitution are being violated each and every day. The directive principles that have been formulated with the aim of building a welfare state are like moral statements the implementation of which are left to the mercy of the rulers and the lovers of the constitution know the fakeness of them better than us. The recent fatwa of Hindu Makkal Kachi that the rights activist of Manipur Irom Sharmila shall not be allowed to stay in Kodaikanal for the 'crime' of marrying British citizen Desmond Koutinho reveals that the fundamental right of the citizens of the country to reside according to their wish depends on the discretion of the Hindutva forces. Such events show that the constitution should have been burnt long back as per the warning of Ambedkar, the author of the Constitution.

It is boasted that democracy in this country stands on three pillars. Former President of India Pranab Mukherjee has said that the first of these – the legislative bodies – have been turned hollow. Speaker of Lok Sabha Sumitra

Mahajan has said that the state of affairs in the Parliament needs a scale to control. These reveal the democratic consciousness of the formulators of the legislations. Our country is full of big feudal lords and a bourgeoisie that did not participate in democratic revolutions and so how shall the legislative bodies have such consciousness? The executive class that works for this class naturally tries to implement a fascist rule. The oppressed people lost confidence on the judiciary long back. The recent release of saffron terrorists from jail reveals that the court declares the criminals of the ruling party not guilty, however big the criminals belonging to that party may be. While the earlier government handed over sixteen cases like the Malegaon explosion of Maharashtra to the recent explosions in Modasa district of Gujarat to NIA claiming the these have been committed by high profile people, Sadhvi Pragya, Lieutenant Colonel Purohit, Dayanand Pandey and other such saffron terrorists and their bosses became not guilty in Modi's rule. This only reveals the attitude of the judiciary. The judiciary sentenced the Dalit youths involved in the Kopardi case to death, pronounced life imprisonment for the adivasis of Gadchiroli district and few intellectuals in false cases. But the punishments to the Hindutva forces that indulged in massacre in Naroda Patiya in Gujarat in 2002 and those involved in the killing of Bilkis Bano's three year old child and her family and committing mass rape on her reveals the partial nature of the judiciary. Bilkis Bano said she is living with a confidence on secularists in the country and this statement increases your responsibilities manifold. The murders of Dabholkar to Gauri Lankesh tell us the state of journalists, writers and democratic secular intellectuals if the media that is said to be the fourth estate of democracy does not take the side of the ruling class. Social activist Kancha Ilaiah of Telangana, journalist Vinod Varma of Chhattisgarh and other such 14 people were foisted with false cases and are behind bars. It is nothing but self-deception and deceiving others to say this country is a republic.

Democrats, secularists and lovers of the constitution!

You have been protesting in various forms against the aggressions of the Hindutva forces since they came to power at the centre. Well-known people are returning their awards to the

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL REGIONAL BUREAU

Press Release

29 January 2018

**Fight for the unconditional release of the
leader of Bheem Army Chandrasekhar Azad Ravan!
Let us get organized to fight for the liberation of Dalits!
Let us annihilate the caste system!**

The ruling classes and the governments have celebrated Republic Day across the country in a grand way. Modi conducted the celebrations in Delhi in the presence of kings, prime ministers and presidents of ten ASEAN countries namely Myanmar, Indonesia, Thailand, Singapore, Kampuchea, Laos, Malaysia, Vietnam, Philippines and Brunei. On the other hand, the same day Uttar Pradesh adjacent to Delhi witnessed communal riots in which Chandan Gupta died and Neshar was injured. They belonged to different religions. The same Hinduist Yogi extended the detainment of the leader of Bheem Army three days before the Republic Day for another six months. This heckles the SC, ST Atrocities (Prevention) Act and also reveals his Varna policy. Our Party demands the immediate release of Chandrasekhar Azad Ravan which is a part of the struggle against the Hindu fascist actions. It appeals to all the revolutionary, democratic and secular forces to come forth for the same.

It is known to all that last year there was a caste collision between the Rajputs and the Dalits in Saharanpur of UP during which Azad was attacked, injured and consequently arrested. He was foisted with NSA in 2017 November while he was behind bars. UP is known for communal riots and caste collisions. Since partition in 1947 to the present religious clashes in Khasganj, perhaps no day passed

without the spilling of blood of Dalit and Muslim people in this state. All the ruling class parties including 'Behenji's' party have their bit in these clashes but BJP became more aggressive under the rule of Yogi, the gang-leader of saffron terrorists as a part of the strategy of Mohan Bhagwat, Amit Shah and Narendra Modi. They took 'Goraksha' of the age old tradition as their weapon. The imposition of NSA on the Bheem Army's leader shows that crime becomes the state and punishes the victims under the rule of Modi who amended the Act in 2016 to let rigorous punishments for the Dalits. The rulers always deceive the people that it is the duty of the police system to protect the rule of law and that the law too does its bit. The rulers and the police in UP are little ahead of this. The judge of the Allahabad High Court commented, "In the entire country there is not another criminal force whose misdeeds can come anywhere near the list of crimes of that organized body called the Indian police force" within twenty years of 'Independence', revealing the state of affairs of the police in India's Republic rule. After the Hashimpur massacre another judge recommended the dissolution of PCA in UP which reveals the unlawful rule of the police. The Yogi government once more revealed its Manuvadi policy of considering the Dalits as a danger to the caste system in the country. Time demands that the Dalits, Adivasis and

minorities come together in a more united and militant manner.

It is a primary thing that justice is not above class under class rule. In addition to this Justice Chalameswaram and his team revealed that in Hindutva rule it is not above religion and upper castes. The case of Bilkis Bano is a glaring example. CBI strongly said that at least three of the accused be given death sentence but the Supreme Court did not heed and explained the murder of all her 17 family members including her three year old child and the termination of five month pregnancy due to barbaric rape of the 19 year old Bilkis Bano must be seen in the background of Gujarat massacre. This is Brahmanical judgment on a 'Muslim' woman and nothing else. On the other hand, when a Dalit youth committed atrocity on a Maratha girl in Ahmadnagar in the end of 2017, court pronounced death sentence to three persons. Is this not Manu policy? How can the Dalits of the country believe that there is no caste dimension in the justice being meted out to them! Justice Loya looking after the trial of Sohrabuddin case in which Amit Shah was the prime accused died suddenly revealing the role of the Hindutva forces behind it.

The Vyapam scandal is an example to say that Hindutva does not retain any evidences. The daily newspapers reveal the crimes of the three thousand members of the Parliament and the Assemblies who came to power in the rule of the Hindutva forces who repeatedly state that they came to power to establish Hindu raj. The recent 'sex scandal' of a saffron Minister in Chhattisgarh in which false cases were imposed on journalist Vinod Varma is known to all. The imposition of NSA on a Dalit leader by the bloodthirsty saffron terrorists is like a thief pointing someone to be a thief.

All the cruel Acts like the TADA, POTA, UAPA and MACOCA are only to harass and suppress the Dalit, Adivasi, Muslim and other oppressed people which are revealed from their reviews. Only one percent of the TADA cases that investigated more than 76 thousand

persons all over the country were found guilty. In the more than thousand cases of POTA 13 persons were found guilty. All those who were arrested under POTA in Gujarat were alleged to have attempted to murder the 'Hindu's favorite' Modi and the BJP leaders. It is beyond doubt that all of them are suffering from severe exploitation and the suppression of the religion.

The Hindutva attacks have turned violent in the past three and a half years. They are a part of the fundamental strategy as a part of establishing Hindu raj. This is why Chandrasekhar is behind bars. The student of JNU Nazeeb of Jammu-Kashmir is missing. Manu said atheists must be boycotted. His successors are now indulging in heinous conspiracies to eliminate atheists, democrats, revolutionaries and secular persons and all those who are against them. Starting from the rationalist Dabholkar to the atheist and journalist Gauri Lakesh and Shantanu Bhowmik the Hindu communalists eliminated many people and are now warning Arundhati Roy and Nandini Sundar to be in this list.

Ambedkar said 82 years back, "Hindus say they are patient people. I don't think it is correct. Hindus are not patient on many occasions. The occasions, if anywhere they are patient are only those that are unfavorable to them". He warned the future generations of the devious and cruel nature of Brahmanism. The Supreme Court too failed to control the indiscriminate violence and atrocity of the Karni Sena for the past few days in the Hindutva ruled states against the movie 'Padmavati'. Our Party makes it clear that in this situation all the struggles against the excesses of the Hindutva forces must be coordinated and taken forward in the path of annihilation of caste. The incident in Bhima Koregaon on the 1st of January, 2018 reveals that friends believing in the fake Indian Constitution are blindly opposing armed resistance and are coming in the way of teaching a lesson to the Brahmanic cruelty. Let us fight united and organized in the light of

the lessons for the liberation of the Dalits and the oppressed people without falling to understand the conspiracies of the 'caste system' that 'makes impossible a United Front for mutual cooperation even for a good work'.

The Hindutva offensive in the country reveals the conspiracies of the Hindutva forces that are in power in the country with the objective of transforming the Indian Constitution. Golwalkar the 'Veda guru' of Hindutva commented Indian Constitution as 'un-Bharat' and VHP said it is 'un-Hindu'. Modi, their successor, highlights Ambedkar and Constitution.

