

[This article appeared in *People's March*, vol. 11, #1 (January-February 2010). Janathana Circars (or Janathana Sarkars) are People's Governments set up by revolutionary forces in local areas in India.]

The Dandakaranya Janathana Circars of today are the basis for the Indian People's Democratic Federal Republic of tomorrow

—Message sent by Com. Ganapathy on behalf of Polit Bureau to the magazine of Dandakaranya Janathana Circar

The people's war is developing in Dandakaranya under our party's leadership and as a result New Democratic Power is emerging there. Our party is striving hard for this New Democratic Power in the form of Janthana Circars to gain flesh and blood and strengthen itself day by day and take a qualitative leap as Dandakaranya level People's Power. The Janathana Circar leadership is launching this magazine with the aim that this should serve as a powerful instrument for this revolutionary practice. The Polit Bureau sends its heartfelt greetings to the Janthana Circar leadership on the occasion of the publication of their first issue. The PB whole heartedly wishes that this endeavour of the Janathana Circar leadership would be a success.

The new state power developing in Dandakaranya is strategic, has a concrete historical background and is one which is assuming great significance in the contemporary world socialist revolutionary situation which is passing through a complex phase.

In any social revolution, including the Indian New Democratic Revolution, the most crucial, central and main question is that of (state) power. Our party is striving to establish area wise power by mobilizing people politically into the protracted people's war, building the people's army (in the form of guerilla army) and destroying the state machinery of the enemy-ruling classes. It is as part of this revolutionary process that it is establishing Janathana Circars in Dandakaranya. Janathana Circars are completely opposed to imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism. They are being formed through the destruction of enemy's state machinery. The majority of the conscious peasantry is establishing them in the countryside under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat party. They politically represent the proletariat, peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. They strive to implement real democracy for the people and people's democratic dictatorship on the enemies of the people. They are determined to change the semi-colonial, semi-feudal society of today in a fundamental and complete manner politically, economically and culturally and are striving day and night with enormous perseverance. As the embryonic form of the people's democratic system which would be completely established all over the country in future, they are sprouting in Dandakaranya and strengthening themselves. They represent that system of future.

Basing on this new power, the leadership of party, army, and Janathana Circars are striving to mobilize people on a vast scale into people's war, consolidate them well, strengthen the people's army, fulfill the tasks of production, defence, training etc., extend the movement to neighbouring areas thereby extending the guerilla war and new power and helping to fulfill the political tasks in the neighbouring states by coordinating with them to help today's power. In one word, the leadership of party, army leadership and the Janathana Circars are striving to fulfill political, military and organizational tasks to liberate DK by basing themselves on this newly emerging power. They are fulfilling these tasks with the strategic view too of using DK as a main prop to bring about qualitative changes and to speed up the pace of development of Indian revolution. That is why the new power and Janathana Circars developing in DK

are strategic. Depending on how much our leadership can mobilize the proletariat, peasantry, petty bourgeois and democratic-revolutionary forces in the country and on how much these forces can fulfill their revolutionary role the people's power developing in DK would be defended and would develop into base areas. Depending on this there would be change in the strategic role of the Janathana Circars.

During the historical Telangana armed revolutionary peasant struggle 'village governments' were established in three thousand villages. The communist party leadership surrendered to the Indian ruling classes, withdrew the armed struggle and betrayed the Indian revolution immensely. As a result the village governments were nipped in the bud. Comrades CM-KC fought against the parliamentary-economist-reformist line of the CPI, CPI (M) leadership ideologically and politically and broke their back. Out of the flames of armed peasant revolutionary struggles headed by comrades CM-KC by creatively applying the protracted people's war line to the concrete conditions in our country, the 'revolutionary committees' and 'revolutionary peasant committees' emerged as the revolutionary peasant power organs. But within a short period they were suppressed. The Indian revolution suffered a temporary setback. The revolutionary peasant committees could not develop to a higher level in time. It was as a result of summing up of the experiences of village governments, revolutionary committees and revolutionary peasant committees that the Janathana Circars are being established in DK as their higher, consolidated form with the task of fulfilling the higher aim. The merger of two main streams in the Indian revolution on September 21, 2004 and the formation of CPI (Maoist) had created unprecedented favourable conditions for the building of new power organs, their development and establishment of base areas. This is the historical background for the Janathana Circars.

But what this historical background is clearly stating is that the leadership should be very firm regarding the strategy, line and policy; it should fight with determination to protect and develop the power organs; it should strive hard to protect the new power and subjective forces by defeating the enemy offensive; it should advance in time with higher tasks and lead efficiently in establishing base areas. Only by keeping in mind this invaluable historical background, can the party leadership and the Janathana Circars' leadership give efficient and skillful leadership for the successfully fulfilling the task of establishing DK and Bihar- Jharkhand base areas as formulated by our Unity Congress-9th Congress.

