



# COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)

## CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Press Release

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### **CC, CPI (Maoist) out rightly rejects all the vicious, baseless and sham allegations made by Sabyasachi Panda In cahoots with the ruling classes And expels him from the party for his betrayal**

Sabyasachi Panda, the secretary of our Odisha State Organizing Committee released a 16-page letter addressed to the General Secretary of our party, Comrade Ganapathy to the media on 14-07-2012. In cahoots with the ruling classes he spit venom on the CPI (Maoist) and the revolutionary movement led by it and hurled several baseless, sham allegations and fabricated lies. He released this letter with the evil intention of liquidating the party and the revolutionary movement, discarded the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and left the vanguard party of the proletariat. He openly declared that he is completely disassociating himself from the People's War line and revolutionary practice and exposed his modern revisionist face. In the most abominable, crooked and conspiratorial manner he betrayed the party and revolution and the great cause of the toiling masses, particularly of the oppressed masses of Odisha and proved himself to be a renegade

Sabyasachi Panda worked for some period in the CPI (M) and later in the CPI (ML)-Liberation. He was influenced by the revolutionary movement and joined the erstwhile CPI (ML) [PU] in 1998 leaving the right opportunist Liberation party. Due to the merger of parties he continued to work in the erstwhile CPI (ML) [PW] and latter in CPI (Maoist). He worked as a member of the AOBSSZC between 2003 and 2005, as a member of Odisha State Organizing Committee from 2005 and as its secretary since 2008. In his 15 year long practice, though he worked in a revolutionary party he failed to transform himself into a genuine proletarian revolutionary and had been criticized several times by his colleagues, cadres and the CC comrades for his anti-revolutionary opportunist political views, stands and practice. Even in the state level Special Plenum held in December last year, when he was criticized he accepted only some of his mistakes that too for namesake and escaped answering some of them. This coward ran away leaving the revolutionary movement instead of sincerely realizing and rectifying his mistakes like a true proletarian revolutionary.

His 16-page letter is full of rotten lies, distortions and twisting of facts and there is not an iota of truth in them whatsoever. They were hurled with the most awful intention of liquidation and destruction of revolutionary movement in Odisha and damaging the image of our party that is serving as a ray of hope for the toiling masses and renowned for dedication to a great cause, the cause of liberation of our country and selfless unparalleled sacrifices. It is an open secret that he hurled them with the evil and appalling intention of fulfilling his selfish political motives that serve the ruling classes. Ruling classes bring to the fore people like Panda to gain legitimacy for the foul propaganda they carry on about the revolutionary movement and such phenomena occur frequently in history. The enemy has been hurling such fabricated lies on several of our leaders like comrades Charu Mazumdar and Kanhai Chatterji, on our party and the revolutionary movement ever since the launch of the revolutionary movement by keeping opportunists like Panda in the front.

Before going into the allegations made by Panda and the reasons behind them, we want to clearly state the fact that our party conducts meetings, plenums and conferences in order to correct and improve our practice and to advance with higher tasks. It realizes its mistakes and corrects them through criticism – self-criticism, reviews and rectification campaigns taken up specifically. This is a continuous process. Panda's evil intentions can be gauged from the fact that in spite of knowing all these things he placed before the people his 16-pages of sham allegations. The actual fact is that he decided to leave the party as he was not ready to rectify himself in such a process.

The list of Mr. Panda's filthy and foul-smelling allegations is long enough, some of the allegations he hurled prominently are as follows :

1. Violence for no reason and killings of innocent persons has become the norm for the Maoists; cadres are being ordered to kill innocent and unarmed policemen indiscriminately 2. There is domination of Telugu and Koya comrades in the Party. 3. Adivasis are exploited the most by the Maoists, they are made to cook and carry luggage; cadre are not allowed to meet their families even during festivals; Adivasi women are being exploited sexually by the Maoists 4. Ganapathy wants to establish a dictatorship based on terror and fear.