Dear people, democrats and secularists!

They are speedily getting ready to declare the country as a Hindu raj. The budget session of the Parliament is underway. The Prime Minister unprecedentedly started to praise the budget before it was introduced in the Lok Sabha. He will have to conduct many more meets to support Jaitley in the background of the hike in the prices of crude oil in addition to the crisis of demonetization and GST. The opposition parties in the Parliament are moving the dices in the arena of vote bank politics but none of them oppose the age old

Brahmanism. The actual reasons for the present evils lie in their prolonged rule. So we cannot fight Brahmanism without all the forces against the atrocities of the Hindutva forces and against the imperialist economic policies working among the people coming together in a united manner. Brahmanism is not at all the problem of the Dalits, Adivasis and religious minorities alone. This is the problem of its rule for the past centuries. The Varna system is the result of this. The caste system is the distorted form of it. All these are disturbing the system. Without curing this we cannot build this system on new foundations. We cannot formulate a new Constitution with people's participation. We cannot imagine people-friendly Acts. So Dalits, Adivasis and people of religious minorities that are the basic classes must unite with all the oppressed classes and sections in the revolutionary movement and take up struggle.



(Abhay)

**Spokesperson
Central Committee
CPI(Maoist)**

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and opponents of the ruling dispensation. And there is no bigger enemy or opponent of them than the country's 1.25 billion people, their fighting organisations and their movements whom they are trying to smear with a bundle of false and baseless allegations. Not Maoists or the revolutionary movement, but the existing semi-colonial and semi-feudal system is at the root of the rampant corruption and 'black' money in the country. Only by overthrowing this system through the alliance of the four oppressed classes in the New Democratic Revolution under the leadership of the proletariat and advancing to establish socialism and communism by defeating imperialism can this corrupt system and its 'black' money be done away with. It is to this goal that our Party, CPI(Maoist) and all its leaders and cadres are dedicated to. Our CC appeals to the people of the country to see through the ruling-class misinformation campaign against our glorious Party by differentiating the true from the false and distinguishing their real friends from their real enemies. Beware of the slanderous white-lies of the ruling classes and their henchmen like Arijit Pasayat! Reject all attempts by the enemy and their media to malign and slander our Party along with all other people's organisations on pretexts like "war against black money" and "terror funding"! Intensify the struggle by uniting as a mighty force to get rid of the existing 'black' economic system and all its parasitic hangers-on!

**Abhay
Spokesperson
Central Committee
CPI(Maoist)**



COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Press Release

12 March 2018

Break the imperialist chains! Bury Brahmanical Hindu fascism!

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) calls upon the people, particularly the youth and the democratic-progressive and patriotic forces to observe 23 March as the Anti-imperialist Day on the martyrdom day of Comrades Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev who laid down their invaluable lives in their youth by hanging on the gallows to liberate mother earth from the yoke of imperialist shackles and to fight relentlessly till the last breath for fulfilling their aspirations.

This is known to all that the day of 23 March has been written in blood in the history of India's revolutionary movement. Comrade Bhagat Singh and his comrades have been the ideals for the youth of the country yesterday, today and will remain so tomorrow. They were revolutionaries who struggled with unparalleled courage against alien rule and exploitation by raising the slogans of 'Down with Imperialism!', 'Long live revolution!' They never wanted that the exploitation of the blacks replace the exploitation of the whites. Comrade Bhagat Singh had said that they were ushering in the revolution to establish such an egalitarian society where there is no exploitation of man by man. To remember their sacrifices is to struggle for an exploitation-free social system.

Comrade Bhagat Singh was an atheist. He opposed the sowing of divisiveness among the masses in the name of religion or caste. Since he was a revolutionary equipped with socialist understanding, he took the message of struggle to the people with a scientific

approach. To struggle for realising their dreams is to bury Brahmanical Hindu fascism.

Our country today is the victim of imperialist exploitation in an unprecedented manner. The exploitative ruling classes at present are transforming the country's economy into a destructive economy by implementing pro-imperialist liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation policies and by auctioning away every sector of our country's economy. The other and current name of this is 'Make in India'. The country's condition is being made even worse than under colonialism by the BJP-led government at the centre by concluding many business and trade agreements with a number of imperialist and capitalist countries. Our country will not gain real independence without fighting against these exploitative and traitorous policies. Towards this, our Party appeals to the country's students and youths to jump into the armed struggle by advancing along the path shown by Bhagat Singh.

Today's young generation needs to be aware of the truth that Brahmanical Hindu fascism is ruling the country in collusion with imperialism. The rabidly Hindu-fundamentalist ruling clique in power at the centre is pushing the country towards a retrogressive direction and reaction. They are implementing the conspiracy to imbue all the social and cultural fields with Brahmanical ideas and to convert the entire people of the country into Hinduism. By working on rabidly fascist policies, they are attacking and killing journalists, rationalists, patriots, democratic-

progressive-leftist forces who are opposing their anti-people, traitorous and fundamentalist policy. They are branding the youths fighting for realising the aspirations of the people as 'terrorists'. The Hindutva fascist ruling clique which has already captured power in 21 states is impatient to raise the saffron flag in the entire country. The Hindu fundamentalist forces are destroying the statues of Comrade Lenin who led a heroic fight for the liberation of the human race and of Ramaswamy Periyar who opposed Brahmanism. Without defeating Hindu religious fanaticism and burying Brahmanism we cannot realise the dreams of Bhagat Singh.

Today the people of all sections are on the path of struggle. Crushed by endless problems the peasants are adopting the path of militant movements instead of committing suicide. The long march of peasants from Nasik to Mumbai is a part of this movement. Workers are advancing on the path of strikes against the pro-imperialist pro-capitalist and anti-worker policies. Students are struggling for the resolution of their genuine problems. Teachers, employees are forced to hit the streets. Dalits, Adivasis, religious minorities, women and all other oppressed sections are agitating against Brahmanical Hindutva fascist forces. Our Party calls upon the youth to fight with them shoulder to shoulder.

The revolutionary movement is continuing in our country today under the leadership of our Party. The exploited-oppressed masses are fighting by giving unprecedented sacrifices. The PLGA and the people led by our Party are extremely bravely

facing through guerrilla warfare lakhs of armed forces deployed in the areas of revolutionary struggle to wipe out our movement. 'The revolutionaries are the real patriots' – this saying is being written in the pages of the country's history for the last five decades. The revolutionary movement is advancing shoulder to shoulder in the countrywide struggle and people's resistance actions continuing against Brahmanical Hindutva. The Maoist movement is marching forward as an example in the country. The Hindutva-fascist ruling clique is carrying out the new counter-revolutionary strategic plan 'Samadhan'. In such a condition, our Party appeals to the youth of our country who constitute 65 percent of the country's population to stand on the side of the revolutionary movement and advance towards fulfilling the unfulfilled dreams of Bhagat Singh.

Organise meetings-programmes and rallies on 23 March against imperialism!

Mobilise the masses in militant actions against imperialist exploitation!



(Abhay)

**Spokesperson
Central Committee
CPI(Maoist)**



COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Press Release

4 May 2018

Red Salutes to Comrade Arvind, one of the Leaders of the Indian Revolution and Politburo Member of CPI(Maoist)!

Comrade Arvind (Sujit, Nishant), one of the leaders of the Indian revolution and member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of CPI(Maoist), breathed his last in the third week of March 2018 after prolonged illness. He was 65.

Comrade Arvind was born in a middle peasant family of Jehanabad district in Bihar. He completed his B.Sc. in Patna. He joined and actively participated in the student and youth movement that had erupted on the scene during his graduation days. In this course he was attracted to revolutionary politics. He joined with some other communists and formed Communist Krantikari Sangathan (CKS). They merged with the erstwhile CPI(M-L)(PU) and developed as one of its Central Committee (CC) members. After the merger of CPI(M-L)(PW) and CPI(M-L)(PU), he worked as a CC member of the united CPI(M-L)[PW]. Following the merger of CPI(M-L)[PW] and MCCI, he worked as a member of the CC and the Central Military Commission (CMC) of the unified CPI(Maoist). In the fourth meeting of the CC held in 2013, he was co-opted as a Politburo member. He worked in this capacity till he was martyred due to heart attack after suffering from Diabetes and Blood Pressure for a long time. The CC, CPI(Maoist), pays its humble red homage to Comrade Arvind and takes pledge to continue the fight to fulfil his aspirations till the last breath. Our CC shares the grief of his family and friends and conveys them its heartfelt condolences.

The life of Comrade Arvind from the time of coming to politics in 1973-74 till his martyrdom has been full of struggle. In every step, every turn and every moment he remained on the side of progressive and revolutionary change.

His four-decade long revolutionary life was inseparably connected to the revolutionary movement of Bihar and the Indian revolution and brought several experiences. His political life cannot be seen in isolation from the contemporary political situation, class struggle, mobilisation of lakhs of people in anti-feudal struggles, the strategy and tactics as formulated and applied in his area and field of work, state and Regional Bureau, his many struggles for the correct line and against the incorrect line, and the expansion of the revolutionary movement from smaller areas to vast rural and strategic areas.

