



## **Maoist Information Bulletin - 29**

**January-June 2014**

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# **COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)**

## **CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

**May Day, 2014**

### **Merger Declaration of CPI(Maoist) and CPI(M-L)Naxalbari**

### **Hail the Merger of the Maoist Parties in India into a Single Party !**

On this occasion of the International day of the world proletariat, the glorious May Day, we the Maoists of India, with a great sense of responsibility and firm conviction, announce the merger of the CPI (Maoist) and CPI(M-L) Naxalbari into a single party, to be known as CPI(Maoist). Thus strengthening the vanguard of the Indian proletariat, which is a contingent of the world proletariat, we dedicate ourselves evermore firmly to the cause of the Indian revolution and the world proletarian revolution.

The Maoist movement took form through the great Naxalbari uprising of 1967. Inspired and led by comrades Charu Mazumdar and Kanhai Chatterjee, founder leaders of our party, thousands of leaders, cadres and masses laid down their invaluable lives to advance the revolutionary movement and build a strong party.

After the setback of early 1970s and the martyrdom of comrade Charu Mazumdar, the communist revolutionary forces were divided into many groups. The genuine revolutionaries while trying to build the movement in their respective areas made serious attempts to unify all revolutionaries into a single party. In the course of this process over the last four decades the two main streams represented by the erstwhile CPI (ML) (People's War) and the MCCI merged into a single party, the CPI (Maoist), on 21<sup>st</sup> September 2004. This marked a qualitative leap in realizing a long drawn aspiration of the workers, peasants and other oppressed masses to build a single directing centre leading the new democratic revolutionary war in India to success and marching forward to establishing socialism and then communism. Similarly, the CPI (ML) Naxalbari made serious efforts to unify all genuine Maoist forces by fighting against the revisionism of erstwhile CRC, CPI (ML) led by the liquidationist K. Venu and Red Flag led by the opportunist KN Ramachandran. As a culmination of these processes the two parties the CPI (Maoist) and CPI (ML) Naxalbari have unified, thus our party, the CPI (Maoist), have been further strengthened. This unification has proved beyond doubt that, on the one hand, by mobilising oppressed masses in Protracted People's War against the ruling classes and imperialism and, on the other, by adhering to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the revolutionary line of the party and waging persistent struggle against the revisionists and liquidationists, all the genuine Maoist forces can unite into a single party, however long a process it might be. Our party shall continue the task of unifying all the genuine revolutionary forces functioning in various ML groups.

The unified party takes Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as its guiding ideology and deepens its understanding by upholding, defending and applying it creatively. Continuously summing up the lessons of its revolutionary practice and learning from the experiences of the revolutionary contingents of the proletariat and struggling people all over the world it develops its line and practice. It shoulders the tasks of carrying out the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist new democratic revolution. This revolution leads to socialism and further to communism by continuing the revolution through cultural revolutions. Imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism are the targets of the new democratic revolution, whose main content is the armed agrarian revolution. The path of revolution is that of protracted people's war. The contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses is principal. It considers that the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations and peoples is the principal contradiction at the world level. It is intensifying along with the other basic contradictions in the world.

The unity now achieved gives a boost to the capacity of the CPI (Maoist) to better fulfill its role as the vanguard of the Indian revolution. Over decades of arduous struggle, sacrificing thousands of lives of great communist leaders, red fighters and oppressed masses, the CPI (Maoist) has developed the people's war in India to the level where guerilla bases and red political power, in the form of Revolutionary Peoples Committees, have been established in central and eastern India, protected by the People's Liberation Guerilla Army and the People's Militia. This has been achieved by fighting against most vicious suppression campaigns, now

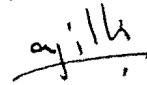
concentrated in Operation Green Hunt - a war against the people. As part of this, tens of thousands of people have been brutally attacked. Murder, rape, burning down houses and destroying crops, forcible displacement and many other inhuman practices are common. Now the Indian state is actively rehearsing airborne and ground attack with its air force and army. But despite this murderous onslaught the protracted people's war continues to advance in waves. The recent expansion it has made in the southern part of the Western Ghats situated along the western coast of the Indian peninsula is proof that the flames of revolution will continue to spread till the Indian state, this pillar of imperialism in South Asia, is destroyed.

When the imperialists and their lackey ruling classes all over the world are trapped in an unabated crisis, the favourable revolutionary situation in the world has led to intense class struggles in the imperialist world and people's wars led by Maoists and anti-imperialist struggles by other forces in oppressed countries. In India, on the one hand, the ruling classes have deployed four lakhs of its mercenary forces in central and eastern India, where the class struggle has reached the stage of intense revolutionary civil war, emerging as a revolutionary alternative, which is inspiring vast oppressed masses towards revolution and is concretised in the formation of People's Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA) and the new democratic state in its embryonic form. It is stepping up militarisation of Western Ghats to crush the budding revolutionary armed struggle. On the other hand, it is forcibly thrusting the anti-people globalisation policies on the workers, peasants, adivasis, dalits, women and other oppressed masses, leading to an increase in militant struggles. Utilising this favourable situation the party will make greater efforts to advance the revolutionary movement to a higher level and better fulfill its international tasks. It will strive go all out to mobilise the masses in lakhs, intensify and expand the guerrilla war, meet the critical challenges faced by the revolutionary movement and overcome them.

Painfully aware of the deep suffering and misery in which the vast majority of the people are forced to live in India and the world over by the inhuman world imperialist system, conscious of the devastation caused by this system on the global environment and the very existence of life on this earth, cherishing the memories of the thousands of martyrs who laid down their lives for the cause of communism, and rallying under the Red Flag crimson with their blood, we pledge to make this unity we have achieved a powerful weapon of revolution.



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



**Ajith**  
**Secretary**  
**CPI(M-L)Naxalbari**

## **Hold High the Red Flag Dipped in the Blood of Martyrs! Declare that the People's War Path Treaded by them is the Way for the Liberation of our Country!**

*Call of the Central Committee, CPI (Maoist) to its entire party ranks, PLGA commanders-fighters, Revolutionary People's Committees-Revolutionary Mass Organizations and the revolutionary masses to observe Martyrs' Memorial Week from July 28 to August 3 with revolutionary fervor*

**Dear Comrades,**

Laying down one's life for the people is loftier than the Himalayas. Dying for the exploiting classes is lighter than a feather. Life is the most precious possession humans have. Communist revolutionaries completely dedicate themselves for social revolution and the interests of the people. They strive hard for achieving their goal with resolute commitment and sacrifice everything including their lives. Every great transformation seeks sacrifice. Since the emergence of classes, the entire history of the society is the history of class struggle. Equally true is the fact that the entire history of class struggle is a history of sacrifice.

During the course of the New Democratic Revolution (NDR) going on in our country for the past 47 years since the glorious Naxalbari armed peasant rebellion, thousands of comrades and people made great sacrifices while advancing Protracted People's War along the path of (PPW) blazed by the founders of our party, great leaders and martyrs and comrade Kanhai year, during the fascist offensive, the War Hunt (OGH) waged and classes with the full imperialists, particularly [All India – 2 , Bihar-Jharkhand (BJ) – 24, Odisha – 4, Telangana West Bengal – 3, Gujarat - 1] toiling masses of our country lives.



beloved daughters and sons of the have laid down their invaluable course of NDRs in the and Peru; in the proletarian imperialist countries; in the that are subjected to imperialist wars of aggression and other countries; in struggles against all kinds of reactionaries world over, several Maoists, workers, peasants, students, youth, intellectuals, democrats, employees, women and other people have laid down their lives all over the world.

On the occasion of our Martyrs' Memorial Week, let us humbly pay our homage with bowed heads to all these martyrs who breathed their last as part of the Indian revolution and the revolutions in the world. Let us vow with clenched fists that we would fight with steely determination and with their inspiration to fulfill their aspirations and dreams.

The Central Committee, CPI (Maoist) calls upon its entire party ranks, PLGA commanders-fighters, Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs), revolutionary mass organizations and the revolutionary masses to observe Martyrs' Memorial Week from July 28 to August 3 with revolutionary fervor. It calls upon them to commemorate the sacrifices of our beloved martyrs who laid down their invaluable lives for the cause of the great revolution in our country and hold them aloft.

Our CC humbly pays its red homage to all our beloved martyrs. On this ever inspiring occasion it gives

a call to rededicate ourselves for the fulfillment of the great and selfless aims of our martyrs.

The Indian ruling classes following the LIC policy dictated by the US imperialists have intensified their offensive in the past one year and more numbers of comrades at lower levels were martyred in these deceptive offensives. Utilizing modern weaponry, technological know how, training, supremacy in numbers and a vast modern propaganda machinery the mercenary police-paramilitary of the government are depending on deceptive offensives to wipe out our people's guerilla forces, revolutionary mass organization leadership and local party leadership. In fact, LIC itself means a deceptive war. The Indian ruling classes are carrying on this deceptive war with a two-pronged policy of offensives and reforms with the aim of completely decimating the Maoist movement in our country.

In the past one year, 33 of our brave fighters laid down their lives in encounters with the enemy forces while valiantly fighting back the enemy attacks. 66 comrades were martyred in fake encounters, massacres and in the attacks of black gangs and goons. 13 common, unarmed people died in enemy massacres. Led by our party the PLGA forces and People's Militia conducted tactical counter-offensive attacks and campaigns in which 118 mercenary police, commando and paramilitary forces were wiped out and 276 suffered injuries. During these brave guerilla actions of our forces two guerillas lost their lives. 12 comrades were martyred due to grave illnesses, accidents and other such causes.

Among the comrades who were martyred in the past one year are leaders of the Indian revolution comrades Sushil Roy and Rawoof; veteran comrades Suniti Kumar Ghosh, Akula Bhoomaiah and Kardam Bhatt; senior women comrades Gajjela Sarojana and Shantakka (South Bastar, DK); two DVCMs Naresh and Lalsu and a sub-ZCM comrade Kameshwar Singh @ Brijeshji (Garhwa, Jharkhand). A total of 13 AC/PPCMs were martyred – (DK-comrades Bojjal, Danni, Rita, Naveen, Veeru, Naveen, Sunil, Punni, Syamco, Darbar; AOB – comrades Manganna, Dumbri, Sireesha and Golla Ramulu). Among our martyrs are 67 Party/PLGA members [DK – comrades Apka Santi, Jyoti, Vijay, Pamula Chandu, Somal, Tati Hitesh, Sudhir, Sarita, Rajesh, Madhuri; BJ – comrade Ramesh Munda; AOB – comrade Ural; Odisha – comrades Santosh, Dhanaji, Sukkai; Telangana – comrade Ramu; AP - comrades Jana Baburao, Nagamani, Kavita; staff comrade Rakesh (DK), cultural activist comrade Kosa (Malkangiri, AOB) and five mass organization/RPC leaders comrades Boti, Phagu and Sukhram of DK and comrade Hemant Mahato and another comrade from West Bengal]. Two children comrade Pardesi –Latehar, Jharkhand and comrade Gangi of Malkangiri, AOB were also martyred. 17 various people's militia unit commanders and members (DK – comrades Phagu, Jogal, Unga; AOB – comrades Ganga, Oora, Irma, Podiya) were martyred. A total of 21 women comrades were martyred in this period. Three comrades were martyred in prison with serious illnesses due to the neglect of jail authorities (DK – Ramlal, Budhram; AOB – Rama Kovasi).

Comrade Sushil Roy (Ashok, Shome, Barunda), our veteran Politburo member and illustrious leader of the Indian Revolution passed away on June 18<sup>th</sup>, 2014 at All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS) in Delhi after prolonged illnesses. The proletariat and toiling masses of our country have lost one of their greatest sons who selflessly served them for nearly half a century till his last breath, with nothing but their interests and the interests of the revolution in his heart. Comrade Sushil Roy is immortal!

Comrade Sushil Roy was born 76 years ago in present day Bangladesh. He became active in the communist movement in the early 1960s in his early 20s. He worked in the working class movement and joined the CPI in 1963. He was active in the anti-US demonstrations decrying its unjust war on Vietnam and the 1966 food movement. He became part of the internal struggle against the revisionists in CPI. Like many of his contemporaries he hoped that the formation of CPI(M) that was formed by splitting with the revisionist CPI would evolve into a revolutionary party and joined it in 1964.

He came into contact with comrades KC and Amulya Sen who were rigorously engaged in ideological, political and organizational preparations for a revolutionary party and a new democratic revolution on the lines of Chinese revolution. The clarion call of the Spring Thunder of Naxalbari that broke the back of revisionism and he supported and hailed it as 'Naxalbari Ek Hi Raasta' (the only way). He was part of the *Chinta* and *Dakshin Desh* Group from the very beginning and was one of the founding members of the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC). He became a professional revolutionary and went to far away villages in West Bengal to work with a strategic perspective.

As part of creatively putting the line of Protracted People's War (PPW) into practice, the MCC gained first experiences in building the movement in Sonarpur and Kanksa areas in West Bengal. The party deeply

reviewed the shortcomings that led to the temporary setback of these struggles. In true communist spirit, serious attempts were taken up to advance the movement in Gaya-Hazaribagh (of erstwhile Bihar), where work was started under the direct leadership of comrade KC with a strategic plan of building a people's army and base areas by learning from past mistakes. Soon the flames of armed agrarian revolution spread and the enemy repression also became serious. In spite of some serious losses the movement withstood the enemy onslaught under the able leadership of the party that included comrade Sushil Roy. They laid down the basis for building a strong proletarian party, a people's army and a revolutionary united front and achieved significant advances in the course of armed agrarian revolution.

After the untimely demise of comrade KC due to severe ill health on 18<sup>th</sup> July 1982, Comrade Sushil Roy who assumed the responsibility of the Secretary of MCC in 1982 took up this challenge and strove to mobilize the party in a united manner and develop it and build the movement firmly adhering to the party line. He was elected as the Secretary of the party in the first Central Conference of MCC in 1989. He ably led the party till 1996 as the Secretary of the party. His contributions and services in the ideological, political, organizational, military and cultural spheres proved invaluable in building a strong party and movement, particularly in Bihar-Jharkhand and Bengal, starting as a small group in a small area. He won the confidence of his committee, lower level committees and the entire rank and file of the party through his commitment, proletarian strategic leadership capabilities, hard work, guidance, perseverance and selfless services. Due to serious loss of vision and ill-health he voluntarily put the proposal to step down as the Secretary of the party. The party accepted his proposal in the second Central Conference held in 1996 and he continued as the CCM of the party since then. He continued playing a crucial role in the CC and the party, particularly in ideological and political sphere, successfully conducting two line struggles inside the party, summing up the movement, developing international relations and achieving unity with CPI(ML)[PW] and other genuine Maoist organizations etc

Comrade Sushil Roy's role in achieving unity with genuine revolutionaries in the country needs very special mention in the annals of the communist movement of India. Unity efforts with PW started in 1981 itself under the direct leadership of comrade KC and laid strong foundation for the unity. Apart from other factors, ultimately the efforts for unity between MCC and PW began to bear fruit after the unilateral ceasefire declared by the MCC in 2000 which was a turning point and he played the crucial role in this decision. He played a crucial role all through the process of achieving this great unity. He participated as a leading member of the high-level delegation from MCCI in the entire merger process.

After the merger, as a veteran comrade of our party and a Politburo member, he was engaged in completing the merger process at the lower levels and in the effort to mould the entire party in the new conditions of functioning as a united party. He was part of the preparations for conducting the Unity Congress and was also looking after some international work.

The development of the party, PLGA and mass base took a qualitative turn after the merger under a single guiding centre for the Indian revolution and the people's war advanced. So, the reactionary ruling classes of India, with the guidance of their imperialist masters, drew up meticulous plans to arrest or eliminate the leadership of the newly-formed CPI(Maoist). Accordingly, soon comrade Sushil Roy was arrested on May 21<sup>st</sup>, 2005. He was interrogated, subjected to mental torture and put in jail after foisting several false cases. He was subjected to the most inhuman, callous treatment in the prisons of West Bengal and Jharkhand. In fact, he was given bails two or three times during this entire period of incarceration but he was booked under false cases in front of the jail gates and once again put in prisons to keep the leadership permanently in prisons to keep them from leading and serving the revolution. With utter disregard towards his old age and physical ailments he was kept in solitary confinement without any assistance. That led to the rapid deterioration of his health and also to a fracture of his hip bone. It was only belatedly in September 2012 that he was admitted to the AIIMS in Delhi that too due to the strong protests and efforts made by several democratic organizations.

He suffered from cancer in the urinary bladder. The doctors had already removed a tumor from the bladder and another operation was performed for cancer. He had heart problem (eschemia), prostrate cancer and one kidney was completely damaged while another was infected. But he fought with his various illnesses like a warrior till his last breath. It was his revolutionary spirit that made him lives for some more time than his physical health.

Not for a single moment did comrade Sushil Roy lose his heart or spirit in such an extremely excruciating



**Com. Lalsu (DVCM)**



**Com. Shamco (ACM)**



**Com. Punni (ACM)**



**Com. Veeru (ACM)**

**Bethkati Martyrs (Gondia Division)**



**Com. Naveen (ACM)**



**Com. Sunil (ACM)**



**Com. Rajesh (PPCM)**



**Com. Sirisha (ACM)**

**AOB Martyr**



**Com. Moti (ACM)**

**OSSC Martyr**



**Com. Rakesh (PM)**

**(Martyred due to Snake bite)**

period of physical pain and disability. He led a very simple life. He remained unmarried till the end. He stood steadfast in all the ups and downs the movement faced after the severe repression unleashed by the state after Naxalbari, Sonarpur and Kanksa movements and later. The entire life of comrade Sushil Roy has been inseparably intertwined with the ups and downs, twists and turns, glories and successes of the Indian communist movement. He never wavered and stood like a pillar in fulfilling whichever responsibility the party entrusted him with. He always started with a positive approach towards other movements and parties to learn from them and studied them with a critical outlook. His study was deep. He was very patient in dealing with comrades. He faced almost every kind of difficulty one could face in a revolutionary life but he overcame all of them with the dignity befitting a true communist. The great leader of the Indian revolution and the CPI (Maoist) Comrade Sushil Roy would forever illuminate our path like a red sun!

On February 9, the senior-most leader of the Indian revolutionary movement comrade S.A. Rawoof was martyred due to serious illness and old age. Comrade Rawoof (89) fought with the revisionist leadership

entrenched in the India communist movement since the 1950s, supported the Naxalbari upsurge, fought with revisionism and neo-revisionism and gave leadership by striving to build the revolutionary movement in Andhra Pradesh by declaring that Naxalbari is the only path. Com. Rawoof hailed the Srikakulam armed agrarian struggle and became an active member of CPI (M-L) by becoming a professional revolutionary following the call of the party. He was elected as a member of the AP state committee of the CPI (M-L) in 1970 and led the revolutionary movement in AP till his arrest three years later. He was one of the prominent communist revolutionaries who carried on ideological and political struggle against the right opportunist theories of Devulapalli, Nagi Reddy and Pulla Reddy. Com. Rawoof never shied away from expressing his opinion sharply against what he perceived as wrong ideological-political positions in whichever party he was associated with. He broke away from the AP state committee in the 1970s to form AP Reorganization Committee, CPI (M-L). He gave leadership for about a decade as the founder Secretary of CPI (M-L) Naxalbari. The Naxalbari party led by him played a prominent role in RIM. Unflinching in the face of several ebbs and flows of the movement and state repression, comrade Rawoof stood as a great leader till his last breath with unwavering commitment to the revolution, steely determination and will power. With the recent merger of the CPI (Maoist) and the CPI (M-L) Naxalbari parties into a single party, his dream to unite the genuine revolutionaries in India around the Maoist revolutionary line came true. Com. Rawoof's lifelong commitment to the ideological-political line of Naxalbari and Com. CM's teachings, his consistent fight against revisionism and right opportunism, his keenness to integrate with the masses, propensity for hard work, simple living, keenness to learn from the experiences of other revolutionaries even when in disagreement with them – such communist values inspire us to follow the path he has shown towards the liberation of the oppressed masses. Let us clench our fists to vow one more time to realize his dreams in the path of PPW by holding high his aims.

In this same period our beloved senior comrade Suniti Kumar Ghosh breathed his last on May 11 at the age of 96. He participated in the historic Tebhaga movement and in the internal struggles against old and new revisionisms that were turning points in the Indian communist movement. With the upsurge of Naxalbari armed peasant rebellion he participated directly in the Indian NDR. He was elected as one of the founder CC members of CPI (M-L). He played an efficient role as a contributor of *Deshabrati* and editor of *Liberation* magazines. After the temporary setback of Naxalbari, though he withdrew from the party and the movement, he continued as a friend and well-wisher of CPI (M-L) (PW), CPI (M-L) PU, MCCI and later of CPI (Maoist) and other revolutionary organizations. He upheld Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM). He studied tirelessly. As a revolutionary intellectual he tried to substantiate ideologically and politically the basic line brought forth by the glorious Naxalbari struggle through vast and deep study. His historical and analytical writings would remain a great treasure for several decades to come. Comrade Suniti Kumar's life was entwined with the twists and turns of the Indian communist movement from the 1940s onwards which took a decisive turn with the historic Naxalbari upsurge. The life-long fight he carried on against revisionism is unforgettable. Though several of his initial fellow travelers turned into renegades, betrayers and opportunists, he basically held high the Naxalbari line till his last breath. The CPI (Maoist) would always cherish in its heart his contributions and would utilize them in advancing the PW in India.

The leader of the Democratic Telangana movement and revolutionary intellectual comrade Akula Bhoomaiah was murdered by the exploiting ruling classes conspiratorially under the cover of a road accident in December last year. As a student he participated in the first phase of separate Telangana movement in 1969-70 and organized the students militantly in his home district of Karimnagar. He was soon drawn to Marxism-Leninism and the ongoing class struggle. After spending two years in jail during Emergency, he gave efficient leadership to the building of a democratic and militant teachers' movement and for achieving a Democratic Separate Telangana. Com. Bhoomaiah was a leading figure of several democratic organisations and stood courageously at the frontline of struggles even when the state's fascist repression on revolutionaries and democrats was at its peak in AP. He was also closely associated with many countrywide anti-imperialist campaigns and a forcefully voiced the demands of the people from such forums. He had a deep understanding of MLM which is reflected in the large number of articles he wrote throughout his long revolutionary life. He remained a fearless champion of the society's downtrodden classes, communities and sections. He strove tirelessly for the victory of the NDR in our country with the aim of building an egalitarian society in the world

where none is exploited by another. Only by building vast and strong people's movements and united front in our country we can pay real homage to the people's leader of Telangana comrade Bhoomaiah.

Com. Kardam Bhatt (62), a veteran comrade of the Indian communist movement passed away on February 2 due to heart attack. He led the Gujarat State Committee of CRC, CPI (M-L) as its secretary for many years. He worked among Bhopal gas victims, Dalit workers in Kerala and against the Hindu-fascist forces in Gujarat. Later, opposing CRC's liquidationism he joined Maoist Unity Centre, CPI (M-L) which merged with CPI (M-L) Naxalbari in 1999. He remained a close sympathizer of the party even after withdrawing from active politics. He was also a revolutionary cultural activist. He advocated the unity of all Maoist forces. Com. Kardam's lifelong commitment to MLM will be an inspiration for us.

Comrade Gajjela Sarojana served the people selflessly for more than three decades in the revolutionary movement. She worked in the Adilabad district students' and peasant movements, in the press unit of North Telangana Special Zone and as a Krantikari Janatana Sarkar teacher in schools in Maad, DK. She was born in a workers' family in Singareni. Her mother was also a supporter of the revolutionary movement and encouraged her children to work in the movement. Sarojana's elder brother comrade Gajjela Gangaram who played a prominent role in the Adilabad district movement was martyred in a bomb blast in a military training camp. Her life partner, our CCM and beloved leader comrade Syam (Nalla Adireddy) was martyred in a fake encounter. She herself became a victim of cancer. In spite of these difficulties she continued her work till her last breath with unflinching commitment and dauntless courage. She was arrested once and spent three years in jail but she never bent before the enemy and joined the movement as soon as she was released. She contributed to revolutionary literature with her several literary writings. With her martyrdom the party lost a great communist cadre who worked with dedication.

Comrade Naresh, Khammam DVCM (Telangana) was martyred in the Bade Chelma encounter. He was born in a poor family in Warangal district and developed hatred towards the exploitation and excesses perpetrated by the landlords and got attracted to revolutionary politics. He studied till Intermediate and gradually developed by working in student and peasant movements as an ordinary member to being a district leader. He strove hard for 17 years to advance the PW by bravely fighting back the enemy attacks amid severe repression in Telangana. He led several people's struggles. He put special efforts to overcome the setback of the revolutionary movement in Telangana. He participated valiantly in the attacks on enemies. In the backdrop of temporary setback of Telangana movement, several people lost heart and surrendered before the enemy. But he opposed the path of surrender and worked till his last breath for people's liberation. Comrade Naresh's humility, unflinching commitment towards the people and simple life style are worth emulating.

Gondia DVCM comrade Lalsu (DK) died in a counter-revolutionary deceptive battle due to poisoning by the enemy near Bethkathi. He was the beloved son of the soil of South Bastar. He won the confidence of the people of Gondia Division as their leader. He started working a squad member and went to Gondia district of Maharashtra leaving his area in Chhattisgarh. He integrated with the revolutionary movement in Gondia district and the people there for about 16 years. He played a prominent role in the movement and developed into a district level leader and a good military commander. Even amid tough conditions in the division movement he was in the forefront in carrying out any task with great consciousness. His name used to figure definitely among the selected comrades when any crucial task was to be taken up. He was in the forefront in fighting back enemy attacks. He was a symbol of valiance. In the past he went to the Western Ghats to give military training to the guerilla forces there and worked there for some years. With the martyrdom of comrade Lalsu the movement lost a developing good communist fighter.

Comrades Manganna and Dumbri were caught and tortured by the enemy near Manguluvalasa village in Koraput district (AOB) but they did not surrender and laid down their lives. Comrade Manganna was a revolutionary communist who came from a poor Koya Adivasi family in Khammam district. His revolutionary practice started during the Emergency period. He worked in the CPI (M-L) led by Chandra Pulla Reddy till 1988. He hated their opportunist politics and joined the erstwhile CPI (M-L) People's War. In his more than 35 years of revolutionary life he worked among the Adivasis and oppressed masses speaking several languages and having different cultures in Telangana and AOB and never did his confidence on the revolutionary aim waver. He was known for his boundless love for the people and class hatred towards the enemy. Led by him

the peasants occupied thousands of acres of land as part of land struggles right from Khammam to Karimnagar and Eastern Ghats. His role in Karkagudem raid is an example of his bravery during attacks on enemy. He used to self-criticize about his mistakes with frankness. That is why he could win the love and affection of the cadres and the people wherever he worked. He believed that revolution is the only path of liberation for the oppressed masses and held aloft the flag of PW till his last breath. We lost a great communist fighter with his martyrdom. Let us pay revolutionary homage to this brave soldier.

Kasansur Area Krantikari Janatana Sarkar President comrade Danni laid down her life while bravely fighting back the enemy forces stopping them in their tracks to defend the leadership comrades in Pendodvaya encounter in Gadchiroli district. The combing enemy forces surrounded their camp and attacked and comrade Sudhir was martyred in that attack. Comrade Danni who was doing sentry duty at that time did not waver a bit and fought with the determination to defend the leadership comrades. Her sacrifice is an ideal to be emulated by revolutionaries.

In Malkangiri district of AOB the enemy indiscriminately killed 13 militia comrades with the aim of damaging the People's Militia that is serving as a support to people's armed resistance, building of RPCs and mass movements. Hundreds of policemen led by the district SP surrounded the militia comrades who were sleeping and fired indiscriminately on their tent early in the morning massacring all of them. A ten year old girl child Mangi escaped and went to the village. But the inhuman policemen did not spare the child and killed her in cold blood with bayonets. The police did not give the dead bodies of these comrades to their families fearing their conspiracy would get exposed and buried those bodies themselves. The Party, PLGA and the people of the area vowed that the blood spilled by these brave People's Militia members would not go in vain.

Comrade Sireesha who was martyred in an accidental incident was the beloved daughter of comrade Kamala who was martyred in the Koperdeng (Rayagarh, Odisha) encirclement attack of the enemy in 1998. Her mother's martyrdom had a deep impact on comrade Sireesha who was just then acquiring knowledge about the society. She decided to follow the footsteps of her mother. Soon she joined as a fulltime activist in the movement. His father was working as a State Committee comrade in the party at that time. However, later the non-proletarian trends inside him reached a peak and he surrendered before the enemy and even turned into a renegade. Later her life partner too degenerated and joined hands with the enemy. Though young Sireesha was deeply worried with these changes she followed the correct guidance of the party and decided with determination to adhere to the path of PW shown by her mother. She fulfilled the responsibilities given to her and developed into a AC level comrade. She was developing into a good computer operator in the Party's press unit. Let us fight for the new democratic society that she dreamt of.

The Chandrababu government that newly came to power in AP killed three revolutionaries in a fake encounter in the Nallamala forests on the very first day of the Assembly sessions and inaugurated its fascist rule once again.

Though sacrifices are inevitable in the revolutionary movement some of the losses that occurred in this past one year were avoidable. Such losses are occurring due to mistakes in implementing secret methods of functioning and guerilla war's operational principles. It is necessary for the party and PLGA from top to bottom to strive to overcome such losses.

The communist revolutionary values of our beloved martyrs such as selflessness, simplicity, sincerity, determination, patience, valiance, skill, boundless love for the people, severe hatred towards the enemy, dedication to the cause of the revolution, discipline, the resoluteness to face all kinds of difficulties, the courage to swim against the tide are blazing the NDR revolutionary line of India more brightly. We must hold aloft the sacrifices of our martyrs and learn from them. We must apply them in our revolutionary practice.

### **Comrades,**

The ruling classes who could not tolerate the fact that the revolutionary movement is advancing and emerging as an alternative political force are carrying on OGH since five years with the egging on of the imperialists to completely decimate it and to implement their neo-liberal economic policies without any hurdle. This has intensified further in the past one year. The central and state governments are on the one hand issuing statements that Maoist violence had considerably come down in the past 2, 3 years and that

Naxalism was completely done away with in some areas; on the other hand they are still describing Left-Wing Extremism as the 'biggest internal security threat' and are increasing the deployment of paramilitary, commando and special police forces in our movement areas on a huge scale. The carpet security is being reinforced further. They are concentrating on construction of roads, bridges and communications. Cordon and search operations are carried on without respite in the remote areas of the eastern, central, and south-central states while joint operations and combing operations were further intensified in the borders of states. A country-wide special repressive campaign was conducted for the first time for one week from 2013 December 26 to 2014 January 1 in nine states with 40,000 additional paramilitary forces and state police forces. A similar second repressive campaign was conducted from 2014 March 19 to 27 with about one lakh paramilitary forces, six thousand commando forces, four Israel Aeron surveillance planes and several mine-proof vehicles fitted with radars under the leadership of 70 IGPs (Inspector-General of Police) in six states where the Maoist movement is active. The aim of these counter-revolutionary campaigns is to suppress the movement and to spread white terror among the people. The activists of mass organizations and militias and common people are arrested on a huge scale and put in jails after foisting false cases. Particularly, even while concentrating on annihilating the party central and state leadership they are resorting to fake encounters and indiscriminate firings to damage the village level leadership. Ground is being prepared for aerial bombings (through helicopters and drones). Helipads and aerodromes are getting built on a war footing.