State suppresses people fighting for their rights with all kinds of weapons available with it. And if that fight is for the liberation of the people i.e., for the political power of the toiling masses, the state suppresses it most severely. Its police, paramilitary and military carry on this offensive from the front while all its other components participate most cruelly in the offensive in a planned, coordinated and conspiratorial manner. So it becomes absolutely necessary for people to resort to armed struggle. Anybody who knows ABC of Marxism would know about this fundamental and primary principle about revolutionary violence. Nobody would think that Panda did not know about this party line when he left the right opportunist CPI (ML)-Liberation party, accepted the line of the revolutionary party and joined the party and when he accepted the line of the Unity Congress. However as Panda wanted to disassociate himself from the party, he is spitting venom that Maoists resort to violence for no reason and that they are killing innocent people. He is trying to show that he is opposing all this so that the Indian state takes a benevolent attitude towards him. Class enemies like Laxmananand and Jagbandhu, government armed forces and officers who carry on the state repression and participate in it, who severely torture the people, destroy their lives in all aspects and resort to killings, are suddenly being perceived as innocents by Panda. He is displaying more faith than the master to kowtow before the ruling classes and is surpassing the enemy foul propaganda in uttering lies.

Panda is resorting to the age-old cheap 'divide and rule' tactic of the British colonialists and the Indian ruling classes who are retracing their steps by making the allegation that Telugu and Koya comrades are dominating in Odisha. The revolutionary movement led by CPI (Maoist) follows the path of Protracted People's War and builds the revolutionary movement to finally seize political power all over the country by spreading from smaller areas to vaster areas, isolated areas to all over the country, and by developing from a small force to a mighty force. From the beginning with a strategic outlook it deploys its forces in various areas accordingly and carries on the work. It develops local mass base, develops party and army and establishes area-wise political power. By following this line, it brings a change in the strength of forces, finally surrounds the cities and captures political power all over the country. Keeping this in view, every member of our party must be prepared to go to any part of the country to work. Moreover, as internationalists communists must be prepared to go any country or area and work shoulder to shoulder with the people there for their liberation. The entire history of Indian revolution indicates that revolutionary movement spread to various parts of the country due to the determined and revolutionary efforts of comrades who left their areas and states and went to other areas and states to work. Such comrades learnt the languages, respected the cultures of the people there and integrated themselves with them. The movements built in new areas are proof of this collective effort of comrades. Due to his narrow-minded regionalism not just today, but Panda could never accept the fact that comrades from other states are coming and working in Odisha. Instead of appreciating the selflessness of those comrades he continuously and conspiratorially tried to create a divide between them and the Odiya comrades by resorting to factionist methods. Panda displayed narrow-minded regional chauvinism towards comrades from other states who came to work in Odisha according to the needs of the movement and behaved in a domineering, undemocratic and sectarian manner with them. The fact is Odiya people and the Odiya comrades have happily welcomed and accepted the fact that comrades from Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh are coming to work for them and with them. We hope that those handful of cadres who are with Panda would rethink about the People's War path, see through the lie and expose him by realizing his conspiracies.

Nothing could be more deceiving than Panda shedding crocodile tears like the ruling class butchers and hurling accusations about the 'exploitation of Adivasis' by the Maoists even while discarding the aim of liberating the Adivasis as part of people's revolutionary movement. For Panda who never participated in collective works while he was in the party, the striving of Adivasi comrades for revolution by bringing out their energy to the full voluntarily and with the highest level of revolutionary consciousness is looking like 'exploitation by Maoists' after he wore the glasses of the ruling classes. And, who are Maoists? Who are Adivasis? Are not all the Adivasi comrades inside the party Maoists? We are not at all surprised that the individual labor necessary in the daily life of a revolutionary movement, the collective labor necessary in military, technical, production-development, welfare and other fields and the various kinds of labor that people do in the course of people's movements looks like 'exploitation by Maoists' to this brand new opportunist who left the revolution and became an apologist for the ruling classes. In a proletarian party everybody does one's own work as part of daily life. Everybody participates in collective works and carries luggage too. Patients, physically weak persons and those with special responsibilities are extended help by other comrades. A people's army itself means that apart from participating in war it does its works like cooking and carrying luggage that are an integral part of it on its own. Everybody must

inevitably do all these works as part of People's War with no discrimination based on nationality, gender, region etc. This has happened in all the guerilla zones in our country and is still continuing. In fact, the culture in a Maoist party is a democratic, socialist culture that does not discriminate between man and woman, literate and illiterate and cadres and leaders. This is one of the major factors in attracting a huge number of Adivasis towards our party. It is this kind of culture that our party strives to spread among millions of people.