From democratic politics to revolutionary politics: Many people's movements erupted in the first half of the 1970s against the autocratic rule of Indira Gandhi government – a representative of the exploitative ruling classes. Lakhs of students and youths participated in these struggles militantly. Comrade participated in these movements as an energetic activist. There was a great impact of the Naxalbari peasant movement throughout the country in those days. At that time, there was also quite a good impact of Comrade Jowhar who was martyred as the Secretary of the State Committee of CPI(ML) in the course of leading the historic Bhojpur armed agrarian struggle by upholding Comrade CM's line. People like Comrade Arvind came into revolutionary politics under the influence of these two factors by holding high the line of Comrade CM and keeping faith in it. He and some other comrades formed the Communist Krantikari Sangathan (CKS) during 1977-79 with an attitude of rectifying the errors that had cropped up in that line. This was the first step in Comrade's Arvind's political life.

As a leader of the armed agrarian revolutionary movement: Communist revolutionaries in their hundreds came out of jail throughout the country after the lifting of the Emergency. Some comrades under the leadership of Comrade Narayan Sanyal and others formed CPI(M-L)(Party Unity) in November 1978 with the single agenda of uniting all the genuine revolutionaries. One group of CKS under the leadership of Comrade Arvind established contact with Comrade Narayan Sanyal-led CPI(M-L)(PU). These two groups merged in 1980 to form CPI(M-L)(Unity Organisation). It became CPI(M-L)(PU) after the inclusion of some more revolutionaries from Punjab in January 1982. This was the second step in Comrade Arvind's revolutionary life.

After Comrade Arvind joined the revolutionary party through efforts for upholding the correct line, it helped to initiate and develop anti-feudal and armed agrarian revolutionary struggle in Jehanabad, Aurangabad and Patna districts of his own Magadh region. In the state of Bihar which was known as a fortress of feudalism, the movement against cruel feudal lords and their private armies like Bhumi Sena erupted as a mighty tide through the mobilisation of lakhs of peasants. Mazdoor Kisan Sangharsh Samiti (MKSS) and Comrade Arvind as its leader played the main role in this. He was a great agitator. He had a feel for the pulse of the masses and could rouse them through his speeches. He inspired thousands of peasants to join militant struggles. He led them in chasing the landlords out of the villages and punishing their private armies by carrying out armed attacks on them. In this way, he earned the trust of the peasants as a capable peasant leader. His role was also significant in successfully carrying out resistance actions against the feudal private armies and seizing arms from them by mobilising the Dalits in retaliation against the massacre of Dalits by Upper Caste feudal armies in Magadh region. This movement expanded to the adjacent areas and 6-7 districts like Palamu of Koel-Kaimur area. The base of the feudal forces was shaken with the expansion and development of the revolutionary movement. The authority of the landlords started to crumble. Intolerant of these movements and in order to crush them, the state government conducted large-scale attacks by setting up police camps. Bihar Police

fired upon the state conference of MKSS held in Arwal on 19 April 1986 bringing back memories of the Jalianawalabagh massacre. 23 peasants were martyred and 70 were injured in this massacre. Over 40,000 activists, leadership comrades and people were arrested across the state, tortured and incarcerated. Militant people's resistance movement was conducted against this repression.

From anti-feudal struggles to efforts towards establishing Guerrilla Zones with the aim of building Base Areas: The role of Comrade Arvind in developing the movement to the next higher level was very significant. The revolutionary forces which had emerged from the armed agrarian struggle were organised in Party Unity. Guerrilla Squads were formed out of MKSS and militia squads. He held discussions in the Party about developing the movement with the aim of establishing people's democratic power through the united front of four classes under the leadership of the Party by crushing feudal political power. In this way, he played a very important role in developing the line of the erstwhile PU Party.

Standing firm on the basic line of the Party in internal struggles: Comrade Arvind remained firm on the Party line during the internal struggles of the Party. Particularly in the first Conference of PU in 1987, the Party Secretary Ashok brought forward a proposal of taking a rightist line. He presented a document in which it was claimed that our country was no longer semi-feudal, that it transformed into a capitalist society and therefore it was appropriate to abandon the path of protracted people's war. The vast majority of the Party members under the leadership of Comrade Narayan Sanyal rejected this erroneous line and safeguarded the Party and its correct line. Comrade Arvind was one of those who stood in the forefront in this struggle under the leadership of Comrade Narayan Sanyal.

Struggle against the opportunist politics of the revisionist parties: Vinod Mishra became the leader of CPI(M-L) after the martyrdom of Comrade Jowhar. He took a revisionist line. Comrade Arvind had a significant role in the struggles carried out by the erstwhile PU against this group which was strong in Bihar at that time and such other revisionist groups of the M-L camp.

Preparing the basis for the unity of revolutionaries: It is not possible to achieve unity among revolutionaries without building strong movements in this way – by grasping this correct understanding, Comrade Arvind built strong movements in Magadh and consolidated the revolutionary line. In this way he brought valuable revolutionary experience to the Indian revolution in uniting revolutionaries. This brought a turning point in PU and formed the basis for the merger of PW and PU. In this way he played a main role in the merger of PW and PU – the two main Parties of CPI(M-L) stream that were formed under the influence of Naxalbari.

The armed clashes with MCC that continued for nearly three years after the merger of PW and PU in the unified PW have been identified as a black chapter in the history of the Indian revolution and it caused serious losses as well. Nevertheless, on the basis of correct ideology and practice, on the basis of deep self-criticism, without giving scope to any kind of opportunist compromises, by learning from one another alone can genuine revolutionaries achieve unity – Comrade Arvind was one of those who had conviction on this understanding and worked for unity untiringly. This paved the way for the merger of the two main streams of the Indian revolution – MCC and PW – and the formation of CPI(Maoist).

As one of the higher-level commanders of the Party: Comrade Arvind was one of the higher-level commanders given by the Indian revolution to the country's oppressed masses. He played the main role in developing guerrilla war in Bihar led by erstwhile PU, erstwhile unified PW and unified CPI(Maoist). He made efforts by concentrating on developing guerrilla war as the main form of struggle and guerrilla Squads, Platoons and Companies as the main form of organisation of people's guerrilla units. After the formation of CPI(Maoist), he performed his responsibilities as a member of the Central Military Commission (CMC) and Eastern Regional Command (ERC). His role in Bihar-Jharkhand in defeating the enemy's many aggressive attacks to wipe out the revolutionary movement, in intensifying the guerrilla war in the forested, hilly and plain areas and in adopting and implementing appropriate tactics to develop it to the level of mobile war was crucial. He

directly led many valiant guerrilla actions including ambushes, raids and encounters and correctly guided many actions, contributing greatly to their success. No matter what hurdles came in the way of conducting guerrilla actions, he used to overcome them with great perseverance and made these actions successful with his boundless initiative, determination, patience, courage, understanding and sense of selfless sacrifice. He courageously led and coordinated the PLGA in many encounters between the enemy forces and the PLGA forces. He led from the front in directly commanding our forces to preserve our subjective strength and to destroy the enemy forces. He made serious efforts to develop the guerrilla war to a higher level with the aim of transforming it into mobile war. Jehanabad Jailbreak and guerrilla actions like Bhandaria, Dhardharia and Amvatikar will remain testimony to this. He gave direct leadership to the first Company under ERB in the Koel-Kaimur area of Bihar Region. He brought several new experiences of guerrilla war through continuous effort. He set examples before the Party and the PLGA by developing methods of active self-defence during the conduct of camps. He not only gave direct leadership in formulating military plans but also in implementing them concretely. He became one of the prime targets of the enemy as he directly gave leadership to the Party and the PLGA by always remaining with the Company in the field. Hundreds of enemy forces followed the Company with the aim of eliminating him. In spite of this, he never worried about the enemy and never bowed to it. Under his leadership, the PLGA conducted many heroic counter-offensive attacks against the enemy's counter-guerrilla campaigns targeting him and wiped out a large number of enemy forces. Comrade Arvind in particular played a special role in developing guerrilla war before and after the formation of CPI(Maoist).

Bringing new experience by developing as an expert in explosives and mine warfare: Comrade Arvind had a special role in preparing explosives, improvising various types of mines and developing mine warfare at a time when limitations in supply became a very acute hurdle in developing the guerrilla war. He not only acquired a grip on explosives through deep study, but he directly and successfully participated in many dangerous experiments in their

preparation and use. He conducted many training camps for the PLGA related to this in ERB and one in CRB. He prepared notes on explosives and their use. Serious losses were caused to the enemy forces by successfully using the techniques of improvised explosives and science developed by Comrade Arvind.

As an in-charge of supplies for the guerrilla forces: Comrade Arvind also performed the responsibility as one of the in-charges of supplies of the CMC, CPI(Maoist). After the enemy targeted and destroyed the supply mechanism of our Party, he made serious efforts to provide supplies to the guerrilla forces particularly of Magadh region. He utilised all kinds of contacts for this. He took the help of even his friends and family members for this. He untiringly made efforts to rebuild the supply mechanism of our Party even after the enemy targeted and destroyed it repeatedly. He was a higher-level revolutionary fighter and leader who incessantly made efforts for victory without getting dismayed by defeat and by believing that defeat is temporary while final victory belongs to the people.