The Sukma, Bijapur and Saranda models are being spread in the movement areas all over the country with the aim of suppressing the revolutionary movement and reforms are being intensified. These are being implemented under the Special Development Authorities. Infiltration of NGOs into our movement areas in a planned manner is increasing. The RSS is spreading till the village level and is at the forefront in deveoping counter-revolution. Jan Jagran Melas, Civic Action Programmes, police informer network and covert mechanism are being expanded. They are conducting *Rozgar Melas* to recruit people into police, paramilitary, military forces and into government jobs. They are trying to attract the youth in the name of unemployment allowances. They are restructuring the entire government mechanism as part of the LIC strategy so that it can play a counter-revolutionary role.

In order to nullify the successes gained by the people in the path of PW, the exploitative ruling classes brought to the fore 'surrender policy' as a prominent tactic. They are resorting to the most heinous methods to divert the activists in the party and PLGA right from top level to the common people from the revolutionary path and corrupt them. The slavery resulting from surrenders is being portrayed as '*Khushhal Zindagi*' and a Goebbelsian propaganda surge is being created by the putting into action the entire exploitative government mechanism. Its aim is to spread counter-revolution against revolution and to completely decimate it. In this backdrop, one of the foremost tasks before us is the preservation of the great tradition of sacrifice of the martyrs, holding it aloft and advancing the PW along the path shown by the martyrs by rejecting the surrender policy of the counter-revolutionaries.

The Modi-led BJP-NDA new government that came to power after the recently held Loksabha elections immediately took steps to complete the preparations for the third phase of OGH to contain 'terrorism', 'separatism' and particularly 'Left-Wing Extremism' in the country. It announced that it would give out of turn promotions and other facilities to increase the morale of the police forces deployed in movement areas. It emphasized the need for establishing a 'peaceful atmosphere' to attract foreign private investments to achieve '*Vikas*'. For this sake it decided to deploy tens of thousands of additional paramilitary forces newly in the revolutionary movement areas. This means that instead of fulfilling the dire needs of the people, the NDA government is sending thousands of armed forces against them. It is preparing itself to intensify fascist offensives at a higher and wider level on the fighting people and their leaders in the name of '*Vikas*'.

In the course of advancing the movement by fighting back the fascist OGH carried on by the ruling classes to suppress the countrywide revolutionary movement in the past one year, our beloved comrades sacrificed their invaluable lives. Due to this and due to the PW carried on by the entire Party, PLGA, revolutionary mass organizations and RPCs and lakhs of toiling masses, we could attain the following achievements.

The important achievement of this year is the merger into one party of CPI (Maoist) and CPI (M-L) Naxalbari as another turning point as part of the efforts to achieve unity of revolutionaries in our country.

When compared with last year, we could preserve our movement by relatively reducing our losses amid intensified enemy offensive. In DK, BJ, AOB and Odisha the PLGA forces led by the party rallied the people and successfully conducted tactical counter-offensive campaigns and several armed actions. Mass agitations and people's armed resistance continued against fake encounters, illegal detentions, tortures and atrocities on women, attacks on villages, loot and destruction of people's properties. The PLGA forces valiantly resisted the enemy in all our movement areas with the aim of defeating OGH. They strove to advance the PPW by identifying the weaknesses of the enemy as far as possible and dealing substantial blows to the enemy forces in several big, medium and small actions and by obstructing the fulfillment of the goals of the enemy. During the Loksabha election boycott campaign the PLGA forces gave lethal blows to the enemy forces in Kutepal, Thahkavada, Chintaguppa, Aasa, Kamanur, Murmuri incidents of DK and Barna Mod, Ganti, Bhimbandh and Farsagaon incidents in BJ. In other instances, Tedum, Kosalnar (East Bastar), Bade Jhaliya (Gadchiroli), Nukanpalli (West Bastar) and Bodiraju incidents in DK; Amarud (Gaya), Pathra, Chindgarh (Aurangabad), attack on railway police (Munger), Pirtand (Giridih) incidents in Bihar-Jharkhand; Rallagadda (Koraput) incident in AOB, the attack on forest check post in Karnataka and the Dekunpani attack in Odisha were conducted and the enemy forces suffered casualties to some extent.

Responding to the call of the party the DK people successfully boycotted the Chhattisgarh assembly elections. In DK, BJ, AOB and Odisha where our movement is strong and in areas such as Niyamgiri, Mali-Deomali, and Visakha (anti-bauxite struggle - Andhra Pradesh) where movements against mining and displacement are going on, majority of the people boycotted the Loksabha polls and expressed their protest. They geared themselves for the building and expansion of an alternative new democratic system. The PLGA forces successfully conducted tactical counter-offensive actions on the enemy forces in the form of campaigns as part of election boycott.

Our party's efforts to rally the vast masses in both secret and open forms against the pro-imperialist policies that served the interests of the ruling classes implemented by the central and state governments continued. Various economic and political mass struggles were taken up against displacement and pollution due to huge dams, mines and industries and also on daily and seasonal issues of the people (such as *tendu* leaf, bamboo, fair prices for forest and agricultural products etc.) and against the landlords and bad gentry. The building and expansion of RPCs continued. Revolutionary land reforms and people's welfare programmes were conducted.

Last year our party gave a call for a Bolshevization campaign in the party in view of the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations of the party. As part of this, efforts to consolidate the party and to correct our mistakes are continuing. Efforts to recruit new forces into the party and the PLGA and political-military training are continuing.

We conducted revolutionary propaganda in all areas fighting back the psychological warfare of the enemy on the revolutionary movement.

Party put efforts to expand the PW to some newer areas in our country.

Several struggles were conducted demanding the release of thousands of political prisoners incarcerated in prisons all over the country. Funds were collected from the people and distributed to them and their families. Several central and district jails in Jharkhand reverberated with the indefinite hunger strike demands of hundreds of political prisoners in Jharkhand. Another area of struggle is gradually expanding in the prisons.

**Comrades,**

The domestic and international objective conditions are turning more favorable to the revolution as never before. After the imperialist economy got bogged down in a worldwide crisis in 2008, changes are occurring at a fast pace in world politics. Especially the fundamental contradictions in the world are sharpening. The contradiction between the imperialists and the oppressed nations & oppressed peoples of the world is intensifying with each passing day. In neo-colonies and semi-colonial – semi-feudal countries movements

are developing against the imperialists and their comprador/lackey ruling classes. The proletariat in the capitalist countries is taking up agitations on a huge scale against the capitalists in their countries. While the national liberation struggles against NATO forces led by US and their lackey government forces in Afghanistan and Pakistan reached an intensifying stage, in Iraq the national liberation forces are gaining strength against the puppet government servile to the US and are increasing their grip in the northern part of the country. Rebel forces are reinvigorating in Libya. Civil war conditions are prevailing in Egypt. The national liberation movement of Palestine continues to oppose the fascist offensives of Israel. Syria and Ukraine have become the centres for the intensifying inter-imperialist contradictions. Contradictions between China, Japan and US imperialists are further intensifying in the Asia-Pacific Region.

The worldwide financial and economic crises shook our economy. Since the past few years budget deficit increased, growth rate fell, current account deficit increased, inflation increased and issues such as price rise, unemployment and corruption are rocking the economic and political systems in our country. The living conditions of the people of our country are deteriorating even further. The fundamental contradictions in our country are intensifying. Dog fights among the ruling classes are intensifying. All oppressed classes' and sections' of people such as the proletariat, peasantry, urban middle class, Dalits, Adivasis, women, students and youth are continuously getting rallied into struggles on various issues. National liberation aspirations of the Kashmir and North East people are continuing to get expressed in various struggle forms. The formation of the Telangana state positively impacted the various movements for separate states. Though the BJP newly came to power with the slogan of 'Vikas', it exposed its real agenda within a few days. This indicates the Brahminical Hindu fascist offensive that is bound to increase. All oppressed classes, sections, religious minorities and nationalities would definitely become its victims. The need for all of them to fight in a united manner against this increased more than ever before. All of them must get ready for that. Our party must strive to fulfill this task.

On the other hand the revolutionary, national liberation and democratic forces are gradually strengthening and expanding all over the world. Particularly, the international movement in support of the Indian PW is expanding further. A strong aspiration is getting expressed that the development of the PW here would serve as a support to the World Socialist Revolution.

### **Comrades,**

The need to raise the ideological, political, organizational, military and cultural levels of our party, PLGA, mass organizations and RPCs and consolidate them has increased further in the backdrop of these excellent revolutionary, objective conditions with the aim of overcoming the critical situation the movement is facing, for the fulfillment of the aims of the martyrs according to the level of the movement and aspirations of the people. Let us take up the following tasks on the occasion of the Martyrs' Memorial Week and work with determination to fulfill them:

Let us Bolshevize the party. With the launch of the 10th anniversary celebrations of our party, the campaign to Bolshevize the party has completed one year. We should expand it further in the coming year. In the backdrop of the continuation of weaker elements leaving the party we must adhere firmly to the general political line of our glorious party for fulfilling the aims of the revolution and for the interest of the people and apply it creatively. We must propagate on a huge scale among the party, PLGA, mass organizations, RPCs and the people the historical truth that revolution would be victorious and that the oppressed masses would achieve liberation and that surrender would lead to slavery. Let us consolidate the party by concentrating on the implementation of the ideological, political, organizational, military and cultural programme formulated as part of the party Bolshevization.

Let us increase our mass base. Let us deeply grasp the Maoist principle that a People's War waged by relying on a strong mass base is invincible and strive to increase our mass base. Let us develop struggles on the basic problems of the people including their daily and seasonal issues who are getting crushed under the burden of economic crisis and political oppression. Let us vastly rally the peasantry into the agrarian revolutionary programme. Let us develop the ongoing long standing struggles so that they continue regularly and militantly. Let us coordinate them with guerilla warfare. Let us rally the vast masses against the increasing threat of Brahminical Hindu fascist attacks due to BJP coming to power at the centre and form a broad based united front.

Let us intensify and expand the PW with the aim of defeating OGH. The BJP government immediately after coming to power is completing preparations for the third phase of OGH to launch another big offensive with the aim of completely destroying the revolutionary movement. Let us intensify and expand the guerilla warfare and people's resistance struggles to defeat the OGH by taking into consideration the uneven development in the revolutionary movement. Let us build the alternative revolutionary political power organs – RPCs. Let us develop the living standards of the people and intensify the PW by strengthening and expanding the already built RPCs and by utilizing them.

Let us fight back through our self-defence and offensive tactics the enemy's cordon and search operations, encirclement-annihilation operations it is carrying out by concentrating its forces. To fail such operations in our guerilla bases and our strong areas, let us fight them back with guerilla warfare and mine warfare with the support of the people by deploying decentralized armed units and militia units of the PLGA with initiative to immediately chase and harass and stop in tracks the enemy forces from all directions. Let us concentrate the PLGA forces on the weaknesses of the individual units inside the enemy forces and give them a lethal blow. Let us intensify and expand the guerilla war by implementing self-defence and offensive tactics creatively according to the conditions and times through centralization and decentralization of PLGA forces and change of places with initiative.

Let us efficiently fight back the enemy's psychological warfare. As the fascist offensive of the enemy intensifies, as part of it the psychological warfare would also expand. If we do not fight against this in time, it would not be possible to steadily sustain the revolutionary consciousness among the vast masses and to develop it. If we fail in this, the people would not know the facts in time and their participation in the PW would decrease. So, let us fight back the enemy's psychological warfare by carrying on timely revolutionary political propaganda creatively in various forms. Let us develop the collective participation of the people in this.

It was possible to achieve the successes in guerilla warfare, people's resistances and mass movements only with the sacrifices of the martyrs. The ideals they established by integrating with the people and by fighting against the enemy till their last breath for the interests of the people are serving as a support to the PW. The oppressed masses of India are viewing their future in the path of sacrifices paved by the martyrs. Let us vow that we would hold high their aims, ideals and traditions of sacrifice and work with determination to fulfill our ideological, political, organizational, military and cultural tasks with unity of will and action.

**Comrades,**

Let us observe the Martyrs' Memorial Week in our movement areas all over the country with revolutionary fervor. Let us rally the people on a wide scale on this occasion. Let us utilize all the means available as widely as possible and propagate the great sacrifices of our beloved martyrs on a huge scale among the party cadres, PLGA forces and the villages. Let us propagate their ideals among the people through posters, banners, pamphlets, wall writing and publishing martyrs' life histories in the form of booklets and by displaying their photos on a wide scale. Let us conduct meetings, public meetings and rallies at village, area, district/division/zone levels and increase the confidence of the people by vastly rallying them into these programmes. Let us inspire the people to follow the path of martyrs for the building of a new democratic India by commemorating ideals such as sacrifice, valiance, determination and by imbibing them. Let us issue a call to follow the footsteps of the martyrs. Let us tread in their path. This would be the real homage that we could pay to our beloved martyrs.

**Revolutionary Greetings,  
Central Committee  
CPI (Maoist)**

*June 19, 2014*

## **CPI (Maoist) Spokesperson Comrade Abhay Interview On General Elections – 2014**

*Some media persons asked for an interview with Comrade Abhay, Spokesperson of CPI (Maoist) on some recent phenomena concerning our movement and our country. We are enclosing here the written answers of Comrade Abhay that were also given keeping in view the announcement of the schedule of 16th Loksabha elections by the Election Commission. This interview was released to the media on 24-03-2014.*

**Q: The Election Commission has announced the schedule for the 16th Loksabha elections and doing all preparations on war footing to conduct these elections and every electoral party and alliance is completely engaged in deciding on whom to send into the ring. What is your party's stand on various parties and alliances contesting in these elections? Do you welcome the NOTA option?**

A: As five years have been completed since the 15th Loksabha has been formed, these elections are being conducted as a routine exercise to form the 16th Loksabha. The schedule for these elections is the longest in the parliamentary history of India. This is the first time that the general elections are being conducted in nine phases too. These general elections are also seeing the largest deployment of polling personnel and the largest deployment of state forces to conduct 'free and fair' elections.

In the history of the Indian Parliament the clashes between the various parties on various issues in the 15th Loksabha broke the previous records. Though ostensibly they clashed repeatedly on various issues, in fact, a large number of bills were passed in the least amount of time, without any discussion and without an opportunity for the people to ponder on them and with the collusion of the ruling and the opposition parties. The UPA never had a majority in the parliament and it did not even get the majority share of votes during previous elections. The bills passed in the 15th Loksabha would have a long lasting grave effect on the society, economy and polity of our country. The 16th Loksabha would be formed by continuing the legacy of the previous Loksabha. The previous policies would be implemented to serve the interests of the imperialists and the Indian ruling classes subservient to them. Those who can hoodwink the people about this would be sitting in the next parliament on the excuse of getting the 'mandate' of the people. The UPA led by the Congress and the NDA led by the BJP, the Third Front and the newly formed AAP have entered the elections arena to capture power by gaining a majority in the 16th Loksabha.

Our party's political assessment regarding these alliances and the parties is as follows.

The Congress that was in power continuously for ten years followed pro-imperialist, pro-comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie (CBB) and pro landlord policies and was responsible for the agonizing living conditions of the people, the disastrous economy of our country, the massacres of thousands of activists of various democratic and revolutionary movements and people and for persecution of religious minorities in the name of 'terrorists.' It won the dubious distinction of being the originator of the biggest and highest number of corruption scams in the parliamentary history of our country. As a result it won the severe hatred of the people. To escape this and hoodwink the people the Congress is bringing to the fore its main slogan of 'Bharat Nirman' pointing towards the 'development' it achieved in its ten-year rule and towards the anti-corruption, land acquisition, food security and Nirbhaya acts etc and the welfare schemes that it formulated. The Congress has been in power at the centre and in most of the states for the maximum number of years after 1947. By being in power for such a long period of time it was mainly responsible for the anti-people policies that were formulated and implemented in this period. The massacres of religious minorities, particularly the massacre of Sikhs in 1984 and the highest number of pogroms and persecutions of the religious minorities happened under Congress rule. Though Sangh Parivar was directly responsible for the destruction of Babri Masjid, it was the Congress that was behind the high drama from the centre. It was mainly responsible for suppressing the just national liberation struggles of the Kashmir and North East by massacring tens of thousand of youth through its military brute force. It implemented all these anti-people policies by taking the help of other parliamentary parties when in power and also by colluding with other ruling alliances when not in power. Who else would be mainly responsible than the Congress for the insufferable conditions of the workers, peasants, petty bourgeois sections, oppressed nationalities, Dalits, Adivasis, religious minorities, women and the small and medium capitalists in our country? The people are not so gullible as to believe its 'Bharat Nirman', its so-called welfare schemes and its deceptive anti-corruption pose.

BJP's main attack is on the corrupt rule of the Congress. It is clear that it does not have any basically different policies than Congress on any of the main issues confronting the people and the country and has the same corrupt, treacherous and dictatorial policies in any sphere. With the directive of the RSS, BJP announced the Hindu bigot and mass murderer Narendra Modi as its prime ministerial candidate. It is hiding its Hindu chauvinist agenda behind the 'Gujarat Vikas' model and is concentrating its entire machinery around Modi to capture power at the centre one more time. 'Gujarat Vikas' model means terrorizing the Muslim and Christian minorities, seizing their properties, chasing them away from their abodes or making them servile through massacres of Muslim religious minorities and subjecting them to innumerable atrocities along with atrocities on Christian religious minorities; making the entire state as the hub for the investments of MNCs, big bourgeoisie and opening doors to their endless exploitation and oppression. The Sangh Parivar and the BJP are aiming to establish this Hitlerite model in the guise of 'Vikas' in the entire country by coming to power in these elections. Congress came to power the previous two terms and won the severe wrath of the people. So the ruling classes and the US imperialists are openly supporting the candidature of Modi for the PM post as he would implement their agenda ruthlessly. Accordingly the corporate media is propagating Modi on a huge scale. Its attempt to win in the Delhi elections by bringing a religious divide through religious riots in Muzaffarnagar indicates only its fascist face. Rajnath Singh's statement a few days before the election dates were announced that he was apologizing to the Muslims 'if at any place any wrong was done to them' is nothing but a ploy to hide the massacre of Muslims carried on by Modi in Gujarat and gain their votes. But how would the Muslim and Christian religious minorities forget the massacres, discrimination, suppression and chauvinism that they suffered in the hands of the Sangh Parivar right from 1947 to the recent Muzaffarnagar killings? The pogrom and persecution of religious minorities in Gujarat under Modi met with unprecedented opposition and protest not only in Gujarat but all over our country. Even if they come to power, the Hindu fascists will have to face the countrywide active resistance of the Muslim and Christian minorities, revolutionary and democratic forces. This would be the foremost task of these forces then.

The Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) entered the electoral arena with the aim of benefiting from submerging the people in illusions about parliamentary democracy one more time. It is trying to catch the attention of the people with revolutionary rhetoric sheltered in ideological eclecticism consisting of Gandhian 'Ahimsa' and 'Swaraj', 'Socialist' politics of Jayaprakash Narain and 'direct participatory democracy' of the NGOs. The AAP that was born and brought up with a NGO background and on imperialist and NRI funds and support, is not going into the roots of this system and into the basic problems of the people and is resorting to Gandhian feats for solving people's problems. It does not have any solution for the basic problems of the oppressed classes, people and social sections. It is serving as a safety valve to divert the erupting people's anger into peaceful and parliamentary solutions and trying to cash in on it.

Despite Left Front's humiliating defeat in West Bengal and the failure of its experiments in alliance with the Congress in the name of supporting the so-called secular and anti-communal forces and the failure of the previous attempts to form a Third Front, the left parties led by CPI (M) are retaining ridiculous hopes of winning and took the main initiative for the formation of the Third Front once again. Thus the Third Front consisting of eleven parties that came together on the basis of being anti-Congress and anti-BJP came to the fore with much fanfare. As expected, it is still immersed in fist fights regarding sharing of seats. The agreement between the CPI (M) and the AIADMK in the Third Front became invalid even before the ink had dried on alliance signatures due to differences in seat-sharing. The left parties including CPI (M) had not yet recovered from the humiliating defeat they had suffered in the West Bengal elections. Parties like the SP, BSP, DMK, AIADMK, Biju Janata Dal, Janata Dal (U), Trinamool, AGP, TDP, TRS, YSRCP etc are fearing defeat to join either the UPA or the NDA and so have either joined the Third Front or going it alone with so-called slogans of social justice, emancipation of Dalits and Bahujans, regional development etc. The Third Front parties are mostly regional parties but all of them belong to the ruling classes. They had all implemented pro-imperialist, pro-ruling class and anti-people policies. Whenever in state power either in alliance with the UPA or the NDA or independently they played a reactionary role in suppressing people's movements. Both the Third Front parties and those parties contesting on their own are following a 'wait and see' policy to join whichever alliance comes to power. While the Lok Jansakti Dal joined the NDA as it felt defeat was certain if it remains in UPA, the RJD is continuing in the UPA to somehow keep its lantern lit. The politicians belonging to various parties who came to the fore overnight with new flags and new agendas after leaving their parties fearing defeat due to people's wrath or because they did not get a seat in their parties are flinging as much mud as possible over each other in the fight for seats. They are breaking all the previous records

during these elections. They had come to power throwing to winds all electoral norms with the sole aim of coming to power and amassing wealth. Once in power they violated all their election promises and had exploited and oppressed the people without respite and lost the confidence of the people. So now they are resorting to such blatant opportunist methods having lost any hope of winning in these elections.

The actual issues of the people never come up for discussion in the parliament and the assemblies. They are under the control of the CBB and the landlords who are subservient to imperialists, particularly the US imperialists. Where is the place for genuine democracy in this system where votes could be bought with money, liquor, religious and casteist sentiments or rigging? It is ridiculous to call this a democracy when criminals, bandits and notoriously corrupt politicians win in elections. In fact, when we look into history we find that people's problems have always been solved basically and real transformation of the society was possible only through people's struggles and protracted people's war (PPW) and not through parliamentary forums.

As elections are being conducted like a farce each time, the Election Commission of India vowed to 'strengthen democracy' during these elections and is trying to bring in several reforms along with including guidelines according to the Supreme Court order. At an unprecedented scale it involved several persons, right from school children to NGOs and celebrities to propagate about the inviolability of the vote. The SC had issued orders to give the voters the right to 'reject.' As a result, the NOTA button was introduced in the EVMs for the first time during the assembly elections in five states in 2013. Now during these Lok Sabha elections this is being introduced all over the country. In fact, this NOTA option distracts the 'right to recall' the elected representatives that the people should rightfully possess. If they really intend to give the 'right to reject', why are they deploying lakhs of state armed forces in the name of conducting 'free and fair' elections in areas where our party had given the call to boycott the polls and carrying on attacks, search operations, arrests, fake encounters and massacres?

**Q: *Is there any change in your boycott policy during these general elections? How do you justify your policy?***

A: There is basically no change in our boycott policy. However, depending on the concrete conditions, our tactics may vary to some extent according to the changing political formations at the all-India level and in the states, according to our strength and people's preparedness. Though tactics may vary, the main aim of our boycott policy is to expose the pseudo-parliamentary system and increase the consciousness of the people on building a real alternative of people's democracy in its place.

In these general and assembly elections the main focus of our political exposure in the boycott call would be against the retrogressive, treacherous and fascist Congress and the BJP all over the country. One of the main aspects in the exposure of BJP would be exposing the Hindu fascist danger coming to the fore in the guise of 'Gujarat Vikas' model. Our main ideological exposure would be against the revisionist CPI (M) and CPI. In the states, along with the Congress and the BJP the main focus of our political exposure would be against the various regional ruling class parties that have been/are in power like the CPI (M) and Trinamool in West Bengal; the Biju Janata Dal in Odisha; TDP, YSRCP and TRS in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana; Samajwadi Party and the BSP in Uttar Pradesh; DMK and AIADMK in Tamil Nadu etc. We would ideologically and politically expose the Aam Aadmi Party all over country on its futile Gandhian program. Regarding all other parties, we would politically expose them locally. As part of our boycott call we would mobilize the people to question these parties on their stand and past practice regarding major issues such as state repression on our movement and all other democratic movements and deployment of state forces in our movement areas; land reforms; treachery and servility to the imperialists in all matters relating to our country's sovereignty; selling our country's riches to the MNCs; disinvestment and privatization of public sector units; Hindu chauvinism; education, health and drinking water; displacement and civil rights and send them back. Where the state forces use brute force to make the people vote, our PLGA would resist.

Regarding your second question, firstly our policy towards the bourgeois parliamentary elections is not just boycott. That is just one aspect of it. It has two aspects – one is boycott of the present bourgeois parliamentary elections and another is the call to build a new people's parliament. There is no change in this two-prong policy of ours during the 16th Lok Sabha polls.

The reason we are asking the people to boycott these elections is – the present parliament is in fact a dictatorship of the CBB and landlords who are subservient to imperialism. The parliamentary democracy is just a mask to deceive the people about the true nature of this dictatorship. In our opinion, the so-called

democracies functioning in all the capitalist countries in the present day world, including the US, are nothing but such dictatorships of the monopoly capitalists; and in the semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries it is the joint dictatorship of the CBB and the landlord classes. So, though 65 years have passed since so-called independence, the overwhelming majority of the people are still poor in our country. None of their basic issues have been solved. None of the parliamentary parties have an independent path for the development of the country. All of these parties are saying that they would develop our country through neo-liberal policies and by bringing in more FDI into our country. The economy, polity and culture of our country have been restructured according to the needs of the world financial capital and formal independence and formal sovereignty have also been sold out by UPA, NDA, Left Front and other parliamentary parties to the imperialists. On the other hand, they are blatantly violating all the rights won by countless struggles waged by the people of our country by flouting their own laws and several universally acknowledged international laws and statutes. They are depending only on their armed forces, sham propaganda and eyewash reforms.

The nature of the parties and the politicians who are contesting in this elections need not be explained in detail by us. We are not alone in making accusations against them. Any citizen who follows the media and the accusations they themselves make against each other would know how corrupt, criminal, casteist, jingoist, religious chauvinistic, comprador and culturally degenerated they are and how nepotism reached its peak in these parties. The huge amounts of election expenses of all major all-India and regional parties beg a query as to where they are getting such gigantic amounts of funds. How could every candidate for a parliament seat spend 10 crores of rupees and every candidate for an assembly seat spend 2 crores of rupees on an average? Will an *aam aadmi* who wants to serve the people genuinely be able to spend that much of amount for getting elected? Don't you think it is atrocious that one has to spend so much of money to 'serve the people?' How many of these candidates are free of corruption and criminal records? How much is the role played by caste, religion, region, money and muscle power in candidates getting elected? Is there a single party that is beyond all these? Why are the ruling classes trying to satisfy the electorate with Nota button without giving the people the right to recall? Why are they deploying state forces ranging from a few thousands to more than one lakh for every district and why are they not able to conduct elections without such huge deployments even in areas where there are no Maoists?

In our opinion and in the opinion of every common citizen of our country, achieving genuine land reforms, independent & self-reliant economic development, democracy and sovereignty is the foremost issue before us and these four points are a must for solving the basic problems of the ninety percent of our population and for the all-round development of our people and our country. The parliamentary parties are quite contrary to this and the present pseudo-democracy is exactly suitable for such a rule.

Hence the second aspect of our call – **No** to the continuation of this semi-colonial, semi-feudal pseudo-parliamentary dictatorial system, **Yes** to genuine parliamentary system of the People's Democratic Federal Republic which serves the people and the country. It would be elected and run by the vast masses of the people for their interests.

There is no remedy, no solution, no shortcut method to resolve the present day basic problems of the people and the country. The system has become a great hindrance to their progress. Yes, there is a great solution outside this system, i.e., wage PPW by rallying the vast masses led by the vanguard party of the proletariat, the CPI (Maoist) to smash the rotten system and make success the New Democratic Revolution (NDR) with agrarian revolution as its axis.

Briefly, our party's basic program states - India is a semi-colonial semi-feudal country; the targets of our revolution are imperialism, the comprador bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism exploiting and oppressing the people of our country and are to be overthrown through the NDR to establish a People's Democratic Federal Republic. Contradiction between feudalism and broad masses is the principal contradiction at present. During the process of resolving this contradiction through the armed agrarian revolution, which is the axis of the NDR, through PPW, the resolution of other contradictions will be facilitated. The semi-colonial semi-feudal character of Indian society determines that the Indian revolution would have to pass through two stages. The task of first stage is to change the semi-colonial, semi-feudal society into an independent new democratic society through the resolution of the two fundamental contradictions of the present Indian society, i.e. the contradiction of the Indian people with imperialism and the contradiction of the broad masses with feudalism. Again, in its continuity, the task of second stage is to establish the socialist system and continuing the revolution advancing towards communism on the world scale. This new democratic state will be the

people's democratic dictatorship exercised by the united front comprising the proletariat, peasantry, petty-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie class under the leadership of the proletariat based upon the worker-peasant alliance. The state will guarantee real democracy for the vast majority of the people while exercising dictatorship over the tiny minority of the exploiters. This NDR will bring national independence uprooting the imperialist exploitation, oppression and control, and will establish the people's democracy uprooting the feudal autocracy.

Workers, peasants and urban poor who form the overwhelming majority of the population in our country are living in utter poverty as victims of hunger, disease, inhuman imperialist, feudal exploitation and oppression and they would be liberated from all these through NDR. It uproots the Brahminical feudal hierarchical inhuman caste system that kept crores of Dalits and other oppressed castes in suppression since centuries and the imperialist and feudal, patriarchal social system that had been exploiting and oppressing half of the population i.e., women. It destroys the Hindu chauvinist domination that had been oppressing the religious minorities in our country, particularly Muslims and Christians. Vast majority of the Adivasis have long been deprived of their land and other traditional means of livelihood without providing any alternative and have been the major victims of 'development' and displacement. They would live a life of dignity, freedom and self-reliance in a new democratic society. Present day India is a prison-house of nationalities. The New Democratic state would unequivocally recognize the right to self-determination of the nationalities including the right to secession and the New Democratic India would be formed only with those states that voluntarily stay within it. The rotten, decaying, anti-democratic, anti-people, obnoxious, reactionary semi-colonial and semi-feudal culture that is dominating all the spheres of our life would be destroyed. Hatred for labor, patriarchy, superstition, autocracy, imperialist slavery, national chauvinism, communalism, casteism, blind greed, self-centredness, consumerist culture, and perverted sex-centered ideology and culture would be ended. Feudal culture which is primarily the Brahminical caste-based culture of engrained superiority would be extinguished.

This state will try its best to peacefully and fairly settle border, water and other disputes with neighboring countries and will develop friendly relations with them. This state will never exert any expansionist behavior with the neighboring countries. This People's Democratic State will establish unity with the international proletariat and the oppressed nations of the world; opposes imperialist war and aggression, bullying, subversion and interference etc. It will support and help by all means the revolutionary struggles and revolutionary war, especially the ongoing struggles under the leadership of various Maoist revolutionary forces against capitalism, imperialism and reaction the world over. s

Thus a new people's electoral system, a new people's parliament of the four class alliance, a new people's constitution, a new people's state and a new people's administration and a new people's judicial system will replace the present ones. Thus the present system would be replaced by a new system and the present rulers will become the ruled.