In 1976, immediately after the death of our great Marxist teacher Com. Mao, the reactionary, revisionist clique of capitalist roaders in the China Communist Party had usurped power. As a result the last base area of the world proletariat had collapsed. However, the revolutionary proletariat and the oppressed nationalities are resisting the imperialists and the reactionary ruling classes in various forms and at various levels. This resistance was carried out at a higher level in Philippines, Peru and Nepal. Due to internal and external reasons these revolutions had faced ups and downs. Peru is facing long term setback. The Philippines revolution was damaged considerably and has again picked up by correcting its mistakes. After reaching the stage of strategic offensive, the Nepal people's war is facing the grave danger of opportunism in leadership. Though revolutionary parties had been formed in many countries in the world and are organizing the people, they have not developed to the stage of setting up a strong confrontation with the imperialists or with the ruling classes in their countries. In our country, though our party had formed the People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA), is developing the people's war and forming new organs of power, we haven't still established base areas. It is striving hard for that. On the whole, the proletariat revolutionary subjective forces in the world are still weak.

On the other hand, all the countries in the world, including the US imperialism are neck-deep in trouble due to the severe economic crises. The fundamental contradictions in the world have sharpened further. Immense frustration is seething among the working class, oppressed nationalities and oppressed people. The objective condition is becoming very favourable for social revolutions to break out.

Today the world socialist revolution is passing through a complex phase where objective condition is very favourable and the revolutionary subjective forces are weak. In these conditions, our party is mobilizing lakhs of adivasi peasantry and striving hard to develop people's liberation guerilla army into people's liberation army and guerilla warfare into mobile warfare in order to turn Dandakaranya into base area. On the basis of Janathana Circars established from the village level to the division level, it is striving hard to establish power at Dandakaranya level. In these conditions, the imperialists and their Indian compradors are creating massive hurdles to prevent us from fulfilling our aim. The liberation of Dandakaranya by resisting the offensive of the Indian ruling classes would also depend on how much support our party leadership is able to garner from the world proletariat-revolutionary-progressive forces and on how far these forces would fulfill their international responsibility too. That is why the newly emerging power in Dandakaranya is gaining significance in the complex situation of the world proletariat revolution. With the liberation of Dandakaranya this significance would increase considerably. Increasing the participation of people considerably in all the state affairs will become the most vital issue in defending, consolidating and expanding Janathana Circars.

There are two fundamental aspects in the revolutionary process we follow to liberate DK – destruction and construction. Of the two the first one would be the principal aspect. Only by carrying on these two aspects in coordination we can liberate DK. The active participation of the people would be the decisive factor in this process from the beginning till victory. Unless we rouse people for political power we cannot stir them militantly and in vast numbers into class struggle. We cannot mobilize them effectively into guerilla war. We cannot bring unity among them; we cannot turn them into an invincible force by bringing out their enormous energy and creativity; we cannot effectively implement the people's democratic dictatorship; the established power may not only become unstable but also get destroyed. This means that unless we mobilize people politically and the people participate actively, we will not only be unable to win even one considerable victory in the process of establishing base area but we may even lose the victories we had won.

If we wish to enhance the active participation of people in the affairs of the state it is necessary to have vast democracy of the people. In conducting the affairs of the state, we would be able to effectively implement the people's democratic dictatorship only when we have vast democracy of the people; only then we would be able to consolidate people's democratic power, state machinery and administrative departments; only then we can ensure that the people's democratic power doesn't become unstable.

To enhance people's democracy the leadership of the party and Janathana Circars should politically arouse the people continuously and follow the democratic methods given here. We should ensure that the village meetings of the Janathana Circars, people's councils, departments of people's government and standing committees are run on the principle of democratic centralism. Even at the higher levels, we should ensure the mass character of the Janathana Circar organizationally by not depending just on the party and army professionals. They should work in such a manner that they represent the interests of the oppressed classes and oppressed social sections. We should solve the contradictions arising among people in a friendly manner which would help to develop unity among the people. In all our activities we should adhere to class line and mass line. We must grasp the significance of class struggle and carry on the development and welfare activities of the people. We should not generally resort to physical punishment to counter political opinions. We should win over people with correct politics and democratic methods. In the matter of correcting mistakes, we should implement the policy of 'treating the ailment to save the patient'.