A determined fighter in enemy dungeons: Comrade Arvind twice went through incarceration by the enemy. He always stood up to enemy repression. He preserved Party secrets while in enemy custody even by bravely going through severe mental torture. After release, he immediately returned to the Party ranks under secrecy and resumed his responsibility of leading them.

The life of Comrade Arvind is an ideal for the Party and India's oppressed youth: In totality, the life history of Comrade Arvind is the history of a communist revolutionary who always continued struggle through relentless effort by keeping faith on the people, the Party and the world proletariat in spite of several ups and downs, tides and ebbs, twists and turns in the protracted people's war and who never allowed despair to overcome him even when several comrades got martyred in front of his eyes. His service to the development of the people's war

in India and in concretely implementing the Party line in particular was immense. In spite of facing serious ailment, he remained in underground life in the strategic area, gave direct leadership to the Party ranks till his last breath and passed away amidst them. He was a selfless fighter, commander and leader of the proletariat dedicated to the revolution. He was a leader who won the confidence of the Party rank and file by closely integrating with them. The firmness with which he gave leadership to the Party was equalled by his lively personality with which he kept the cadres and the masses in high spirit. He inspired all by sharing his vast revolutionary experience. He was untiring in his study of specific subjects. He led a plain communist life. The ideals he has established are worthy of emulation by the cadres of the entire Party from top to bottom, by the commanders and fighters of the PLGA, by the new generation of cadres and the masses of the oppressed people. Indian revolution has lost a great leader with his demise. But he will always be alive in the annals of the revolutionary movement of the Indian and the world proletariat and live in the hearts of the oppressed masses. Comrade Arvind will always keep inspiring them.

Let us develop the revolutionary movement in this difficult situation to the next higher level by upholding the ideals of Comrade Arvind who gave invaluable service to the revolutionary movement as one of the leaders of Indian revolution! Let us advance along the path shown by him! Let us take pledge to persist in struggle till the victory of the New Democratic Revolution and the establishment of socialism and communism.



(Abhay)

**Spokesperson
Central Committee
CPI(Maoist)**



COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

5 May 2018

**Condemn the massacres perpetrated by
the police, paramilitary and commando forces!**

**Make efforts till the last breath to realise the
aspirations of the Tadpal, Kassarur and Aipenta Martyrs!**

**Defend, consolidate and advance the
revolutionary democratic movement of India!**

Between 10 March to 27 April 2018, 58 revolutionaries laid down their lives in three massacres carried out by the police, paramilitary and commando forces in Dandakaranya. Ten comrades (seven women and three men) were massacred in Tadpal forests near Pujarikanker of Bijapur district, while 40 revolutionaries and villagers (22 women and 18 men) were mowed down on the banks of Indravati River in the Halbi Tumirigunda forest of the same district by C-60 commandos of Gadchiroli. Since this heinous crime was committed by the C-60 commandos, the incident was known by the Kassarur village on the Maharashtra side of the river. Soon after this incident, eight revolutionaries (six women and two men) were shot dead near Ilimed on Aipenta Hills of Bijapur district. A total of 35 female and 23 male comrades were massacred in these three massacres. Of the eleven comrades who were injured in the firing of the C-60 commandos at Kassarur, six were taken away by C-60 officer ASP Maheswar Reddy to Khandla Rajaram forest and shot dead. 24 comrades lost their lives due to drowning in the river during the Kassarur incident. Our CC is paying its humble red homage with bowed heads to all these martyrs. In addition to them, the police have killed tens of revolutionaries,

revolutionary masses and activists of revolutionary organisations in other areas of revolutionary struggle in the country (Bihar-Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Odisha and Chhattisgarh) in encounters that took place in the last four months. CPI(Maoist) pays its red homage to each of the comrades who have given up their lives for advancing the revolution and reiterates its pledge to fight till the end to fulfil their aspirations.

The NDA government is very aggressively carrying out brutal attacks in all the states where the Maoist movement is active. After conducting 'Operation Green Hunt' for eight years, it is now implementing the 'Samadhan' strategy. Hundreds of villagers and tens of revolutionaries have been killed. In spite of this, the revolutionary movement has not only continued but is in fact spreading to newer areas. Worried by this, the government is preparing special 'Missions' every year and intensifying its armed offensive using modern weapons. Using helicopters extensively in various roles, it is introducing aerial attacks as well. The attack carried out jointly by the Indian Air Force, central paramilitary forces and the commando forces of Telangana and Chhattisgarh in Pujarikanker on Chhattisgarh-Telangana border is a proof of this. It is stepping up attacks by using UAVs widely. It is

strengthening mobile network even in the forest regions. Moreover, it is making informers out of some unemployed lumpen elements of the villages, family members of those who have been punished by the people in the course of the movement, families of policemen and reactionary tribal elders by enticing them with the promise of money, jobs and protection. The government forces are carrying out attacks and massacres by mainly basing themselves on the intelligence provided by such informers. The central government held a meeting with the participation of the army and top police, civil and judicial officers of the Maoist struggle areas in May 2017 in Delhi and chalked out the strategy of 'Samadhan' with the aim of wiping out the revolutionary movement. It set the deadline of making India Maoist-free by 2022. But the state governments, particularly the BJP government of Chhattisgarh is in a hurry to uproot the Maoists by 2019 itself. Maharashtra's BJP government too is participating in this race. The central government is not only giving the necessary funds to various states for this but is also providing additional paramilitary forces demanded by them. Unable to provide employment opportunities in any other field, the state governments are recruiting unemployed youths into government armed forces, giving them commando training and are increasing the size of these forces.

As a result, the areas of the Maoist movement are being crushed under the iron heels of the police. People's lives are in disarray and the oppression of the khaki goons is becoming more and more intolerable. Commando attacks on the villages are taking place on a daily basis. Forests are reverberating with the sound of the guns of the special forces in the name of combing operations. The Adivasis who venture into the forests in search of the means of livelihood are being killed by them. Women are being subjected to atrocities. It has become a common thing to destroy even the meagre property of the villagers. On 5 February, an Oraon youth Ramkumar who went to play in the forest of Koyanvase village of Gadchiroli that falls under the mining area was brutally killed by the C-60 commands. Adivasi peasant Sonsai (35) was burnt alive

when he fell into the trap set up by the C-60 commandos as he went to hunt in the forest of Chinavedampalli village of the same district. Such incidents have become common occurrence in the lives of the Adivasis in the last one decade. Our Party appeals to the people to condemn and resist these attacks and defend the revolutionary movement by standing firmly on its side.

There is an integral link between the growing attacks, massacres and severe punishment of comrades incarcerated in the jails in the movement areas on the one hand and the economic crisis that is deepening throughout the world on the other. The exploitative ruling classes are in a hurry to loot the natural resources of the country on a large scale to come out of the economic crisis besetting the country and the world. Functionaries of central and all the state governments are competing with one another to frequent foreign countries within a short span of time to auction the country's resources. They are concluding tens of agreements with various capitalist, imperialist governments and multinational companies. They are busy in providing all the basic amenities to these foreign and domestic hawks in order to reap quick results as per the promises made to them. They are intensifying the attacks on the masses by using police and paramilitary forces to complete infrastructural projects. After Devendra Fadnavis became the Maharashtra Chief Minister, a security cordon has been laid around the forests and villages of Surjagarh Hills in Gadchiroli by deploying six camps of special paramilitary forces for the only purpose of facilitating mining activities. Iron-ore is being transported for the Lloyds Company in 400 vehicles once every week under heavy police protection. Almost all the mineral-rich areas of Bastar Range has been sold by the Raman Singh government in the last fifteen years to dozens of corporate houses including the Tatas, Jindal, Essar, etc. It has become a life-and-death problem for the people. They are putting up resistance against it by getting ready for tremendous sacrifice. It has become unavoidable for them to stop the government policies and police guns.

The exploitative ruling classes are wiping out the very signs of PESA and Gram Sabhas in the Adivasi areas. On the other hand, they are spreading illusions among the masses by repeating the sugar-coated mantra of “development”. Modi, Raman Singh, Devendra Fadnavis, Raghubar Das, Chandrababu Naidu, Pinarayi Vijayan, Naveen Patnaik and Chandrashekhar Rao are in the forefront of this. The rulers are least concerned about the burning problems of the country such as skyrocketing prices of the goods of daily need, growing unemployment, farmer’s suicide, starvation deaths, atrocities and corruption scandals, etc. They are not bothered about the welfare of the people but only about the development of the ruling classes and the wealthy families. The ruling classes are undermining all the laws that they themselves had promulgated and are violating the civil and democratic rights. They are harassing, arresting and putting behind bars for long periods the democrats, intellectuals, human rights activists and well-wishers of the Adivasis under fabricated charges who take the side of the struggling masses by branding them as ‘white-collar’/‘urban’ Maoists. The sentencing of Comrades G N Saibaba, Prashant Rahi, Hem Mishra, Pandu Narote, Mahesh Tirkey and Vijay Tirkey are an example of this. Recently, a few pro-establishment intellectuals of Maharashtra have labelled well-known advocate of Nagpur Surendra Gadling, a woman activist of Kabir Kala Manch Harshali and Dalit leader Sudhir Dhawale as the ‘conspirators’ behind Bheema-Koregaon. The police subsequently raided their residences and seized electronic devices from them. In this way, the police are gearing up to imprison them at any moment. Our Party strongly condemns these acts of state terror.