I reiterate the appeal of our party to the great masses of our country to boycott the pseudo-parliamentary elections and unite to advance the NDR to build a genuine people's federal democratic republic of India.

**Q: *With the approach of General Elections the UPA-2 intensified its propaganda of 'Bharat Nirman' as its model for development. What is your take on it?***

A: The NDA had on a huge scale all over the country propagated about *India Shining* during the 2004 general elections and similarly now UPA had taken up this propaganda about *Bharat Nirman*. *Bharat Nirman* is not concerned with the Indian people but with the development of the Indian ruling classes i.e., of CBB, landlords and the MNCs to which both are subservient. The then propaganda by NDA was also not about the Indian people's shining but about the shining of corporate sharks - both domestic and foreign and landlords. The condition of the Indian economy and subsequently of the people is actually very pathetic. The Indian economy is not self-reliant and is completely dependent on imperialism. It is useful only to them. The model for development of India advocated by Manmohan-Chidambaram-Ahluwalia-Rangarajan-Raghuram Rajan was not given shape in our country. This was prepared by the imperialists and they have adopted it. This is not our accusation. They themselves had claimed so. This model was implemented by the NDA too previously. The Bills passed in the parliament by considering foreign investments as the panacea for the development of our country are living example of this approach. Depending on the entry of FII and FDI into stock markets and into all sectors of our economy, they are juggling with the growth rate numbers. The ruling classes are bringing in foreign investments into defense, banking, insurance, railway, ports, power sector, mining, education, health, transport, trade and commerce, agriculture, retail sector, oil and natural gas and

what not, even into small and medium industries and service sector and are making our economy completely dependent on imperialist capital. This is what is being shown as ‘development.’ The financial crisis that started in the US from end 2008 and that went on to shake the world had shaken our economy too. Manmohan and Chidambaram blatantly lied that Indian economy was sound and announced about the ill-effects of the world economic crisis on Indian economy only when they could no longer hide behind this falsehood.

The Indian big corporations collaborated with the MNCs to attract foreign investments. To ensure guarantee to their investments and profits, the central and state governments went out of their way to facilitate infrastructure and other basic facilities (land, electricity, water, market etc), gave them tax holidays and tax cuts. Tax cuts and tax holidays to Indian big bourgeoisie amounts to almost 6 to 8 lakh crores of rupees per annum in recent years. And this is the direct package, the indirect packages given in various forms are countless. Countless and large amounts of financial exemptions were given to the MNCs by the consecutive governments. On the contrary, the indirect taxes on innumerable daily goods consumed by the poor and the middle classes are ever increasing. The money squeezed through taxes from the common people is directly turned into tax holidays and tax cuts for the foreign and domestic corporate sharks. That is why the profits of the tiny minority are increasing in leaps and bounds. Billions of dollars are plundered by the MNCs every year in the form of profits from our country. Whatever maybe their gimmicks regarding GDP growth, the gap between the rich and the poor in our country has widened to an unprecedented level in the history of our ‘glorious independence’ and it is increasing by the day. This is the reason for basic necessities like food, clothing, shelter, water, education, health, transport etc becoming scarce for the common people.

The ruling classes are shouting from rooftops that they are developing all sectors, implementing various welfare schemes and so the number of poor people has decreased due to plans implemented by them to eliminate poverty. Though they are talking tall about these, they are not able to hide the fact that the condition of the people is becoming unbearable day by day.

If the economy is sound and the country is on the development path as the ruling elite is claiming, then why did the exchange value of rupee plunge to such depths? Why did exercises to stop inflation with their monetary measures fail? How can they develop the country through cuts in welfare schemes and subsidies for the people? How can they fill budget deficits by cuts in planned expenditure and increase in unplanned expenditure? How could *Jala Yagnams*, linking of rivers and other major irrigation projects prevent suicides and bankruptcy of millions of farmers? Will they decrease or increase the migration of farmers from the unprofitable agricultural sector? How would they solve the ever increasing unemployment problem in our country through dependence on foreign investments, through mainly concentrating on building infrastructure and by neglecting the manufacturing and agricultural sectors? How can corruption be controlled when MoUs guaranteeing monopoly profits are being signed as part of implementing LPG policies?

After ruining the employment opportunities of millions of our workforce and consequently their income and their purchasing power, how will economic development be possible? Without measures to increasing the employment generating capacity and purchasing power of the masses, if further liberalization is carried on and foreign capital is brought in further, how will economic development be possible? According to the WTO trade facilitation agreement signed in Bali the customs process would be liberalized and made transparent and this is being flouted as a favorable measure to India by the central government. In fact, this would be profitable to the MNCs and detrimental to India’s interests. The entire exports and import policy of the Indian government is geared towards fulfilling the needs of the imperialist capital and a handful of the rich and has nothing to do with the needs of the poor and the middle classes.

The prices of daily commodities are skyrocketing – the previous year the prices of food items increased by 157 percent. The price of onions increased five times over, price of vegetables increased from three to five times, price of pulses increased by 123 percent, rice by 137 percent, wheat by 117 percent, milk by 119 percent, sugar by 106 percent and salt by 85 percent. While millions are becoming pauperized and increasingly being denied food and drinking water, the super-rich are enjoying criminally disproportionate share of these apart from an immoral, superfluous level of luxuries. The increase in population living on pavements is directly proportional to the increase in the number of mansions of the super-rich. Water and electricity have become the private property of the comprador capitalists and the MNCs while agriculture is thrown into further crisis for the lack of the same and the migration of millions of farmers from this sector is leading to further crisis in the society. Some communities like the fishing community, Adivasis, peasantry and the urban slum population are specifically targeted for displacement/evictions and the super-rich are occupying their

rightful places. Our country has become a horrific place where 77 percent of the people live on less than 20 rupees a day and 100 people have wealth equivalent to 25 per cent of the GDP.

Now the time has come for repayment of loans to the imperialists. How will they repay without putting more burden on the people in the form of taxes? What is the magic potion available with the ruling and opposition parties for solving the current account deficit problem? The only solution available with them is further liberalization, deregulation, privatization and restructuring; further bending down to the dictates of IMF, WB and the MNCs; further sell-out of natural resources; further destruction of ecology; further internal and other displacement of huge number of people; further liquidation of labor laws, implementation of colonial and draconian laws and formulating new fascist laws – further fascization of state machinery and judicial system; further spurt in a series of popular welfare schemes to divert the people who are increasingly becoming frustrated with the various governments to partially satisfy their demands and increasing further the role of corporate media in distorting facts. Last but not least, a deluge of psychological operations on the people to keep them from knowing the actual reality about our economy.

As long as the Congress, BJP, Third Front or other parliamentary parties follow or want to follow economic policies that are favorable to imperialists and their compradors, our economy is bound to be further ruined and our country is bound to become more and more dependent. Our nominal sovereignty also is bound to get more compromised. These parties and their policies are bound to become a heavy burden for the people of our country. The home ministry has recently stated in an affidavit filed in the Supreme Court that the Maoists are a threat to '*rastra nirman*' (nation-building process). We declare that it is the Congress, BJP, Third Front and other parliamentary parties that are really pernicious to '*rastra nirman*'. We are stating very clearly that economic policies that help imperialists and (their) compradors should not be tolerated. So, our party is giving a call to the people that these policies should not be allowed. The various treacherous parties that have become harmful to the people and our country should be overthrown from political power structures. The only way to follow self-reliant, progressive, independent, sovereign policies is to win the NDR in our country.

**Q: What is your comment on the reform schemes for people's welfare brought forth during the rule of UPA-1 and UPA-2 in the past ten years?**

A: First of all, even in the past, right from Nehru to Vajpayee, different governments had been bringing forth various schemes relating to people's welfare. Out of all these, the slogan '*Garibi Hatao*' and the 20-point program brought forth by Indira Gandhi were the most popular. The ruling class parties always formulate popular welfare programs when people come into streets or take up guns and also when elections are due. This increased as never before during the past fifteen years. In different states freebies like TVs, fans, cookers, saris, grinders, bicycles, computers, rice for one or two rupees per kilo etc are being promised and inferior quality goods are even distributed to some extent. When there is no genuine agenda for the development of the people the ruling classes bring forth such welfare schemes. On the one hand the ruling classes are carrying on policies that intensify exploitation of the laboring masses, squeezing their incomes through ever increasing number of taxes and looting through skyrocketing prices. This is leading to severe discontent among the people and they are getting organized and fighting against this. So we can say that such reforms and schemes are a direct result of the struggles of the people. So such welfare measures are also brought forth by the ruling classes to meet their demands partially just enough to diffuse their anger, to prevent the fighting people from advancing their struggles or even getting organized with a higher aim of ending exploitation altogether. This can be seen in all the countries including the imperialist countries. All these are a part of the 'globalization with a human face' policy brought forth by IMF. This policy of IMF is being implemented all over the world.

Bills regarding right to information, right to work (MNREGA), food security, forest rights, land acquisition and rehabilitation, company bill, hawkers rights etc were brought by the UPA during its ten years of rule.

After the Second World War, several changes occurred in the world imperialist market according to neo-colonial economic and political policies and in semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries too changes occurred accordingly. All the bills passed during the UPA rule should also be seen and understood in this background.

After 1947 land reforms were brought forth by the ruling classes for the first time due to the impact of long-drawn struggles of tenants and poor peasants against feudal lords and due to the Telangana armed agrarian revolution against the Nizam feudal state and the so-called independent Nehru government. Later land reforms were brought forth due to the Naxalbari and Srikakulam peasant armed revolutionary movements and the NDR led by the Maoist party with agrarian revolution as its axis since the past thirty five years. The

land reforms and the Forest Rights Act (FRA) brought forth by the ruling classes could not in fact damage the feudal base in our country. One of the main aims of the land reforms and the forest rights act is to prevent the vast peasantry and the Adivasis from joining the agrarian revolutionary war, to divert them from the land issue and hand over their lands to the MNCs and big bourgeoisie in accordance with the liberalization process. Both of these are a strategic offensive over the agrarian revolution. Jairam Ramesh and Manmohan Singh are trying to deceive the people by saying that these two are for the interests of the peasantry and the Adivasis. But actually they are aimed at displacing millions of peasantry and Adivasis, rendering them homeless and helpless. With Land Acquisition Act, all Adivasi rights such as 5th schedule, PESA, 1/70 etc will be destroyed.

Even after 65 years of so-called independence poverty alleviation being the main election slogan of all ruling class parties is in itself a shameless thing. On the one hand the livelihood of millions of our population is being snatched away due to the pro-imperialist, pro-CBB, pro-landlord economic policies of subsequent governments at the centre and the states and on the other they are promising a semblance of employment through MNREGA which was never intended to give decent employment. With thousands of crores of rupees of funds allotted for MNREGA, worst forms of corruption came to the fore. Moreover machines are being brought in place of human labor which in turn snatch away the employment opportunities of the people. The rural development minister and other politicians themselves have been shedding crocodile tears about the corruption in MNREGA in the states. Rahul Gandhi, Ahluwalia and Jairam Ramesh are whipping up hype about how millions were lifted out of poverty due to MNREGA and other reforms while the facts point out to the opposite.

Rahul Gandhi was seen describing the RTI act brought by the UPA as the biggest weapon in the hands of the people to fight corruption. None of the big scams were exposed due to this act. Leave aside his hype, is there a single instance where the higher ups had been convicted for corruption in spite of clear evidence? What about Manmohan, Chidambaram and Robert Vadra? Were they being spared just because of lack of information?

Whatever may be the merits of these reforms, one should realize that all these are a result of the struggles of the masses. Even partial implementation of these reforms is possible only through a united struggle of the masses. On the occasion of the 16th Loksabha elections, all political parties would come forth with several popular slogans and promises. The people should never believe their lies and rely only on their unity and struggle. If they believe their lies, poverty would not be alleviated in our country even after another century. Only a united struggle of the people and the People's War are the real way for poverty alleviation in our country.

**Q: During the rule of UPA-2 corruption scams got exposed as never before. What do you think is the reason for this? How do you think these scams which are worrying the people of our country be prevented?**

A: Just like British colonialists had domesticated the feudal kings and *zamindars* in India to establish their rule all over our country, the MNCs of today are also bribing the comprador rulers of our country and carrying on their neo-colonial exploitation, oppression and control of our people and resources. After LPG policies were adopted, the MoUs signed with the MNCs and their investments increased beyond imagination and consequently corruption also increased in an unparalleled manner. Black money getting deposited in Swiss bank accounts increased from tens of crores to hundreds of crores of rupees after LPG policies. True to political parties' accusations on each other, lakhs of crores of rupees of black money is now deposited in Swiss and other banks. Global Financial Integrity declared that in just in one year – in 2011 – 4 lakh crores of rupees of black money crossed our borders and that India ranks among the most corrupt nations in the world.

The yesteryear scams like Bofors and fodder scam pale in the face of recent scams pertaining to Commonwealth games, 2G spectrum, Adarsh housing society, coal block allotments, VVIP choppers, Tetra truck scam, illegal mining of Gali brothers, YSR-Jagan Reddy, Sarada Chit Fund scam in West Bengal etc. The list is actually endless as these are a tip of only those scams that got exposed due to contradictions between the ruling classes. Just as Marcos and his wife Imelda had amassed huge wealth when they were in state power by sucking the blood of the Filipino people, in our country too politicians such as Jayalalita, Chandrababu Naidu, YSR, Madhu Koda, Mayavathi, Mulayam Singh Yadav, Raman Singh, Naveen Patnaik, Yedyurappa, Prithviraj Chauhan, Lalu Prasad Yadav, Jagannath Misra etc vied with each other in amassing huge wealth. All of them either belong to all-India political parties or are regional political party leaders. Only

when political rivalry became serious, some among these like Jayalalita, Koda, Yedyurappa, Mayavathi, Mulayam Singh Yadav etc were booked under cases. Bangaru Laxman and Nitin Gadkari had to resign their president posts in BJP due to corruption charges. Rajiv Gandhi was the main accused in Bofors scam, Suresh Kalmadi in Commonwealth Games scam, A. Raja in 2G scam, Manmohan Singh and Chidambaram in coal gate scam – several names of the leaders of ruling and opposition parties can be reeled off. That is why our party says that our country is ruled by scamsters and gangsters.

The economic, political and social system of our country is rife with corruption and scams. This disease is rampant everywhere - right from getting a driving license to getting a job in military or a visa. This has become an integral part of our system and culture. The people of our country are rising against this. In order to prevent this opposition from taking an organized form and to divert it Anna Hazare and Arvind Kejriwal had taken up the *satyagraha* form of protest. Kejriwal had even formed the Aam Aadmi Party to 'reform' this corrupt system. He could cash upon this in the recently held Delhi assembly polls. The Lokpal Bill was passed by the parliament as the ruling classes feared the increasing discontent among the people and their agitations against corruption in our political system. The joke is it has been prepared and passed by the very scamsters who are the gods of corruption. This bill would never touch these sharks but would be used in a draconian manner on the smaller fish. This was described as being toothless by Kejriwal and Hazare and they are proposing the Janlok Bill which vests powers in some individuals. The very idea that corruption which is endemic to the parliamentary democracy, particularly in the LPG era could be fought by honest individuals is being naive at best and deceptive at worst.

As long as means of production and thousands of crores of rupees of wealth are concentrated in the hands of a few, as long as political power rests in their hands, as long as the state machinery and the judiciary that protects them is in their hands and as long as their collaboration with the imperialists and their dependence on them continues, it is impossible to wipe out corruption from our society. There is a need for a countrywide organized militant people's movement against corruption, a need to fight in a united manner against it. In order to overthrow the system that is the root cause for corruption, it is necessary to wage NDR in India. Millions of people should get rallied into the PPW for this revolution to be successful. Only then could a radical change occur regarding corruption. Even in the new society there would be a need for the people to fight against corruption.

**Q: A separate Telangana is being formed. What is your party's program for the Telangana and the Seemandhra states?**

A: Ultimately the Telangana state has been formed after a prolonged struggle by the Telangana people. It is a victory of the Telangana people. It is a good thing. The struggle for statehood for Telangana started when the Andhra Pradesh state was formed constituting Telangana and Seemandhra areas. It gradually consolidated and finally culminated in the formation of the Telangana state.

From the very beginning two kinds of forces fought for a separate statehood for Telangana. One was represented by the democratic and Maoist forces that truly represented the aspirations of the Telangana people. But the petty bourgeois forces particularly the students, employees and youth that participated in the first phase soon got influenced by the Congress party leadership and most of the leaders joined it. Some more joined the then Jan Sangh. However, a section of ranks that participated in the movement gradually consolidated into Maoist parties and their mass organizations and into various democratic organizations. In the second phase different democratic forces and our party played the leadership role. These forces further consolidated to develop this movement. In the third phase, they were the backbone of the movement. And different sections of the petty bourgeoisie – students, lawyers, employees, teachers, youth, intellectuals; different social sections like women, Dalits, Adivasis and Muslims rallied on a wide scale and played a crucial role. Workers and peasantry played an important role in this phase unlike in the previous two phases. In spite of the Maoist movement suffering a setback and getting weakened, it strove hard to work with limited forces in the third phase of the movement for statehood. It is necessary that the Maoist forces strive to develop their strength and be in the forefront in the rebuilding of Telangana. On the other hand, most of the democratic forces who came forward were from the new generation. Later in the course of the movement many of these became part of the various political streams. On the whole, these democratic forces belonged to the various political streams. Due to the petty-bourgeoisie class nature of these forces they could not lead the movement more militantly and in a more united manner. Consequently, they were subjected to several limitations in achieving their democratic demands. Only through putting serious efforts to overcome these limitations, it

is possible to play a better role in transforming the present Telangana into a democratic Telangana and advance further.

The other was represented by the ruling class cliques belonging to different political parties which strove for a Separate Telangana and simultaneously fought with each other internally. These forces had fought with the Seemandhra rulers but had also compromised with them frequently. When we look at the history of the movements for bifurcation of states, none of them was as long-drawn as the movement for a Telangana state.

There are six main reasons for it getting so prolonged and ultimately for the formation of the Telangana state with many limitations. 1. The political forces represented by the Telangana bourgeois and landlord classes were not consolidated enough during the first phase. In the second and third phases they gradually consolidated and strengthened and it got politically manifested in their role during these phases. 2. As most of these forces were related to the Congress, the BJP and the TDP, at different phases of the movement, it got manifested in their indecisive role, almost till the end. The TRS that was formed with the aim of formation of the Telangana state never led the movement by mobilizing the people militantly. It always gave importance to lobbying, parliamentary gimmicks, compromises and peaceful forms of protest. The role of the Congress and the BJP is more weaker and they played pressure tactics on their high commands only when the formation of the Telangana state was on the threshold. However they never dared to mobilize the people. TDP from the beginning till the end talked with a forked tongue and weakened to a large extent in Telangana, turning into a party that is limited mainly to Seemandhra. As YSRCP opposed the bifurcation of the state it got wiped out in Telangana. The CPI (M) worked completely against the aspirations of the Telangana people due to its wrong policies. Though CPI supported the statehood movement in the last phase in unavoidable conditions, it never rallied the people actively. 3. The ruling classes representing Telangana feared the role of the CPI (Maoist) and the democratic forces, the militant mobilization of the masses, an increase in their role and the movement having a significant influence with its democratic demands. 4. The Seemandhra and Telangana regional and all-India ruling classes realized with the prominent role of the CPI (Maoist) and the democratic forces that the movement would turn more militant with clear-cut democratic programme and not remain in their hands and the political instability in the state would turn dangerous if they do not agree for a separate state of Telangana. 5. For electoral gains the Congress at the centre was forced to agree for the formation of the Telangana state. 6. From the beginning, the regional ruling classes representing Seemandhra were relatively consolidated and stronger. So, they could influence the centre for a long period in delaying the formation. When they could no longer stall its formation they could influence the centre in taking pro-Seemandhra decisions regarding Hyderabad and the Polavaram project.

Telangana state came into existence. But what kind of a Telangana is it? This is a Telangana with Hyderabad as the common capital for the next ten years. Congress did not solve several issues and left lot of scope for further disputes to divide the people of the two states. The people of Telangana had aspired for a Telangana with their exclusive capital city and with several of the disputed issues regarding jobs, water and other resources, reimbursement of state loans, employees, etc resolved in a just manner. They did not get it. Now they have to fight for these just demands. Deciding Hyderabad as the common capital for ten years, construction of Polavaram dam and keeping in pending other major issues unresolved is part of the *Chanakya Neeti* of the Congress to stoke the fires in both the states and tighten its grip on them. This is even against the formal federal spirit of the constitution.

The ruling classes succeeded in creating a contentment among the Telangana people that somehow a state has been formed, whatever maybe its limitations. Now the Telangana parties are all engaged in electoral parleys and compromises. The CBB and imperialist corporations are making their moves behind curtains since a long time as to whom to bring to power to fulfill their agenda and interests in the two new states of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. KCR talked of inviting financial capital from MNCs and CBB for development of Telangana and building satellite cities etc. He doesn't have any qualms in inviting investments from Seemandhra bourgeoisie. So also Seemandhra politicians are falling heads over heels to invite foreign and CBB capital for bigger projects than these.

Since the centre's announcement about the formation of Telangana state, our party's Central Regional Bureau and North Telangana Special Zonal Committee had been stating our stand consistently. During the first phase of the Separate Telangana movement in 1969, our party had formulated a clear political stand on this issue and worked for it. In the second and third phases our party played a major role in it. Right from the

beginning, our party worked for the formation of a Telangana state by representing the interests of the vast masses - working class, peasantry, middle class, small and medium capitalists and the various oppressed social sections like Dalits, Adivasis, religious minorities and women by mobilizing them. Our party united with all the forces working for statehood for Telangana and at the same time has exposed the compromising forces and strove to lead the movement in a militant manner. Those in power in the centre and the states to whatever parties or region they may have belonged, unleashed repression in a fascist manner this movement waged under the leadership of various democratic forces and our party. In the course of this struggle hundreds of students and youth have laid down their lives. In this entire period the state and the central governments launched offensives on us to suppress the armed agrarian revolution. Through this they also wanted to render the statehood movement for Telangana leaderless and prevent the development of this as a mighty mass movement with democratic demands. This caused severe loss to the statehood movement for Telangana.

The ruling classes are ignoring the demands brought forth by the democratic forces now with the formation of the state and are completely immersed in electoral politics. Even the Seemandhra leaders are concentrating on special packages, projects like Polavaram and on Hyderabad and are not putting forward any demands or program for the backward regions in that state. Central government announced a special package for five years for Seemandhra. BJP demanded that it be given for ten years for electoral gains and promised to approve the package if it is voted to power. The Congress and the BJP that are vying with each other for giving special packages for Seemandhra are not recognizing the need for such packages for the backward Telangana state. In Telangana too there is a need for special packages for the most backward Adivasi areas, drought hit areas like the backward Mahboobnagar district and specific measures to fulfill the socio-economic and political demands of the religious minorities and Dalits.

When we look at the nature of the Separate Telangana movement and the composition of leading political forces in it, the formation of Telangana state would be mainly useful to the ruling classes in Telangana. When we keep in view the history and class interests of the parliamentary parties that would be coming to power in Telangana, their development models are nothing but obsolete. In these models, there is no basic difference from the previous regimes in not representing the interests of the vast masses. Though the future governments may bring in some eyewash reforms, people should not be satisfied. They should prepare themselves for a long drawn struggle with a clear program and strategy. Depending on the extent to which the people would go in fighting for their demands, they would be able to utilize the favorable conditions that would prevail with the formation of Telangana.

Regarding Seemandhra, our party opines that the democratic forces and organizations and the people there should agitate on clear democratic demands on socio-economic issues according to the democratic aspirations of the people.

The actual danger faced by the people of these two states now is – further opening of doors for the corporations – both domestic and foreign – for the loot of the resources and market in these two states. This danger is present due to the pro-imperialist, pro-CBB, pro-landlord policies of the ruling classes in the two states. So unless the people of both the states realize this danger and fight against the state and central governments on socio, economic and political demands they would not be able to fulfill even their minimum demands. And it would even be difficult to turn these struggles into a movement to establish a genuine democratic, self-reliant, independent economic and political system.

Our party is giving a general call to the people of the two states to boycott the sham assembly and parliamentary elections as one of the steps towards realization of a democratic Telangana and a democratic Andhra Pradesh (Seemandhra). At the same time the people should put forward and agitate on their specific socio-economic, political demands including lifting ban on the CPI (Maoist) and revolutionary, democratic mass organizations in both the states. Our party is calling upon the people of both states to support each other and unitedly fight for a new democratic state in our country that would guarantee the fulfillment of their interests in the true sense.

The Telangana people should not lose their alert in achieving their goals by losing themselves in the celebrations over winning the demand for a state. However, even in this state the political power would not lie with the people and would lie in the hands of parties like Congress, TDP, TRS and BJP that are the parties of the CBB and the landlords. With the formation of a separate Telangana state, there would be benefit to some extent regarding demands like end to discrimination, water and jobs. However the basic problems of the people would remain unsolved. These problems could be solved only when political power lies with the

people. That is why, the people of Telangana should fight for their democratic demands. Some of the important among these demands should be:

1. Bitter struggle should be put up against making Hyderabad as the common capital, against construction of Polavaram project and against giving all the areas that would be submerged due to Polavaram project construction to Coastal Andhra. Both these are a Great Conspiracy of the central and the Seemandhra bourgeoisie that should be fought back by all the agitating forces of Telangana in a united manner.
2. Withdrawal of all cases on Telangana agitators; support to Telangana Martyrs' families; lifting of ban on the CPI (Maoist) and revolutionary and democratic mass organization, restoration of democratic rights and putting a stop to fake encounters; unconditional release of all political prisoners; withdrawal of all false cases on religious minorities; withdrawal of police camps in educational institutions; punishing the killers who murdered Telangana agitators and annulling of APSIB and greyhounds.
3. Implementation of genuine land reforms; the rights over lands occupied by the people as part of anti-feudal, anti-imperialist struggles should be handed over to the people; the government and assigned lands that were forcibly occupied by the bourgeoisie, landlords and political leaders should be seized and distributed to the urban poor.
4. The entry to imperialist and MNCs should be stopped. Polavaram, Pulichintala, open cast mines, Bayyaram mines, Kavval Tiger Project and SEZs that are displacing the people should be scrapped. All the MoUs signed with the CBB and MNCs regarding these projects should be scrapped. Along with public sector, small and medium scale industries should be encouraged. The rights of workers should be protected. Plans should be taken up for the self-development of the state.
5. The just share of water belonging to Telangana should be allotted and irrigation to peasantry and drinking water to the people should be provided.
6. Allotments for agricultural sector should be increased in the budget. Seeds, fertilizers and pesticides should be distributed free of cost to the peasants. Minimum support prices should be ensured. Electricity cuts should be done away with. Loans should be annulled. Loans without interest should be provided.
7. Lands should be distributed to all the landless Dalits. Dalits should be given protection from all kinds of attacks on them.
8. Religious minorities should be provided with reservations. Land should be distributed to the landless. Urdu should be given the status of second official language.
9. The 5th schedule of the constitution, PESA and 1/70 Act should be strictly implemented and Adivasis should be given rights to their *Jal, Jungle and Zameen*. The autonomy rights of Adivasis should be given recognition.
10. 50 percent reservation should be given to women in legislatives, education and employment. Women should be provided protection.

The Telangana people should continue the spirit of unity and determination that they displayed in the agitation for a separate state and should carry on the movement for the democratic aspirations of the people to be fulfilled in the rebuilding of the state of Telangana. They should coordinate this movement with the movements for solving their basic issues. Thus they should march forward determinedly in fulfilling the aims of the NDR. With agrarian revolution as the axis and the slogan of 'Land to the tiller', they should march forward in the liberation movement. The entire people should come forward to make the NDR successful. This is a great opportunity for us. The bourgeois parties and their lackeys would attempt to take the people along the bourgeois parliamentary path, destroy their unity and continue their power and exploitation. Our party is giving a call to the entire people that they should march forward with their unity as the basis, fight back the conspiracies of Congress, TDP, BJP, TRS, YSR Congress party and also of the revisionist parties CPI and CPI (M) and advance the NDR. The Telangana agitators and organizations should preserve the successes of the people and carry on struggles on democratic demands in the new state of Telangana in a united manner. They should unite with the people of Andhra Pradesh and fight against their common enemies – imperialists, CBB and the landlord classes.

**Q: *The central government and some of the state governments had in the past proposed to conduct talks with your party. In the recent past too some Congress party leaders were seen proposing about***

***Peace Talks on various forums either directly or indirectly. What is your party's stand regarding Peace Talks with the government?***

A: We are not against Peace Talks with the government. The aim of Peace Talks should be genuine peace, and it should be a fruitful one. Peace Talks are an integral part of the political struggle between two conflicting camps. It is another form of political struggle, i.e., a peaceful one. But in reality, the ruling classes and their central and state governments are not for it. They are completely against it. They are playing a ploy as before. Their words do not match with their deeds in practice. They do not have any belief regarding political talks or political dialogues. The only thing they believe in is their military, paramilitary and police forces. The only thing they believe in is using their brute force and establishing graveyard peace in the society. But due to their erroneous policy in dealing with the civil war, the situation is becoming much more complex against their wishes. Whenever the people fight for their just rights and liberation and whenever the people intensify their struggle the ruling classes bring to the fore Peace Talks so that they can utilize it as a means to suppress the movement. In the name of Peace Talks they try to create confusions and illusions within the ranks and the people and make us lose our vigil or if we avoid talks then they try to put a stamp on us that we are against peace. They try to isolate us from the people or utilize the talks to try to bring us "to our senses" by hook or crook. Our party is absolutely against such deceptive, insincere, aggressive Peace Talks proposals.

On the contrary, our party wishes to achieve genuine peace. Our party and the people ever since the Naxalbari peasant armed agrarian revolutionary movement to this day, for decades together had fought for the resolution of fundamental issues of the people and the country, i.e., genuine land reforms, democracy, self-reliant development model of economy-agriculture-industry and services, sovereignty and long-lasting peace for the progress and prosperity of our country. So, to conduct Peace Talks with a political movement successfully and with positive results, the governments should firstly recognize our movement as a political movement. It is necessary that they recognize this movement as a movement by the people of our country, as an internal movement and as a civil war. Then only there would be a possibility to at least conduct talks to solve issues that would help in resolving the fundamental issues in order to resolve this civil war. Any mention of Peace Talks in any other manner amounts only to wrong intentions and nothing else.

If one has to take a correct stand on the present proposal for talks from the ruling elite, we have to examine similar proposals put by the ruling classes to the communists in our country in the past. We have to see historically with what agenda they came forward with the proposal for talks and how they dealt with any political movement in the past led by the communist revolutionaries or national liberation organizations of Kashmir and the North East. What happened as a result of Talks with nationality movements? The experience of most of the nationality movements is negative due to the expansionist and fascist approach of the Indian ruling classes and the capitulation of the leadership who that led those movements. The talks did not resolve any issues raised by these movements. To this date these movements are still continuing in one form or the other.

What was the stand taken by the communist revolutionaries when the proposals for talks were put before them?