We must ensure that the people participate actively in internal struggle, in criticizing the wrong trends and mistakes inside the party and Janathana Circars. In the matter of education, our aim should be to develop it in such a way that it would help in bringing about transformation, increasing unity, solving problems and achieving higher aims.

The shortcomings in broadening the people's democracy would lead to the wrong trends of corruption, malpractices, lavishness, careerism, selfishness and bureaucracy among the party, government leaders and cadres who lead in running the government- state affairs. Due to this, the danger of the party and government leaders getting isolated from the people increases. We have the experience in fighting against such wrong trends. So the leadership should always be engaged in the service of people under the continuous surveillance and control of the working people. We must strive to enhance people's democracy and ensure the huge participation of the people in government-state affairs. This is most essential to liberate DK.

In order to establish this power at the DK level by consolidating the people's democratic power, we have to accrue cadres, professionals, technicians and experts who could work in various spheres at that same level and as widely.

Talking about state power means – giving actual form to it, developing it and creating an alternative system. In any country which takes up the line of area wise seizure of power, the leadership should think seriously about this. For this, depending on the people in the areas where we wish to establish base areas would be the basic policy. For establishing base area, depending on other areas in the country would be secondary. Regarding revolution in one country as a whole, dependence on the assistance of foreign, progressive revolutionary forces would be but secondary. When we take into consideration the social conditions of DK and the historical process through which the movement developed here, though the policy is the same, assistance from other areas assumes more significance.

The central leadership of the party should keep this in view and develop the new power in DK. With regard to the development of political power, i.e. in the matter of building the minimum and necessary machinery what we had done or have been doing till now is much inadequate.

By increasing the participation of the people in the people's government- state affairs, by expanding the people's democracy, by augmenting mass character in the higher level Janathana Circars too, by increasing our political work in people's organizations, by taking up special organizational- training campaigns, by enhancing the capabilities of the cadres and experts working in this sphere, by working creatively to accumulate resources and by developing cadre policy in this sphere we would be able to ensure considerable development in the establishment and development of Janathana Circars.

People are establishing Janathana Circars by defeating the people's enemies and demolishing and destroying the enemy's power locally. Due to this phenomenon, the class struggle has directly and indirectly only intensified and has not ended. The class struggle had extended to all spheres of social life. Now it is being carried out not only in the political and military spheres but also in the ideological, economic and cultural spheres.

The local landlords, bad gentry, a section of the tribal chiefs, reactionary bad elements, a small section of parasitic, anti –people rich persons who had colluded with the exploitative government and depend on its funds had surrendered to the people in the areas where the Janathana Circars have captured power. They tried to conspire internally against the people's power in various ways but had failed. As the offensive of the central and state forces on DK had intensified and with the launching of the reactionary Salwa Judum, most of them had joined the Salwa Judum or had joined hands with the enemy forces and are resorting to cruellest attacks on the people to destroy people's power. The class struggle had intensified to an unprecedented scale between the people and their enemies, between the newly emerging power and the enemy's power. These enemies are carrying on the attacks with double the vengeance in order to gain their lost authority and to continue their exploitation and oppression again. Even while carrying on attacks openly, they are also severely trying to carry on treacherous activities by utilizing the various kinds of

government reform schemes and clandestinely using the links they have with their relatives, friends or clan. The state is building up its intelligence network among the people depending on these people's enemies.

So, in order to preserve their power and develop to the level of DK, the Janathana Circars should not only fight locally but also carry on class struggle with the state in all spheres sharply. In this context, there is great need to adhere to the class line and mass line and to mobilize people actively. To the extent we carry on the class struggle sharply and to the extent we mobilize the people actively in this struggle, we would be able to suppress the enemies of the people, defeat the state offensive and defend the new power. After we had formed the new power organs and had established the political power locally, they are striving to transform the economic, cultural spheres in the rural life to be pro-people and democratic. They had carried out revolutionary land reforms, come forward to form mutual aid teams for development of agriculture and had taken up preservation of forest, education, health and culture. This revolutionary work along with improving the living standards of the people is also helping in fulfilling the main political task of developing people's war. There is need to double our efforts in this field.

We can say that we have made considerable progress in this matter in the recent years. Due to the reactionary Salwa Judum mopping up campaigns conducted by the central, state governments and their police, para- military forces, hundreds of villages had been completely destroyed along with the people's economy in Dantewada and Bijapur districts (South and West Bastar). The PLGA, Janathana Circars, all people's organizations and people had mobilized under our party leadership and had earned great experience in the struggle to defeat the campaigns of the enemy. In the guerilla zones and in the areas where Janathana Circars were formed, the PLGA with the armed assistance of the militia and the consolidated force of the people, continued agricultural production again. Along with many people's militia members, the fighters in PLGA's main and secondary forces, Janathana Circar leaders, members and people were martyred in battles while defending these campaigns.