While the people are fighting these life-and-death problems on the one hand, the attacks of the Hindutva forces are intensifying in the country on the other. Hundreds of attacks have been perpetrated by these forces in the last four years, in which several Muslims, Dalits and Adivasis have lost their lives and many more have lost their property. People of all sections of the society are coming under Hindutva attack. In spite of this, the rulers have

refused to resolve the problems of the people as they are only interested in the people’s votes.

Dear people!

The spark of Naxalbari has become a prairie fire and has spread throughout the country. The exploitative ruling classes are unable to tolerate this. Particularly for the saffron terrorists in power, the country’s Maoist movement has become unbearable. It is implementing its strategy against the movement in a very aggressive way exceeding the previous governments. In spite of this, the growth of political awareness, people’s movements and democratic movements along with the revolutionary movement in the country have not allowed these oppressors to play their game of plunder as per their wishes. The people are fighting much more militantly than before. The People’s Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA) is standing with the people and is fighting with renewed determination and dedication. Our Party is mobilising the masses and carrying out struggles by exposing the anti-people policies of the exploitative ruling classes from time to time. The masses in the areas of the revolutionary movement in particular are fighting with the spirit of self-sacrifice and courage to build a new democratic system in the country by forming people’s governments in place of the exploitative government. Salwa Judum and Harmad Bahini were defeated. Thereafter the UPA government launched the war on people in 2009 with the strategy of Operation Green Hunt. But this too had to bite the dust and retreat after the Burkapal attack of 24 April 2017. The Union Home Minister had to acknowledge this defeat immediately even if in a muffled voice. The ruling classes have brought forward the ‘Samadhan’ strategy by talking big about a change of strategy. The people are acquiring many experiences in the course of defeating many enemy strategies through the people’s war in the last fifty years as a part of the Indian revolutionary movement. Our Party appeals to the people that they fight back the new ‘Samadhan’ strategy by using this experience. We will not be able to safeguard the achievements of the last five decades of people’s war if we fail to defeat the higher-level enemy attacks by displaying a higher level of consciousness.

Therefore, it is time to take forward the active self-defensive war with courage, determination and dexterity through tactical counter-offensive attacks by deeply studying the enemy and without giving scope for mistakes. Let us take lessons from the experiences of the immortal martyrs and continue the struggle for realising their ideals and aspirations.

Democrats, journalists, civil rights activists and students-youths,

You all had got mobilised on a war-footing and brought the facts to light against the massacre of 31 comrades by the Greyhound commandos of Andhra Pradesh Police at Ramguda of Odisha in October 2016. Massacres on an even bigger scale are being perpetrated today. Our Party CPI(Maoist) calls upon you to come forward to investigate these massacres immediately and to participate in the just struggle for the punishment of the

perpetrators. You too are facing fascist attacks. You too are being arrested, denied bail and put behind bars for long durations. You too are being attacked and a few among you are being killed. In spite of all this, our Party has full confidence on you and believes that you will firmly stand by the people and the people's movements with conviction and courage. Your role in exposing and defeating Salwa Judum, Sendra and Harmad Bahini that were unleashed with the aim of spreading white terror among the masses is appreciable. You have valiantly struggled to expose Operation Green Hunt that was launched subsequently and forced it to beat an ignominious retreat. Our Party congratulates you for your efforts in the wake of your growing responsibilities in the Indian revolutionary movement. Our Party hopes that you will be active with ever more determination to face 'Samadhan' and resist the atrocities of the Hindutva forces in a conscious manner.

« **Condemn the ongoing state repression on the revolutionary, national liberation and democratic movements!**

« **Expose the pro-imperialist and anti-people policies of the central and state governments!**

« **Bring to light the facts behind Tadpal, Kassarur and Aipenta massacres and demand punishment for the guilty!**

« **Organise memorial meetings and programmes in commemoration of Tadpal, Kassarur and Aipenta martyrs and hold high their sacrifice! Take pledge to fulfil their aspirations!**



(Abhay)

**Spokesperson
Central Committee
CPI(Maoist)**



COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Press Release

10 June 2018

Strongly condemn the arrest of five social activists by the Maharashtra Police!

Build up a countrywide movement for their release as a part of the struggle against Brahmanical Hindu-fascist forces led by Modi-Shah-Bhagwat clique!

On 6 June 2018, Maharashtra Police arrested five well-known social activists associated with various democratic organisations of the country on cases related to the Koregaon-Bhima incident of 1 January this year, subsequently implicating them in the framed-up charge of a ‘conspiracy’ to assassinate Prime Minister Narendra Modi based on a letter purportedly ‘recovered’ from a computer seized from one of the accused. The five arrested social activists include Rona Wilson of the Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners (CRPP), Prof. Shoma Sen of Nagpur University and a leader of India’s democratic women’s movement, Sudhir Dhawale of the Republican Panthers and editor of the magazine ‘Vidrohi’, and prominent lawyer Surinder Gadling of the Indian Association of People’s Lawyers (IAPL). The Central Committee of our Party CPI(Maoist) condemns these arrests in the strongest terms and considers it as a part of the continuing attack of the Brahmanical Hindu-fascist forces led by the Narendra Modi-Amit Shah-Mohan Bhagwat ruling clique on the country’s people, their inalienable fundamental rights and their democratic organisations. In addition, the arrests and the invention of a “Maoist conspiracy to assassinate Modi” by Maharashtra Police are also a part of the preparations for a new ruling-class offensive against the countrywide revolutionary movement led by our Party. Through these, the path is being cleared to gag and threaten all expected voices of opposition to it beforehand using frame-ups and lies. The

only explanation for the sa-id ‘letter’ Maharashtra Police claimed to have recovered can be that it was authored and planted by the police themselves as a part of the fascist conspiracy to target, frame and jail the arrested social activists and other democratic voices of the country in collusion with central and state intelligence agencies that are notorious for hatching such conspiracies and fabricating such ‘evidence’. We appeal to all the country’s democratic, progressive, secular and patriotic organisations and individuals as well as the masses to strongly protest against this persecution of the five social activists by the BJP governments and fight for their release. We call upon them to strengthen the country’s ongoing broad democratic movement against the most regressive, decadent, anti-people and treacherous Brahmanical Hindu-fascist forces led by RSS.

Only a few days prior to these arrest, Maharashtra Police had raided the residences of the five social activists in the pretext of collecting evidence in connection with the fabricated charges related to the Koregaon-Bhima incident. This was a blatant act of fascist intimidation and was condemned by various democratic organisations. But the raids proved to be a mere prelude to their further persecution. Raids and seizure of electronic devices followed by arrests based on planted ‘evidence’ has become a familiar *modus-operandi* of the police today to target democrats and democratic organisations opposing the Hindu-fascist forces in

government and outside. Clearly perceiving the arrests to be another planned attack of the fascist forces on the people's democratic rights, a wide section of parties, organisations and individuals including opposition parliamentary parties have come out strongly condemning their arrest and exposing the police claims in the last four days.

Realising that the charges brought by the police related to the Koregaon-Bhima held no water and the conspiracy of the Sangh brigade to falsely implicate the social activists was getting unmasked, the police concocted one more cock-and-bull story. This time they 'discovered' a Maoist 'plot' involving the arrested social activists to assassinate PM Modi in a manner similar to former PM Rajiv Gandhi! The only 'evidence' the police could muster to back up their claim was a 'letter' purportedly recovered from the laptop of one of the accused. Undoubtedly, this so-called 'letter' and the fantastic tale it supposedly contains is nothing but a brainchild of Maharashtra Police and intelligence agencies at the behest of their Sanghi political bosses. Top BJP leaders like Rajnath Singh, Arun Jaitley and Devendra Fadnavis lost no time to jump into the fray and brought more grist to the Goebbelsian Hindutva-fascist propaganda mill by repeating these ridiculous police allegations, and claiming that even Maharashtra CM was receiving 'death threats' from the Maoists. Adding their own embellishments, the official and pro-establishment media have gone all out to propagate the bundle of lies mouthed by these Indian progenies of Goebbels, conducting a media-trial of the social activists and pronouncing them guilty even before allowing the farce of an official trial to begin.

This brings to mind the memory of Germany under Hitler when the Nazis burnt down the Reichstag themselves and putting the blame on the German communists, democrats and patriots to witch-hunt them. Leaders like Narendra Modi and Amit Shah are past masters of such fascist methods of eliminating any opposition to their rule and gaining public sympathy. They have perfected their own 'Gujarat model' of repression along Nazi lines of propping up tales of alleged 'threats' to their

lives, followed by fake encounter and arrest of innocents by policemen close to them. The killing of Israt Jahan, Sohrabuddin Sheikh and several others by Gujarat Police when Modi and Shah were at the helm of the state amply testify to this fact, with the difference that this time the threat from 'Islamic terrorism' has been replaced by 'Maoist extremism'. As the desperate trumpeting of the non-existent 'achievements' of four years of Modi government is proving ineffective in drowning the growing tide of people's angry protests throughout the country, the Sangh Parivar has once again resorted to the old trick of garnering sympathy for Modi & co. by posing a 'threat to life' with an eye to next years' parliamentary elections.