The first such instance was during the glorious Telangana armed peasant revolutionary movement. The CBB and the landlord classes came to power in place of the British colonialists, and a fascist suppression campaign was being carried on by the Nehru-Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel army and thousands of peasants and peasant guerilla fighters were being butchered brutally when talks were held between the revolutionaries and the government. The aim of the government in these talks was to destroy the Telangana armed revolutionary movement by bending the revolutionaries. However as basic issues like genuine land reforms, people's democracy and issues brought forth by the Telangana armed struggle remained unsolved, the glorious Naxalbari peasantry took up arms and fought to resolve the same. A glorious armed peasant rebellion erupted and it spread like prairie fire to all the corners of our country with a correct perspective, program and strategy etc in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM).

After Indira's fascist rule ended, leaders of various rightist ML groups milled around the Janata Party that came to power with the slogan of restitution of democratic rights, for talks. The Talks of those days paved the way for these groups to enter electoral politics and were used to get some of their leaders and cadres released but only after they gave shameful undertakings. Our party had openly opposed and criticized such capitulationist policy and getting bogged down in electoral politics. At that time, the functioning of Bhargava

Commission that was formed by the Janata party government for enquiring into false encounter killings was stopped midway by the ruling classes, putting into the dustbin the slogans on which it came to power. And it was on such a government that these groups had such illusions. They did not understand the class nature of the ruling classes and also failed in assessing the concrete political condition at that time. Such groups gradually disappeared from the scene of revolution. Again the revolutionary movement erupted in an upsurge in Andhra Pradesh and Bihar with its basic program, all the while fighting back state repression. The movement extended to some more areas in our country.

In AP, once in 1990 immediately after Chenna Reddy came to power, once in 1996 during Chandrababu Naidu's rule when repression was intensified to unprecedented levels and later on certain occasions proposals for Talks came to the fore either from the governments intellectuals or other quarters. However, the then state governments intensified repression and did not show any inclination for talks. Rajasekhar Reddy came to power in 2004 with the agenda of conducting Talks with the Maoists. He came forth for Talks after making all preparations for launching an offensive campaign on us in fascist methods and with a plan for an unprecedented intensification of repression. After one round of talks the government shamelessly stopped the Talks process midway. It did not even let its delegation to officially sign on behalf of the state government on the agenda decided between the delegations of both sides. The YSR government feared the interest shown by the vast masses towards our party and ideology and the rallying of people towards the agenda brought forth by our party and immediately resorted to an offensive on our party. Along with fake encounters severe repression was unleashed all over the state. Thus it sabotaged the Talks process. Seeing the positive response among the various sections of people towards the Talks the government brought forth the demand midway that Maoists should abandon arms and it did not implement the ceasefire even for a single day in the period decided by both sides. The government did not have the aim of discussing on the agenda put forward by our party. Its aim was to disarm the party and make it surrender. Soon after the crooked ploy ended, the AP police brutally killed comrade Riaz, a member of the Maoist parties' delegation. This was the first bitter experience for our party in conducting Peace Talks. This is an example of the real intentions of the ruling classes and their imperialist masters in Peace Talks.

The UPA led by the Congress came to power for the second time and launched the first phase of the War on People – the Operation Green Hunt. Simultaneously it brought forth the proposal for Peace Talks at central level through its Home Ministry and Congress senior leaders directly and indirectly. People like Swami Agnivesh directly entered the arena for facilitating Talks. On the one hand, the central government brought forth the proposal for Talks with Maoist leadership and on the other hand it either killed the top leadership of our party in fake encounters or arrested them and put them in jails. Our CC was to discuss and reach a final decision on Talks but before that comrade Azad, our Politburo member was caught and killed in a fake encounter in July 2010. This murder exposed the conspiracy of the ruling classes behind the proposal for Peace Talks. It became clear as daylight that Manmohan Singh government was not ready for Talks except to deceive.

Even while the OGH was being further intensified, some ministers like the home minister and some Congress top leaders parroted about Peace Talks some times. Apart from brutally killing another PBM of our party comrade Kishenji, several of our top leaders were arrested and put in jails. In Bengal too, Mamta Banerji talked about peace before she came to power. Once in power, it did not take many days for her real face to get exposed. Massacres of common people, fake encounters, loot, destruction and all kinds of atrocities on women became the daily routine of the state forces in Chhattisgarh, Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Odisha and Maharashtra. When Chidambaram was the home minister and after Shinde took over, both of them and the home secretaries had been declaring openly that there was no question for Peace Talks unless Maoists abandon arms and that the Maoists would not come for talks unless their backbone is broken that is, unless their top leadership is wiped out. They declared that only the government forces have the right to carry arms and even said that the law does not allow conduct of Talks with a banned organization.

From the beginning, the aim of the ruling classes in conducting Peace Talks is either disarming Maoists as a precondition for talks or disarming the Maoists as a result of Talks. The government has been asking the Maoists to come into mainstream and that it would rehabilitate them. It declared that if the Maoists put forward the grievances of the people, it would consider and solve those that are possible to be solved. To be precise, all proposals for Peace Talks from the ruling classes are nothing but humbug.

Now once again direct and indirect proposals for Peace Talks are coming from the Congress leaders. On

the other hand, every kind of preparation for another big offensive-OGH-3rd phase is being concluded that includes further involvement of army and Air Force apart from deployment of paramilitary and Special Forces numbering around 4 lakhs all over the country at present (they have already built up carpet security like in Kashmir in every stronghold of our movement and at every strategic point of movement of our forces). Consolidation and expansion of carpet security and construction of hundreds of attack-proof police stations/camps and dozens of aerodromes and helipads is being done at a rapid pace all over the country in our movement areas. Expanding intelligence network in rural areas, expanding communication network, setting up several dozens of training centres for Special Forces, importing most advanced weaponry and weapon systems, intensifying psychological operations utilizing corporate media and increase in the strategic role of paramilitary, Air Force and Army is being done at an unprecedented level. Vast tracts of rural areas have been transformed into big concentration camps. In all of these areas, there is no civil administration on ground. It is only a police/paramilitary dictated administration. Repression on mass organizations and mass movements including murders of its leaders is on. Large number of our central leaders and several hundreds of party cadres up to the lower levels were put in jails. They are languishing since several years in prisons without any justice. The government forces are intensifying and expanding cordon and search operations in our movement areas on a daily basis. Their model for dealing with Maoists is the Saranda model. This is a model that follows in the footsteps of Hitler's Nazi Germany.

The central and state governments had been making all the above preparations on the one hand and on the other hand, some Congress leaders and some chief ministers have been putting forward proposals for Peace Talks even while doing all this at the ground level. In such a backdrop, at present our stand towards Peace Talks would be as follows:

1. The government should accept that ours is a political movement of this country. Its program concerns our people and our country. Our party is the vanguard of this just movement. We are leading a national democratic revolution to resolve the fundamental problems before the people and the country which are the reason for the origin and continuation of our movement. Hence, our main agenda is genuine land reforms, democracy, self-reliant development model of economy-agriculture-industry and services and sovereignty and long-lasting peace to develop the country. So they have to understand and recognize the root cause for this movement and if they wish to fulfill the interests of the people they would have to accept that our movement is an internal conflict and a civil war according to international laws also. Only then can Peace Talks be conducted in a genuine manner and be productive. Democratic organizations, progressive intellectuals and the people should understand this clearly and strive for peace.
2. Ban on the CPI (Maoist) and revolutionary, democratic mass organizations in our country should be lifted and attacks on their leaders and activists should stop.
3. Judicial enquiry should be conducted on Comrade Riaz's murder and the culprits should be punished. The killers who murdered comrade Azad who was involved in the Talks process should be arrested and punished.
4. Government forces that are carrying on loot, destruction, mayhem, atrocities on women and massacres in rural areas and killing of mass organization leaders in urban areas flouting international, national laws and agreements should be stopped from doing so. Judicial enquiry should be conducted on all these incidents.
5. In order to preserve our leadership from the conspiracies of the ruling classes to decimate our party leadership one more time in the name of Talks, all veteran comrades in prisons should be released by lifting all false cases on them or on bails. They should be allowed to meet our CC to facilitate deciding on a team to participate in the dialogue with the government.

I appeal to all the democratic organizations and individuals to understand our party's stand regarding Talks for establishment of genuine peace. If a conducive atmosphere as we propose for conduct of Peace Talks is established from the government, we would participate in it.

On this occasion, I appeal to the democratic organizations and individuals to build a movement to force the government to stop the unjust state offensive on revolutionary and democratic organizations, to demand that they be allowed to function and to demand a stop to all extra-judicial killings, fake encounters, destruction, loot, sexual atrocities on women etc in the rural areas and killings of mass organization leaders in urban areas.

**Q: Your party comrades had recently killed two journalists Nemichand Jain and Sai Reddy in Bastar. This is in contradiction with your party's stand on journalists. Similarly, in Jharkhand your party comrades planted an IED as a booby trap in the body of a CRPF jawan who died in your PLGA attack. Do these not deserve a clear explanation from your Central Committee?**

A: The incident of Nemichand Jain (a stringer of *Haribhoomi*, *Nayi Duniya* and *Dainik Bhaskar*) on 12 February, 2013 is worrying. Our CC also expresses its sincere regret on this. Our party's South Regional Committee (SRC) of Dandakaranya had given a statement explaining the reasons behind it and expressing its regret. DKSZC secretary comrade Ramanna had responded on this once again in an interview he gave on October 10, 2013 and expressed his regret. He stated, "This was a result of wrong assessment and sectarian approach of the concerned Area Committee of our party. I express my deep regrets regarding this. On behalf of our SZC I send my deep condolences to Nemichand Jain's family and his friends. Our party had already openly apologized for this."

On December 6, 2013 correspondent Sai Reddy of Hindi daily *Deshbandhu* and a resident of Bijapur was killed by our comrades. Our party's South Regional Committee (SRC) of Dandakaranya had given a statement on December 10 defending the killing. Immediately after this, local media and the media in Raipur condemned this killing and had decided to impose a ban on publishing any statements from our party. National and international journalists and media organizations also condemned the killing. On December 27, PUDR condemned this incident citing Article 79 of Protocol I of Geneva Convention (1949). A 16-member team of journalists took protest rally in our movement areas of Bastar from 26th to 31st January, 2014 and on the last day held a press meet in Bijapur.

Recently our Dandakaranya SZC had reviewed the Sai Reddy incident and all these developments. For about two decades Sai Reddy had been taking up anti-people and anti-movement activities even while being a journalist. So the party's South Bastar Divisional Committee (DVC) decided to punish him and accordingly a PLGA unit attacked his house once. But he escaped in that attack. In 2008 he was arrested by the Chhattisgarh police under Chhattisgarh Special Public Security Act on a false accusation that he was a Maoist supporter and put him in jail for one year. However there were other reasons for his arrest. But with this arrest his image turned into one who opposed the government. In this backdrop the DVC stalled the decision to punish him. However this decision was not passed on to the lower ranks properly. As a result, this happened. The DKSZC reviewed that the SRC should have responded without delay in the Nemichand Jain incident and that the SRC defending the killing of Sai Reddy is not correct.

Regarding military actions and particularly regarding journalists, employees and professionals etc when any of them gets involved in anti-people activities or turns into an enemy of the movement and the people, the policy and guidelines formulated by the CC dictate that every unit of our party and the PLGA must adhere to them and follow class line and mass line in such instances. The DKSZC decided to release a letter to the PUDR and the media giving explanation on the Sai Reddy incident. In the past, when our South Bastar DVC decided to punish him, we should have informed the media organizations, journalists and the media houses he worked for, about his anti-people activities.

Even though our policy is correct, rarely some errors are occurring in practice. However, our CC feels that the local media and the media in Raipur deciding to impose a ban on publishing any statements from our party is not correct. We feel that democratic organizations should give attention to this undemocratic attitude of the media too.

The incident on January 8, 2013 in Latehar where an IED was placed in the body of a slain CRPF jawan is also worrying. After the launch of OGH the ruling classes have resorted to every kind of brutality against the people in the most heinous manner. When the state forces use their superior strength and inflict serious damages to the revolutionary movement, the people and the people's guerillas are forced to function under intense conditions. Every opportunity to resist the state forces should be utilized by them. In this course, due to lack of experience, due to lack of knowledge about the norms, rules and regulations regarding war/s that are prevalent in the world, our people and our fighters are taking up some actions which are not acceptable even to our supporters. Such instances are paining the well-wishers of the revolution and pro-people forces and they are asking that such incidents be avoided. On the other hand, such mistakes are not only being used by the state to intensify its psychological war but also by its apologists to make mountains out of mole hills and to attack the Maoist movement as a whole.

Whatever maybe the arguments of the ruling classes, the ongoing war in our country is nothing but a civil war. The party which is leading it for building a new society and the people's army, how much ever maybe the pressure under which we are working in the midst of war, should choose the appropriate forms of struggle to fight against the enemy. When seen from such a point of view, though such mistakes are occurring rarely, it is very much necessary to avoid them. When weapons like IEDs are planted with the aim of inflicting damages to the enemy forces, any methods that have the possibility of causing damage to the people and those who are not directly participating in the war like employees in civil administration, medical personnel and civilians should be avoided.

In general, according to our party's policy, we should not behave in an abusive manner with the enemy forces who surrender to us or are arrested by us. The Latehar instance did not happen as part of treating the dead bodies of enemy soldiers in a disrespectful manner. However we should not let such incidents repeat. The enemy forces are behaving in the most inhuman, callous and disrespectful manner towards the dead bodies of our comrades and the people as their general norm. In all societies all over world dead bodies are treated with certain respect. So we instruct our cadres that they should treat the bodies of slain enemy soldiers keeping this in view. On behalf of our CC, I appeal to our party and our PLGA comrades that this incident should be taken as a lesson and our party policy should be implemented.

***Q: The spokesperson of your party's Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee GVK Prasad (Gudsa Usendi) surrendered to the police recently. How would you explain this?***

A: DKSZC member GVK Prasad along with a DVC level cadre Santoshi Markam @ Jaini left DK and surrendered before the AP police on January 8, 2014. He is familiar as Gudsa Usendi, the spokesperson of the DKSZC not only to our party but also to all supporters of our movement and to several others who follow in the media about our party. The AP, DK cadre and people and the cadre and people of our various movement areas of the country know why such degenerated elements surrender. Their surrender was strictly condemned and severely hated by them. Even though it is a loss to our movement, this would not last long. The number of those who worked in our party central and state committees and later surrendered to the enemy is limited. However, there is no doubt that his surrender has done damage to the party as he was in the state level leadership position. After they surrendered to the enemy, our party's DKSZC Secretary Comrade Ramanna gave a statement condemning it and explaining the reasons for his surrender. This was covered extensively in the media. The politically degenerated Prasad responded to this statement with utter lies. All his arguments are completely wrong. The reasons he showed for their surrender are unpardonable not only in their case but in case of any leadership of that rank.

Since 2010 the countrywide counter-revolutionary offensive of the enemy and armed suppression campaign intensified on our movement. In this offensive, the party leadership and the movement suffered serious losses. Particularly, the DK movement which was advancing became the focal point of the enemy offensive and it was facing a tough situation. Under such circumstances, he was directly responsible for guiding the Manpur Division movement that was facing a more complex situation. Due to this, his old weakness of political vacillation arose again. He over-estimated the enemy's supremacy, felt fear and lost his self-confidence. In fact, though he surrendered before the enemy in January, his political degeneration took a shape since the end of 2012. The recognition he got as the spokesperson of DKSZC was due to the significance of DK movement but he thought it was due to his own talent and became arrogant and egoistic. Due to this, he was scathing while criticizing others and was liberal towards his own mistakes and weaknesses.

He failed to look at phenomena in a dialectical manner. So he looked only at the intensity of the enemy offensive and the temporary upper hand of the enemy and ignored the laws of social development and the revolutionary role of the oppressed people in this. He refused to look at the present favorable revolutionary situation in our country and the world and the strong points of the revolutionary movement, lost self-confidence and ultimately lost confidence on the movement itself. He degenerated ideologically and politically, was not ready for sacrifice, left the party and bent his knees before the enemy. This is treachery towards the revolution.

Our party examines every aspect in the society, in the party and inside every member in the party and likewise it also examines those individuals who had worked in the party and degenerated – all from a Marxist point of view. In every comrade working in the party, including the leaders, there is always present some

positive and negative aspects - revolutionary ones, strengths and good qualities and non-revolutionary ones, along with weaknesses, shortcomings and limitations. Nobody is exception to these. The positive aspects serve the revolution and the negative ones harm it. However, these maybe present relatively in varying degrees in different comrades. As long as the good-strong aspects are principal inside an individual he/she continue to work in the party. If in an individual negative aspects become principal he/she does not last for long in the party. In every person, a continuous internal struggle goes on between the positive and negative aspects. Every person should fight consciously to get rid of the negative aspects and thus strengthen the positive aspects. Only then they would be able to serve the revolution and the people further. This struggle should be carried on inside every individual, in every party unit and in the entire party continuously. Failure, neglect, delay and lack of vigilance in this internal struggle would weaken the party, the party units and the individuals in the party. According to the level and degree of this weakness the party and the movement would be negatively affected in proportion.

To be precise, every party member, particularly every member of all leading committees inside the party should fight against their non-proletarian ideological and political trends, weaknesses, mistakes and shortcomings. When they are not able to overcome these when they are present at a lesser degree, there is every possibility for these to aggravate. If anyone fails to rectify serious shortcomings, there is always a danger of political degeneration. Then they will either run away or be thrown away. Our party opines that this is an integral part of the ongoing class struggle inside the society.

Though Prasad worked in the movement as a professional revolutionary since 1985, he had two main weaknesses in his long revolutionary life. First, he vacillated politically during some critical junctures when the enemy repression intensified on the movement and it faced new dangers and challenges; second, he had petty-bourgeois anarchic notions regarding man-woman relations. The party helped him in overcoming these two weaknesses inside him and he too accepted and had tried to overcome them. In that course he could serve the revolution too. However, he failed in correcting the past weaknesses continuing in him. In the new conditions too he failed in continuing more severe internal struggle on himself to overcome his weaknesses and ultimately degenerated and surrendered before the enemy.

**Q: *Recently the central government filed an affidavit in the Supreme Court that Maoist ideologues are more dangerous than Maoist guerillas and that those intellectuals who support them and build support for them are more dangerous. How do you respond to this?***

A: This was done with the sole aim of suppressing every just dissent and movement against the ruling class policies. This is to suppress the aspirations and demands of vast masses, to damage all opportunities to express them, to prevent the spread of revolutionary and democratic ideas by curtailing fundamental rights such as freedom of expression, freedom of association, freedom of movement and freedom to agitate. This is done to isolate the people's struggles in rural areas to crush them. This is to prevent the protest that is increasing against their evil rule in society from taking a consolidated form. This is to prevent the spread of revolutionary and democratic ideas in the name of suppressing Maoist ideology. On the other hand they want to spread imperialist and feudal ideas such as autocracy, selfishness, deception, consumerism, sexism/patriarchy, Brahminical casteism, religious jingoism and treachery. All these serve retrogressive class interests. This is an excuse for implementing the existing draconian laws and to formulate new ones. This is part of the psy-war carried on by the ruling classes on the revolutionary and democratic movements. This is also to dent the solidarity and support movement of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist and democratic organizations and individuals all over the world for the PPW led by our party. The ruling classes are terrified by the great support we are getting from the parties, organizations and the oppressed people and intellectuals of our country and other countries. So the ruling classes have done this to prevent the revolutionary movement from getting such support from the world people. This was done to isolate the Maoist movement from other democratic and progressive movements and elements in our country and world over.

Our party condemns this strongly and appeals to one and all to condemn this fascist attitude of the government. We appeal to all democratic organizations, intellectuals, journalists, media persons, lawyers and judges to condemn this in no uncertain terms and unite to fight this back. This is a question of fundamental rights and not just something concerned with Maoist guerillas or their ideologues. Our party opines that this is a question of whether we should agitate for a genuine democracy in our country or accept autocracy.

**Q: *The UPA-2 government led by Manmohan Singh as soon as it came to power launched the Operation Green Hunt by labeling your movement as the gravest threat to internal security of our country. It has been five years since. What do you think is the reason for this offensive? How do you plan to fight this back?***

A: Firstly, Manmohan labeling us as ‘the gravest threat’ is rubbish. In fact, neither we nor our PLGA have descended from the skies. This is a people’s war waged by millions of people of our country and their army—the PLGA, under the leadership of the CPI(Maoist) against the ruling classes and their state to build a new democratic society. We reiterate that ours is a national democratic revolution. The unjust war imposed on us, on our people is the war which is being waged for the interests of a few. We are not at all a threat to our people. In fact, the ruling classes are the ‘gravest threat’ to the people of our country. That is why, all the democratic, civil rights organizations in our country and the world are describing OGH as a ‘War on People’ and demanding its immediate withdrawal.

Though there are several reasons for the Indian ruling classes to impose this war on us, we feel there are two main reasons for this. The national democratic revolutionary program proposed by us to the people is gaining countrywide recognition as the alternative to their pro-imperialist, pro-CBB, pro-big landlord policies. That is why, our party, our PLGA and our Revolutionary People’s Committees (RPCs) are gaining recognition among revolutionary and democratic forces and the oppressed masses. The vast masses who are fed up with the anti-people, regressive policies of the governments are severely opposing them. Their anger and discontent are developing to the extent of submerging the ruling classes. In such circumstances, they are afraid that our revolutionary movement is developing and that it would shake their very foundations. That is why, the ruling classes have shamelessly violated all domestic and international laws and intensified fascist repression. The second reason is - the Indian ruling classes collaborated with the imperialists and are selling out our country to them. Joining hands with them, they are looting the natural riches and labor power of our people. After the economy of our country has been completely transformed to the needs of the world market in the name of so-called development, the economy of our country is retrogressing. Along with the needs of the imperialist capital, its crisis is also increasing. As the pressure of the MNCs is increasing on the comprador rulers to implement the MoUs they signed to loot our natural resources and markets of our country, the repressive offensives are also intensifying.

When the Indian ruling classes launched OGH, they carried on the offensive saying that they would wipe out our movement within five to seven years. It is true that they could inflict serious losses on our movement. But they had to face the bitter resistance of our people and our PLGA in this period. It has been exposed as never before that the government is deploying on its own people even the Army that should be on the borders, that it is carrying on an unjust war and that this is a war being carried on for the interests of the comprador and imperialist bandits. In a people’s war, it is very crucial that it becomes clear as to which side represents which classes and whose interests. How many ever maybe our difficulties in this war, as far as this war is concerned, we give utmost importance to this aspect becoming clear, i.e., the class interests represented by our people’s war and those represented by the counter-revolutionary war. The fact that they could not wipe out the movement in the past five years in itself is a proof that the nature of this war does not allow them to conclude it as they wish.

Since the days of the Telangana armed peasant rebellion where PPW began to take a shape, we learnt many lessons and later developed our strategy and tactics. Depending on it we made our PPW wider and deeper. Along with losses and setbacks we have also witnessed the movement learning several lessons and developing. Brute force, unjust war and fascist rule can never win forever. Our party is not only learning from our own mistakes, failures and defeats but also from the revolutionary experiences of the oppressed masses of the world, particularly of the successful and failed revolutions of the world and is trying to make the NDR in our country successful. By utilizing favorable conditions for the revolution to mobilize the vast masses into the revolutionary war and by carrying on active resistance against the enemy forces by creatively applying our general political line and the strategy and tactics of PPW, we can march forward successfully. That is why, we, meaning the party, PLGA and the vast oppressed masses would face the enemy in spite of having to face immense difficulties and having to make huge sacrifices, would fight resolutely and emerge victorious in this war. However long drawn it may be, how many ever maybe the twists and turns it goes through and how many ever maybe the thorns in its path, the PPW is invincible. We are very confident that our glorious people are ready for this long drawn battle to crush the treacherous Indian ruling classes and their imperialist masters on this very soil of our great country. \*

# Pages from International Communist Movement

## International Solidarity for the Struggle of Political Prisoners in India

In solidarity with the week-long all India struggle of political prisoners, an international campaign was taken up with great enthusiasm across many countries of Asia, Europe, North and South America. The high point of this campaign was the International Day of Solidarity and Struggle with Political Prisoners observed on 25 January 2014. The following call was issued by the International Committee for the Support of People's War in India (ICSPWI) :

**25<sup>th</sup> January 2014 International Day of Solidarity and Struggle!**  
**Unconditional release for all political prisoners in India!**



In jails in India the prisoners face every kind of harassment, torture, denial of bails, inhuman living conditions, arbitrary transfers, brutal assaults and punishments of solitary confinement, and often the detained women are raped. In spite of the fierce conditions of detention, prisoners are resisting and struggling with revolutionary spirit and turning the dark jails in which are confined into a battlefield against the rising fascism in India and the Indian regime.

The struggle for their unconditional release is an urgent task for all the solidarity forces and friends of Indian people, and it is integral part of the support for the victory of their liberation war

Stop India as "prison house of people's movements"!

Stop Operation Green Hunt!

The liberation war of the masses in India cannot be stopped by the savage repression, rather it extends the political and moral solidarity!

Street demos, counter-information actions and mass protests!



**International Committee to Support the People's War in India**  
Joining and info: [csppindia@gmail.com](mailto:csppindia@gmail.com)  
New blog in English: [icspwindia.wordpress.com](http://icspwindia.wordpress.com)

### Unconditional release for all Political Prisoners in India!

### 25th January 2014 Great International Day of Solidarity and Struggle!

*In India more than 10.000 supposed Maoists are languishing in jails, to them are to be added other thousands of prisoners involved in the national liberation movements (Kashmir, Manipur, etc.) or other democratic movements.*

*Beside with the leaders, cadres and members of the PLGA, more than the 90% of that number are Adivasi villagers who resisted the forced evacuation; peasants who struggled against the MOUs signed by governments and TNCs to exploit the people and continue the imperialist looting of natural resources; activists of the national minorities organized against the rising threat of Hindu communal fascism; students, intellectuals, artists belonging the RDF and other democratic organizations, guilty of standing on the side*

*of the people facing the war on them waged by the Indian state; people's women, feminists united to rebel against the huge escalation of rapes, committed in part by the armed and police forces and paramilitary fascist squads sponsored by the State, as weapon of the war on people.*

*In jails the prisoners face every kind of harassment, torture, denial of bails, inhuman living conditions, arbitrary transfers, brutal assaults and punishments of solitary confinement, and often the detained women are raped.*

*In spite of the fierce condition of detention, prisoners are resisting and struggling with revolutionary spirit and turning the dark jails in which are confined into a battlefield against the raising fascism in India and the Indian regime.*

*The struggle for their unconditional release is an urgent task for all the solidarity forces and friends of Indian people, and it is integral part of the support for the victory of their liberation war.*

In Italy, a nation-wide campaign of propaganda through leaflets, posters, banners, graffiti etc. were taken up in the major cities of Rome, Palermo, Milan, Bergamo, Taranto, Bologna, Brescia and Ravenna. Propaganda work was carried out in factories, shops, universities, street-corners and other places. In most of these cities, public meetings, film screenings, solidarity get-together, fund-raising dinner, protest rallies were organised in support of the political prisoners in India. Migrant workers from India, Pakistan, Philippines etc., joined Italians to participate in these programmes.

The Revolutionary Proletarian Feminist Movement (Movimento Femminista Proletario Rivoluzionario), Italy was a part of these programmes. The organisation issued the following solidarity call:

**For the Unconditional Release of all Political Prisoners!  
We are on the side of the Comrades, Women who are a  
Decisive Revolutionary Heart in the People's War!**

*In India, that claims to be "the largest democracy in the world" government, armed forces and paramilitaries made the rape one of the most brutal weapons of war against the masses. In vast areas of India out of the big cities, and especially in areas where the people's war goes on, rapes, killings of women by armed forces are very common, and often the rape accompanies the tortures when women are in custody.*

*But, many women comrades turned the violence on them, the rapes, into a lever to rebel. Today they are an important part of the revolutionary people's war.*

*The Indian state, that is fascist and reactionary, as showed by the news attached below, is actually afraid of the large presence of women in the people's war and tries to counteract by any means their participation. Many of these brave and determined women are prisoners and their condition is even heinous for the rapes and violence by the jailers.*

*We are for the unconditional release of all political prisoners. We are on the side of the comrades, women who are a decisive revolutionary heart in the people's war.*

In several places in Spain such as Coruña and Ourense, programmes were organised to observe the



In Spain, posters demanding unconditional release of all political prisoners in India

International Day of Solidarity and Struggle for the Political Prisoners in India. Posters of the international campaign in English and stickers of support to the political prisoners were put up. Also, a letter of protest was sent to the ambassador of India in the Spanish State signed by prominent intellectuals and people from different walks of life.

In Ireland, a protest took place at the Indian Embassy in Dublin demanding the release of Political Prisoners in India and a stop to Operation Green Hunt. The protestors also demanded the release of Irish Republican Socialist prisoners interned in Port Laoise Gaol.

As part of the International Day of Solidarity and Struggle for the Political Prisoners in India, a

film screening programme on 22 January was followed by a protest rally on 25 January at Underground Station of Sternschanze in the German city of Berlin.

In the US, New Communist Party (Organizing Committee) and other organisations took up solidarity programmes in several cities. The statement of the Central Committee, NCP (OC) on the International Day of Solidarity and Struggle with Political Prisoners in India reads as follows:

*We affirm the full support of our organization for the International Day of support to political prisoners in India called by the International Committee to Support the People's War in India (ICSPWI). Our organization considers the ongoing war in India to be the key front in the global struggle between imperialism and revolution and the party leading it as the current vanguard in the struggle to practically implement Maoism as the third stage of Marxism and universal ideology of the proletariat.*

*Here in the US, there are also many political prisoners; communists, revolutionaries and national liberation fighters confined under conditions of isolation torture by the imperialist state, many for decades. The heritage of uncompromising struggle against imperialism they embody is the heritage we proudly uphold against the overwhelming reformism, right opportunism, economism and cultural identity politics which suffocates the popular movement in our country today.*

*It is our position that the best support we as communists in the imperialist centers can offer to the thousands of comrades facing torture and deprivation in the prisons of the reactionary Indian state and the most meaningful homage we can provide to the thousands who have been killed in combat and in cold blood by the class enemy is to work carefully and consistently to build the subjective*

*basis of socialist revolution in our own countries.*

*At the current stage of accumulation of forces, this concretely means the ideological and organizational consolidation of advanced elements of the masses around proletarian politics to order to lay the foundations for the establishment of a communist party guided by Maoism. It is not only the communists in oppressed countries who should bear the burdens of war against this system while well wishers offer moral support in the base areas of imperialist capital. US imperialism is already considering more direct aid and support to Operation Green Hunt and the investment, trade and inter-military relations between the two states are significant.*

*Only a militant class struggle which destroys domestic social peace led by a communist party towards the goal of the overthrow of the US imperialist state can decisively disrupt the flow of support to the Indian reactionaries. It is with this goal in mind that our organization was founded and we will continue to work towards it inspired by the heroic sacrifices and strategic contributions of our comrades in India.*

Programmes were organised in other European countries including England, France, Austria and Russia. In Turkey, Brazil, Canada, the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Manipur too, internationalist solidarity was expressed on the occasion of International Day of Solidarity and Struggle for the Political Prisoners in India. \*

## **May First Internationalist Joint Declaration 2014**

### *Another May Day Comes ...*

Another May Day comes, in a world where the misery and deprivation suffered by billions of people is immensely aggravated by the prolonging crisis of the imperialist system. Millions have been thrown out of jobs. Social security is cut down. Growing price rise further depresses living standards. Medical treatment and higher education become atrociously expensive. Meanwhile the perpetrators of this merciless system workout even more vicious anti-people measures, all the while obnoxiously flaunting their swelling wealth and boasting of billionaire lists.

