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Pahayagan ng Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas  
Pinapatnubayan ng Marxismo-Leninismo-Maoismo

# Bayan

English Edition  
Special Issue  
July 19, 2013

[www.philippinerevolution.net](http://www.philippinerevolution.net)

## Solidarity for the people's war in India!

The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), along with all of the revolutionary forces in the Philippines declare July 2013 as Philippine Solidarity Month with People's War in India. The CPP issues this declaration of solidarity alongside a call to the democratic and anti-imperialist forces for an international day of support for people's war in India on July 1. Let us accord the highest honors to the heroes and martyrs of the people's revolution in India, celebrate their triumphs and look forward to further advances in the future.

The CPP calls on its entire membership, all Red fighters of the New People's Army (NPA) and all revolutionary forces and people under

its leadership to launch educational and cultural activities in the month of July to deepen further the Filipino revolutionary forces' understanding of, and

solidarity with, the people's democratic revolution in India.

Party branches, NPA units, chapters of revolutionary mass organizations and departments of the revolutionary government will set aside a day or so in July for activities such as educational discussions, viewing of relevant movies, cultural presentations and mass propaganda to express solidarity and gen-



erate support for the people's war in India.

Launching the Philippine Solidarity Month with People's War in India is the CPP's way of reciprocating the week of solidarity launched by the Communist Party of India (Maoist) or CPI-M on April 22-28 simultaneous with the 40th anniversary of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) on April 24.

Despite the distance and difference in national characteristics, there are many similarities between the people's wars in India and the Philippines. Most of all, the people's wars in India and the Philippines are both led by communist parties that adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and are deeply rooted in the toiling masses.

Both advance the democratic interests of the peasantry and the national minorities for land against foreign mining companies and monopoly capitalist plunderers who monopolize and seize the land. Both advance the democratic strug-

gles of workers, youth, women and other democratic sectors against exploiters and oppressors.

The CPI-M leads the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army in the same way the CPP leads the New People's Army in the Philippines. Both launch extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare while building organs of democratic people's political power and wage campaigns to advance the movement for land reform. In enjoying widespread support, the PLGA and NPA continue to expand and accumulate major victories in the field of armed struggle.

The people's wars in both India and the Philippines confront brutal suppression campaigns undertaken by reactionary forces on the dictates of the imperialist US government. Operation Green Hunt of the Indian reactionaries and Oplan Bayanihan of the Filipino reactionaries both utilize the most brutal forms of armed suppression, causing widespread violations of human rights. There is no difference in these acts of suppression which focus on the revolutionary masses in a sinister attempt to terrorize them.

The US imperialists and the reactionaries vilify the revolutionary forces in India and the Philippines as "terrorists." But they have failed to stop the growth of the revolutionary movement of the peoples of India and the Philippines which are both firmly advancing with the people's deep and wide support. The people's wars in India and the Philippines have repeatedly and decisively thwarted attempts by the reactionaries at armed suppression while steadily fulfilling the people's aspirations for democracy.

The Indian and Philippine revolutionary forces desire and strive to build a broad international anti-imperialist and democratic movement to advance the interests of the toiling masses amid the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the bankruptcy of neoliberal policies. The people's wars in India and the Philippines look forward to the huge potential of revolutionary advance in the face of the intensifying exploitation and oppression of the people in capitalist as well as semi-colonial and semifeudal countries.

The CPP hails the CPI-M and all revolutionary forces in India for persevering along the path of people's war. The world's peoples anticipate the growth and huge advance of people's war in India as the Indian people continue to rise up against oppression and exploitation by the ruling classes and the imperialists. The world's peoples look forward to the epic scope and potential of people's war in India to massively change the face of the earth, just as the victory of the Russian and Chinese revolutions changed the balance of class struggle worldwide.