Another important objective of the arrests is to divert public attention from the Sanghi perpetrators of the Koregaon-Bhima violence early this year. The BJP governments at the centre and in Maharashtra have been shielding them in spite of repeated demands by the Dalits for action against them. As is well known, RSS-related Hindutva-fascist organisations hatched a conspiracy to violently break up the commemoration of the bicentenary of the Battle of Koregaon (the last battle of the Anglo-Maratha war) by the Dalits of Maharashtra scheduled for 1 January 2018. The mobilisation of Dalits in large numbers for this programme has been perceived as a threat by the Brahmanical Hindu-fascist forces. So the saffron storm-troopers first broke up the memorial of a Dalit historical figure Ganpat Gaikwad at Vadhu Budruk on 30 December 2017, four kilometres away from Koregaon-Bhima. Then on 1 January 2018, they systematically attacked thousands of Dalits coming to attend the programme in Koregaon-Bhima at various places using firearms, bombs and swords, etc., killing one and injuring many in an attempt to break up the congregation. Hindutva leaders like Sambhaji Bhide (founder of Shiva Pratisthan) and Milind Ekbote (chief of Hindu Ekta Aghadi) and their fascist organisations were at the forefront in organising these attacks with the support of the Sangh Parivar and the government administration. The entire state-machinery colluded with these Hindu communal forces

in perpetrating the violence and then shielding them from punishment for their crimes.

Dalits and the democratic organisations of the country, and particularly of Maharashtra, had come out militantly onto the streets in large numbers to protest against this attack orchestrated by the Hindutva organisations in collusion with the Devendra Fadnavis-led BJP government. A successful Maharashtra Bandh was observed on 4 January at the call of the Dalit organisations. They demanded immediate action by the government against the perpetrators including the arrest of the Hindutva ringleaders Sambhaji Bhide and Milind Ekbote. Under pressure from the protests calling for immediate action against the culprits, the police were forced to register FIRs against them, but took no further action. It was reported that the Prime Minister's Office sent instructions refraining the police from arresting Sambhaji Bhide – an old-time 'guru' of Narendra Modi. As a shrewd tactic to divert attention from the Sanghi culprits, Maharashtra government and Hindutva organisations started to talk in unison about the "involvement of urban Naxalites" in organising the Koregoan-Bhima programme and the subsequent violence. Such frivolous 'evidence' as the presence of some of the arrested social activists in a large public gathering called against the Brahmanical caste system by Dalit organisations at Pune's Shaniwar Wada – the seat of the Peshwa rulers – on the eve of the Koregaon-Bhima programme has been used by the police to implicate them in the 'conspiracy'. But this claim had no ground to stand on. So the state-machinery and Sangh Parivar nexus invented the even more bizarre 'plot' of Modi's assassination and foisted the additional charge of this 'conspiracy' too on the arrested activists!

The five arrested social activists have been active in public life as a part of democratic movements for several years. As the Public Relations Secretary of CRPP, Rona Wilson of New Delhi has been working for the rights of the political prisoners persecuted by the Indian state. Prof. Shoma Sen of Nagpur University has been active in the country's women's movement for many decades and is a vocal

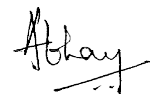
opponent against Indian state's violence against women. Sudhir Dhawale of Mumbai is a well-known political activist running the magazine 'Vidrohi' and associated with progressive Dalit organisation called Republican Panthers. He had spent several years in prison on charges of Maoism before being acquitted by the court as the police failed to substantiate their trumped-up charges. Surinder Gadling, a senior advocate practicing in the Nagpur bench of Bombay High Court is a leader of IAPL and has been providing legal defence of political prisoners persecuted by the Indian state, mostly the Adivasi prisoners of eastern Maharashtra incarcerated under spurious Maoist-related charges.

All five have been championing the cause of the oppressed and downtrodden classes and social sections against the neo-liberal imperialist policies implemented by the governments of various parliamentary parties at the centre and the states. They have been vocal opponents of the exploitation of natural resources by big corporations in collusion with the state-machinery in the name of 'development', leading to large-scale loss of livelihood, displacement and environmental destruction. They have been raising their voice in support of the people's just struggles for *jal-jangal-zameen-izzat-adhikar*. The relentless work of social activists like them and the resistance put up by the people's movements they are associated with have become the biggest hurdles in the way of the government and big corporations to unrestrained exploitation and loot. Therefore, casting aside such 'troublesome' activists and movements by means fair and foul has become an urgent requirement for the governments who are loyal servants of the big capitalist-big landlord classes and their imperialist masters. This is another important factor behind the arrest of the five social activists by the police of Maharashtra government which is openly working as the running dogs of big mining companies like the Tatas, Lloyds, Mittals, Jindals, etc. with high stakes in the mineral-rich Adivasi areas of Gadchiroli and other parts of the state.

State repression of this kind is nothing new to the people of the country. However, after the Hindu-fascist BJP – the most loyal

servants of imperialism and the Indian ruling classes – came to power at the centre, brutal and violent forms of repression are being used more extensively and on an ever larger section of the people to suppress all forms of democratic dissent. This is complimented by large-scale Goebbelsian propaganda and misinformation campaign to delude the masses and cover-up their treacherous, anti-people and fascist acts. The country's revolutionary and democratic movements, the parliamentary opposition, non-parliamentary democratic organisations, oppressed social sections like workers, peasants and the middle classes including lawyers, professors and teachers, students and youth, women, Dalits, Adivasis, religious minorities, oppressed nationalities, etc., are being attacked most ruthlessly by the Saffron pseudo-nationalists in the name of nationalism and patriotism. It is these traitors who are branding the individuals and organisations committed to democratic, progressive and secular values as 'anti-nationals' and 'traitors'. It is as a part of this all-round fascist attack that the Hindutva terrorists have assassinated progressive intellectuals like Govind Pansare, M M Kalburgi and Gauri Lankesh, social activists like Prof. G N Saibaba and others have been pronounced life sentence on fabricated charges, mass leaders like Chandrashekhra Azad Ravan, Jignesh Mevani and Hardik Patel, etc. have been maligned, slapped false charges including sedition on two of them and jailed, Muslims have been lynched and assaulted by RSS goons in collusion with the police-administration, writers and artists have been issued death threats, unarmed protestors are being shot dead in indiscriminate police firings, cultural and moral policing is being imposed, all organs of the state are being increasingly fascisised and saffronised, and so on. In fact, the list of such sordid 'achievements' of Modi-Shah-Bhagwat gang in the last four years of rule is a long one and is daily expanding. The shadow of Hindu-fascism is darkening over the country and its people.

In this dire situation, it is the need of the hour to fight back each and every manifestation of fascist Hindutva terror in the country as a part of our collective fight for democracy, progress and secularism. This is the sacred duty and responsibility of each and every genuine nationalist and patriot to resist and smash the fascist pseudo-nationalists and pseudo-patriots ganging up against the people and the country to serve the interests of a handful of foreign and domestic exploiters. It is the need of the hour to expose and oppose the heinous conspiracy hatched by the Modi-Fadnavis governments and the RSS to frame the five arrested social activists by using their running dogs in the Maharashtra Police. Therefore, let us demand the release of the five arrested social activists and other political prisoners incarcerated in jails all over the country! Let us unite in a common struggle to fight and defeat the Brahmanical Hindu-fascist BJP-RSS gang on all fronts! Let us uphold the great fighting tradition of Tantia Tope-Rani Jhansi, Birsa Munda-Gundadhar, Bhagat Singh-Rajguru-Sukhdev-Chandrashekhra Azad, Alluri Seetharamaraju, Bhumaiah-Kista Gaud and thousands upon thousands of democrats, patriots and communist revolutionaries who have fought and died for the people and the country till the present to bury the treacherous feudal-comprador tradition of Savarkar-Hegdewar-Golwalkar, Shyamaprasad Mukherjee-Deen Dayal Upadhyay, Modi-Shah-Bhagwat and all their neo-Nazi disciples! Let us boldly advance the country's national-democratic revolution by giving battle to all kinds of fascist, reactionary, authoritarian and anti-people forces!



(Abhay)

**Spokesperson
Central Committee
CPI(Maoist)**



COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Press Release

18 June 2018

Reject the SIT's false and baseless allegation of involvement of our Party and leaders in accumulating 'black' money and personal wealth! Expose and oppose the Goebbelsian propaganda war of the ruling classes to tarnish the image of our Party and movement!