Another May Day, where immigrant workers are forced to labour as slaves, where the trafficking of women and children continue to increase in staggering proportions, where women continue to suffer the brutality of rape and murder no matter whether its 'backward' Afghanistan or 'advanced' USA, where minorities are isolated and suppressed, where the youth are hounded and persecuted, where the demand for something as minimal as fair wages and living conditions is cut down with bullets and imprisonment.

Another May Day, in the midst of environmental devastations caused by the blind pursuit of profit, in the midst of the rapidly widening chasm of inequality within each society and between imperialist and oppressed countries.

Oppression and exploitation generates resistance. And this resistance grows. This world is witness to the growing wave of class struggles and popular rebellions in country after country. This is a world of turmoil. A wide range of forces are being propelled into struggle against the system. The grooming of the streets is no doubt insufficient for a radical break, for the building of a new society. But it opens up tremendous opportunities for connecting with a whole new generation and winning them over to the revolutionary mission of communism. It paves the way to revolution. This is principal. It must be firmly grasped.

Just a decade or so ago, the existence of the proletariat itself was questioned. Class struggle was declared redundant and considered to be replaced by movements of 'multitudes'. Today the world is marked by repeated occasions of militant workers struggles, not just in countries like India or China, but even more so in the citadels of imperialism. There is every reason for this. For all the tall talk of the technical wonders of the 21st century, whether in the killing fields of the garment industry in Bangladesh, the slave labour camps of Qatar, the labour barracks in China, or the sweat-shops of imperialist countries, the conditions in which the vast majority of proletarians labour are as atrocious as those of the 18th century. Meanwhile, explicitly oppressive methods of control and ever increasing workloads in the modern centres of wage slavery increasingly suffocate the proletarians.

At a different dimension, the ravages of globalisation have deeply marked the oppressed countries. Privatisation and liberalisation have wiped whole sectors of employment and small business. Working conditions, already bad, have become unbearable. This was aggravated by the global crisis. In inverse proportion to the worsening of living conditions of the vast majority, corruption and profit taking by the rulers have reached astronomic peaks. While the miseries of the people multiply, the rulers obstinately pursue grandiose projects eying the fat cuts they will get.

All of this underlies the repeated outbursts of rebellion seen in the world. Business cannot go on as usual. In a certain sense this is true of the imperialists and their lackeys too. Their growing contention amply indicates this.

Another May Day comes, in a world crying out for revolution, for communism; a day for the class conscious proletariat and their vanguard, the Maoists, to take stock of the world transforming mission of the proletariat and the great traditions of proletarian internationalism.

Today there is no socialist country. Not even a government that can be broadly qualified as progressive, pro people. There is much, much, to be done. But there are also factors that give strength and confidence in pursuing the world emancipatory mission of the proletariat ? the clarity of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the deepening of the struggle against revisionism of all hues including those of the Prachanda-Bhattarai clique and Avakianism, the wave of struggles seen all over the world, the people's wars in India and the Philippines and its reorganisation or preparation in some other countries, the strengthening of internationalist ties and activities among Maoist parties and organisations.

Building on these strengths, the Maoists must creatively develop forms of organisation suitable for orienting the rebellious energy of the streets towards revolution, with the building and strengthening of Maoist parties at its center. They must take up the task of building an international organisation of Maoist parties and organisations. This must be the core of an organised international anti-imperialist front of the proletarians and oppressed peoples. Thus the Maoists will be able to establish and develop Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, realise a new unity of the international communist movement, place it at the van of worldwide people's struggles and fully unleash and realize the revolutionary potential of the present world.

*Imperialism has no future! The future belongs to communism!*

*Proletarians and oppressed people of all countries, unite!*

*Down with imperialism and all its watchdogs!*

*Long live proletarian internationalism!*

*Long live world proletarian revolution!*

**Committee Building a Maoist Communist Party, Galicia -Spanish state; Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan; Communist Party of India (Maoist); Democracy and Class Struggle - British State; Great Unrest WSRP - Wales British State; Long March Towards Communism (Spain); Maoist Communist Group - USA; Maoist Communist Movement Tunisia; Maoist Communist Party France; Maoist Communist Party Italy; Maoist Communist Party - Turkey North Kurdistan; Maoist Revolutionary League - Sri Lanka; Revolutionary Communist Party (PCR-RCP Canada); Revolutionary Praxis - United Kingdom; Serve the People - Communist League of Norway; Servir Le Peuple - Sheisau Sorelh - Occitany - French State; Worker's Voice – Malaysia.**

## **Campaign for the Release of Dr. G N Saibaba**

The abduction and arrest of Dr. G N Saibaba, a wheelchair-bound Delhi University teacher with 90% disability by Gadchiroli police on 9 May 2014, have been vehemently opposed by the revolutionary, democratic and progressive individuals organizations and teachers' unions in India and abroad. Teachers, students, intellectuals, writers, artists, journalists, lawyers and people from different walks of life have condemned the fascist assault of the state on activists of people's organisations. Democratic and civil rights organisations have demanded the immediate release of Dr Saibaba and his co-accused by holding public meetings, protest demonstrations, press meets, rallies, signature campaigns etc. in different parts of the country. One such protest meeting organised in Patna was attacked by Hindu-fascist lumpens belonging to ABVP, the student wing of the Hindu-fascists just two days before the swearing in ceremony of Modi Sarkar, indicating the menacing shadow of fascism that looms large on the country's democratic movement. Such attacks, however, will only add to the growing hatred against the ruling classes, inspiring resistance to state repression on an ever wider scale.

The arrest of Dr Saibaba, has earned the Indian government worldwide condemnation. Indignant protests and calls for his release has been raised from different parts of the world, highlighting the continued persecution of democratic voices in the 'world's greatest democracy'. The following is a summary of some international protest actions to free Dr Saibaba.

### **Palermo, Italy:**

International Campaign for the Support of People's War in India (ICSPWI) – Italy sent a petition to the Indian Embassy in Rome and the Indian Consulate in Milan. The text of the petition:

“ICSPWI – Italy condemns the umpteenth crime by Indian regime against all those who oppose their suppression policy and call all the democratic, anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces to mobilize.

“The stealthy and dastardly abduction of a leader of the RDF, Dr. GN Saibaba, is part of the scorched earth policy against all the intellectuals, who are dozens thousands in India, supposed to be supporters of CPI(Maoist) and the People’s War it leads, that affects 1/3 of the sub-continent and, only in the “red corridor”, involves 60 millions people.

“ICSPWI calls for an immediate mobilization and decides one month-long mobilization in the following cities. Dates and form of initiatives will be defined locally.”

Students of the Revolutionary University Collective (CUR) carried out the call of the International Campaign for the Support of People’s War in India (ICSPWI) and organized solidarity programmes at the University of Palermo. Hundreds of leaflets were distributed to inform the students about the abduction of GN Saibaba and the ongoing repression against any opposition in the universities in India. Hundreds signed a petition demanded the immediate and unconditional release of GN Saibaba.



### London, England:

International Campaign to Free All of Political Prisoners, London and other organizations held a protest in front of the India Embassy in London on 14 May 2014. Banners against the repression on political prisoners and posters demanding ‘Free Dr. Saibaba’ were displayed.

Slogans such as ‘Free Dr. Saibaba’ and ‘Stop fascist oppression in India’ were raised and a press statement reporting the action was released to the media



### New York, USA:

Supporters of the campaign to free Dr. Saibaba, including activists involved with IGNITE-MLM and MCG, conducted street agitation on Wednesday, May 14 to bring attention to the Indian state’s abduction of the professor. More than 500 copies of the “Free Dr. Saibaba, Now!” leaflet of The International Campaign for the Freedom of All Political Prisoners were distributed. The condition of political prisoners in India, Operation Green Hunt and the people’s struggles in India were discussed.

### Frankfurt, Germany:

A press release condemning the abduction of Dr. Saibaba by Indian police officers at the Delhi University was released in Frankfurt on 13 May 2014. A Protest was organised in front of the Consulate of India the next day, organized by Yeny Kadin (New Woman) YDG (New Democratic Youth). It demanded the Indian state to release Saibaba and thousands of revolutionary and communist prisoners locked up in Indian jails.

### Letter from a Swedish writer protesting Dr. G N Saibaba’s arrest

Hi,

*I am Jakob Pettersson, a young writer and activist, who is engaged in activism surrounding the political situation in India. I recently heard of the Indian governments unconstitutional imprisonment of the brave Dr G. N. Saibaba, and I am appalled at what you are doing to this disabled and honest man. It is shameful that the Indian government is jailing people for dissenting views and opinions.*

*The Indian government’s witch-hunt against the Maoists and anyone who expresses views similar to theirs seems to have become a hunt against any dissenting voice and criticism of the Indian government. I demand, as a person concerned for democracy and freedom of expression, that this anti-democratic capture of Saibaba ends now. Free Saibaba, respect India’s constitution.*

*Best Regards,*

*Jakob Pettersson, 18 May 2014*

Indien Solidaritet Norway, Turkish Workers Federation in Europe, IAPL, NDFP, KKE(m-l) Greece, Indien Soldaritet Sweden and many parties and organisations from different countries including Brazil, Canada, Spain, France etc. have condemned the arrest of G N Saibaba and demanded his immediate release. \*

## **Voices against War on People**

### **'World's Largest Democracy' at Work**

#### **People of Sarkeguda and Edesmeta Await Justice**

Nearly two years have passed since the central paramilitary forces surrounded a meeting of villagers at Sarkeguda on 28 June 2012. 16 residents of Bijapur's Sarkeguda, Kottaguda and Rajupenta hamlets including several children were mowed down in the carnage, many of them being hacked to death by the CRPF personnel. Another villager was pulled out of his home and shot dead in front of his family members. All were claimed to be armed Maoists or sympathisers. Union Home Minister, Chhattisgarh CM and others claimed a 'heroic victory' over the Maoists. But the truth was soon out. The Adivasi peasants of these villages protested the massacre and rejected the 'aid' and compensation the government offered them, trying to cover-up their bloodied hands with money. The villagers were told by the CRPF to take the clothes and utensils offered and forget about the killings. But the villagers sought justice, not compensation or doles from those who were responsible for taking the lives of their people. Their voice of opposition found support from the democratic and progressive sections of the society, and the state government was forced to order a judicial enquiry headed by Justice V K Agrawal. The judge is yet to complete his enquiries, let alone submit his report. Meanwhile, the villagers held meetings and decided to accept the compensation offered by the government to rebuild their shattered lives. Two lakh rupees each were distributed to the kin of the 17 dead. But the forces have not stopped harassing and intimidating the villagers. They told reporters that the CRPF and local police visit their villages once in every two or three days, and threaten them of dire consequences if they ventured into the forests. The villagers are therefore even scared of collecting firewood from the forests in fear of a repeat of the Sarkeguda massacre. It was clear that the government and its forces had no intention of mending their brutal ways of subduing the people through white terror.

Not a year had passed since the Sarkeguda massacre and eight more Adivasis including three minors were gunned down by the CRPF in a similar manner in Edesmeta village of Bijapur on 17 May 2013. Here too villagers were murdered and later branded as Naxals by the government's anti-Maoist forces. As protests against this deliberate killing gathered storm, the government instituted another judicial enquiry to calm the voices calling for justice and punishment of the guilty. However, the farcical nature of this exercise is exposed by the appointment of the same judge that is entrusted with the Sarkeguda massacre enquiry and who is yet to submit his report even after two years. Such enquiries are meant more to cover-up the crimes of the government forces and less to bring the culprits to justice. In fact, by killing and terrorizing the people of Dandakaranya, the CRPF is merely doing the bidding for Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram-Raman Singh fascist clique to "establish the writ of the state", as they are now doing for Modi-Rajnath Singh-Jaitley-Gadkari-Javdekar gang. That is why it is futile to expect that government-instituted enquiries would be able to deliver justice. Rather than punishing the police personnel, the government is more interested in distributing 'compensation' in the hope of silencing the protests and assuaging the anger of the people. As in Sarkeguda, Chhattisgarh government distributed five lakh rupees each to the kin of the dead as an implicit recognition of the killing of unarmed Adivasis at Edesmeta. But compensation is no substitute for justice. Cases of murder against the CRPF officers and personnel responsible for carrying out the massacres of Sarkeguda and Edesmeta should be registered, and appropriate punishment of them must be ensured. The impunity of the state's armed forces are the inevitable invitations for future massacres. It is time that they realize that the people of Dandakaranya will not take these massacres lying down, and would settle scores with the government forces and their political masters through armed resistance.

#### **Peasant Murdered by the Armed Forces**

Chhattisgarh government was forced to order a judicial enquiry by the additional district magistrate of Kanker into circumstances leading to the death of Sunder Boga, a peasant of Rasoli village of Kacce Chowki area of the village on 1 May 2014. The judge received the usual cock-and-bull story of the police which claimed that the villager was killed in crossfire by Maoists during an exchange of fire with the police.

According to this claim, Rajnandgaon district police received information from informers that on 1 May a group of Maoists were assembled at Bodra village. A police party reached near the Rasoli village on the foot of Bodra hills in the evening, but noticing them the Maoists fired leading to an exchange of fire for nearly an hour. According to the police, Sunder Boga and his wife Rajwantin were returning after tending their cattle in the forests that skirts the village. Suddenly Boga was hit by a bullet from behind and fell down. His wife took cover nearby, and after a few minutes when she came near her husband, he was already dead. The police conducted the routine process of registering a case against 'unknown' people, post-mortem of the dead body etc., whereas Sunder Boga was killed by the trigger-happy mercenary forces of the governments who consider every villager in the movement areas as a Maoist activist or sympathizer. The family members and villagers have held the police responsible for killing Boga without any provocation. Considering the protests by the villagers demanding punishment of the guilty policemen, the government had to order an enquiry, even though the outcome of such enquiries is quite predictable, which end up giving clean-sheet to the perpetrators.

### **Reactionary Great-Nation Chauvinism and Racial Superiority instilled by the Indian Ruling Classes towards the People of Northeast is at the Root of Nido Taniam's Brutal Killing!**

The lynching of Nido Taniam, a 19 year student from Arunachal Pradesh, in a south Delhi market by a group of North Indian shopkeepers on 29 January this year has led to widespread protests from the people of North East, calling for an end to the racial discrimination and violence they suffer in India. Taniam was ruthlessly beaten up when he protested against the taunts made by the shopkeepers on the pretext of his hairstyle and physical features. Later he died of internal injuries. This is not the first time that such an attack on North-easterners has taken place in the country's capital. Instances of physical assault, rape and murder has taken place regularly, only a few of them coming to public view. The Dhaula Kuan rape in Delhi, murder of Richard Loitam in Bangalore, etc. are reminders of the prevalent reactionary ideology of racial superiority. Such brutalities are in addition to other forms of discrimination and prejudice the North East people face in India, denigration of their culture and food habits, derogatory verbal abuse, such as refusal of rented accommodation on racial grounds, etc. The existence of racism in India is undeniable, as would be testified by the Africans and blacks residing in India who face similar racist treatment from a section of Indians. In most cases, the culprits of attacks on individuals from the North East go unpunished due to the protection they enjoy from the police and the judiciary. Vocal protests against Nido Taniam's killing are a response to such repeated incidents of violence, assault and humiliation that North-easterners face on a daily basis. Seeing the anger of the protesters, the government was forced to act fast to apprehend the culprits.

However, individual instances of violence by some Indians should not blind us to the big nation-chauvinism and racial superiority instigated and practiced by the ruling classes through the administrative and military apparatus of the Indian state. The Indian rulers have treated the peoples and nationalities of the Northeast as subject population, denied them the democratic right to chart a free and independent path of development. Brutal military repression of the Northeast's oppressed nationalities and the denial of their right to self-determination including the right to secession by the Indian state is the main source of nation-chauvinism and racial superiority displayed by a section of the Indian people. While strongly condemning and opposing the attacks on the people of the North East in India, we must also stand in solidarity with oppressed nationalities of the North East who are waging liberation struggles for independence from India. Economic, political and cultural relations between different nationalities based on equality, freedom and mutual respect is the only way to ensure an end to the kind of hostilities that Nido Taniyam and many others have suffered. The precondition for such relations is the liberation of the North Eastern nationalities from the prison-house of India.

## More than 50 Villagers Beaten up and kept in Illegal Confinement on the Election Day

In Pundum village of Chindgarh block in Sukma district, villagers were beaten up and kept in illegal confinement by CRPF men on 10 April 2014, the day of the parliamentary elections. The CRPF men were providing protection to the team of election officials who had set up a polling booth in the village. On the polling day, PLGA and people's militia fired upon the CRPF about half a kilometre away from the booth. After the firing, the terrified CRPF men went to the village, conducted house-to-house search, caught hold of all the men and children they could find and forcibly brought them to the polling booth. Altogether around fifty villagers were rounded up, forced into the booth and beaten with sticks for two hours. Those beaten up in this way included a 12 year old school girl. Cash, mobile phones and valuables belonging to the villagers were looted by these government goons. The paramilitary did not even spare a Booth Table Officer Hirma Ram Nag engaged in election duty who opposed the brutal treatment of the people and was also roughed up.



When the villagers protested, they were repeatedly threatened with dire consequences. The CRPF men were in a state of panic apprehending that the Maoists would either ambush them on the way back or attack them in the booth. They brought the villagers and used them as human-shield, aware of the fact that Maoists would not launch an attack if it endangered the lives of common people. The fifty odd villagers had to

spend the whole night in a state of terror. Twenty villagers were later admitted in the hospital for treatment to their injuries. The villagers were allowed to leave twenty hours later when a reinforcement team of 500 CRPF men reached the village early next morning and rescued their 'brave' colleagues. This is just one example, but a typical one, of how 'free and fair' elections to the 'world's largest democracy' were conducted in the Maoist guerrilla zones.

## Oppose Gadchiroli Police's Conspiracy of Foisting Fabricated Cases on Students, Teachers and Social Activists!

The R R Patil-Ravindra Kadam-Suwaiz Haq clique has cast its fascist dragnet far beyond Gondia-Gadchiroli districts to silence students, teachers and intellectuals opposing the state's war on people. They abducted and arrested Hem Mishra (JNU student and cultural activist) from Balharshah but showed him arrested in Aheri, Prashant Rahi (freelance journalist and civil rights activist) was picked up in Raipur but was shown arrested in Gondia, while Dr. G N Saibaba (assistant professor in Delhi University and Joint Secretary, RDF) was abducted and forcibly brought to Gadchiroli, all of which shows the utter lawlessness of these self-proclaimed defenders of law. These goons in khaki have hoodwinked the courts with their lies and falsifications about the time and place of arrests, planting of 'incriminating evidence' on the detainees and keeping them in illegal custody far in excess of the stipulated 24 hours before producing them in court. Both Mishra (with a handicap) and Rahi were tortured in custody in order to extract 'confessions'. Failing in their attempts, Gadchiroli police implicated all of them in cases of criminal conspiracy for conducting 'unlawful acts', accused them of being members of banned organisations and of mobilising support for the Maoists, etc. All of them have been charged under the draconian UAPA, which makes release in bail for six months a near impossibility.

The courts and the police have shown complete disregard of the fact that Dr Saibaba suffer from serious physical disabilities requiring regular medical attention. Dr. Saibaba has 90% disability caused by childhood polio which makes him totally wheelchair-bound and requiring constant assistance for his mobility. In addition, he suffers from cardiac problems, high blood pressure and chronic back pain. In spite of all these disabilities, the police have put him in solitary confinement, denied him any assistance or a hygienic and disease-free environment. Such treatment of a disabled person is in blatant violation of the domestic and international laws protecting the rights of the disabled, apart from being in contempt of all humane sensibilities.

The disdain which the khaki-clad goons display towards the alleged Maoists including Dr Saibaba has forced him to declare a hunger strike within his cell. Similar has been the treatment of three other individuals

who were picked up from different places and presented as co-accused. What's more, the mention of 'unknown persons' in the charge-sheet filed by the police earlier this year belies ominous portents as any number of social activists opposing the government can be termed as Maoists, implicated in the case and picked up in the future.

Simultaneously, the notorious Maharashtra police and its special anti-Naxal force C-60 have been following the fascist policy of taking no prisoners in case of suspected Maoist activists or guerrillas. In blatant violation of the very constitution and rule of law they swear by, Maharashtra police have killed more than 30 revolutionaries over the last one year – most of them in cold-blood – following the instructions of their political masters. They have threatened the civil rights activists including the APCLC fact finding team and journalists with dire consequences for visiting the sites of these so-called encounters to ascertain the truth.

Of late, the police have maliciously and falsely portrayed the Murmuri ambush by our PLGA forces as a retaliation of GN Saibaba's arrest. On May 15, the Union Ministry for Home Affairs stooped to the extent of issuing an advisory to nine states where Maoist movement is active in which it said – 'the top leadership of the CPI-Maoist, while publicly denying that Saibaba is a senior member of the organization, has instructed its armed cadres, especially in Dandakaranya region, to carry out retaliatory strike against SFs as a retaliatory action against the arrest of G N Saibaba for his alleged Maoist links'. Again on May 27, Maharashtra IGP, Nagpur Range, Ravindra Kadam, has said – 'the arrest of Delhi University Assistant Professor G.N. Saibaba has proved yet again that the Naxalites are spreading base in urban areas'. All these are utter lies being propagated on a Goebbelsian scale to somehow on this basis to establish a direct relation of Saibaba with the Maoist party and thereby impress upon the court to deny him any chances of bail. Maharashtra police's practice of abduction and torture, foisting of false cases etc. calls for resolute protests.

### **Kerala Police frames Prominent Democratic Rights Activists**

Kerala Police has recently issued look-out notices for around forty 'Maoists', which includes several prominent public figures of the state. Under the pretext of growing Maoist activists in some districts of Kerala, the police has unleashed not only a psychological war by implicating more than forty activists as 'absconding Maoists', but in fact are preparing the grounds for their future persecution including arrest. Lookout notices bearing the names and pictures of such prominent and well-known activists of Kerala such as PA Pouran (advocate and leading member of PUCL), M N Ravunni (convener of Porattam), K K Rajeesh (CHRD), N Subramanian (social activist), Advocate Thushar Nirmal Saradhy, RDF state president Sugathan and secretary Ajayan have been released. Without doubt, this is a part of the countrywide multi-pronged counter-revolutionary war waged by the Indian ruling classes against the people of the country through Operation Green Hunt.

With such tactics, the police and their political masters are aiming to intimidate the voices into silence that have consistently stood with the people's struggles against the ruling classes and their policies. This is significant particularly at a time when in the name of combating Maoism, the Kerala government is gearing up to crush people's struggles against land grab, creation of new wildlife sanctuaries and forest reserves, mining, etc. in the Western Ghat region. It has created a special Anti-Naxal force called Thunder Bolt specifically for this purpose which is carrying out extensive and frequent combing operations in coordination with the police of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka on the state borders. Such attacks on the people are bound to be protested by the revolutionary, democratic and progressive sections of Kerala society, and in anticipation of this the police is using such base tactics as the issuing of lookout notices. Such nefarious acts by the police must be resisted tooth and nail. It must be forced to withdraw these notices and demands must be made to punish those police officers who are responsible for the vilification and intimidation of democratic rights activists.

### **Condemn the Pro-Hindu, Pro-Upper Caste, Pro-Rich HC Judgment in the Chundururu Dalit Massacre Case**

On August 6 1991, in broad daylight at 11 a.m., the Hindu, upper caste, rich Reddy and Kapu killers attacked the Dalits of Chundururu village (Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh). They hunted them down like animals and hacked 11 of them to death. Eight of the dead bodies were recovered four days later in a horribly bloated, infected state from the Tungabhadra canal. The elder brother of one of the killed persons died of heart attack after seeing the body of his beloved brother in that appalling state. This gruesome massacre shook the entire country at the time and an agitation demanding registration of cases against the murderers, their arrest and punishment gained momentum. The erstwhile CPI (ML) (People's War), revolutionary and democratic forces and Dalit organizations were at the forefront of the agitation from the beginning till date. So it also became a

target of the state and several agitators bore the brunt. In fact, within a few days after the massacre, Anil Kumar, the main witness in the case and the Vice-President of the Struggle Committee for Chundururu victims was shot dead by the police in broad daylight in the very *sibir* where the agitation was going on. Thus apart from the 11 Dalits who died in the massacre, the blood of the brother of a victim and Anil Kumar is also on the hands of the state.

Nedurumalli Janardhan Reddy of the Congress was the Chief Minister at that time and the massacre was perpetrated with the direct blessings of his Home Minister Mysooru Reddy. In fact, the murderers met him two days before on August 4 and then proceeded. On the day of the massacre hundred policemen came to the village and told the Dalits to run for their lives as they 'cannot provide them protection'. Then they also showed them the direction in which to run. This 'direction' led to the murderers. All through these years the state (governments, police and judiciary) stood in full support of the culprits and bared their anti-Dalit, anti-poor fangs unscrupulously. They continued their reactionary support to the murders by creating several hurdles for the case to come to trials. For 13 long years, the High Court (HC) delayed the case with its stays. No case was registered against the police for the murder of Anil Kumar. The accused objected to the choice of public prosecutors (PPs) saying 'they were Naxalite lawyers'. They could even get two Dalit judges who were appointed in the Special Court on Chundururu transferred on the 'doubt' that they would not be 'impartial.' This was never treated as an insult to the judiciary or 'contempt of the court'. Whereas when the victims and the PPs expressed their apprehensions and objections about the bench of L.Narsimha Reddy and Jaiswal as they were not hearing the appeals of the victims and were not ready to give judgment under the SC, ST Prevention of Atrocities Act, L. Narsimha Reddy made very insulting and arrogant remarks regarding this inside the court. No case was registered against him for his anti-Dalit rhetoric.

While the charge sheet in this case was filed on 219 persons, seven of them were never arrested and 23 had died by the time trials started in the Special Court. After 16 years since the massacre the Special Court pronounced its judgment on July 31, 2007. It held 56 of the accused guilty, 21 of them were awarded life imprisonment while 35 were let off with just one year imprisonment. The court did not consider this the 'rarest of the rarest cases' in spite of the ghastliness of the incident. More shockingly, the judgment was given under IPC 302 and not under the SC, ST Prevention of Atrocities Act. This is even more ironical when we consider the fact that the case registration, filing of charge sheet and the very formation of the Special Court was done under this Act. The reason is - when the accused appeal to the higher courts, the onus of proving them guilty falls on the prosecution under IPC 302, whereas under the SC, ST Act the onus remains on the accused to prove that 'they were not guilty'. This has been another consistent ploy of the anti-Dalit judiciary in such cases. The same thing happened in the Khairlanji massacre case where four Dalits of the same family were murdered (two of them women and they were killed after gang-rape) in Maharashtra.

Now, on April 22, 2014, the High Court bench comprising of L. Narsimha Reddy and MSK Jaiswal gave a judgment declaring all the 56 accused in the Chundururu massacre case innocent of the crime. This judgment should be seen in the wake of a spate of such anti-Dalit, pro-Hindu, pro-upper caste, pro-rich judgments that the courts have been delivering in the recent past, particularly in cases of massacres of Dalits. Similar judgments were given in the Bathani Tola, Laxmanpur Bathe massacres of Dalits in Bihar by the upper caste landlords and their private armies. In the Karamchedu case too, the HC had let off the culprits scot-free.

Karamchedu was another massacre of Dalits perpetrated in 1986, the precursor to the Chundururu massacre. This was perpetrated by the upper caste Kamma landlords of Prakasam District, AP. The main accused Daggubati Chenchuramaiah was a close relative of Chandra Babu Naidu, the present CM of AP. The Dalits did not get justice in this case but real justice was delivered in a 'people's court' when the erstwhile CPI (ML) (PW) annihilated him for this ghastly crime against the poor Dalit peasants. In Bihar too, the real justice was delivered in the field when the Maoists delivered death blows to the landlords and their private armies in the course of the advance of the armed agrarian revolutionary movement there and put them under control.

It has been time and again proved that the severely oppressed Dalit peasants have nothing in this country if they do not have their people's army – the PLGA which alone can defend them.

MIB is appealing to all the citizens of our country to condemn the pro-Hindu, pro-upper caste, pro-rich HC Judgment in the Chundururu Dalit Massacre Case. It is drawing the attention of one and all towards the necessity to build agitations decrying the reactionary 'activism' of the judiciary when it comes to delivering justice to one of the most exploited, oppressed and discriminated section of our society—the Dalits, particularly the poor Dalit peasants. \*

### Women Comrades Raise the Banner of Struggle in the Notoriously Repressive Chhattisgarh Prisons

As a part of the multi-pronged fascist attack on the revolutionary movement, thousands of people all over the country are being illegally detained, framed in false cases and consigned to the dark dungeons of prison cells. Stringent anti-terrorist laws, serious charges such as sedition and waging war against the state etc. are being slapped based on flimsy evidence or even without any evidence. The accused are denied bail, held behind bars for long periods without trial, tortured in custody, treatment and basic amenities as well as legal aid is denied and trials are deliberately delayed. Sentences are often being pronounced against them by judges depending blindly on the claims made by the police. True to their character, the prisons and the judiciary are functioning as important organs of the state to maintain the existing economic and political system. For this reason thousands of revolutionaries, patriots, democrats and people belonging to the oppressed classes and communities are being forced to rot in the jails for years.

Thousands of Adivasi and non-Adivasi prisoners, Maoist activists and leaders are being held in the jails of Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra. Three thousand political prisoners are held in Chhattisgarh's prisons alone, most of whom are Adivasi peasants falsely implicated in criminal cases. Among them are hundreds of women including Maoist revolutionaries. A Special Zonal Committee (SZC) member, party members, PLGA members, mass organization members are lodged in different jails of the state for many years. Each of them have faced or are facing multiple false cases. Comrade Nirmala, a leader of Krantikari Adivasi Mahila Sangathan, one of the largest women's organizations in India and of the Bastar Adivasis, of Jagdalpur jail had 147 cases against her. From 2007 till the end of 2013, she has been acquitted of about 75 of these charges – a glaring example of the state fabricating false charges against revolutionaries and the struggling masses. They are forced to spend years as undertrial prisoners. The chargesheet that should be produced within 90 days as per the draconian UAPA is invariably filed only by the maximum stipulated period of six months. Cross-examination of witnesses takes two to three years in the least. Bail is denied in almost all cases related to political prisoners. Under the pretext of non-availability of escorts, inmates are often not produced in the court on due dates, thereby deliberately delaying the trial process. More than two productions a year is an exception. As a result, the accused are kept behind the bars for many years even for crimes that attract only six months to one or two years of maximum imprisonment.

The jail conditions are even worse. The inmates are kept in conditions that are unfit for healthy human habitation. Prisoners are stuffed into cells twice, thrice or four times their actual capacity, leaving hardly any space for their free movement. Facilities for cleaning, hygiene and food are pathetic. Death of prisoners is a common occurrence. Doctors do not pay visits inside period, and even serious patients are not given timely treatment. Censored newspapers are given, while no magazines and books are allowed inside.