The allegation that Maoists are raping and sexually harassing women in the party/Adivasi women has been hurled repeatedly by the state. In what other manner can we expect the newly turned renegade to attack the Maoists than in the heinous manner of the ruling classes? The answer given by our party several times in the past is the answer to this allegation now too. But the best answer to this allegation is being given by the hundreds of women comrades who are joining the party, the thousands-lakhs of members in revolutionary women's organizations along with the women in our movement areas and the hundreds of women martyrs who had laid down their lives for the liberation of the toiling people in the past 45 years since Naxalbari.

Since communist party was formed in India in 1925 till now, in the more than 90 years of Indian communist movement's history, it is not an exaggeration to say that never before had the communist party integrated itself with the people, their culture and all the aspects relating to people's lives as in the past 25 years. Not only had our party integrated but it is also holding aloft all the progressive elements in the political and cultural lives of the people, imbibing them, developing them and revolutionizing them. The revolutionary masses would anyway not believe the allegation by Panda who worked as a state secretary that party is not allowing activists to go home even for festivals. This is just another instance of an opportunistic attack by him to make those who are not familiar with the realities of the revolutionary movement to believe that the revolutionary party is so horrible as to not send activists home even for festivals.

The allegation that Ganapathy wants to establish a dictatorship based on terror and fear is so ridiculous that it in fact does not even deserve an explanation. CPI (Maoist) is not at all any bourgeois party. Its immediate aim is to overthrow the present semi-colonial, semi-feudal system in our country and establish new democratic revolutionary rule, i.e., the democratic dictatorship of four classes – workers, peasants, petty-bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie under the leadership of the proletariat and based on worker-peasant unity. Its ultimate goal is the establishment of socialism and communism. Panda is fully aware of this. Panda is making false allegation on comrade Ganapathy and our party with the selfish motive of gaining a place through compromise in the dictatorship of the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the land lords that are in collusion with the imperialists and carrying on an unprecedented despotic rule wearing the mask of parliamentary democracy.

In reality, it was Panda who was trying to establish his dictatorship inside Odisha. After seeing the reviews and decisions made in the Special Plenum he realized that the party cadres are no longer prepared to accept his domination. They criticized his bureaucratic behavior and his undemocratic and sectarian attitude towards comrades from other states. Realizing that he can no longer carry on his bureaucratic methods, this opportunist decided to quit the party and doubled his preparations for the same since then.

In fact, Panda stopped contacting the Odisha state in-charge CC comrade since the completion of the state level Special Plenum. Since then, for nearly half a year he went on spitting venom on the party in interviews and statements. This created political and organizational problems in the party and caused severe damage to the Odisha movement as he was taking stands that were against the decisions of the Special Plenum, party's political line and policies. He resorted to downright opportunistic methods during the arrest of Italian tourists under his leadership. He declared a one-sided seize-fire for the entire state of Odisha. But in fact, it was not correct on his part to declare so when two different state border party committees are working in considerable parts of Odisha and its borders and he had no right to dictate terms to the other two party committees. He not only openly criticized AOB comrades for arresting a MLA and killing a SI after he had declared his one-sided seize fire but even went to the extent of saying that it had become a fashion for AOB comrades to kill.

Keeping aside the reviews made by the entire party under Odisha SOC, he declared that the annihilations of class enemies Laxmananda and Jagbandhu were not correct. He began a malicious campaign by giving statements in the name of comrade Nikhil, trying to create divide between comrades hailing from various communities and states. It is not a coincidence that when stories were being published continuously in the media about Panda leaving the party and forming a new group, Panda who always stays in touch with the media did not release any explanation. It is clear as the day that since the completion of the Special Plenum, Panda had been planning to desert the party and resorted to all these opportunistic methods and liquidationist activities. Finally he quit the party as a culmination of his degeneration.