The Special Investigation Team (SIT) headed by retired Supreme Court judge Arijit Pasayat inquiring on 'black' money announced on 16 June that it has recovered huge amounts of money hidden by the leaders of our Party. The SIT also said that its investigation will concentrate on unearthing all the 'black' money and wealth clandestinely acquired by the Maoists from sources like narcotics, extortion, etc., as a precursor to their seizure. Our Central Committee emphatically rejects this allegation as totally false and baseless. It is as outrageous an allegation as the recent allegation that our Party is conspiring to assassinate Prime Minister Narendra Modi. We warn people like Arijit Pasayat not to become willing tools of the Indian ruling classes by drumming up Goebbelsian lies and slander against our Party, lest they too meet the fate of Hitler-Goebbels along with their paymasters at the hands of the vast toiling masses of the country.

Our Party CPI(Maoist) is the vanguard revolutionary Party of the Indian proletariat. It is leading a bitter people's war of the oppressed classes and sections of people against the Indian ruling classes and their imperialist masters. It aims to destroy the present system that cannot exist without its shadow – the so-called 'black' economy – to establish a new system that will have no need of a shadow economy for its existence. It is a Party that has as its ultimate aim the abolition of private property and the class society based

on it. To fulfil this aim, our Party's leaders and cadres painstakingly uphold the communist principle of plain living and hard work; they keep their personal needs to the minimum and depend on the people for their existence. It is a Party of the toiling masses and exists for the sole purpose of serving the interests of the masses. The masses fulfil the financial needs of the Party and the revolutionary movement; the masses keep them alive with their blood and sweat. This being the reality, there cannot be a more ridiculous allegation that the leaders and cadres of this Party are indulging in amassing money, wealth and property by fleecing the people like the ruling parties and the run-of-the-mill politicians!

Modi and BJP had promised before the last parliamentary elections that it will put an end to the country's 'black' economy and bring back over 500 billion dollars of 'black' money stashed away in foreign banks and tax-havens. Modi had even promised to deposit 15 lakh rupees of the recovered money in the bank accounts of every Indian. It has been four years since Modi government came to power. Thousands of crores of tax-payer's money is being squandered to advertise the 'achievements' of "*Char Saal Modi Sarkar*" ("Four Years of Modi Government"). But an intriguing aspect of this Public Relations blitzkrieg is the studied silence about fulfilling the pre-election promise of curbing the 'black' economy and bringing back 'black' money from Swiss banks and foreign tax-havens. It is

not difficult to understand the reticence of BJP leaders and spokespersons in broaching this inconvenient subject. It is as plain as daylight that with four-fifths of its term behind it, Modi government has nothing to show for its 'achievement' on this score. In fact, all major measures taken by it in the name of "war on black money" have failed. Even one and a half year after the dramatic demonetisation announced on 8 November 2016 – which had cost over a hundred lives, hundreds of thousands of businesses and lakhs of jobs – there is no reduction of 'black' money. The RBI itself had to admit that 99 percent of the 15.44 lakh crore rupees worth old notes in the economy has been deposited and exchanged for new ones. Of the remaining 15,000 crores, 8,000 crores are with the corporate banks, leaving out only 7,000 crores to be accounted for, i.e., 'black' money! This is a mere pittance (0.0001 percent) compared to the size of the annual 'black' money generation at 93 lakh crore rupees and annual 'black' wealth generation at about 300-400 lakh crore rupees (in 2016). Such is the sterling 'achievement' of Modi government! Demonetisation has proved to be not just a monumental failure but one of the biggest crimes committed by Modi government against the people and the country in its four years of office.

As for the other big measure, the SIT that was set up by Modi government headed by Justice Arijit Pasayat to investigate 'black' money has fared no better. Even after years of existence and a never-ending 'investigation', the SIT has nothing to show for its 'achievement'. It has utterly failed to identify, make public or take action against depositors of 'black' money. Even after damning disclosures about rich Indians holding foreign bank accounts and wealth by the Wikileaks, 'Panama Papers' and Swiss 'whistle-blowers' along with a number of other evidence, the SIT has only managed to sit and watch. Thereby it has only proved itself to be a white elephant revelling at taxpayer's money. This is because the account-holders in foreign banks include the who's who of India's economic and political world – big businessmen, big landlords and real-estate owners, heavyweight politicians, top bureaucrats, media barons, and so on. No

wonder that bigwigs such as Lalit Modis, Vijay Mallayas, Nirav Modis, Mehul Chauksis, Reddy brothers, etc. with close economic and political ties with the ruling parties have gone scot free (Lalit Modi ran away after a 5,000 crore rupees fraud in June 2015, Mehul Chowksi did the same in November 2015 after a 11,600 crore scam, Vijay Mallaya defrauded the people of 9,000 crores in March 2016 and Nirav Modi fled in January 2018 after a 11,400 crore fraud), while some small-fries have been caught and punished. Obviously, the SIT has no teeth to bite these big moneybags who hold the reins of country's economic and political power. The SIT and the government that has appointed it will not think of harming their own class brethren, but would rather shield and protect them. Even if the SIT were to be headed by an upright investigator, it could not have been expected to be effective against the ringleaders of the 'black' economy. But an SIT headed by someone like Arijit Pasayat, known for bestowing favours to the high-and-mighty as a judge, is doomed to failure from the very beginning.

But when it comes to the people, people's organisations and people's movements, the approach of the ruling classes, their governments and their agencies like CBI, NIA, ED, SIT, etc. is the exact opposite. That is why the SIT – which has failed to catch a single real 'black' money-holder in the last few years – has now come out accusing our Party and the movement! This is nothing but a futile attempt at chasing phantoms to divert the people's attention from the real culprits and the SIT's own failure. The revolutionary movement led by the Maoist party has been attacked by the ruling classes and their governments as their prime target under the guidance of the imperialists. They openly declared more than a decade ago that the Maoists are the biggest threat to their exploitative rule. As a part of the countrywide all-round counter-revolutionary war, the successive governments have been trying to wipe out the movement and the Party by cutting it off from the 4S – supply of war material, recruitment, intelligence and funds. They are working with a strategy of attacking on all fronts – be it on the ideological, political, military, economic, cultural, or

propaganda front. The SIT's malicious allegations are a part of this multi-faceted attack.

After Brahmanical Hindu-fascist Modi government came to power, the ruling classes have intensified their attack on the Maoist movement by launching the third phase of Operation Green Hunt. In the name of demonetisation, the police and paramilitary forces caught, detained and tortured the peasant masses of the Maoist movement areas in large numbers when they went to banks or markets to exchange old notes, alleging that they were doing it for the Maoists. Not even small traders or other people belonging to the middle classes were spared of persecution in the name of unearthing 'black' money of the Maoists. Democrats, civil rights activists and social workers, etc., standing with people's movements too were persecuted with the same charges. The hard-earned money of the people, particularly the toiling Adivasi people of these areas, was looted partly or entirely by the khaki goons at gunpoint. The income of the rural people from day labour or from collection of forest produce who use to keep their savings at home rather than in banks was likewise taken away by the raiding police parties in spite of protests. A fraction of this looted money was shown as "Maoist money", but the major part was pocketed by the corrupt police-paramilitary officials. As our Party is closely integrated with the people, the losses of the people mean a loss to the Party as well. So it is true that our Party suffered financial losses and hardship along with the people due to demonetisation. But just as the people are recovering from this loss by considering it as another ruling-class assault, the Party too is recovering from this temporary hardship by relying on the people.

No people's organisation leading a people's movement can do without funds. Our Party and movement too is no exception. In fact, adequate collection and allocation of funds is indispensable for the implementation of the general political and military line of our Party. Our Party has a clear proletarian outlook both on the collection of funds and their expenditure befitting a genuine communist party. Funds are collected and allocated not

only for the Party, but also for the army (PLGA) and the united front by always keeping in mind the needs of the people's war and the people. There are three main sources for fulfilling our movement's economic needs. One is the Party membership fee, levy and the contributions of the people, the second is the confiscation of the wealth and the income sources of the enemy, and the third is the taxes we collect in the guerrilla zones and red resistance areas by following a progressive tax system as per our Party's financial policy. At present, income through production is not an important source of income for us due to the intense enemy offensive. But, this too is developing with the consolidation of people's democratic power. Along with this, our movement has developed a transparent and accountable system of inspection and supervision on financial matters. The higher committees of the Party, army and united front examine and ratify the annual budgets of the lower level committees; their accounts are open to the people for inspection. If any Party leader or cadre develops non-proletarian trends in financial matters due to the influence of feudal and imperialist ideology and indulges in corruption or accumulates personal wealth, such a person is subjected to criticism by the concerned Party unit and disciplinary action too is taken when required.

A few of the die-hard elements who refuse to remould themselves are either expelled from the Party or run away to the enemy camp. They sometimes take away Party funds and clandestinely share it with the police and administrative officials as a part of their surrender agreement. By showing the example of a few such degenerated elements discarded by the Party, the central and state governments have been propagating the lie that Maoist leaders are amassing 'black money', personal wealth and property, etc. Using this pretext, they are seizing the property of the families of the members and sympathisers of our Party, harassing and intimidating them in many ways and even arresting them. Facing such hurdles and pursuing a correct financial policy, our Party is leading the masses since Naxalbari in laying the foundations for a socialised, self-reliant economy where there will be no place

for the division between the rich and the poor, the wealthy and the impoverished, the overfed and the underfed, the employed and the unemployed, the 'black' and the white', etc. – in a word, there will be no economic disparity resulting from the exploitation of labouring classes by leisured classes.