Likewise the enemy had closed the markets completely, obstructed all supplies, destroyed the economic life of the people completely and tried to get them to surrender. They wanted to stop supplies not only to the people but also to the ever increasing people's forces and Janathana Circars and destroy the initiative of the revolutionary camp. We had countered even this unprecedented grave situation in DK movement and had emerged victorious to a large extent.

One need not have any doubts that the enemy would carry on ruthlessly the most brutal offensive in future, with a long term perspective. So there is a need to devise a plan to fulfill the ever growing needs of the people, people's forces and Janthana Circars, to improve the life standards of the people, to stop forceful migration, to develop production (agriculture, forest, handicrafts etc) and develop trade in DK. There is a need to bring the necessary developments in the people's economy in accordance with the situation where the needs of the people, people's forces and the Janthana Circars are ever increasing and becoming interdependent. If we wish to devise the plan by keeping in mind these needs, we will have to make average estimates about the whole of DK. If we can make estimates about the areas depending on the local Janthana Circars, the Division level Janthana Circars can prepare correct estimates basing on these actual estimates. If we can completely and correctly utilize the situation where people are taking their destiny into their own hands and can formulate and implement, even if at a basic level at present, a plan which coordinates needs, production, consumption, market and capital, then we will be able to take a leap in the economic sphere.

This leap would definitely consolidate the people's political power. For area wise seizure of power and for carrying on people's war, such efforts in the economic sphere are very much necessary. Mobilizing people politically into the economic affairs and enhancing their participation and active role would be decisive.

The PLGA had been formed as a new people's army due to the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of our country by our party for the building of New Democratic Revolutionary movement and due to the efforts we have put among the people in the ideological, political and organizational spheres. From the moment it had been formed the PLGA and it has become the backbone of the revolutionary movement. It is carrying on guerilla warfare and political, organizational work. As a result of this effort new people's power is being created. It was due to this effort that Janathana Circars have been formed in DK. The Janathana Circars are strengthening and expanding and in turn are helping in the strengthening and expanding of PLGA. It means that while the party had imparted Marxism- Leninism-Maoism to the people, the people had created the people's army. While the people's army had helped in creating their power and the people's power is helping in strengthening of the party and army. As the party, people's army and the people's power are gaining strength, people are increasingly joining the political work and people's war. In DK, this strategic practice is continuing as our basic and central practice. This strategic effort should be the focal point of all our practice.

In the catastrophic situation where the imperialists and the Indian ruling classes are bogged down in economic crises and gasping for breath, they are getting terrorized with the developing people's war in the country. They are implementing the LIC (Low Intensity Conflict) policy to counter the people's war.

In the case of Dandakaranya, they are quickly changing their tactics as each of the tactics they had used against the people have been foiled and had failed. With the full support and backing of the imperialists and full assistance and help of the Indian army, with the full support of Andhra Grey Hounds and are carrying on attacks with unprecedented level of coordination with para-military and state police forces. With the strategy of suppressing the newly emerging power, the reactionary ruling classes have chosen DK as the focal point for their offensive.

The reactionary ruling classes had built up Special Forces, special intelligence mechanism and terror gangs using modern methods in order to carry on their LIC policy effectively. They are carrying on psychological warfare to distract the people ideologically and politically and to confuse the people and revolutionary camp and smash it to smithereens. They are resorting to unending deception. For this, they are utilizing reforms, media, old and new false NGOs, religious organizations and all reactionary structures. They are carrying on centralized offensive in all spheres by mobilizing all resources and by bringing all the government departments in the administration under the police department. They are cruelly suppressing those who put forth revolutionary demands and they themselves are falsely focusing them. They are studying every detail which may either help or hinder the counter revolutionary war at the micro-level and are working to utilize the favourable factors to the hilt, and to turn the unfavourable ones in their favour or destroy them completely. In order to justify and legitimize each reactionary action by them they are posing every action in favour of the revolution as illegal and suppressing it. They are modernizing all spheres at high speed (weapons, communication, transport, security, maintenance of records, propaganda, decisions, implementation, coordination etc) in order to get effective results by carrying on high-tech warfare. If we have to explain LIC policy in one sentence, it is a reactionary warfare which carries suppression in the cruelest manner utilizing high-tech and by resorting to endless deception.