The Filipino people look forward to the Indian revolution's total victory even as they desire victory in their own country. The Filipino and Indian peoples are advancing the interests of the proletariat and peoples the world over by launching people's wars in their own countries and dealing armed blows on the imperialists and their reactionary collaborators. The advances and victories of other peoples of the world will undoubtedly inspire them to take a stand against the imperialists and wage revolution to achieve national and social liberation.



Special Issue July 19, 2013

*Ang Bayan* is published in Pilipino, Bisaya, Iloko, Hiligaynon, Waray and English editions.

It can be downloaded from the Philippine Revolution Web Central which can be found at:

[www.philippinerevolution.net](http://www.philippinerevolution.net)

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*Ang Bayan* is published fortnightly by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines

# Introduction to Indian society and revolution

India is a country in South Asia. It is bounded by Pakistan to the west; China, Nepal and Bhutan to the northeast; Burma and Bangladesh to the east; and Sri Lanka to the southwest. To its south lies the Indian Ocean; to its southwest, the Arabian Sea; and to its southeast, the Bay of Bengal. It is more than 4,600 kilometers away from the Philippines.

India has one of the world's oldest civilizations. The Harappan civilization emerged in the area surrounding the Indus River as far back as 5,000 years ago accompanied by the growth and development of science, art and culture. It is also one of the biggest countries in the world, with a population of 1.2 billion.

India is peopled by various nationalities and tribes that are in various stages of development. It is likewise home to different religions and languages.

The majority of Indians (80%) are Hindu. There is also a large Muslim population (the third biggest in the world and

the biggest in a non-Muslim country). There are likewise Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and Jainists, among others.

India's land and seas are rich in resources. Up to 1.3 million square kilometers of its land area (more than 56%) is arable. In 2008, it had the world's third largest fisheries sector. India is also the world's third largest exporter of steel, the fourth largest coal producer and the biggest producer of thorium, an element used in the manufacture of rocket and plane engines. It is a major producer of zinc, manganese, bauxite, copper and chromite. It has its own oil production,

which is capable of supplying 25% of the country's needs.

Its major agricultural products are rice, wheat, oilseed, cotton, jute, tea, sugar cane, various fruits and potatoes. On the other hand, its major industries are textiles, telecommunications, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, biotechnology, food processing, steel, transportation equipment, cement, mining, oil and gas, machinery and software.

India has the world's tenth biggest economy. But one-third of the world's poor can be found in the country, where there are huge gaps among the various social classes.

India is a semifeudal and semicolonial society ruled by big landlords and big comprador bourgeoisie and controlled by imperialist powers. Its reactionary government is in the form of a federation of 28 states (or *pradesh*, which translates to "province" in Hindi) and seven territories composed of the various island groups in its territorial waters.

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## A brief history

For thousands of years, feudalism reinforced by the caste system has reigned in India. The caste system groups people hierarchically in accordance with their occupations, clans and social standing. Integration among people of different castes is strictly prohibited. People who do not belong to the four major castes (the outcastes or *dalit*) suffer severe discrimination, oppression and exploitation. In feudal Indian society, they were subjugated by landlords and aristocrats in the expansion of their landholdings or kingdoms.

The British colonialists encountered this feudal setup when they first arrived in the 1700s as an interventionist force in the Indian subcontinent—which then comprised present-day India, Pakistan

and Bangladesh. The British directly controlled the subcontinent beginning in 1757 and ruled it for almost two centuries. Before this, trade was robust and the early forms of capitalist economy in India had emerged. But the British colonialists destroyed this as well as the self-reliant agricultural production and forced India to focus on the production of raw materials for British companies and serve as a dumping ground for their products.

With the collaboration of aristocrats and landlords, the colonialists consolidated their rule of India. They organized the peasantry into settlements that concentrated on planting agricultural products for the British East India Company. They perpetuated the old landlord practice of forced la-

bor and exacting taxes from the peasantry. From an independent and feudal society, India became a colonial and semifeudal society closely linked to world capitalist production.