Till 2009, women inmates of Jagdalpur prison were kept locked-up in the women's ward 24 hours. All ablutions and cleaning had to be done inside the cells. Women prisoners undertook a day-long hunger strike and forced the jail administration to change the lock-up timings. Since then, they won the right to be outside the cell from 5 to 12 in the morning and from 3 to 6 in the afternoon. The morale of the women prisoners was high after this victory. They now demanded that the prison authorities forward their petition to the High Court asking for an early resolution of long-pending cases of inmates stretching over several years. The jail authorities had been repeatedly refusing to pass on the petition since 2012. In early 2013 the women prisoners got organised once again and braced up for one more round of confrontation with the authorities. 26 political prisoners implicated in Maoist-related cases undertook a hunger strike for ten days from 8 to 17 February 2013 while other women prisoners supported their struggle. The three main demands of the agitation were:

- (1) All prisoners should be produced in the court regularly
- (2) Women prisoners should be allowed to cook in a separate kitchen and ration should be provided to them as per the prison manual
- (3) Appointment of doctors and staff nurses in the women's ward; proper facility for treatment; provision for taking serious patients to the district hospital, etc.

The jail officials used many tricks to break this unprecedented hunger strike by the women inmates of Jagdalpur prison. Pressure, threats, allurements – all was used. The hunger strikers were threatened with imposition of new charges of 'attempt to suicide', more stringent sentence, transfer to other jails, etc. Some

were promised all prison facilities in exchange of dissociating from the movement. They tried to break the resolve of the strikers with frequent rounds, checks, verbal abuse, etc. The women prisoners showed exemplary unity and determination in continuing their strike undeterred in spite of such provocation and threats. They tried to send the news of their agitation to the outside world by contacting the media, but every such effort was thwarted by the authorities. But after using all means at their disposal, the jail authorities had to finally accede to all the three demands of the agitating women comrades after ten days of hunger strike.

The fulfilment of the demand for appointing doctors and nurses started in March 2013. The jail authorities started to take the prisoners regularly to the court. On 5 April the women prisoners started their own kitchen. This is probably the second state after AP where the demand for separate kitchen has been fulfilled. This is indeed unprecedented for Chhattisgarh jails. In addition, supply of milk, fruits and medical diet to pregnant women and children was also started. In this way, this jail struggle has been not only a remarkable victory by women prisoners of Jagdalpur, but is a landmark event in the history of the state's and the country's prison struggles.

Resolutely upholding their ideological convictions, women prisoners of Jagdalpur jail have also won the right to observe events of revolutionary significance, including the Bhoomkal Day on 10 February, international women's day on 8 March, Martyr's week between 28 July and 3 August, PLGA day on 2 December, etc. They also paid revolutionary tribute to Com. Ramlal (Hira Singh) who was martyred in July 2012 due to the illness aggravated by the prison conditions and the negligence of the Jagdalpur jail authorities. He was transferred to a hospital when he was already in a critical condition, and died two days later. Women prisoners demanded that the dead body be brought to the prison so that they could have a last look and pay their tribute to Com. Ramlal. The authorities accepted this demand with the condition that not all prisoners but only a few of their representatives would be allowed to do so. The representatives then paid their homage with a resolve to continue their struggle to fulfil the dreams of the martyrs.

In this way, the women prisoners of Jagdalpur wrote a new chapter in the history of prison struggles in the country and in Chhattisgarh in particular, inspiring other prisoners to take up similar agitations and to continue the class struggle even when confined in the enemy's dungeon. \*

## **Political Prisoners undertake Week-long All India Struggle**

Starting from 30 January this year, hundreds of political prisoners undertook simultaneous jail struggles in the prisons of Maharashtra, Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha and some other states. The prisoners demanded that the government and the jail authorities address their longstanding grievances such as granting of bail, speedy and fair trial, release of life convicts who have spent more than 14 years in jail, implementation and improvement of the jail manual, better prison facilities, recognition of the status of political prisoners and their unconditional release, etc. These were some of the common demands of political prisoners across the country, even though the condition of jails in different states is not uniform and demands specific to different jails and states were also put forward. It was their indomitable spirit of defiance and courage braving great odds with no weapon other than ideological commitment and unity of purpose that helped them confront the enemy in its own den.

In Maharashtra, 177 undertrial prisoners including seven women prisoners lodged in Nagpur central jail undertook an indefinite hunger strike from 30 January 2014. 200 other inmates joined the struggle by participating in relay hunger strike every day. They demanded that the courts must grant bail as a matter of right of the arrested persons, thereby implementing the Supreme Court directive that stipulates 'Bail is the rule and jail is the exception'. Availing bail was a right of the arrested, but is invariably denied by the courts to persons implicated in cases of political nature that involve charges under UAPA, MCOCA, etc. The agitation highlighted the fact that rejection of bail and long incarceration of the accused resulting from it leads to grave injustice and emboldens the impunity of the police. The demand for speedy, time-bound and fair trial was also raised, along with ending the practice of conducting hearings through video conferencing instead of physical presence of the accused in the court. The hunger strike continued for a week, and was called off on 6 February after some of the hunger strikers had to be hospitalized due to their deteriorating health conditions. Needless to say, the demands raised were not specific to Nagpur or Maharashtra prisoners alone but find resonance among all political prisoners locked up in the country's various jails.

In Jharkhand, around 1,500 political prisoners in 26 central and district jails of the state went on indefinite hunger strike on 30 January. Struggles were taken up in the prisons of Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Daltonganj, Palamu, Garhwa etc. The main demand of the striking prisoners was the release of convicts who have completed their sentence but are still languishing in jail due to the delay of the government in forming the mandatory State

Sentence Review Board to recommend their release. This include 135 prisoners serving life terms, all of whom have spent more than fourteen years in jail but are yet to be considered for release. As a result of the struggle, Jharkhand jail administration has assured that the committee would soon be constituted to consider the possible release of such prisoners. Accepting the demands of the agitating prisoners, Jharkhand Sentence Review Board has recommended the release of 53 lifers who have completed 14 years.

Similar jail struggle was undertaken in the prisons of Odisha as well. In Behrampur jail, ten political prisoners booked under UAPA started an indefinite hunger strike on 26 January, demanding speedy trial and regular physical appearance in court. On the fifth day of the strike, the authorities accepted their demands and promised fulfilment within a month. The strike was thus withdrawn on 30 January after this victory.

Coinciding with this week-long all India struggle undertaken by political prisoners inside various jails, programmes were held in their support in many cities and towns across the country. Public meetings, rallies, dharnas, sit-in demonstrations etc. were organised, in which participants expressed their solidarity with the striking prisoners and support for their just demands.

As a part of the international campaign in solidarity with the struggle of India's political prisoners, agitation and propaganda programmes were carried out in several countries of Europe, North and South America. An international day of solidarity and struggle with political prisoners of India was also observed across many countries on 25 January 2014.

In our country too the movement for the release of political prisoners and demanding their rights is gaining momentum due to the initiative taken by several democratic organizations working for rights of prisoners and civil/human rights in our country. They have been regularly conducting meetings, dharnas, demonstrations, awareness raising programmes, rallies etc on March 23 every year to highlight the demands. This is the martyrdom day of revolutionaries Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukdev. In 2014 too, on March 23 several such programmes were held all over the country in several cities and towns.

## **Defender of Dalit Rights Sudhir Dhawale Walks Free**

The conspiracy of Maharashtra police to keep Sudhir Dhawale behind bars indefinitely was finally foiled when a local court of Gondia acquitted him of all charges on 15 May 2014 framed against him by the police. This is a significant victory of the struggle waged by Dhawale and other political prisoners, complimented by a persistent campaign by the revolutionary and democratic forces in the country demanding his early release. The court threw out the 'evidence' submitted by the police to prove the fabricated charges they made against Dhawale under UAPA and other draconian laws. The court observed that the so-called incriminating evidence in the form of books, magazines and other literature recovered by the police from Dhawale's house, which was used to claim that he was a member of a banned organisation, was freely available on the internet or in the market. The court also held that Dhawale was simply exercising his freedom of speech by expressing his thoughts through his writings and speeches, for which he could not be penalized. The judge also found some witnesses produced by the police as 'tutored'. The courts too, which are nothing but another arm of the state, found it impossible to uphold the absolutely bogus and baseless allegations made by the police in order to silence Dhawale's dissenting voice.

Sudhir Dhawale is a well-known revolutionary intellectual, publishing and editing the socio-cultural magazine *Vidrohi* from Mumbai. He has long been associated with the revolutionary cultural movement in the country. He has used his pen to mobilise the people against casteism, atrocities on Dalits and Adivasis, and to carry the message of social transformation. Dhawale and his comrades in Maharashtra have been using the medium of art and literature to fight against all forms of exploitation and oppression, thereby earning the ire of the powers-that-be. Dhawale was at the forefront in the struggle to demand justice for the Dalits targeted in Khairlanji. He also campaigned consistently against the brutal repression of the police and paramilitary against the people of Gadchiroli and Gondia districts as a part of its multi-pronged anti-Maoist offensive, particularly after the launch of Operation Green Hunt – the War on People in 2009. Dhawale has been vocal in his opposition to the witch-hunt of political activists, students and youth, members of people's organisations etc. associated with various progressive movements of the state by the Maharashtra government. Hundreds of people have been booked, arrested and imprisoned for months and years in Mumbai, Pune, Nagpur and several other towns of Vidarbha region and other areas as a part of this witch-hunt. Finally, Dhawale too became a target of this terror campaign. He was arrested along with his associates in Wardha on 3 January 2011 on his way to Mumbai and made to undergo three years of imprisonment since then.

While lodged in Nagpur prison, Sudhir Dhawale and other inmates launched many struggles for the rights of

the prisoners. The latest of such struggles was undertaken a few months before his acquittal. He and other undertrial prisoners of Nagpur central jail went on an indefinite hunger strike starting from 30 January seeking fulfilment of their longstanding demands. In this way, Sudhir Dhawale and other agitating prisoners boldly voiced the long-standing demands of political prisoners even at the risk of their health and life, displaying their unbreakable belief in the justness of their struggle.

Sudhir Dhawale's acquittal once again exposed the conspiracy of the Indian state to harass, frame and silence the progressive, democratic and revolutionary activists of the country in the name of fighting Maoism. The ruling classes continue to fill their prisons with activists who resolutely voice the rights of the people. The struggle, therefore, needs to continue to strongly oppose the harassment and attack targeting political activists by the police and intelligence agencies on some cooked-up allegation or the other. Simultaneously, this should also complement and the struggle for the release of thousands of political prisoners languishing in various Indian jails.

## **Death sentences of Perarivalan, Santhan, Murugan and Bhullar Committed but Still Denied Freedom**

The Supreme Court has commuted the death sentence of Perarivalan, Santhan and Murugan to life imprisonment on 18 February 2014. Accepting the plea of the three death row convicts, the court observed that the government erred by not taking a decision on the petition submitted to the president for a commutation of their death sentence. The review petition filed by the central government challenging the judgment was rejected by the bench on 1 April, observing that there was no basis in the government's arguments to merit reconsideration. This had raised expectations particularly among the Tamil people all over the world that the three might finally be set free from their long incarceration. But the central government successfully challenged the decision of the Tamil Nadu government in the court to release them within three days. The hope of reaping electoral benefits in the upcoming general elections was the main consideration behind Jayalalitha-led AIADMK government's decision.

Rahul Gandhi severely opposed the commuting the death sentence to life imprisonment of Perarivalan, Santhan and Murugan and as Rajiv Gandhi's son tried to emotionally blackmail the people as part of his election propaganda by questioning that if a PM of India does not get justice, what about ordinary citizens? And this entire hullabaloo when the only change was their death sentence being commuted to life imprisonment! What about the denial of justice to people like Perarivalan and many others who spent their entire youth in incarceration on flimsy charges such as 'supplying batteries to the assassins' as if batteries are unavailable for anybody who cares to buy them in the market! Who, how and what would compensate the mental and physical torture and degradation they suffered and the extreme depression, frustration, financial burden and agony suffered by their family members during all these years? Taking the cue from the reactionary tirade of Rahul Gandhi against these convicts the UPA government at the centre opposed the decision calling it a gross 'injustice' to those killed in the 1991 bomb blast including Rajiv Gandhi and successfully stalled their just release. With elections over and a comfortable win, the Jayalalitha led AIADMK, DMK and other parliamentary parties in Tamilnadu is yet to open its mouth about their release, which is highly unlikely given the past compliance of the Tamil parliamentary parties in crushing the Tamils in Sri Lanka and supporters of Sri Lankan Tamil cause in Tamil Nadu.

Subsequently, SC also commuted the death sentence of Devinderpal Singh Bhullar to life imprisonment in March 2014. Bhullar was convicted and condemned to death for an attempt on the life of Youth Congress leader M S Bitta in September in 1993. After the president rejected his petition seeking commutation in 2011, it was feared that Bhullar might be hanged clandestinely like Afzal Guru nearly a year before. However, the SC stayed the execution on 31 January 2014, agreeing to examine the appeal of Bhullar that the government has delayed the decision on his petition for too long, thereby treating a death row convict in an inhuman manner and denying him justice.

M S Bitta, one of most reactionary specimens this country has ever produced, the conspirator who spent his entire life in spitting venom on the genuine aspirations and demands of the Sikhs reacted wildly when Bhullar's execution was stayed. While the democratic sections of the country were sympathetic towards the deteriorating mental state of Bhullar caused by the government's delay in deciding on his petition and due to the years he spent with the noose hanging over his head, this enemy of the Sikh people went on barking baying for the blood of Bhullar. These two instances thoroughly exposed the reactionary, anti-nationality nature of the Congress party one more time in the eyes of the people of India. BJP, which is happy to send any number of revolutionaries, national liberation fighters and Muslims to gallows as per its fascist agenda, is no different from

the Congress in their advocacy of death sentence for Perarivalan, Santhan and Murugan. The Hindu-fascists had clamoured for the hanging of Azmal Kasab and Afzal Guru. Now that BJP has come to power, more judicial executions by the Indian state can be expected in the coming days.

The democratic forces of the country must intensify the struggle to free all of nearly 350 death row convicts in India, including Perarivalan, Santhan, Murugan and Bhullar.

## **Dehli- All India Convention Against Capital Punishment**

The issue of Death Penalty has entered a critical stage in India. There are around 450 convicts currently on death row in the country. While executions had been more or less on hold for the past two decades, last year saw certain important developments taking place relating to the issue of death penalty. Execution orders were carried out for two convicts, surreptitiously, keeping the reasons for the rejection of their mercy petitions a secret from them and their families. This was preceded by the President rejecting the mercy petitions for 23 more convicts. Of these, the courts have stayed execution in eight cases, and the Supreme Court has recently concluded hearing appeals for commutation to life imprisonment of 15 others. The final decision in this case is awaited.

Multiple executions may be staring at us in the coming days. Such an outcome would vastly destroy the environment of “no execution” that has been built over the decades. It is time for people and organisations from different walks of life to come together to put forward our objections to the punishment of death, to underscore our commitment to justice and respect for every human’s right to life.

People’s Union For Democratic Rights, Delhi (PUDR) invites you to the day long convention against the Death Penalty.

**9:30 a.m. Saturday, 1 February 2014**

**Rajendra Bhawan, Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Marg, Near ITO Crossing, New Delhi.**

### **Four Imprisoned Years:**

### **Jail Experiences of an Adivasi Peasant**

*[This is a short note on the jail experiences of Chaitu (name changed), an adivasi peasant who spent four years in Jagdalpur prison. He was released in February 2013 after being acquitted by the trial court of all charges. His life was thrown into disarray due to these four years of confinement, for which the state is squarely responsible. As he languished in prison, his father was murdered, he lost his mother to illness, and his family was in a shambles. But this is not his story alone. Jan Jagran Abhiyan, Salwa Judum, Green Hunt, Mahendra Karma... white terror has had many names in Bastar. The lives of hundreds of thousands in Dandakaranya have been turned asunder by the country’s rulers because the people have chosen their side in the class war - the side of the revolution, the struggle for a humane existence. Choosing to be a part of the revolutionary movement as a member of the revolutionary peoples’ committees, the peoples’ militia, the PLGA, the revolutionary mass organisations or the revolutionary party is their crime in the eyes of the counter-revolution]*

Chaitu is a resident of Urpalmetta village (name changed) of Narayanpur district. The village is a part of Krantikari Janatana Sarkar (revolutionary people’s committee) consisting of five to seven adjacent villages. He was a People’s Militia commander of that Sarkar and is known for his militancy and organising capacity. On 2 February 2009, he was on his way to attend a meeting of the militia in a neighbouring village when he was caught by a joint force of CRPF and Narayanpur police accompanied by SPOs and informers.

He was taken to Narayanpur police station and beaten up. He was shown photographs of alleged Maoist leaders and activists and asked whether he knew them. He said that he did not know any of them. This answer his interrogators refused to accept. Resultantly, he was beaten and tortured continuously for eight days during this illegal police custody. His parents came to know of his confinement and visited him in the police station. They requested the police to release their son but were rebuffed.

Finally, the police implicated Chaitu in many false cases. This included the charge of “half murder”, or an attempt on the life of Maniram, a police informer who was injured in an attack by Jan Militia members sometime back (an attempt to murder is called “half murder” while a real murder is a “full murder” in the lingo of the prison inmates). He was also charged with provisions of the Arms Act for carrying illegal arms and explosives. Dacoity was another charge that the police levelled against him under CrPC and multiple sections of Chhattisgarh Public Safety Act.

After a week Chaitu was produced in the magistrate’s court at Narayanpur. The magistrate asked him

whether he would like to avail bail or he be sent to the prison. Chaitu and his father pleaded not to be sent to prison and instead be granted bail. The magistrate assured that bail would be granted in a month or two. He was then taken to Jagdalpur and lodged in the central prison. The assurance of bail by the magistrate, however, never materialised.

**In the prison:** On his arrival in Jagdalpur prison, Chaitu was beaten up by an inmate who was also a *nambardar*. A *nambardar* is a convict who is under the protection of the jail authorities and works for them in return for petty favours. One of his tasks is to keep the prisoners in terror by beating them up, insulting and humiliating them, etc, and thereby maintaining ‘peace and order’ inside. Each prison in Chhattisgarh has its *nambardars*, who are particularly aggressive and hostile towards Naxal prisoners. The *nambardars* see to it that the Naxal inmates do not move freely in the prison or interact with other prisoners.

Jagdalpur central prison houses nearly 1,700 prisoners that include both undertrials and convicts. A majority of them are implicated in or convicted of Maoist-related cases. More than a hundred prisoners are kept in one cell, whereas the actual capacity is no more than 25. It is common to find 150 to 160 prisoners jostling for space in the bigger rooms meant for fifty persons. When there is overcrowding in the rooms, which often is the case, no more than a foot’s space is left for every inmate to lie down on their ragged blankets.

The prisoners are allowed to spend only three hours outside their cells in the jail courtyard. From 6 to 7 in the morning they have to finish their ablutions and have morning tea. 10 to 11 in the day is the time for lunch. From 4 to 5 in the afternoon they have to have dinner. *Mulaqat* is allowed only with family members and that too through a net separating the prisoners and their visitors.

In the prison there are separate cells called *Gunahkhana* (literally, ‘crime-house’) or isolation wards meant for keeping mentally ill prisoners. Unlike the general prison cells, these are pitched dark dungeons with only a small ventilation to allow air circulation. No interaction with other prisoners is allowed for its occupants. These are constantly kept under lock and key. Such cells do not have any electric fan to give some relief to the inmates during the shimmering summer heat. There are two such cells in Jagdalpur prison. In one of them is put a prisoner convicted of murder who has supposedly gone mad. In the other is kept Gopanna, a senior member of the party’s DKSZC, arrested in 2007. He has been kept in *gunahkhana* since April 2012 when his name cropped up as one of the prisoners whose release was to be considered by the Chhattisgarh government in exchange of Alex Paul Menon, the collector of Sukma.

**In the court:** Chaitu found out from his own bitter experience that the police are reluctant to produce the undertrials in court on the dates of their hearing. The court gives dates for hearing in an interval of two to three months, but as the police often find excuses for not producing the accused in the court and the prosecution keep appealing for delaying the dates, no more than two to three hearings actually take place a year in each case. These cases therefore drag on for years together, and at times for decades.

Chaitu was produced before the magistrate at Kondagaon even though his place of arrest was under the jurisdiction of Narayanpur court. As is the case with many other accused, for Chaitu too the police used the argument that it is not safe to transport Maoist undertrials between Narayanpur and Jagdalpur from a security point of view. As a result, the lower court at Kondagaon became the place of his hearing, creating more difficulties for his family members who had to travel to Kondagaon instead of Narayanpur, which was the nearest town from their village.

**The problem of legal aid:** There are very few advocates who take up Naxal-related cases. Villagers with little knowledge of the labyrinthine intricacies of the legal system suffer great hardship as a result. The few advocates who take up such cases demand professional charges. More than 25,000 rupees had to be paid by Chaitu’s family to his lawyer during the four years of his trial. This sum is not a small one for an adivasi family of Bastar.

Ineffectual legal aid was one of the main reasons for Chaitu’s trial dragging on for four years. The police initially claimed to have more than thirty witnesses against him. But this number was subsequently reduced by half. Finally, only eight witnesses could be produced by the police, all of whom were in its payroll. These eight witnesses included the four SPOs who accompanied the force that caught Chaitu. Among the witnesses was also Maniram, the police informer whom Chaitu attempted to murder according to the police. None of the witnesses were allowed to come face to face with the accused in the court or elsewhere during the trial. All of them deposed before the court and were cross-examined in the absence of the accused. The farce in the name of judicial process went on for four years, and only came to an end after four years of incarceration. Chaitu was acquitted of all charges and freed in February 2013.

**Release and life thereafter:** Chaitu stepped out of Jagdalpur prison on 23 February 2013, and stepped into a new situation. Seven months since his release, he is yet to get back to his village. He fears reprisal from SPOs,

secret killer gangs and the police who menace the lives of those are seen to be close to the revolutionary movement. But of one thing Chaitu is convinced. He has undergone all these trials and tribulations— including his imprisonment and personal loss because he chose to take part in the class struggle. He is not ready to give up on the movement even after such repression. Chaitu is hopeful that the advancement of the Maoist movement will also bring him justice, punish his tormentors and help him move on with his life. \*

## Private Prisons Are Unconstitutional

- Michael E. Tigar

A new report by In the Public Interest, available at [www.inthepublicinterest.org/article/criminal-how-lockup-quotas-and-low-crime-taxes-guarantee-profits-private-prison-corporations](http://www.inthepublicinterest.org/article/criminal-how-lockup-quotas-and-low-crime-taxes-guarantee-profits-private-prison-corporations), documents the increased use of private prisons to house the large and growing population of incarcerated Americans. We have the highest incarceration rate in the world, five to seven times that of comparable countries. See my article “Lawyers, Jails, and the Law’s Fake Bargains,” [monthlyreview.org/2001/07/01/lawyers-jails-and-the-laws-fake-bargains](http://monthlyreview.org/2001/07/01/lawyers-jails-and-the-laws-fake-bargains). The use of private prisons raises an entirely new set of issues.

The ITPI report tells us that Corrections Corporation of America — the largest private prison contractor — offers to run a state’s prison system provided that the state guarantees a 90% occupancy rate for the prison facilities. Yes, you read that correctly. Many if not most contracts provide that the state promises to send enough people to prison to fill 80% and up to 100% of the prison beds.

In an essay published at 7 *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law* 849 (2010), I told the story of two judges in Pennsylvania who sent juveniles to a private prison and were paid off for doing so. The judges went to jail. The private prison officials did not.

The influence of contractual occupancy requirements is more subtle, but equally odious. In *Tumey v. Ohio*, 273 U.S. 510 (1927), the Supreme Court invalidated a system whereby the mayor who presided as a judge of minor offenses received a percentage of fines and fees that he levied on defendants. In *Ward v. Monroeville*, 409 U.S. 57 (1972), the fines assessed in the “mayor’s court” provided a significant share of the town’s financial resources. The mayor had a major role in the administration of town finances. The Court held this arrangement violated due process.

The due process evil of occupancy guarantees works on two branches of government. The judge who sentences a defendant is an agent of the state, and awareness of the contractual obligation inevitably skews her judgment. It is but a small step from *Tumey* and *Monroeville* to such a conclusion.

However, there is an additional evil here. The prosecutors who choose whom to prosecute and for what offenses, and to advocate for particular sentences, have the most direct influence on incarceration, given that 90% or more criminal cases are resolved with guilty pleas. One must assess the influence — direct and indirect — on prosecutors to make sure that those prison beds are filled. We understand in a general way that the prosecutor is the representative not of an ordinary party to a controversy, but of a sovereignty whose obligation to govern impartially is as compelling as its obligation to govern at all; and whose interest, therefore, in a criminal prosecution is not that it shall win a case, but that justice shall be done. *Berger v. United States*, 295 U.S. 78 (1935).

A case more directly on point is *Young v. U.S. ex rel. Vuitton et fils, S.A.*, 481 U.S. 787 (1987). In New York, there was a federal injunction against sellers of fake Vuitton merchandise. Courts would allow Vuitton to select and pay special prosecutors, who would conduct contempt cases against violators. There are several opinions in the case, but the upshot is that without strict judicial supervision, the “Vuitton system” posed too great a danger that the special prosecutors would pay more attention to Vuitton’s interests than to their ethical obligation to prosecute fairly.

*Young* is one case among many that result from the movement away from private prosecution to the system that prevails today in the United States. Prosecutors are public officials, and while their choices of defendants and charges are entitled to considerable deference, influences other than the impartial public interest in punishing and deterring crime are suspect.

I do not pretend, in this post, to explore all the relevant case-law. I simply express a hope that somebody will start to litigate these issues.

[Michael E. Tigar is Emeritus Professor of the Practice of Law at Duke University School of Law, and Professor Emeritus of Law at Washington College of Law, American University, Washington, D.C. Among his publications is *Law and the Rise of Capitalism* (Monthly Review Press, 2000).]

[From Monthly Review, January 2014]

## **The Prisoners' Rights Week Successfully Observed in Central Region**

The Prisoners' Rights Week was successfully observed from March 23 to 29, 2014 as every year in the Central Region in response to the call by the Central Regional Bureau, CPI (Maoist). The main demand for the unconditional release of all political prisoners and demands for other prisoner rights were highlighted through various programmes throughout the week with the participation of thousands of people, a large number of them belonging to the families of the political prisoners, their friends and relatives.

A bandh was successfully observed on March 29, the concluding day of the week in Dandakaranya (DK). 16 vehicles belonging to the Essar company were razed down near Kirandul in Dantewada District as part of observing the bandh. Several rallies were conducted, pamphlets were distributed, postering, wall writing, meetings, press conferences and other programmes were conducted throughout DK during the week highlighting the above demands. Apart from others, the family members, friends and relatives of political prisoners spoke in the meetings and press conferences explaining the plight of their near and near incarcerated in various jails in Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra under inhuman conditions and as victims of gross violations of their democratic rights. They also explained what the overwhelming majority of poor Adivasi families of the political prisoners were made to go through by the ruthless Indian states.

A huge rally with 2,000 people was taken which culminated with a demonstration in front of the Dantewada jail. In fact, several more hundreds of people were stopped on their way to the rally by the police and sent back. The District SP and the Collector met the demonstrators and gave assurance to look into their demands.

Apart from observing the above week people are agitating against illegal detentions and for the rights of prisoners locally too as the occasion arises. A huge rally was held in Kanker against illegal detentions in April.

**On February 6, 4 trucks carrying bauxite ore were razed down by the PLGA guerillas, Militia and people in Gumla district of Jharkhand. The CPI (Maoist) had given a bandh call demanding the release of Maoist prisoners who had completed their jail terms. The razing down of the trucks was done as part of observing the bandh.**

## **Open Letter on Political Prisoners**

April 3, 2014

*Excerpts from an open letter to political parties contending in the 16th Lok Sabha Elections on the release of political prisoners and related issues of public concern*

The 16th Lok Sabha elections in India are going to commence in a few days... as various political parties are declaring their manifestos, and candidates representing the political parties are going to the people canvassing for votes based on the promises made in their respective manifestos, all issues of concern of the people of India are being discussed and deliberated upon ...

However, a major issue ... has not been brought to attention at all, and the positions and views of the contending parties on this issue have not been clarified. This is the issue of the recognition and unconditional release of political prisoners, the numerous people who are imprisoned in various jails all over India, not because of crimes they might have committed, but because of their political views and ideologies and for participation in movements to protect their lands, lives and livelihoods...

The exact number of political prisoners in India is not available, mainly because such recognition is not formally given to prisoners in most states of India. However, based on the investigations of various human rights organizations and individuals, it appears that nearly ten thousand people might be imprisoned in various jails spread over multiple states of India, who have been charged under laws against sedition or the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA) which have been used to criminalize dissent, or because of their involvement in mass movements...

A large majority of these prisoners are from the most marginalized sections of our society, adivasis, dalits and Muslims, and in most cases they do not have the economic wherewithal to ensure proper legal representation and fight the legal battles for their release. Therefore, the onus for their unconditional release lies even more heavily on the government...

Multiple observations by learned justices of the Supreme Court and various state High Courts have declared that the imprisonment of people on the basis of their political beliefs and ideology is unjust and unconstitutional, and these judicial pronouncements upholding the fundamental rights of all citizens should pave the way for the unconditional release of these prisoners of conscience. Also, proper recognition of political prisoners, as people who have been not been charged with committing crimes based on self interest,

but rather for actions connected with their political beliefs and ideology, is essential, and appropriate legislation to ensure this needs to be passed. Therefore, we request you to publicly state your views on the matter of the recognition and unconditional release of political prisoners and what steps you would take to ensure the same if elected to government.

At the same time we elicit your stand on the matter of the draconian laws which have been used to keep these people in prison. The motivation of laws should be ensure justice, and when certain laws are being used to imprison people unjustly, such laws should not have a place in our constitutional setup. Draconian laws do not have any place in a democratic polity as they violate the basic fundamental rights of individuals as well as natural justice and are always open to misuse by the people in power. The Prevention of Terrorism Act (2002) was therefore rightly repealed by an act of Parliament in 2004. However, today we see that another such law, the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA), which was amended in 2008 to make it more stringent, has been used to detain and imprison a large number of people and also to ban a number of political organizations.

The UAPA obstructs the course of justice by preventing the release of prisoners on bail for prolonged times. We have seen its usage against a wide cross-section of people including doctors, journalists, students and activists, and in many cases after spending years in jail, the accused have been acquitted of all charges. ... We therefore feel that immediate legislative steps need to be taken to repeal UAPA and the other draconian laws which are contributing to the unjust arrest and imprisonment of thousands of our fellow citizens and request you to publicly declare your position on this matter and state what steps you would take to ensure the repeal of these laws if elected to government.

The third relevant issue on which we would like to elicit your views are the political-economic causes of the conflicts which have contributed to the imprisonment of these thousands of people and the application of these draconian laws against them. A majority of the people who have been imprisoned under these laws and are considered as political prisoners, are from communities, organizations and movements struggling in various parts of the country against the intrusion of corporate interests which are bent on acquiring their land and resources for profiteering purposes. A vast plunder of land and mineral resources have been underway in various parts of the country, especially the forested areas of east-central India which is home to the adivasi populations, that has threatened these communities with massive displacement and loss of livelihood. A high level committee appointed by the Ministry of Rural Development itself to look at the issue of land reforms in 2009 had remarked this as one of "biggest land grab ever"... Therefore, we request you to publicly declare your position on the matter of the corporate plunder of land and other national resources and state what steps you would take to immediately stop this phenomenon and hold the corporations and their facilitators in the government accountable for their actions.