We all know that our enemies had developed LIC as a complete reactionary war as part of their strategic and tactical policy, in the process of countering the strategy and tactics of protracted people's war. However, in countering the people's war in our country they had modified the LIC policy according to the concrete conditions here and implementing it. We should also put efforts in all spheres to develop our warfare to suit today's new war situation, for liberating Dandakaranya and to preserve and expand the people's power established in DK. One of the greatest lessons which the Andhra Pradesh revolutionary movement had given to us is – we should prepare ourselves according to the new war situation. As we

could not prepare ourselves in AP the movement suffered a setback there. Or we can say this is also one of the main reasons for our setback in AP.

We will have to carry on an all-out war to counter the enemy's LIC warfare in DK. If we want to counter the enemy effectively and liberate DK, we must definitely develop war according to the new war situation in all spheres such as ideological, political, military, psychological, organizational, economic, cultural, ecological etc. At present, our people's war in this country is in strategic defence. In such a situation, it is not so easy to develop our present day war into a complete war with a correct and comprehensive plan. Our CC and DKSZC have to strive very hard to solve this most complex problem. However, this is not impossible if our central and DK leadership mobilizes our whole party, PLGA, people's organizations, Janathana Circars and people to solve this problem. This is a crucial political- military-organizational task in front of our party today.

Another crucial political-military- organizational task in front of us today is to develop the backbone of people's war i.e. the people's army (PLGA at present) into an invincible army which counters the enemy's reactionary war effectively. The successes or failures which our party, army and people's government leaderships gain while implementing these crucial political, military and organizational tasks would have an effect on the DK revolutionary movement for a long time to come. So, to advance the people's war successfully and liberate DK, we have to develop people's war into complete war according to the new situation, as a counter to the reactionary LIC warfare of the enemy. At present, the conditions in DK are favourable for this.

Comrades!

The successes we had gained till now in people's war which is carried out with the immediate, aim of liberating DK are considerable. The liberation of DK would lead to a great change in the Indian New Democratic Revolution. In order to advance with greater victories for the liberation of DK, we must definitely analyze the favourable and unfavourable conditions faced by our new power from an all- India perspective and formulate tactics.

The favourable conditions which would help the advancement of the struggle for the liberation of DK are as follows– the DK people had tasted power; the revolutionary subjective forces are relatively consolidated; struggle is at a higher level; the positive and negative experiences of AP are in front of us; people's war is continuing in the country. Not only that, the struggles waged by the oppressed people, oppressed nationalities and the workers in our country and in the world are very much favourable to us in gaining victories while we strive to achieve our aim.

Though these favourable conditions exist for the advancement of the movement, we are facing limitations in the following matters - the strength of Janathana Circars, mass base, military strength, the extent of the area of our movement, the help and assistance this movement is getting from all over the country and from other countries, the stronger areas of movement in our country. Added to these, the setback of the AP movement, the severe leadership losses our party suffered in the country and DK becoming the focal point for the enemy's offensive etc are the actual conditions which should be kept in mind while formulating tactics and we should prepare ourselves for tough battles.

We had already decided from a strategic view, the following tasks for the liberation of DK – extension, strengthening party, people's army, people's organizations and Janathana Circars and enhancing their quality, united front – utilizing the contradictions among the enemies, developing the mass struggles breaking out spontaneously into consolidated struggles, education, training, arming, preservation of our subjective forces, rectification etc. All these tasks should be carried out in a planned manner. We must

strive very hard to carry on all political, military, organizational, educational etc campaigns with more coordination. We must utilize the new power – the Janathana Circars to fulfill these tasks successfully.

Comrades!

We must gain immense strength by learning from all the positive experiences in the revolutionary history which were gained while fighting out for political power under the leadership of the proletariat in our country, particularly from the positive experiences of the political power organs. Let us fight bravely for the liberation of DK imbining the spirit and sacrifice of all known and unknown martyrs who had laid down their invaluable lives for the seizure of political power. **Our aim is lofty and great. Our path is full of twists and turns, filled with difficulties and is afar. But the Marxism-Leninism- Maoism in which we were trained is scientific. The protracted people's war which we have chosen is invincible. All our strength lies in the strength of the people. People and people alone are makers of history. Imperialists and all kinds of reactionary rulers are nothing but paper tigers.** Let us advance with determination for the liberation of DK by creatively applying to our practice the Maoist strategic and tactical principles which say that strategically put one against ten and tactically put ten against one. I hope that the Janathana Circar magazine which you are launching would serve as a powerful instrument in achieving this lofty aim. I whole heartedly wish that your venture would be a complete success.

With revolutionary greetings,

Ganapathy, **General Secretary, CPI (Maoist)**

Lenin's birthday, 2009