It was in this period that the Indian working class emerged in the cities where the British colonialists built infrastructure to support their rule such as railroads, mines, ports, plantations and factories. Local compradors, usurers, landlords and aristocrats massively invested in these industries. From their ranks rose the local comprador bourgeoisie, a class completely reliant on the capital and production of the colonialist capitalists. In this same period, the British established the educational system to train intellectuals and professionals en masse, who served as their adjutants in ruling the Indian subcontinent.

From the beginning, the Indian people strongly opposed British colonial rule. They mounted relentless resistance to the colonialists and the feudal system they perpetuated. One of these uprisings, which took place in Santhal (1854-56) led to the first war for independence in 1857. Thousands of peasants and patriots in various parts of India joined this historic uprising. This war is considered the beginning of the first people's democratic revolution. Since then, there have been many more anticolonial movements by the Indian people. But because lacking strong proletarian guidance, these efforts remained weak and scattered for a long period.

In 1884, the British colonialists established the puppet Indian Nationalist Congress (INC), a conglomeration of British and Indian politicians, to weaken the anticolonialist movement for national liberation. But this fail-

ed to stop the spread of uprisings against Britain, especially among the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry. The ruling classes tried to derail the uprisings by propagating the concept of "satyagraha" or passive resistance, civil disobedience and non-violence invented by Mohandas Gandhi, a lawyer hailing from the Brahmin, the highest caste.

Gandhi propagated *satyagraha* to undermine the people's militant and armed resistance. A most striking example was Gandhi's actions to defuse the armed uprising of peasants in Champara, Bihar against unjust taxation and gross underpricing by landlords. Gandhi went to Champara, along with other lawyers, and launched *satyagraha*. While he supported the peasants' economic demands, he opposed their calls to break away from British rule, claiming that this would only be used as a pretext by the colonialists to violently suppress them.

The victory of the October Revolution in Russia in 1917 inspired the establishment of the Communist Party of India (CPI) in 1925. Despite the exceedingly favorable objective conditions, however, the CPI failed to lead the movements against the British empire that further spread in the 1930s. Its leadership refused to recognize the bourgeois character of the Gandhian movement and failed to correctly analyze class struggle within Indian society. It likewise failed to develop its independent strength when it allied itself with the Gandhian leadership (which for a long time was represented by Jawaharlal Nehru) and became engrossed in parliamentary struggle.

In 1930, Nehru drafted a declaration for a peaceful transition from colonial rule to "full

independence for India." Upon Gandhi's instigation, the INC reduced its demand from full independence to autonomy under British imperial rule. Instead of rising up and mounting active resistance, Nehru and Gandhi chose the path of negotiation between the INC (then led by Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal's father) and the British state to achieve Indian independence. When the British refused to fulfill its promise to grant autonomy, Gandhi launched his passive *satyagraha* against the British. Thus, Gandhi and the pro-colonialist INC derailed what was then a budding movement for national liberation from the path of struggle and revolution towards the path of capitulation and bourgeois reformism.

*(Since the British granted India bogus independence, the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty has ruled the INC and reactionary politics as a whole. Jawaharlal Nehru became the country's first prime minister from 1947 to 1964. He was succeeded by his daughter Indira Gandhi from 1966 to 1977 and from 1980 until her assassination in 1984. Indira was then succeeded by her son Rajiv Gandhi from 1984 until his assassination in 1991. The INC is currently headed by Rajiv Gandhi's wife Sonia).*

During World War II (1942-46), a revolutionary situation emerged in the Indian subcontinent in the form of a powerful anticolonial movement. Gigantic anti-imperialist demonstrations were launched by students and strikes were waged by workers and government employees in various parts of the country. There was a huge movement for the release of political prisoners. Antifeudal movements advanced in Tebhaga, Bakhasht and in states that were ruled by aristocrats and enjoyed partial au-

tonomy. Discontent spread among policemen and soldiers. The peasant movement strengthened its unity and eventually advanced a historic peasant uprising in Telangana. All these dealt heavy blows on British imperial rule in India.