With such goals as its ultimate objective, our Party has no need to earn 'black' money from narcotics, etc. These are 'trades' that harm the people and aid the enemies of the people, and hence these are discouraged by our Party. In fact, it is the imperialists and their Indian props that are engaged in such socially harmful but economically lucrative trades. Politicians of all ruling-class parties engage in such highly profitable clandestine trades like illegal mining, timber smuggling, human trafficking, black marketeering, etc. with impunity in league with the bureaucracy, police, etc. This is in addition to the innumerable cases of bribes, scams, etc. In fact, these are some of the biggest sources of 'black' money. The central and state governments themselves earn thousands of crores of rupees from the sale of liquor and tobacco products while lecturing the people about the benefits of abstinence. To accuse the Maoists of using 'black' money therefore is sheer hypocrisy on the part of the ruling classes and their governments.

In fact, if anyone can be accused of generating, sustaining and benefitting from the 'black' money and 'black' economy, it is the imperialists, the big capitalists, big landlords, their political hangers-on like BJP and Congress and their super-rich leaders. Where else do the thousands of crores by BJP and its likes in every election come from? Is it not the case that BJP is the richest political party in the country, earning 290.22 crore rupees 'officially' in 2016-17 while all the other parliamentary parties together earned a mere 35.05 crores?! Can anyone deny that BJP and its leaders have received the highest 'donations' and other generosities among all the parties and party-leaders from the country's super-rich in the last four years (BJP received 488.94 crore rupees out of a total donation of 637.54 crores to all parliamentary parties in the country in the last four years, while the main opposition

party Congress got 86.65 crores)?! Is it not a fact that the brand-new BJP party headquarters in New Delhi with its ultra-modern luxury and opulence can put the corporate headquarters of any multinational to shame?! Is it not true that 'Pradhan Sevak' Modi had enough resources to flaunt a ten-lakh rupee coat in a country where the poor still die of starvation?! Has not Amit Shah's personal worth jumped nearly ten times from just over two crore rupees to over 19 crores, while that of a company owned by his son jumped over several thousand times?! What about Union ministers Nitin Gadkari involved in the Purni scam and Kirin Rijju involved in a 450 crore rupee power-plant scam? Wasn't Yeddiyurappa the CM candidate and the Reddy brothers the MLA aspirants from BJP in the recent Karnataka elections?! Is this wealth not generated by the toilers of the country and appropriated by the parasitic classes of big capitalists, big landlords and foreign corporations who then throw a few crumbs at their representatives like BJP-RSS or their leaders to revel at this ill-gotten wealth?! These parliamentary parties and their leaders represent the super-rich, while our Party represents the interests of the exploited and oppressed masses. To accuse our Party, leaders and cadres of amassing wealth in the face of such gluttonous self-gratification of the super-rich and their political hangers-on is a blatant travesty of truth – one of the thousand-and-one lies of the Saffron progenies of Goebbels running the country today.

A large part of the money and wealth the parliamentary parties and their leaders use to win elections and enrich themselves comes from the country's super-rich who invest this money in expectation of dividends after these parties come to power. No party can afford to win an election without this money; no party can refuse a payback with interest to their benefactors after it comes to power using this money. Though no party is exception to this rule that keeps the farce of "the largest democracy in the world" going, BJP and its leaders have no competitors when it comes to serving the super-rich. Modi-Shah-Bhagwat ruling clique is known to be the closest confidants of the domestic and foreign corporations and their billionaire owners

today. For instance, documents recovered from Sahara and Birla groups revealed that Narendra Modi was paid 55 crore rupees as kickbacks by these corporate houses in 2013 when he was the Gujarat Chief Minister. He is also said to have enriched the Tatas with a windfall of 30,000 crore rupees as a bait to establish the 2,000 crore rupees Tata Nano factory in his home state Gujarat.

The Modi clique has not only continued to help the corporate houses to earn super-profit through underhand means after it led BJP to victory in the last general elections, but has intensified this profit-making spree to an unprecedented level in the last four years. A few examples will suffice. Gautam Adani was given a 7 billion dollar mining lease in November 2014; SBI was directed to grant his company a 1 billion dollar loan on easy terms; BJP government helped him to a profit of 45,000 crore rupees just by allocating a huge amount of land on the Gujarat coast at a dirt-cheap rate. Dalmia Group has been handed over Lal Quila for five years on a 5 crore rupees annual lease. No wonder that Gautam Adani's net worth registered the highest rate of growth (125%) among the country's big businessmen last year, while the assets of Mukesh Ambani – another favourite of Modi government – rose by 80% the same year. But they are not the only ones to be gratified. While Manmohan Singh government waived 5.32 lakh crore rupees of corporate tax in 2013-14, Modi government outdid it by waiving 5.89 lakh crores in 2015-16 and 6.11 lakh crores in 2016-17. Indeed, over 50 lakh crore rupees of tax income was forfeited by the central governments to the foreign and domestic big businesses between 2004-05 and 2015-16. A mindboggling profit on the 2,355 crore rupees 'official' donation by these corporate houses to BJP and other parties in the last three parliamentary elections! Haughty declarations like "*Na Khaunga, Na Khane dunga*" ("I will not eat, nor will I allow others to eat") on the face of such plunder appear a '*jumla*' by the ruling classes and a cruel joke on the country's people.

But there are still other ways in which Modi government has enriched the big capitalists. A total of 2.28 lakh crore rupees debt (deceptively called the Non-Performing

Assets) owed to the public sector banks by big corporations was written off by the central governments between 2007-08 and 2015-16. Of this, 1.32 lakh crore rupees (or more than a half of it) were written off by Modi government itself. In addition, it is estimated that 8,748 bank 'frauds' have taken place during Modi government's rule (averaging eight frauds a day), costing the people over 74,000 crore rupees. With such mammoth embezzlement of the hard-earned money of the country's 1.25 billion people by a few domestic and foreign moneybags, it is hardly surprising that a handful of families are the country's biggest owners of money and wealth – 'black' or 'white'. They are getting richer and more powerful every year while the vast majority of the people are becoming more and more pauperised and disenfranchised. The disparity is becoming so acute that while the top ten percent of the population used to own 32 percent of the country's total income in 1980, it owned 55 percent of it by 2016! This disparity is even more acute if we look at the top of the economic pyramid. The top one percent owns 73 percent of the country's wealth, while the bottom ninety-nine percent owns a paltry 27 percent! The top one percent augmented their wealth by 21 lakh crores in 2017, while the bottom 50 percent had no share in this wealth. India has the third highest number of billionaires in the world, to which 17 more were added in 2017; among the fifty richest families in Asia, 18 are from India. It is the same country where the standard of living of a substantial section of the people is lower than the acutely impoverished Sub-Saharan Africa. It is clear that 'black' money and their owners have not come down but skyrocketed under four years of Modi rule.

Therefore, if the 'honourable' Arijit Pasayat has any honour left in him, he should dare to investigate and publicly name all the business Tsars, big politicians, top bureaucrats, media barons, etc., who have grown into millionaires and billionaires by sucking the blood of the poor people of our country. But it is obvious that neither the SIT nor any ruling-class agency can dare to do this. The only thing they are good at doing is to attack the enemies

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

– Karl Marx, 'Theses on Feuerbach'

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force.

– Karl Marx, *The German Ideology*

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

– Karl Marx, *The German Ideology*

The history of all hitherto existing society [That is, all written history - Engel's note] is the history of class struggles.

– Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Communist Manifesto*

The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few. In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property.

– Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Communist Manifesto*

In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

– Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Communist Manifesto*

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working Men of All Countries, Unite!

– Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Communist Manifesto*

There is no royal road to science, and only those who do not dread the fatiguing climb of its steep paths have a chance of gaining its luminous summits.

– Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol.1, Preface to the French Edition

If we have chosen the position in life in which we can most of all work for mankind, no burdens can bow us down, because they are sacrifices for the benefit of all; then we shall experience no petty, limited, selfish joy, but our happiness will belong to millions, our deeds will live on quietly but perpetually at work, and over our ashes will be shed the hot tears of noble people.

– Karl Marx, 'Reflections of a Young Man on the choice of a Profession

Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past.

– Karl Marx, 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte

The weapon of criticism cannot, of course, replace criticism of the weapon, material force must be overthrown by material force; but theory also becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses. – Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right

To be radical is to grasp the root of the matter.

– Karl Marx, 'Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right'

Communism is the riddle of history solved, and it knows itself to be this solution.

– Karl Marx, 'Private Property and Communism'

Revolutions are the locomotives of history.

– Karl Marx, Class Struggle in France (1850)

In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness

– Karl Marx, Preface to the Critique of Political Economy (1859)

At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or – this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms – with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution. The changes in the economic foundation lead sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense superstructure.

– Karl Marx, 'Preface to the Critique of Political Economy' (1859)

Between capitalist and communist society there lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

– Karl Marx, Critique of the Gotha Program (1875)