Finally, we would also like to express our grave concern about the impunity of the security forces ... we have seen with concern the rampant violation of human rights by security forces in various areas, which ranges from arrests under false cases to rape and torture. Numerous people, in some cases entire villages as mentioned earlier, have been charged under false cases to harass, intimidate and imprison them. In most cases, such charges have failed to be sustained under legal scrutiny, but have already caused untold damage to the lives of people. Numerous cases of killings of innocent people in false encounters are now known, and in some cases highest level officers of the police have been accused of engineering these false encounters such as in the case of Ishrat Jahan in Gujarat.

A number of incidents of rapes by security forces, especially in areas of conflict such as Chattisgarh, Kashmir and the North-east, have come to light and activists such as Irom Sharmila of Manipur have been protesting against this for more than a decade... the security services have become their oppressors, and in many cases their impunity is maintained by laws such as AFSPA.

Sexual violence and torture of female activists in prison by senior police officers such as in the case of the adivasi school teacher Soni Sori have also gone unpunished, instead such officers have got awards for gallantry ... the brutal victimization of women by security forces should be of grave concern. It is the role of the state to check the excesses by security forces and make them accountable to the law, and therefore, we request you to declare your position on the matter of the impunity of the security forces and state what steps you would take to immediately rectify this situation and hold them accountable to law and the constitution.

**- Amit Bhaduri, Sumanta Banerjee, Bernard D'Mello, Gautam Navlakha, Partho Sarothi Ray**

# NEWS FROM BATTLE FIELD

January-June 2014

## Bihar–Jharkhand (B-J)

On January 27, the PLGA conducted an ambush on the joint forces of District, Jharkhand Jaguar and CRPF forces who were combing in Durgutta area under Pirtand PS limits of Giridih district. Two jawans died and 15 were injured in this valiant attack.

On March 25, at least three policemen were injured when PLGA guerillas triggered a landmine blast in Khunti District of Jharkhand. On the same day, a JAP-3 trooper, Abdul Sattar Roy, was injured in an encounter with the PLGA guerillas at Bhumphore village near the bank of Kanahar River under Dhurki Police Station limits of Garwah District of Jharkhand.

On March 27, two mobile towers were blasted in Gaya district by the PLGA guerillas. This was done as part of implementing the bandh call given by the party against the massacre of 10 comrades in Bihar.

On April 7, the joint forces of CRPF and BMP tried to diffuse a mine planted by the PLGA on a road near Barua Mod when it blasted. Three policemen died here while eight jawans including the TI were injured.

On April 10, the PLGA guerillas ambushed CRPF jawans in Ganti forests of Jamui district by blasting mines. Two CRPF jawans died and six were injured here. The polling was stopped in 20 polling booths due to this ambush.

On April 11, the PLGA attacked the CRPF jawans on their way to a polling booth in a vehicle in Jamui constituency. Two jawans died and seven were injured here. The PLGA guerillas blasted the mines near Baba Mandir of Bhimbandh forests.

On April 17, the PLGA guerillas carried on a daring attack on the police by blasting mines near Lugu Pahadi under Gomia PS limits of Bokaro district. This area falls under the Giridih Loksabha constituency. PLGA guerillas blasted the police vehicle when a patrolling party was conducting patrolling after the polling started. Later the guerillas fired on the policemen. Three policemen were seriously injured here.

On April 24, PLGA guerillas blasted mines targetting a bus carrying back the police forces after the polling was over near Farsagaon under Sikaripada PS limits of Dumka district. Five policemen were wiped out. The PLGA guerillas seized 5 Insas rifles and hundreds of rounds of ammunition. But sadly, three polling personnel also died here. The Party is expressing its grief and tending its apology for this very unfortunate incident.

## Dandakaranya (DK)

On January 6, two policemen were injured in an attack by PLGA near Bhejji of Sukma district.

On January 11, two policemen were injured in a mine blast in Dantewada district.

On January 18, PLGA guerillas fired at an MI-17 IAF chopper which was carrying an Inspector-General of CRPF at Chintagufa in Sukma District of Chhattisgarh in the afternoon. At least three bullets hit the chopper while it was landing at Chintagufa, but nobody, including CRPF IG H S Sidhu based in Chhattisgarh, was injured.

On January 20, three policemen were injured in a PLGA attack who were patrolling the forest area under Bhejji PS limits in Sukma district.

On January 27, a C-60 commando was injured in a PLGA attack on the newly established camp at Hedri in Gadchiroli district.

On February 2, two policemen were injured in an ambush by PLGA on police forces while they were coming for 'road-opening' at Kodhikodra (East Bastar).

On February 9, the PLGA conducted an ambush on CRPF CoBRA Commandos near Bodhiraju village under Bhejji PS limits of Sukma district. A CRPF Assistant Commandant and a jawan died there while 12 were injured. The PLGA guerrillas blasted a mine when the jawans were travelling from Chintaguppa to Bhejji.

On February 16, PLGA attacked a patrol party of the district and CRPF CoBRA forces between Pedda Gallur and Tarrem villages (12 Kms away from Basaguda) and a CoBRA jawan was injured here. This happened in the area where the armed forces had killed 20 Adivasis in a massacre in June 2012.

### **Notorious TI dies in Sangdi-Kuttepal Ambush**

On February 28, our PLGA guerillas conducted an ambush on a road opening party in Syamgiri forests under Kuvvakonda PS limits in Dantewada district. Five policemen died and three were seriously injured. A 12-member police patrolling party was doing road-opening to provide protection to road construction works going on between Nakulnar and Palnar, when PLGA guerrillas launched this surprise attack. The guerrillas successfully seized six weapons (SLR-2, Insas-3, Pistol-1) and more than 400 rounds of ammunition from the jawans. Mobiles, wireless sets etc., were also seized and their motorcycles were burnt down. The notorious TI Vivek Sukla has been working in Kuvvakonda since 2008 and was very aggressive in trying to suppress the revolutionary movement and was cruel towards the people. He was even 'rewarded' for his cruelty during the 'Republic Day' Parade this year. The people of the area were happy that their guerillas had put to death this brute in this ambush.

On the same day, a STF jawan was injured due to a pressure bomb blast near Budhwarimaad village in Amabeda area of Kanker district.

### **Tahkawada Ambush - A fitting reply to the brutalities of the armed forces**

On March 11, our PLGA guerillas conducted a huge ambush on a CRPF road-opening party near Tahkawada (near Tongpal of Sukma district) on the Jagdalpur-Sukma NH-221. 15 jawans died a dog's death while ten were injured in this brave guerilla action. Three among these were seriously injured. Sadly, a citizen also died here and the Party tendered its apology for this unfortunate happening. Among the dead were - 11 CRPF jawans and 4 district police. A total of 20 weapons (6 AK-47s, 8 Insas rifles, 1 Insas LMG, 2 SLRs, 3 UBGLs) were successfully seized here. Hundreds of AK-47 and Insas bullets were also seized along with some more rounds of ammunition of other weapons. 2 Radio and 3 Walki-Talkies were also seized.

A total of 44 jawans from the 80th CRPF Battalion and District Police forces were on their way to visit the site where people's guerillas had burnt down some road construction vehicles. As soon as the vehicles reached the ambush site our guerillas blasted the mine, hurled grenades and began firing. Several of the jawans in the first vehicle were wiped out even before the second one reached the place. The jawans in the second vehicle took cover behind the trees and began firing. The exchange of fire went on for two hours but it was our guerillas who prevailed over the police force. It was indeed not only a successful but a brave ambush too as it was conducted in an area where the enemy could never have guessed that an ambush could be laid. It was complete plain area on all the four sides of the NH-221.

The people who were continuously being harassed by the armed forces after the Jeeramghati ambush where the notorious scum of the earth, Mahendra Karma was wiped out, sent their revolutionary greetings to the Party and the PLGA for this successful ambush.

On March 28, two policemen were injured in a PLGA mine blast in Sukma district.

On April 4, one of the PLGA sniper teams shot at a policeman standing on the tower/bunker of Burkapal camp located in Sukma district. He was seriously injured and died on the way to hospital.

On April 7, this same team fired on the SI level CRPF officer who was standing beside the sentry bunker in Chintaguppa camp (Sukma Dt). The officer was seriously injured in this attack. On the same day, PLGA guerillas blasted a mine near Kadahi village of East Bastar Division where two policemen were injured. Another policeman was injured in an attack by PLGA near Sarandi village on the same day in this Division.

### **The heroic Chintaguppa ambush**

The heroic Chintaguppa ambush - a response to the unprecedented deployment of armed forces in the name of 'free and fair' elections. On April 9, just one day before polling in Bastar during assembly elections in Chhattisgarh, the PLGA struck the CoBRA Commandos of 206 Battalion. They were returning from Burkapal polling station after leaving the polling party there at 9 A.M. about 200 metres from Chintaguppa (Sukma Dt). In this valiant attack three CoBRA jawans were wiped out while five jawans including the Deputy Commandant were seriously injured. The battle went on for one hour. An Israeli-made X-95 Tavor,

an Insas, hundreds of rounds of ammunition, UGBL shells and two mobile phones were seized by the guerrillas.

This was conducted in the same area where hundreds of houses were burnt down, property destroyed and brutalities were perpetuated on the people in 2011. In fact, the armed forces have been heaping atrocities on this area and other Maoist stronghold areas since several years and repression begets such resistances. This heroic ambush was in particular a response to the unprecedented deployment of armed forces in Bastar in the name of conducting 'free and fair' elections.

On April 10, PLGA guerillas fired upon a district police party deployed for poll duties between Dhurvaran and Gumnar villages under Gadiras PS limits in Sukma district. One District Policeman was seriously injured here. On the same day, two CRPF jawans were injured in a pressure bomb blast near Pordem village of Sukma block.

On April 11, two CRPF jawans were injured in a pressure bomb blast near Dusaiguda of Bijapur district. This attack was on a ROP (Road Opening Party) returning after the polls in Usur area.

### **Aasa Ambush - A Slap in the Face of SP Suvez Haq**

In the more than four and half decades of advancement of armed agrarian revolution in the vast rural tracts of our country since the dawn of Naxalbari in 1967, revolutionary masses have witnessed several top police officials who tried to suppress the revolutionary movement and the masses with a cruelty matching that of the Nazis or even the US officials in Abu Gharab or a Guantanamo. Suvez Haq, the SP of Gadchiroli is one among that brutal lot. The extent of their loyalty to the ruling classes is such that they stoop to the lowest levels throwing to wind, even any thing remotely resembling people's rights and human dignity to winds to suppress the people. But simultaneously history would always be at its work and the makers of history - the oppressed masses - ultimately have always taught a fitting lesson to all such dictators by overthrowing the systems which they sought to defend with such brutality. In that course several such criminal police officials have also been wiped out by the people. This list is long and it won't be long before Suvez. Haq's name figures in it due to the amount of wrath he earned from the revolutionary masses of Gadchiroli.

Meanwhile, an ambush at Aasa near Damarancha of Aheri taluk in Gadchiroli took the wind out of the 'boastful' sails of 'Haq Saheb'. On April 9, this brute arrogantly barked that the Maoists are fully on the self-defence and that they would not dare to attack the police forces. He declared that he would not 'forgive' the Maoists if his policemen 'as much as suffer a scratch'. Thus he motivated his 'sacrificial lambs' and sent them for conducting poll duties.

The PLGA guerrillas struck the arrogant C-60 Commandos and the District Police force returning from polling duty. The C-60 Commando Giridhar Atram died on the spot and five jawans were injured. The C-60 Commando died as our sniper shot him in the head when our forces targetted the ROP walking in front of the bus carrying polling personnel. With his tail limply stuck between his legs, Haq whined that he would look into what 'went wrong' and wondered if not being able to provide helicopters (3 helicopters were given to the district) was the 'reason.'

Haq 'Saheb'! The people of Gadchiroli Maoist movement areas would easily tell you what 'went wrong' if only you would care to listen to them. They would dissect the 'reasons' for you precisely for this or similar such actions by the people's guerillas conducted with the support of the masses. Here we will just give one instance of 'went wrong' after you took up responsibilities as the SP.

- Six of our comrades belonging to the Aheri squad of our Party were brutally murdered in indiscriminate and one-sided firing in a deceptive ambush laid by the police with the information given by an informer in January 2013. All these comrades are daughters and sons of the soil of Gadchiroli district and belong to poor Adivasi peasant families. They had been working since several years in that area for the wellbeing and liberation of the oppressed masses and had no self-interests like out of term promotions, unaccounted huge amounts of money or irresponsible power that motivate the likes of Suvez Haq to heap such brutalities on the people and their genuine leaders.

On April 27, a notorious police man named Lalsu Pungati was annihilated by a brave PLGA action team in a weekly market at Gyarapatti in Gadchiroli. The people who were fed up with his violence and atrocities had been demanding his elimination since several days. The team had also successfully seized his AK-47, its magazines and rounds.

### **Kamanar Ambush**

On April 12, a ROP of CRPF consisting of 10 jawans was returning to Kamanar camp in Sukma district (Darbha Division) when the PLGA attacked them at Kakanar. The jawans had on their way stopped a 108 ambulance on its way to bring a patient and forced the driver to take them to their camp in the vehicle. In fact, the police and paramilitary forces have been resorting to these pressure tactics since several years and have been using civil, medical etc., vehicles and persons as human shields in battle areas. They have also sometimes tried to camouflage their vehicles like 108 ambulances to escape the PLGA attacks and are violating human rights norms. Some newspapers have been consistently exposing such violations and there has been a series recently in a Hindi daily substantiating this with photographs and proofs. All the pleas not to use civil/medical etc., vehicles fell on deaf ears.

This vehicle was blasted by the PLGA ambush party in which six CRPF jawans died. Among those dead were a SI, an ASI, a head constable and three jawans. But very sadly, , the driver of the vehicle and a medical technician too died. The DK Party spokesperson Com. Gudsa Usendi immediately apologized for this profusely.

Severe protests were also registered by medical personnel of Sanjeevani Ambulance Services against policemen forcefully using their vehicles.

On April 12, three CRPF jawans were injured in a pressure bomb blast near Dagaiguda on Bijapur-Avapalli road.

On May 8, a policeman was injured in a pressure bomb blast in Kanker district.

### **Murmuri Ambush - A much-deserved blow to the notorious C-60**

Even while the ruling classes were signing with relief for an 'incident free' polling in Gadchiroli during the 16th Lok Sabha poles, the Murmuri ambush in Chamurshi taluk left them stunned. On May 11, just one day before the final 9th phase of polling, the brave PLGA guerillas blasted mines targetting the Sumo vehicle in which 12 Commandos were returning after patrolling. Seven of them died a dog's death on the spot and four were seriously injured. The C-60 Commando forces had been conducting search operations in the area since three days. 'Search' operations mean nothing but harassing and perpetuating atrocities of various types on the people and loot of their small properties.

The government and the police tried to use even the deaths of their jawans to launch another malicious psychological warfare campaign against democrats who are opposing the state's 'war on people'. They tried to portray this attack as the retaliation of the CPI (Maoist) for arresting Prof. GN Saibaba by the Maharashtra police. In an attempt to deceive the people standing in support of the Professor and to divert the campaign to release him, they tried to spread the lie that the well-known defender of people's rights was somebody 'very close to the Maoists' and that is why they immediately retaliated. MIB appeals to all the democrats and individuals from all walks of life fighting for the release of Prof. GN Saibaba to see through this lie and expose the malicious intentions of the Maharashtra state, particularly SP Suvez Haq.

On May 14, three CoBRA Commandos were injured in a PLGA attack on a police patrol party belonging to Sarkinguda camp in Bijapur.

On May 27, a policeman was annihilated by a PLGA action team in the Toyanar Mela of Bijapur.

On May 30, the CAP (Chhattisgarh Armed Police) and District Police forces combing a remote area under Orcha PS limits of Narayanpur district were ambushed near Tondaveda village. Two jawans were seriously injured here and one of them succumbed later in a hospital.

## Roads or Harbingers of Repression and Destruction?

The central and state governments are building several kinds of roads, bridges and culverts etc on a war-footing in the Maoist movement areas to facilitate speedy movement of their mercenary troops to wage their 'War on People'. This is done as part of condensing the carpet security cover too. This is also done to plunder natural resources rightfully belonging to the people by the MNCs, CBB and the state and this unavoidably leads to considerable destruction of that region socially, economically, environmentally and ecologically. So the people led by their army, the PLGA are resisting such repressive moves by obstructing such construction works in all the guerilla zones of our country. The people would have welcomed construction of roads if they were being built for their welfare. As they have over the years realized their 'real purpose' they are putting up resistance against such constructions. The following are some instances where vehicles, machines etc that are engaged in construction work in the Maoist areas were razed down. Several of these actions were carried on by the PLGA and People's Militia with the decision of the people's organizations and active support of the people and in many of these actions the people also directly participated.

On January 14, two vehicles belonging to a road construction company under Konch Police Station area in Gaya District of Bihar were set ablaze. On February 3, they set ablaze vehicles in Ramgarh District of Jharkhand. On February 6, they set ablaze four bauxite-laden trucks near Sudikona village under Bishunpur Police Station in Gumla District of Jharkhand. On February 7, they attacked the camp of a road construction firm at Mohanpur Misroliya village under Sakra Police Station limits of Muzaffarpur District of Bihar. On February 8, they attacked the camp office of a private road and bridge construction company of Shashi Kumar Singh, leader of ruling Janata Dal-United, at Phulwar village under Banjariya Police Station in East Champaran District of Bihar. On February 22, a dumper and poclain were razed down on NH-16 near Matwada of Bijapur.

On March 6, a truck was set ablaze near Kakarlanka on Dornapal-Jegurugonda road in Sukma district. On March 20, they burned a JCB machine deployed in road construction work at Nekhavaya village in Kukanar area of Bastar District of Chhattisgarh. On March 21, a poclain and other vehicles were set ablaze in Sukma district. On March 28, they set 15 trucks and one JCB machine on fire at an iron ore mining point at Kirandul in Dantewada District of Chhattisgarh. On April 7, they set ablaze several road construction equipments worth INR 4 million after attacking a camp of a contractor at Lakhanpur in Bargarh District of Odisha.

On April 12, 4 tractors and a JCB machine were set ablaze in Madanveda area of Rajnandgaon district. On April 21, they set ablaze 3 trawlers, a truck and a crane deployed for construction work on Dechlipetha-Jimalgatta road near Dechlipetha village in Jimalgatta subdivision of Gadchiroli District, Maharashtra. On April 26, they set ablaze two earthmovers worth INR 15 million at a stone crushing unit under Hunterganj Police Station limits of Chatra District of Jharkhand.

On May 1, a road roller and a mixer machine were set ablaze in Madded area of Bastar. On May 7, a dumper engaged in a government enterprise was set ablaze at Musaboni in East Singhbhum District of Jharkhand. The guerillas arrived at the Bakra pool area and set ablaze the dumper belonging to the Uranium Corporation of India Limited. On May 15, a JCB machine and a tipper were burnt down in Narayanpur district. On May 28, they raided the worksite camp of a construction firm engaged in PMGSY at Kusumguda and Khambasi villages under Rayagada Police Station in Rayagada District of Odisha and set ablaze heavy equipment and vehicles. On May 29, the guerillas from Basadhara-Ghumusar-Nagavali Division set ablaze three tractors, an excavator and a motorcycle in Khambesu village of Gumma gram panchayat under the Rayagada block of Rayagada District in Odisha. On June 7, the guerillas set ablaze three vehicles at Paralkot village number 85 in Kanker District on Chhattisgarh-Maharashtra border. The vehicles set on fire include a tanker, JCB machine and a road roller.

**The Technical Forum of Hyderabad Engineers visited the Gomu Kothagudem village in Khammam district, AP on October 11, 2012. They went there to know about the objections of the Adivasis living there to the construction of the Polavaram dam. They would be displaced if the dam is constructed. As part of their report of the visit, one of the engineers wrote, "After listening to the woes of the Adivasis, we (the engineers' team) came to know that there were no roads in the Adivasi villages in the past. The roads were built there as part of suppressing them in the Naxalite-influence areas. The roads were not constructed with the good intentions of increasing the living standards of the Adivasis."**

## **Notorious SPOs wiped out in PLGA actions**

On January 1, a SPO named Rupsingh Thakur was annihilated by the people's militia in DK. He worked in the Jangla PS of Bijapur district. He began behaving like a goon since the launch of Salwa Judum in 2005. He used to beat the people, raze down their homes and loot their properties and demand that they stop meeting the Maoists. When the mass organisation leaders went to weekly markets, he used to put them in jails after foisting false cases. He joined as a SPO in 2006. Finally all his depredations came to an end now.

On February 17, a SPO was annihilated by the PLGA in a hen market under Maraiguda camp limits in Konta block (Sukma Dt) DK.

On March 29, a SPO was annihilated by the PLGA in Bihar.

On April 20, a PLGA action team wiped out Vithal Kudimeth, a notorious SPO in Jimmalagatta weekly market in Aheri area. Vithal had once worked with the party and later surrendered to the police in 2000. He joined as an SPO in 2012 and served as a 'good' guide to the police in some areas. The people welcomed the news of his death with joy.

On April 22, SPO Ranbir Halami was annihilated in a mela in the Terenar village located in Rajnandgaon district. The people allegedly suspected him as the main informer in the Bukmarka encounter last year where Com. Udham Singh was martyred. The entire family of Ranbir was working as SPOs.

Apart from these, several informers were punished in people's courts in all the guerilla zones as they did not heed the warning given by the Party to stop being agents of the police and stop their anti-people activities detrimental to their interests. A Salwa Judum leader Bodhiram Majhi was annihilated near Vedire PS in Bijapur district on January 28.

## **Andhra-Odisha Border Area (AOB)**

On March 28, two BSF Jawans were seriously injured when a boobytrap set up by the PLGA guerillas went off. The jawans were trying to remove a boycott poll banner near MV-24 village of Malkangiri district when the blast occurred.

## **Odisha State Committee Area**

On March 31, Maoists entered the forest range office of Lakhapur in Bargarh District of Odisha and seized two pistols from the office.

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## **PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE**

### **Build Broadest Possible Support to the Struggle of the Mali Hill People who had taken up Cudgels against Bauxite Mining**

The Mali Hill is situated 8 km away from the Similiguda block of Koraput district in Odisha. This falls under the purview of the Andhra-Odisha Border Special Zonal Committee (AOBSZC) of the CPI (Maoist).

The Mali Hill forest is thick, rich in natural resources and is home to nearly 50 varieties of birds, animals and other creatures. People belonging to several tribes and castes live here. As this Hill has a rich deposit of bauxite and alumina the domestic and international corporations are pouncing upon it like vultures. There are four panchayats namely Sorisapodar, Kudi, Dolaiguda and Pakjola consisting of 44 villages with a population of 19,278 living adjacent to Mali. There are several places of traditional worship of the people on the Mali Hill. Several festivals related to agriculture and forests are celebrated in these places all year round. Everybody participates in these festivals with traditional instruments, dance and song.

While 85 percent of the people here are dependent on agriculture, 10 percent undertake labor works, 2 percent are traders and 3 percent migrate to other places in search of work. Only 41 of them are job-holders

that too lower level jobs. The people divert the water flowing down the several streams of the Hill through pipe lines and grow various crops and vegetables. Nearly 50 tonnes of vegetables are produced here every week. These are sold in the weekly markets from where they are exported to the plains and cities of Odisha, Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh. The people also follow shifting cultivation. They also gather minor forest produce and sell them in the market.

Koraput district is even more backward in the backward state of Odisha. In spite of being home to very rich natural resources the people are forced to migrate for work due to the neglect of the governments. Health care and education are abysmal. The peasants are being deceived by the government (as it does not decide on fair prices for their agricultural products) and by the middlemen and traders in the market places. The facilities for transport and storage are nominal. So the peasants are suffering huge losses when rates of vegetables fall or if they are not sold. They are further looted in several small ways throughout the process of selling their products in the market. They do not have facilities of drinking water, rest houses or toilets in the markets. The peasants are somehow making a living by cultivating their traditional lands and forest.

Now the pro-corporate comprador BJD government led by Naveen Patnaik is hell bent on wreaking havoc in the already poverty-ridden lives of the Mali Hill people by displacing them in the name of mining. Since the Patnaik government granted permission to the MNC Hindalco company for mining bauxite in 2003, the people of Mali Hill have been putting up a heroic resistance against mining. Their struggle went through several ups and downs in this more than one decade because of betrayal of leaders and state repression. But the fighting spirit of the people hasn't waned and the struggle is continuing.

The mining here was started after all the 'procedures' that usually accompany such blatant anti-people 'development' projects have been 'duly' followed. On 31-05-2003, the Hindalco company held a meeting to get the opinions of the people on mining. More than 90 percent of the people who attended it opposed mining. But with the help of goons and middlemen led by BJD MLA Jairam Pangi the company could turn the people of 3, 4 villages in their favor. They made them sign their approval in a lodge. The people have formed their own organization in 2003 to oppose this mining and on behalf of this they complained to the collector about the deception resorted to by the company. Bending to people's pressure the government authorities promised to send a team to collect the opinions of the people and take a decision later in the Zilla Parishad meeting. The team did not come but police descended in four vehicles. The meeting was held by the ZP members in Koraput and they wrote that 'gram sabhas' had given the permission for mining! The people who vainly waited for the team tried to go to Koraput after they realized what was happening but they were stopped by the police who loyally performed the 'duty' for which they had been sent. On the other hand, even before mining started two leaders (Anand Kirasani and Pritam Padi) of the anti-mining agitation were bought with bribes and the movement temporarily weakened.

But within no time the organization once again started leading protests in a peaceful manner through demonstrations, rallies, dharnas, meetings etc. They are militantly stopping the attempts by the company to transport mined soil containing bauxite with the help of goons and middlemen. The state tried to give bribes to the leaders on 19-08-2008. As they refused on the very next day on 20<sup>th</sup>, 200 goons were sent to attack the villages that were strongly opposed to mining. 34 persons were seriously injured. The villagers who were away in market or on some other works came to know of this through phone calls and they rushed there taking along some policemen with the hope that they would stop the goons and arrest them. But the goons continued the attack in the presence of the policemen. Some of the policemen were also injured in this attack. During these days the goons also closed the road and stopped the peasants from taking their vegetables to the market to sell them resulting in economic losses to the peasants. The goons were given 10 cans of liquor and two cows along with money for these ghastly acts

The CPI (Maoist) stood in support of the people all through their struggle against mining. A few days after the above attack, the PLGA annihilated the betrayer and middleman Anand Kirasani and the company went on back foot for some years.

The clashes once again erupted since 18-01-2013 when the people stopped the transport of the mined soil. They destroyed the company vehicles as part of their agitation. 20 agitators were booked under cases.

Once again the villages that were active in the struggle were attacked in July 2013 and the police ‘duly’ foisted false cases on them. But the people were not ready to take all this lying down. 1,500 enraged people went to the police station. On their way they destroyed three vehicles of the company and stopped two of them. The police registered cases against 20 leaders and activists. But they could not arrest the leaders as the people threatened that all of them would come along with their children and cattle and surround the PS and the police had to retreat.

A fresh round of battle erupted on 9-01-2014 when the people stopped the vehicles transporting the soil and sat on a dharna. All the vehicles stopped in their tracks. At night nearly 30 goons of the company attacked the people and the activists who peacefully sat on a dharna. Several people were injured. The furious people counter attacked the goons and destroyed the vehicles. The goons fled leaving the vehicles. The people were so enraged with these continuous attacks and the repressive measures of the company with the full connivance of the Indian state that on the next day, the 10<sup>th</sup> they went to the transport company office and destroyed about 30 vehicles, furniture, computers, CC cameras etc. Then they proceeded to the village that is home to all these goons (who have been bribed by the company and turned into their favor) and attacked it. All the middlemen and the goons left the village and sought police protection. 144 section was imposed in that area.

Due to these continuous clashes in the area, the atmosphere is always tense and the people are not able to lead their normal lives. The mining is wreaking complete havoc in all aspects of their lives. Since they have to pass through the 3, 4 villages that were home to goons who had completely surrendered to the company, for going to the market or anywhere else the people are living in constant fear. Now they are not daring to go alone anywhere after dark. The police are foisting cases on the agitators and leaving the goons scot-free. The goons are openly threatening that they will kill the agitators in accidents, would rape their women, get them killed through *supari* (hired) killers etc. They are trying to produce fake letters to establish their alleged connection with Maoists and are threatening to book them under ‘Maoist’ cases or even get them killed in fake encounters. On the other hand they are trying to bribe the villagers by offering 5 lakh rupees to each anti-mining village. The company GM Sarma is playing the role of the chief villain in all this. The BJD MLA Jairam Pangi is completely acting like an agent of the company with several other lower level leaders of the party following suit and with even the opposition Congress leaders like Sisiro Gomango in tow. They are using the two-pronged strategy of repression and lure to somehow suppress the anti-mining agitation. A vicious campaign falsely alleging that the CPI (Maoist) is favorable to mining, that it had taken one crore rupees from the company and so on and so forth is going on with the help of the corporate media.

The entry of the company has also posed serious threat to the ecology of the Mali Hill area. 41 streams flow down perennially from the Mali Hill. Most of them flow into the Kolab river. One of these streams turned dry where the soil was mined. Due to the dust that arose while transporting the soil, five acres of land turned barren. Unless the mining is stopped immediately in response to the people’s agitation such phenomena would multiply rapidly causing enormous harm to the ecology and livelihood of the people.

The Mali Hill people have so far been very firm in their opposition to the mining and the destruction and displacement caused by it. This struggle is an integral part of the countless struggles being waged in various rural, particularly forest areas of our country against mining and displacement, for protection of ecology, for their Jal-Jungle-Zameen. It is the duty and responsibility of all democrats and patriots to support all such struggles and build the broadest possible support to these.

## **Raoghat Hills are Not for Sale**

Chhattisgarh has diverted as much as 15% of its forests for mining purposes. This is hardly surprising, since one of the main reasons behind the carving out of Chhattisgarh from Madhya Pradesh was to open up the forest and mineral-rich Dandakaranya region for the uninhibited extraction and plunder by the rapacious comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the imperialist sharks. The people of the region have suffered for generations due to the path of ‘development’ steamrolled by the rulers of the country. Mines, refineries, factories, dams, roads – all signs of so-called progress – have wrought a trail of destruction in their wake,

while enriching a few industrial magnets and their agents plying their trade in parliamentary politics. From Bhilai to Bailadila, tens of thousands of Adivasi peasants have been pushed out from the land of their ancestors in the last sixty odd years of so-called independence, making them aliens in their own land. Not surprisingly, 40% of the 60 million people displaced by development-related projects in India since 1947 are estimated to be Adivasis.