In the face of the Indian people's growing demands for national independence and struggles to overthrow the British colonial government, the British colonialists granted India bogus independence and transferred direct state governance to the existing congress in 1947. The British fast-tracked the transition towards their indirect rule in order to deprive the rapidly growing revolutionary forces of the chance to lead. To ensure the loyalty of the new state, Britain granted economic and political concessions to the comprador bourgeoisie and landlords who were in dispute over territory. The British gave India to the INC led by Nehru and Pakistan to the Muslim League to maintain British economic and political control in the subcontinent.

The end of direct British rule saw the Indian subcontinent become an arena of conflict for resources and markets by newly emergent imperialist powers.

During the Cold War (1950-70), the USSR had stronger influence on India compared to the US even if it poured relatively less capital into the country. Although it claimed to be socialist, the USSR at that time was already fullblown social-imperialist.

India became a huge arms market for the USSR, which instigated and supported the war of occupation launched by the local comprador bourgeoisie and landlords against East Bengal, Kashmir and other states in the northeastern part of the subcontinent. It also fanned the flames of war between India and Pakistan (which was then already a US ally) and armed intervention in the liberation movement in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh).

Through loans, the USSR profited immensely from the public corporations and heavy industries it built in India (which became milch cows for bureaucrats in power). It gained control over steel production (30%), oil processing (20%), oil exploration and extraction (80%), energy generation and distribution (60%), heavy machinery (85%), electric motors (75%) and aluminium processing (25%). The

USSR used these industries to expand its production of modern weapons.

By the end of the 1970s, the US poured in capital in the form of aid, loans, grants and investments in various private industries outside the USSR's ambit. It began liberalizing the country's economy in 1985 and accelerated the process in the 1990s. In exchange for loans coursed through the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, the US pushed for the widespread privatization of public industries, the deregulation of public utilities and trade liberalization. These policies paved the way for the massive entry of US investors and companies into the country.

Currently, thousands of US imperialist companies are exploiting the natural resources and labor force of India. The reactionary Indian state is at their beck and call, following their every dictate—from ensuring the supply of a cheap and docile work force and cheap raw materials to providing other favors and privileges. The US is likewise currently the main financier and director of the Indian military, which it utilizes to establish its military hegemony in the Asia-Pacific.

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## History of the communist movement

Genuine revolutionaries consistently repudiated and resisted the opportunism, revisionism and treachery of the leadership of the Communist Party of India (1925) and its successor, the Communist Party of India (Marxist). But the struggle between the correct and erroneous lines intensified only in the 1960s, during the Great Debate

launched by Comrade Mao Zedong and the Communist Party of China against modern revisionism and the eruption of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966-1976.

Guided by the principles propagated by the GPCR, genuine Indian communists held fast to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought (Maoism) and ap-

plied this to the concrete conditions of Indian society. As a result, a big number of cadres from the old party broke away and declared the seventh congress and the entire leadership of the CPI (Marxist) revisionist. One of those who bolted was Comrade Charu Mazumdar (CM) who became the founder of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) or CPI (ML). Comrade CM declared the beginning of people's war in India as the correct

path against the revisionist path of parliamentarism that had long been taken by the CPI (Marxist).

This was followed by the historic peasant uprising against the police in Naxalbari, West Bengal in May 1967. The Naxalbari uprising, which was brutally suppressed by the local reactionary state, is recognized as the start of the “clarion call of spring thunder” in the Indian revolution and signalled a new stage in the revolutionary struggle in the country. (*This is the origin of the term “Naxal” and “Naxalite” to describe the “Maoists” which in turn is the name by which the cadres and members who bolted the CPI(M) are called*).