Panda took a right opportunist stand regarding some political issues that came to the fore in the course of the Odisha movement and finally degraded into a revisionist who rejects the line of Protracted People's War. His sectarian, bureaucratic, ultra-democratic, factionist attitudes, careerism, craving for name and fame and

organizational indiscipline caused severe damage to the Odisha party and the movement. He sought an easy life and was not hard-working. This opportunist utilized the situation where Odisha party and the State Organizing Committee that were in the course of consolidating faced severe losses and the enemy offensive was seriously concentrated on the CC, to carry on his disruptionist activities. The root for all this lies in his spilling over individualism which keeps the individual at the centre. Apart from this, there has been a considerable change in the counter-revolutionary war carried on by the Indian ruling classes with the full support of the imperialists, particularly US imperialists since mid-2009 in the name of Operation Green Hunt. Panda's degeneration and betrayal must be seen in the context of the country-wide, multi-pronged massive military offensive that is being carried out on our movement since then. Party suffered serious losses all over the country in this offensive. Even Odisha state where class struggle is still weak had to bear the brunt and it suffered serious losses from end-2010. The offensive is bound to intensify in this state too. The reason for the intensification of this massive offensive is the MNC and our country's comprador corporate interests that want to crush every organization and the people that prove a hurdle to their plunder of natural resources and raw materials in backward countries like India. As the financial crisis that is engulfing the world economy intensifies, the offensive on the revolutionary party, its leadership, movement and the oppressed and toiling masses would also be intensified in proportion by them in order to come out of it. In such a backdrop, to lead the revolutionary movement is like walking a sword's edge for any leader of the revolutionary party. Any true party leader would strive to utilize the excellent revolutionary material conditions in the country and the world to politically prepare the people, to develop the People's War and turn the tide in favor of the revolution. It requires commitment towards revolutionary ideology, tremendous grit, courageous decision-making, mobilizing the party, people's army and the people in a unified way, and sacrificing nature to fulfill this task. It requires a steely will to transform oneself and the party according to the needs and tasks of the revolution. Those who do not display these qualities either fail to give leadership to the revolution or lose their capacity to lead. Some among them run away like cowards from the battlefield or join the enemy ranks. These opportunists and renegades take the side of the ruling classes and resort to all kinds of allegations to cover up the fact. There have been such renegades not only in our party history but also in the revolutions of various countries in the past and Panda would not be the last one.

Keeping all these things in view, our Central Committee began putting special efforts to rectify him by placing all allegations on Panda in front of him in a political manner and giving him a chance to rectify. But since the completion of the state level Special Plenum, he cut his contacts with the CC in-charge comrade and went on attacking our party, movement and the leadership openly and in a series. As a culmination of all this, he released this letter to the media and proved himself to be a renegade. So our CC is expelling Sabyasachi Panda from the party and declaring the fact to our party comrades in Odisha, the entire revolutionary masses and the revolutionary camp in our country.

We are appealing to the Odisha comrades, mass organizations of Odisha and the revolutionary-democratic masses to condemn Panda's enemy-like opportunistic stand towards our party, movement and leadership and the pro-ruling class, anti-people stands taken by him and to completely reject him and his rotten modern revisionist politics and his allegations. History has proven several times that renegades such as Panda who boast about themselves as the heroes of revolution and who are focused as such by the ruling classes would be relegated to the dustbin and that the true revolutionary party, its leaders and the revolutionary masses led by it would advance en-route for victory in the midst of great storms and whirlwinds with undaunted courage and bravery. It is people who are makers of history and not sham revolutionaries like Panda. Our party is fully confident that the revolutionary masses of Odisha would certainly reject traitors like Panda who try to be in the limelight in the name of Odisha and immerse themselves in the service of the ruling classes to their heart's content and that the Odisha comrades and the vast toiling masses would follow the revolutionary path under the leadership of the CPI (Maoist).



**(Anand)**

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For Central Committee,  
CPI (Maoist)**