After the Naxalbari uprising, the genuine revolutionaries began to have different views on how to advance people’s war in India and whether it was timely to establish a new party. These conflicts were not immediately resolved. Thus, the CPI (ML) led by Comrade CM was established on April 22, 1969, separately from the Maoist Communist Center of India (MCCI) led by Comrade Kanai Chatterjee (KC) which was founded on October 20, 1969. The two organizations’ development was interrupted several times due to various factors, such as the martyrdom of Comrade CM and the capture and detention of Comrade KC, among other problems.

After this, there were more frequent and numerous splits among the revolutionaries. In

1980, the CPI (ML) split into two camps—the CPI (ML)-People’s War that based itself in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu; and the CPI (ML) People’s Unity that operated in Bengal. Despite the split, cadres continued their efforts to unite the similar but splintered groups. In 1998, the CPI (ML) [PW] and the CPI (ML) [PU] formally merged under the name CPI-(ML) [PW].

Similarly, there were continuing attempts at unification between the CPI-(ML) [PW] and the MCCI (that was mainly based in Bengal) based on firm political and theoretical foundations, and in accordance with the correct military line. Due to several factors, talks held between 1985 and 1995 did not bear fruit. The conflicts between the two groups became extremely complicated—and for a time, bloody.

The two leaderships met again in 2003. This time, they made sure that all their differences would be resolved and that all their weaknesses rectified through thoroughgoing criticism and self-criticism, education and discussions on the basic political issues and practice of the Indian revolution. The talks bore fruit, resulting in the drafting and finalization of the basic founding documents of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) or CPI (Maoist).

On September 1, 2004, the MCCI and CPI (ML) [PW] formally merged to form the CPI (Maoist). In its first statement, it said that the establishment of the

merger party was in accordance with the desires and demands of the toiling masses for a genuine party of the proletariat that would lead revolutionary change for the establishment of a new democratic society towards socialism and communism.

The merger party was formed after discussions between delegations of the two parties, with the process finalized through the establishment of a Joint Central Committee. Five important documents were likewise issued—Wave the Red Banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism; the Party Program; Strategy and Tactics of the Indian Revolution; Political Resolutions regarding the International and Local Situation; and the Party Constitution.

In recognition of the two parties’ long history, the delegates agreed to declare as founding leaders the late Comrade Charu Mazumdar and Comrade Kanai Chatterjee. They also declared as heir the merger party of the revolutionary upheaval of the 1960s, in particular, the great Naxalbari uprising, and the important revolutionary tradition of communist movements in India. They recognized that although the two groups were separate, they simultaneously advanced the people’s common struggles in the past 35 years. They likewise merged their armies—the CPI (ML) [PW]’s People’s Guerrilla Army and the MCCI’s People’s Guerrilla Liberation Army (PLGA)—to form the PLGA.

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## Character and current situation of Indian society

**I**ndian society is semicolonial and semifeudal. This character is the result of the country’s long history of domination by imperialist powers who stunted Indian economic development and society for their own interests.

Since the British colonialists granted bogus independence to India in 1947, no single imperialist power has been able to dominate the entire country. Nonetheless, they have been able to dominate rule various social arenas. In the economy, in par-

ticular, imperialists infused capital in various private and public industries and dictated economic policies through conditionalities attached to loans and financial assistance.

The imperialists have also been able to maintain themselves and gain strength in the military field. US imperialism has been able to control the direction and military policies of India by continuously providing military aid, pushing for “cooperation” and the conduct of military exercises, sending “advisers” to various branches of the military and signing treaties in the name of “national defense.”

The imperialists are using the puppet military not only in the suppression of the Indian people, but in wars of aggression and intervention in India’s neighboring countries. Cases in point are the division of Pakistan and the creation of Bangladesh, the seizure of Sikkim (an independent kingdom on the border of India, Nepal and Tibet) and intervention in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka and Maldives in the 1970s and 1980s. Upon the goading of US imperialism, the puppet Indian state has continuously been intervening, sowing division, provoking and pressuring Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.

Unlike countries in Europe and America, local capitalism did not develop with the destruction of feudal power in India. Instead, the colonialists maintained feudalism and used it as the social base of their rule. The entry of capital without the feudal system undergoing changes resulted in semifeudal relations of production nationwide.

The CPI (Maoist) describes the major contradictions in Indian society thus: 1) between the people and imperialism; 2) between the people and feudal-

ism; 3) between capital and labor; and 4) among the ruling classes. Of the four, the first two are the basic contradictions in the country and the main basis for laying down the strategy and tactics of the new democratic revolution in India.

Class struggle in Indian society is characterized by connivance between the landlord class and the comprador bourgeoisie who are both puppets of imperialist powers on the one hand; and on the other, the proletariat, poor peasants, semi-proletariat, middle peasants, rich peasants, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and a section of the lumpen proletariat.

The toiling masses in India live a wretched existence. According to data from the Indian government in 2007, up to 77% of the people live on less than 20 *rupee* per day (or ₹14.45 per day based on an exchange rate of 1 *rupee*=₹0.72). World Bank data in 2010 state that a third of the poorest people in the world are in India. Another report (Oxford) states that there are more poor people in eight states of India (Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal) compared to the 26 poorest countries in Africa.

The majority of the Indian people are peasants tied to backward agriculture. Up to 60% of them (or 600 million in other estimates) do not have their own land. The worst forms of feudal and semifeudal exploitation prevail. Due to landlessness, huge numbers of peasants indenture themselves in order to survive. Many of them die of starvation.

There are growing cases of suicides due to poverty and failure to pay off debts. More than 200,000 peasants committed

suicide between 1995 and 2009, the biggest poverty-induced suicide rate in the whole world.

The majority of the suicides are women peasants in provinces producing cash crops, particularly Bt cotton, for foreign companies. They are tormented mainly by exorbitantly priced seeds, pesticides and other production inputs that can be purchased only from multinational agribusiness companies. At the same time, they are victimized by usurers and merchants who grossly underprice their produce. There is likewise widespread exploitation in crop sharing arrangements that favor landlords in addition to various types of brutal coercion and oppression.

Landlessness has worsened in the face of violent seizures of land by the Indian state in the name of pro-imperialist “development projects” such as special economic zones, plantations, dams and other infrastructure for giant mining and power generation companies. These projects entail clearing and destroying thousands of hectares of land, rivers and forests traditionally inhabited by tribes or *adivasi*. More than 150 million *adivasi* in Dandakaranya, Odisha, Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh have been affected.

Landlords continue to propagate the caste system, alongside Hindu communalism, superstition and other backward concepts to keep the peasants fearful and docile, especially the *dalit*.

In the plains and cities, the proletariat and other progressive sectors also suffer severe exploitation and poverty. Up to 93% of Indian workers are in the “informal” sector and work without security of tenure, without benefits and without the

protection of labor laws in general. Almost 60% of them work in the agricultural sector, including big plantations and capitalist farms where wages are extremely low.

The majority of the people do not enjoy educational or health services. In 2005, up to 58% of houses did not have electricity. Eighty percent or almost 800 million people did not have potable water systems. There has been no significant change in this condition up to now.

Hunger and poverty are widespread. More than half (55%) of Indian children are malnourished and 45% of children age five or younger are underweight.

Even the small middle sections of society that have benefited from “trickle down development” suffer from intense exploitation. Because of soaring

unemployment rates, local and foreign companies (including the much-vaunted information technology sector) are able to depress the wages of educated and professional Indians. The unemployment rate is high among the educated youth.

On the other hand, the ruling classes and their imperialist masters have been further enriching themselves. Corruption scandals involving the state’s highest ranking officials and millions of *rupee* are being exposed on an almost weekly basis. Government officials and the country’s wealthiest families shamelessly throw lavish parties. At the same time, the comprador bourgeoisie and their companies in joint venture with the imperialists have been rapidly accumulating capital. As of this year, India has 61 billionaires, up from 24 in 2009.

They have a combined income of up to \$341 billion, equivalent to a third of the country’s GDP.

In the face of the Indian people’s growing revolutionary resistance, the reactionary government is currently intensifying armed suppression. The reactionary armed forces launched Operation Green Hunt (OGH) in 2009 with the assistance of US agencies that are “experts” in counterinsurgency. OGH is being implemented using paramilitary groups like Salwa Julum and Sendra. It primarily victimizes the *adivasi*. Its brutal tactics include massacres, hamletting, burning of entire communities, rape and other heinous crimes. OGH’s objective is to lead the *adivasi* away from the path of revolution, evict them from their land and have this taken over by foreign corporate giants.

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## The new democratic revolution

According to the CPI (Maoist), its immediate objective and program is to continue and complete the new democratic revolution in India as part of the task of advancing the worldwide proletarian revolution. It will achieve this by smashing the semicolonial and semifeudal social system ruled by the imperialists, landlords and capitalist comprador bourgeoisie. This revolution will be waged and completed through protracted people’s war, in accordance with the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside.

The history and the character of Indian society dictate the need for a two-stage revolution. Said the CPI (Maoist), the objective of the first stage is to transform the current semicolonial and semifeudal society into a new democratic society by resolving the basic contradictions of society.

Its targets are imperialism, comprador-bureaucrat capitalism and feudalism, the three evils that have stunted the peo-

ple’s political, economic and cultural development. As of now, the communist party’s immediate task is to destroy the political power of the big landlords and comprador bourgeoisie through armed struggle, and to establish a proletarian-led democratic state.

The proletariat can do this by organizing and leading agrarian revolution among the peasant masses. The Indian proletariat cannot liberate itself

without aligning with the peasant class which comprises the majority of the population. Thus, the main content of the new democratic revolution is agrarian revolution.

The task of the second stage of the Indian revolution is to build a socialist society. The revolution will proceed to the second stage once the first stage is victorious and without the necessity of an intervening stage.

The new democratic revolution’s central task is to seize political power and build a people’s democratic government uniting all anti-imperialist and antifeudal sections of society under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The people’s government will guarantee freedom, rights and democracy among the toiling masses and encourage their participation in collective and day to day state



governance.

The people's democratic government will develop the local economy to make it serve the people, and will lay the basis for the emergence of a socialist economy. It will nationalize all industries, banks and other imperialist and bourgeois comprador enterprises. It will confiscate all lands held by landlords and let poor and landless peasants till them and eliminate feudal and semifeudal exploitation in the countryside.

In the field of culture, it will develop a scientific, democratic and mass culture, and one that combats modern revisionism. It will repudiate the caste system, discrimination against minority religions, Hindu communalism, patriarchy and other feudal concepts that are deeply rooted in the consciousness of many Indians.

According to the CPI (Maoist), the principal characteristics of people's war in India are the following:

1) India is a vast semifeudal and semicolonial country of unequal development. Its terrain is favorable for guerrilla warfare.

2) The enemy of the Indian revolution is big, has a powerful center and possesses a strong and modern armed force.

3) On the other hand, the communist party, people's guerrillas and revolutionary movement are small and weak.

4) India is home to various nationalities launching historic movements for self-determination against the reactionary Indian state.

The character of uneven development is the most decisive factor in laying down the political and military strategy and tactics of people's war. On the one hand, there exists a small capitalist economy whose life-

line is linked to the imperialist system of production. It has created a working class of up to 70 million (about 6% of the population). On the other hand, this capitalist economy stands on a broader semifeudal economic base. Although foreign capitalist investments in agriculture have grown (in the form of plantations and mines), this has not changed the feudal and semifeudal relations of production in vast sections of the countryside.

Thus, the victory of the new democratic revolution relies on the basic alliance of workers and peasants. The hundreds of millions of peasants must be mobilized in the armed struggle led by the Communist Party. The revolutionary program of agrarian reform which will liberate the relations of production in the countryside must be implemented. Organs of people's power must be built to replace feudal power.

The country's uneven development also makes it necessary to launch protracted people's war in accordance with the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside. The revolution must be advanced in strategic sections of the countryside that are relatively backward and where oppression and exploitation are severe.

In these areas, transportation and communication systems are weak, hindering the movement of enemy forces and preventing them from engaging in quick reprisal. It is here where the people's army and people's militia can grow and gain strength. There is enough room for quick maneuverability, depending on conditions such as the presence or major offensives of the enemy or the lack thereof.

The Indian countryside is so vast. In many areas, the reac-

tionary state's military power is weak due to feeble infrastructure as well as the great distance of many communities from the state and military centers. This situation is favorable in transforming wide areas of the countryside into strongholds of armed struggle, guerrilla zones, guerrilla bases and liberated areas under Red power.

Advancing people's war from the countryside where the enemy is weak is partly in recognition of the relative strength and power of the reactionary state machinery and its armed forces. India's reactionary army currently has close to five million troops grouped in four big branches. In 2012, the state allocated a \$49 billion budget for its operations. It has been the world's biggest weapons importer for the past several years.

Guerrilla tactics must be used to preserve the revolutionary forces as they defeat the enemy one by one. Guerrilla warfare must be launched broadly and deeply in ever bigger areas, using superior knowledge of the terrain and the advantage of mass support.

On the other hand, the revolutionary forces and the people are aware that the enemy is superior only in tactical terms. Due to the state armed forces' long history of brutality, as well as its intrinsically mercenary character, the reactionary armed forces do not enjoy the people's support and sympathy. There are stark contradictions among its officers and foot soldiers. Above all, because many of them are from the peasantry, they can be won over to the side of the new democratic revolution.

Currently, the communist party, guerrilla army and revolutionary movement in the countryside are in a weak position

relative to the strength of the reactionary state machinery. The revolutionary forces must persevere in gaining strength alongside the intensification of people's war. The People's Liberation Guerrilla Army must complete the requisites for transforming itself into the People's Liberation Army. The Party's clandestine machinery must be established and strengthened.

Nonetheless, the relative weakness of the revolutionary movement is only temporary. As of now, there are growing bases for the party and the revolutionary movement's rapid expansion. The relative shortage of weapons in the people's army is slowly being addressed.

The armed revolution in India has been fast advancing in recent years. Red power is being established in India's vast territory. The states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal are collectively dubbed the Red

Corridor by the mass media in recognition of the presence of the CPI (Maoist) in these areas.

Stronger resistance by the various nationalities which have long been fighting the reactionary Indian state will definitely help bolster the people's war and the revolutionary movement as a whole. A huge part of the countryside that can potentially be developed into guerrilla bases are in the states populated by other nationalities and in the ancestral lands of various tribes.

India is a country of various nationalities, languages and cultures. The tribes that embody such variation are in different levels of development. Under the reactionary state, the various minority groups are being suppressed and slowly destroyed in the name of "national unity" and their oppression and exploitation perpetuated. This is why many tribes have long histories of armed uprisings. Among those that have armed movements are the Kashmiri,

Naga, Assamese, Manipuri and other minority groups found in the northeastern part of the country. Their right to self-determination must be recognized, including their right to secession. Beyond thus, the emergence of communist parties in the states (such as the Maoist Communist Party of Manipur) must be supported.

Because of their resistance, the reactionary army has been obliged to spread its own forces thinly to suppress their movements. There are currently tens of thousands of troops deployed in Kashmir and the northeastern states of India to impose and maintain control by the reactionary Indian state. In Kashmir alone, the Indian state has sent up to 500,000 soldiers, paramilitaries, spies and other forces.

As movements for national liberation grow stronger in these areas, so will the need to deploy ever bigger troops. It will be impossible for the Indian state to concentrate its entire force against the people's war.