Having undergone this bitter experience, people of Dandakaranya have been fighting the prying arms of the mining companies that seek to dig their bloody tentacles further and deeper into the unexploited areas of the region. This battle has become particularly intense in Raoghat, where the people are militantly opposing the proposed mining operations of Bhilai Steel Plant (BSP) owned by Steel Authority of India (SAIL). The proposed Raoghat Iron Ore Mines located on the Kanker-Narayanpur border has an estimated capacity of 14 MT per annum. While BSP has acquired the right to mine some blocks of Raoghat hills, other blocks have been leased out to private companies such as Tata Steel, Essar Power, Monnet Ispat and Energy, Jaiswal Neco Steel Industries Co., etc. On the plea that BSP's existing Dalli-Rajarha mines are going to get exhausted in a few years time, the government is intent on starting operations on Raoghat hills at the earliest. For this, it has made a mockery of all constitutional and legal safeguards such as the Fifth Schedule, PESA, consent of the Gram Sabhas, Forest Rights Act, etc.

Far from giving their consent to the project, all the Adivasi villages that come under the proposed mining are actively resisting it since the 1990s to defend their *jal-jangal-zameen*. It is because of this resistance that the project could not be started till now. All these companies have now come together to subdue the resistance movement by using all foul tricks in their trade including false promises, bribes, threats and violence. Local members of even ruling-class parties like the Congress who are opposing the mining companies due to the overwhelming popular resistance are being arrested and put behind bars as suspected Maoists. Urban intellectuals such as Prof. Nandini Sundar of Delhi University who have expressed solidarity with the Raoghat anti-mining movement are being accused by the police of associating with the Maoists as a convenient method of intimidation. As a preparation for the forcible acquisition of the land, the government has already set up five camps of paramilitary forces surrounding the mining area over the last one year in addition to the existing ones under the pretext of growing Maoist influence. The number of such camps would eventually be raised to 22 as per their plan, bringing the area more tightly under carpet security. Extensive combing operations are being conducted to instil a sense of terror among the people. The people, however, are determined to continue the fight and take on any number of government forces by drawing inspiration from Gundadhur, Gend Singh, Veer Narayan and other tribal heroes who lived and died for the people without compromise.

***The following reports of poll boycott political campaign in various states during the 16<sup>th</sup> Loksabha elections were gathered from the newspapers***

On January 24, two days before the Republic Day, the CPI-Maoist called upon the people to boycott the upcoming sham parliamentary elections by issuing an "open letter" calling upon the people to join them in overthrowing the Indian state through an armed struggle in Burdwan District of West Bengal.

On April 3, the Eastern Regional Bureau of the CPI-Maoist issued 'short-term vision' document, appealing to the masses to decide if they want "real democracy" or go ahead with the existing "pseudo-democratic system" by casting their franchise to form the 16th Lok Sabha. On April 14, the CPI-Maoist in a press release alerted the people of West Bengal, polling personnel and journalists, not to travel in vehicles of paramilitary or Police personnel. On April 17, though there was re-polling in 15 booths in CPI-Maoist-hit Chitrakonda Assembly seat in Malkangiri District of Odisha, no votes were cast in eight polling stations!

On May 5, the Uttarakhand Police arrested four CPI-Maoist supporters for campaigning and asking villagers to boycott LS polls in Almora District of Uttarakhand. On May 7, CPI-Maoist People's Militia members, set ablaze two EVMs and partially burnt a vehicle allotted for the polling staff at Palakajeedi village polling station in Koyyuru mandal in Visakhapatnam District of Andhra Pradesh. Around 20 to 30 Militia members raided the polling station around 2 pm and took away the EVMs and set them on fire and also set on fire the Route Officer's vehicle.

## Chhattisgarh villagers boycotted parliamentary elections in protest

Situated on the Indravati River near the border with Bastar district, residents of Harrako Der panchayat (1350 people) and Erpund panchayat (1900 residents) in Lohandiguda block boycotted the recently concluded parliamentary elections. They alleged that the MLA, MP or the government have never



cared for their wellbeing. Meetings were held in both the *panchayats*. The *sarpanch* of Harrako Der, Sudanram Mandavi told that the local MLA promised to address the problems of the villagers but did not fulfil his promise. He said that the people of Gidam block under which their *panchayat* areas come, submitted a 15-point charter of demands to CM Raman Singh and the MP but none of their demands have been resolved in the last ten years.

These demands include basic amenities such as high school in the area, appointment of doctors in the primary health centre and the veterinary hospital, electrification in the villages, drinking water, etc. They also demanded the constitution of committees for procurement of forests produce and rice, distribution of government-supplied seeds and fertilizers in their own *panchayat*, etc. The residents said that they had been voting in the past without any benefit and no one from the government or parliamentary parties care to listen to their complaints. That is why they have now spontaneously decided to boycott the elections.

In Dhamtari District of Chhattisgarh, people of ten villages boycotted the LS polls protesting against their displacement from their lands by the government on the pretext that they did not have land deeds (*pattas*) for them.

## Niyamgiri Adivasis Boycott Polls Demanding Closure of Vedanta Refinery

As soon as notification for elections was given the Niyamgiri Suraksha Samity (NSS) leader Lodda Sikaka gave a call to the people of Niyamgiri for boycotting the polls. In his interviews to the various media including the BBC, he clearly demanded that all attempts for bauxite mining on their Niyamgiri Hill be completely stopped, the Alumina Refinery of the Vedanta company be closed down, police combings in their areas be stopped and the foisted cases on the arrested persons be lifted. He said that the various governments that came to power since 1947 did not do anything for the Adivasis or the poor people and that is why they were giving the call to their people to boycott the Odisha assembly and the 16<sup>th</sup> Loksabha polls. Accordingly, poll boycott propaganda campaign was held in 60 villages in the Niyamgiri area. The NSS leaders held meetings in these villages and explained the reasons for the call.

The villages that participated in the Gram Sabhas (*Palli Sabhas*) held to take their opinion on bauxite mining by Vedanta and had unanimously and categorically rejected it, completely boycotted the polls. In several villages of Kalyansingpur, Muniguda and Lanjigarh blocks, people boycotted polls and registered their protests. 15 villages boycotted the polls completely while in other villages the Adivasis boycotted the polls but some non-Adivasis voted. Some of the villages that completely boycotted were Lakkapodur, Pottampodur, Lamba, Kambeshu, Nachinguda, Tadijola, Kunnakadu, Puldombri, Palberi, Kemdipodur, Nodangi, Kursimaha, Kasibandel, Mainuguda.

After the NSS openly gave the call for poll boycott, the state immediately pounced upon them with its iron claws. Several government officials and police officials threatened the people saying they would label those did not vote as Maoists and put them in jails under false cases. The EC, the entire state machinery or the corporate media that went overboard in asking the people to use their vote or even at least to use the NOTA option never cared about the right of the people to boycott the polls. In their desperation to bring the people to the polling booths, the officials even asked them to vote for parties other than the Congress and the BJD! They tried to bend them in several ways using the carrot and the stick. People did not bend and implemented the call of their NSS. All such acts only helped to complete the alienation the poor Adivasis felt towards the Indian state and their disgust towards its so-called democracy.

***Several Bandhs were observed in the various guerilla zones and states on various issues. Some of the calls given are as follows :***

On February 7, CPI-Maoist called for a complete Jharkhand bandh to press for the release of Maoist prisoners who have completed their terms. The 24-hour bandh call given by CPI-Maoist crippled normal life mostly in rural areas of Bermo (Bokaro District) and Giridih District of Jharkhand.

On April 14, there was an encounter between the PLGA guerillas and the police inside the Sunabeda sanctuary in Nuapada district. On April 21, CPI-Maoist had given a call for Nuapada bandh. Releasing a Press note, the spokesperson of the Nuapada Divisional Committee stated that the Maoists are observing Nuapada bandh in protest against the recent killing of a woman Maoist cadre by the Police in Sunabeda.

### **Bandh successfully observed in Gaya**

CPI(Maoist) called a Gaya district bandh on 26 May 2014 in protest against the ghastly killing of a IX class girl student in Dumaria. Her dead body with injury marks made with sharp weapons was recovered from a rivulet near Narainpur village.

Most of the culprits have so far been shielded by the police rather than being arrested for their crimes. Public anger against police inaction and complicity has led to the transfer of the Dumaria SHO and the new CM of Bihar too was forced to instruct the police of prompt action. But it was the support of the people to the demands made by the party that made the bandh a success in Dumaria, Imamganj, Banke Bazar, Raushanganj and other parts of Gaya.

Under the leadership of the party, the people of Gaya, Aurangabad and other districts of south Bihar have been protesting against cases of violence on women with the complicity of the state and politically dominant sections of the society.

Women of the region under the banner of of Nari Mukti Sangh and other revolutionary mass organisations have been at the forefront of this struggle, challenging the domination of the landlords, bad gentry and the state. But the state is keen on crushing this movement in the name of fighting Maoism, thereby defending the present economic and social system that is the root cause of violence on women.

### **People Agitate against Police Camp in their Village**

On January 7, 2014 the villagers of Phalbagadi of Sukma district held a protest demonstration in front of the District Collector's office against opening a new police camp in their village. They questioned how they could open a police camp in the village without the approval of the villagers. They questioned the police on the violation of PESA. They said that they would not allow the occupation of 30 acres of land belonging to the villagers which they got in inheritance. \*

## Traditional Festivals of Odisha Adivasis turn into Bugle Calls against Displacement

The Adivasi and other poorer classes of Odisha drew the attention of all the fighting people all over the world for their long-drawn, consistent and militant struggles against mining, displacement, mega MNC projects etc imposed forcefully upon them by the comprador Indian state for the interests of the landlords, Indian big bourgeoisie and the imperialist corporations. Their heroic sacrifices, unflinching fighting spirit, severe resistance to the eye-wash reforms brought forth to divert their struggles have won the admiration of the fighting people who took them as an inspiration. In the course of their struggles, the Adivasis and the people have adopted various creative methods of struggle and propaganda. Since a few years the Adivasis of Gandhamardhan and Niyamgiri have even turned their traditional festivals into weapons in their fight against the Indian state.

On January 1, 2014 led by Gandhamardhan Yuva Parishad and other Adivasi organizations, the people celebrated *Gandhamardhan Parv*, (*Parv* means festival) a traditional festival of Adivasis as an anti-displacement festival. During the 80s the people fought against the BALCO and could victoriously stop it from taking bauxite from the Gandhamardhan hills. Since then the people have been celebrating this festival as an anti-mining festival.

Since then this turned into an occasion to inspire the people fighting against mining and displacement. Two thousand people from surrounding villages attended the festival that was held at a place of worship near Nrisimhanath Pahad of Bolangir District. Several anti-displacement leaders of Niyamagiri, Suktel, Kalahandi and Jharsiguda too attended this apart from several people's leaders from other states. All of them spoke on the occasion

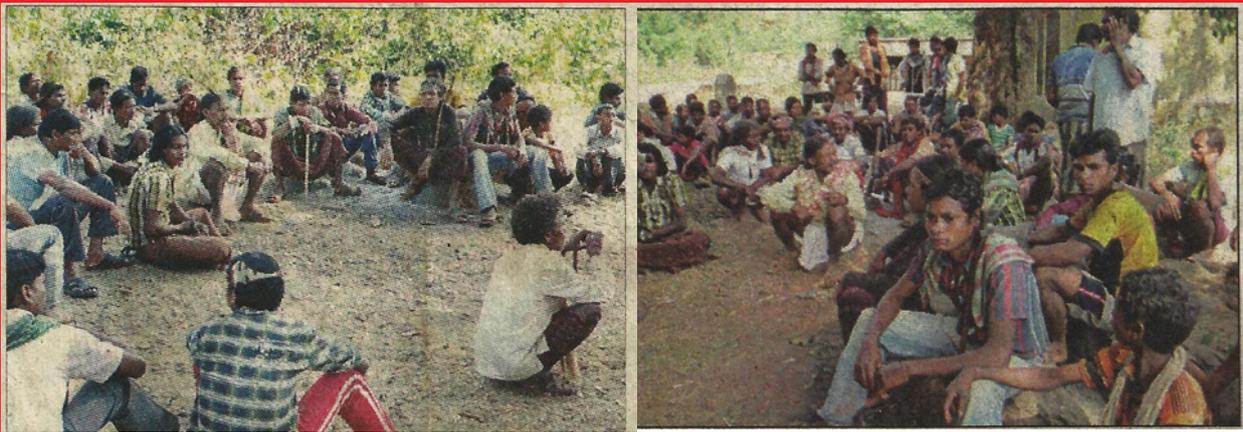


**Gandhamardhan Parv, Jan 2014**

reiterating the need for struggle. The speakers said that the fighting organizations and the people were being harassed by the Indian state in the name of their being 'Maoists' and condemned this. Celebrations included song and dance, feasting and all the traditional customs that go into it.

The *Niyamagiri Parv* was celebrated under the leadership of the Niyamgiri Suraksha Samiti (NSS) on February 25, 26 and 27, 2014. The Adivasis believe that the Niyamraja (King of the Niyamgiri Hill) protects them and perform offerings to him during this festival. Since five years this is being celebrated as an anti-displacement festive occasion. The people entirely rejected the Vedanta company's plea for bauxite mining in the 12 Gram Sabhas held last year to take their approval and so this year this festival was held as a victory celebration of that. In fact, the NSS leadership had then declared that they would be taking the opinions of 122 Gram Sabhas as against only 12 that the Supreme Court decided as all of these villages would be affected by the mining. People of Niyamagiri, anti-displacement organizations of Odisha and other states participated in it. The people vowed to intensify the fight for closure of the Vedanta Alumina Refinery. Several organizations promised their support to the struggle till the aim is achieved. All the speakers who spoke on the occasion condemned the continuous combings and arrests of the activists and other forms of repression perpetrated by the police and paramilitary forces. 15 batches of police (nearly 500 policemen) conducted combing operations in the area to intimidate the people and prevent their participation in this defiant festival.

The Dongaria, Kuvvi people held a *mela* (carnival) against bauxite mining in Niyamgiri on January 12, 2014 under the leadership of NSS. Three hundred people belonging to Parselli, Sunakandi, Munikol

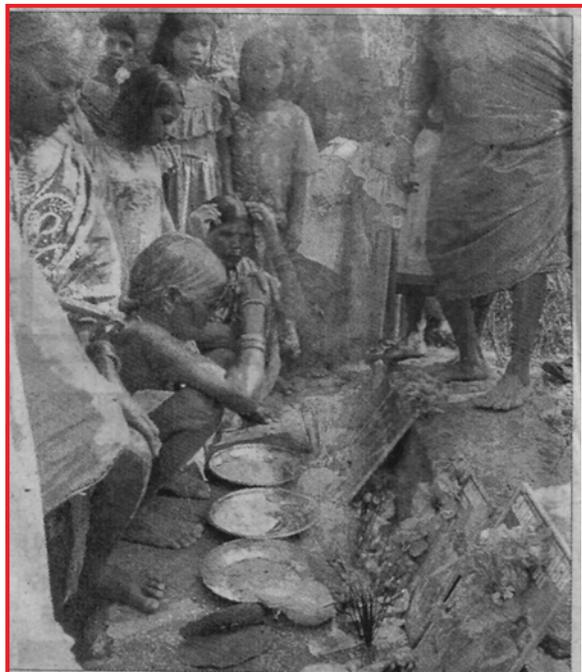


**Niyamgiri Mela, Jan-Feb 2014**

panchayats of Niyamagiri attended it. People's issues, police repression were discussed there. Lodda Sikaka led it. The participants led by Lodda Sikaka, leader of NSS discussed on government reforms and construction of roads and decided to oppose them. They declared that if the government really loves the people it should provide them education, health care facilities and help in developing their agriculture instead of building roads to bring in the troops to repress them. They said that development works contracts were being given to non-Adivasis and demanded that they be given to the Adivasis. The people explained in detail how the police were torturing them harassing the women during combing operations. They vowed to continue the struggle till the Alumina refinery is closed.

### **Barigaon People Vow to Carry Forward the Aims of Baasang Mali Martyrs**

On February 9<sup>th</sup> of 2014, people of Barigaon village of Kashipur block, Rayagada District held a memorial meeting of *Baasang Mali* martyrs as every year since 2010. In that year, on January 9<sup>th</sup> an encounter took place between the police and the PLGA guerillas in which nine comrades were martyred. Three women comrades from this village were martyred there. In their memory every year the Adivasis perform *pujas* as per their tradition. The people held this solemn program led by the *Basundhara Suraksha Samity*. This is being attended by the leaders of anti-displacement organizations too as all these comrades laid down their lives in the course of fighting against displacement of Niyamgiri Adivasis and their exploitation and oppression. Last year the government destroyed the memorial column built in this village by the people in memory of their beloved *Baasang Mali* martyrs.



**Basang Mali Martyrs Memorial Meet**

The villages were not deterred and continued their traditional paying of respects to their martyrs this year too. On this occasion, the villagers once again reiterated their resolve to fight against the construction of the Barigaon and Kuttinguda dams. These dams would submerge several Adivasi villages and displace them if allowed to be constructed. The people have consolidated under the BSS leadership and they are also fighting against the Aditya Birla group engaged in mining there. After *pujas* were performed in the Adivasi tradition and respects were paid, several leaders and the people spoke on the occasion. The speakers said that their beloved sons and daughters were killed because they fought against displacement and mining and vowed that they would strive to fulfill the aspirations of the martyrs by taking forward the struggle.

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## Counter-Revolutionary Measures of the Central and State Governments

The governments, the home ministry and police officials both at the centre and the states are not tiring of describing the CPI (Maoist) as ‘the biggest internal security threat’ and accordingly several measures are on round the clock to suppress the Maoist movement in our country. Even while claiming that the Maoist movement has waned in their respective areas, with the same mouth they are demanding additional funds, additional troops, more support from the central government etc for suppressing the movement. All these demands would no doubt increase the scale of the ‘War on People’ launched by the Indian state. At the same time it not only exposed the hollowness of their claims but should also be seen as part of a ploy of the corrupt politicians and civil and police officials to embezzle the funds being allotted for suppressing the movement.

The number of combing operations and special repressive campaigns taken up in the state with joint central, state police, special forces and paramilitary are too many to innumerate. We can say that not a single day passes without some kind of armed forces operations being carried out in some or the other part of the guerilla zones. As we all know, these operations are always accompanied by various kinds of atrocities and harassments of people, loot of their property and violations of their human and civil rights. All these repressive measures were complemented by Civic Action Programs by the various government forces in all the Maoist movement areas.

However, one should note that the people’s resistance – both armed and unarmed is increasing manifold against the state’s war on them. The increase in the scale of repression is to crush this increasing resistance.

We present here some of the counter-revolutionary measures taken up and statements issued as part of this by the various state governments and the central government as part of it in the first six months of this year.

It should be noted that LS polls were held and a new NDA government led by BJP was formed in end May after it won a landslide victory.

### Central Government

On February 13, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh’s Advisor T.K.A. Nair visited the some Maoist movement areas in Chhattisgarh and ‘praised’ the efforts taken by the State Government to deal with the Maoists. This can only mean that he was ‘praising’ the murder and mayhem perpetrated by the state on the Adivasis while ‘dealing with the Maoists’.

On February 19, the Central Government said in New Delhi claimed that ‘the Naxals in India have close links with Maoist organizations in the Philippines, Turkey and a few other countries and possibility of their front outfits getting foreign funds cannot be ruled out’. This is part of the OGH in cities (and can we say an attempt to send its tentacles even abroad?) to stifle all voices of support for the genuine people’s struggles waged for Jal, Jungle and Zameen in our country. The people of our country have only seen several ‘foreign kickbacks’ that the politicians of various hues take for implementing a domestic and foreign corporate agenda till now and are yet to find a single instance where the CPI (Maoist) had taken ‘foreign funds’.

On February 25, the UMHA has recommended to the EC that polls in 33 Districts with Naxal-strongholds, be conducted in the first phase itself ‘to facilitate maximum possible deployment of SFs’. This eventually happened and even broke the world record for the maximum possible deployment of armed forces just only in Bastar and Rajnandgaon constituencies during ‘democratic’ elections for the 16<sup>th</sup> parliament – a total of one and half lakhs troops.

On February 26, The Union Home Minister Sushilkumar Shinde said in Kozhikode District of Kerala that incidents of CPI (Maoist) perpetrated violence have come down in the country in the past one to two years. Then why did his ministry demand ‘maximum possible deployment of SFs’ in Maoist movement areas just one day back?

On March 20, Senior Security Advisor to the MHA K Vijaykumar said in Tamilnadu that ‘Left-Wing Extremism infested areas in the country are very much under the control of the despite the fact that the CPI

(Maoist) cadres killed several CRPF men in the recent past’.

On March 27, The Union Home Ministry has alerted the Kerala State Police about the possibility of the CPI (Maoist) trying to create trouble during the Lok Sabha polls on April 10.

On April 7, responding to ‘a truce offer by the CPI (Maoist)’, the Central Government asked the outfit to first withdraw its call for boycott of the ongoing Lok Sabha elections and shun violence to create conditions for peace talks. Did they really read what comrade Abhay said in his interview? There was never a ‘truce offer’ by the CPI (Maoist). Our comrade just stated the party’s stand regarding ‘truce offers’ which began flying around from various quarters of the Indian state as LS polls approached.

On May 28, The Union Tribal Affairs Minister Jual Oram has stated Naxalism can be resolved only by ‘winning hearts and minds of tribals, who form the leadership and the infantry of the outlawed groups’. The similarity with their US imperialist masters doesn’t end with the choice of words but also extends to similar methods of suppression of the ‘tribals’. As long as it takes place, the similarity would extend to the crops that the US is reaping in Iraq and Afghanistan at present.

On June 6, soon after assuming power, the Union Minister of Home Affairs Rajnath Singh, along with Minister of State for Home, Kiren Rijiju were briefed about various aspects of ‘left wing extremism and the steps being taken to control it’ during a review meeting. Singh also emphasized on ‘completing the existing development projects in Naxalite-hit areas’, including construction of 5,000km roads at a cost of INR 100 billion and setting up of 2,199 mobile phone towers at a cost of INR 30 billion.

### **Bihar-Jharkhand**

On January 6, Jharkhand Chief Minister Hemant Soren said ‘*Naxalism* in the State would end within five years’.

On February 3, Jharkhand DGP, Rajiv Kumar, described the Maoists as the ‘biggest internal security threat to the country’ and warned the Maoists that the ‘SFs would leave no stone unturned to tackle them’. On February 8, the CRPF battalion stationed in Gumla District of Jharkhand organized a ‘civic action plan’ programme at Silam village of Raidih block.

April 25, Jharkhand Chief Minister Hemant Soren said the CPI-Maoist cadres were ‘taking advantage’ of the inter-State border with West Bengal and ‘slipping’ into the neighbouring State after carrying out attacks.

On May 6, an anti-CPI-Maoist operation was conducted in Saranda forests in West Singhbhum District of Jharkhand with the pretext that ‘a Maoist group had sneaked into the sal reserve’.

### **Maharashtra**

On January 22, in a decision set to cause a flutter among Maharashtra Government officials, especially those working in the state’s western parts, the Nagpur bench of Bombay High Court ruled that employees who never worked in tribal or Naxal affected areas should be posted there at least once during the course of their service.

On February 24, Governor K Sankaranarayanan tried to pat the back of the Maharashtra Police by stating that they had succeeded in reducing the ‘effects of Naxalism’ in Gadchiroli, Gondia and Chandrapur Districts of the State. Once again the question is whether the ‘effects of exploitation and oppression’ have reduced for ‘effects of Naxalism’ to have reduced. Even while making all preparations on war-footing for aerial attacks on Maoist areas in Chhattisgarh, Raman Singh has said in Raipur on June 11 that ‘there is no possibility of aerial attacks on the CPI (Maoist) cadres in the State’. “No, Not, at all. I categorically deny this,” said the Chief Minister when asked about the possibility of aerial attacks on Maoists.

### **Madhya Pradesh**

February 9, Referring to the Maoist movement areas in the Districts in the State, Madhya Pradesh Home Minister Babulal Gaur said that a total of 10 Districts were “hit” by “red-sponsored terrorism” which has “hampered development in these areas”. Could the HM please care to explain what ‘hampered the development’ in the rest of the state where ‘red-sponsored terrorism’ is supposedly absent? His claim that 10 Districts were affected is anyway a lie often repeated by the MP government to get the huge unaccounted funds from the centre in the name of ‘tackling Maoists,’ the fact is that in MP, particularly the Adivasis remain the most exploited section of the society and are unscrupulously denied all the requirements needed to lead a life of dignity.

## **Chhattisgarh**

On January 27, as part of psychological warfare and pressure tactics against those who are standing in their support of the people fighting against mining and displacement by labeling them as 'Maoist supporters', the Chhattisgarh Police paraded Badri Gawde, who 'claimed to have facilitated meetings between Delhi University Professor Nandini Sundar and other Maoists', before the media in Raipur, Chhattisgarh.

On January 28, Chhattisgarh Chief Minister Raman Singh while attending the inaugural function of 'Dronachary Bhavan' at Jungle Warfare College in Raipur, Chhattisgarh said 'the State would eventually win the war of jungle' and added that 'Maoist violence and terror' in Bastar region would soon come to an end 'as it ended in Surguja District of the State'. Keeping his daydreaming aside, the question that would come to anyone's mind is if exploitation, oppression, discrimination against the Adivasis had 'ended in Surguja' for the Maoist movement to have 'ended' there. On February 22, during a joint operation in Bijapur District, Chhattisgarh State Police and CRPF destroyed Martyrs Memorials built by the people in memory of their beloved martyrs who had laid down their invaluable lives for the New Democratic Revolution.

The budget of the Chhattisgarh government's home department has been enhanced in the name of modernising the state police. The budget of Chhattisgarh police has been increased seven times in the last eleven years. In the first financial year of Raman Singh's government in 2004-05 this budget was a mere 316 crore rupees which has reached 2007 crores in 2013-14. In 2014-15, it is going to increase further to 2243 crores. In the same period of ten years, more than 42,000 new personnel were recruited to the police force. Now the number of personnel in the force is over 68,400.

As soon as Modi Sarkar was formed at the centre, Raman Singh rushed to Delhi to seek central assistance in crushing the Maoists and got an additional ten paramilitary battalions sanctioned for the state. The CG government and the centre are at present engaged in hatching conspiracies for wiping out the Maoists in the state.

## **Odisha**

On January 5 Malkangiri District of Odisha Malkangiri District Police of Odisha sought additional central forces with the pretext that there was a 'spurt in Maoist activities' in the District.

On January 6, Odisha Government at a meeting of the Unified Command, presided over by Chief Secretary J K Mohapatra, has decided to improve road connectivity in southern districts of the State 'to take on the Maoists' on the pretext that they were 'targeting civilians in certain pockets of these areas'.

On January 7, to boost the sagging morale of the State Police personnel serving in Maoist areas, Odisha Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik assured the State Government would give the Police personnel due recognition in shape of career advancement and other benefits. Such announcements are part of their quelling, rather their attempt to quell the raising resentment in the mercenary forces against sending them as guinea pigs.

On January 10, identifying the CPI (Maoist) activities in Odisha as the single 'major challenge' for State Police, DGP Prakash Mishra asked the senior officers 'to act tough against the offenders'.

On January 11, Naveen Patnaik issued fresh orders to the Police to intensify anti-Maoist operations in eight Districts of the State.

On March 15, The Odisha Police demanded an additional 50 companies of Central Forces for the upcoming General and State Assembly elections in Odisha saying that anti-Naxal forces will not to be used for the polls.

On April 5, three more companies of CRPF were deployed in Gudguda forests under Meghupal panchayat in Sambalpur District of Odisha following two recent encounters with the PLGA guerrillas.

Security operations against the CPI (Maoist) were carried out for four days starting on May 1, with the support of Nayagarh District Police, especially in Harbhanga Police Station area in Odisha.

## **Telangana**

On April 3, the CRPF conducted a major anti-CPI (Maoist) operation along the Andhra-Chhattisgarh border in Khammam District of Andhra Pradesh.

On June 7, on the pretext of getting 'specific information about the suspected movement of CPI (Maoist)' in the neighbouring Chhattisgarh State along the borders of Karimnagar District, the Police launched surprise combing operations in the forest areas of the mandals that fall under Manthani Tehsil.

## **Kerala**

On January 5 in Kerala's Kannur Range, IG, Suresh Raj Purohit, who recently took over 'Thunderbolt', the anti-CPI (Maoist) operations in the State, by the 'special commando force' of the Kerala Police, upped the ante by saying 'it was beyond any doubt that there was a meticulously woven Maoist network in the jungle zones of the State'. This should be read as the warning sign to a series of arrests of several innocent people on the pretext of their being part of the 'Maoist network'. Accordingly, on January 27, Kerala Home Minister Ramesh Chennithala said in Thiruvananthapuram that the State Government 'will deal with the CPI (Maoist) threat strongly'.

Not surprisingly, on February 9, of a pair of uniform 'allegedly being worn by CPI (Maoist) cadres' were recovered in Wayanad District, Kerala. On June 9, Kerala Home Minister Ramesh Chennithala once again told the Assembly that 'there were reports of CPI (Maoist) "presence" in six Districts of the State'. Replying to questions in the House, he said the Government was in receipt of intelligence reports of Maoist "presence" in Palakkad, Malappuram, Kozhikode, Wayanad, Kannur, and Kasaragod Districts.

## **Karnataka**

On January 31, the Hassan Police of Karnataka conducted combing operations in villages of Sakleshpur taluk with platoons of the ANF. On February 12, Karnataka Home Minister K.J. George said that the Government was giving priority to recruiting Police personnel in the State. On talks with the CPI (Maoist), he said the Government was ready to talk to the Maoists if they wished to join the mainstream.

## **Tamil Nadu**

January 31, Naxal Special Duty wing of the Dharmapuri District Police in Tamil Nadu conducted raids on farmers in Dharmapuri District. On April 25, combing operations were intensified in Tamil Nadu forests.

## **Security Forces Gearing up for Biggest Operation against Maoists**

**'Mail Today', Bhubaneswar, February 4, 2014**

Security forces are gearing up for an all-out assault on the Maoist hideouts in Malkangiri's "cut-off" area, a formidable rebel bastion bordering Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh.

Highly-placed sources said that a strategy to launch a "final" attack on the Red fortress had been given the final shape following a visit to the area - comprising six gram panchayats located across the Balimela reservoir of Malkangiri district, by chief secretary Jugal Kishore Mohapatra and director general of police Prakash Mishra towards the end of last month.

It was the first visit of such high-ranking officials to this virtually inaccessible area that can be reached only by boats from the district's mainland. The area has been in constant focus because of scaled up Maoist violence, with the rebels striking big in February 2011 when they kidnapped the then Malkangiri collector R. Vineel Krishna.

Three years earlier, that they had gunned down 38 jawans of Andhra Pradesh's elite Greyground force while they were trying to cross the Balimela reservoir in the same area. Sources said, during his visit to the area on January 24, the DGP undertook a reconnaissance trip to the forest and hill-dotted terrain along with senior officials of the district.

The team included superintendent of police Akhileshwar Singh who in last September scored a major victory when a police party led by him shot dead 13 ultras close to the cut-off area.

The chief secretary, too, took the risk of visiting the area because he wanted to inspire confidence among the local residents before launch of the operation against the Maoists. While sources in Bhubaneswar said the operation will begin "soon" and shall be one of the biggest ever against the Maoists in the state, Malkangiri SP Singh refused to comment. He, however, asserted that the morale of the security forces was at an all-time high. The operation, which would include state police, the BSF and the district voluntary force (DVF) jawans, is likely to be assisted by police forces from the bordering areas of Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh.

## **DRDO's UAVs to Track Down Naxals**

**Gaurav Vivek Bhatnagar, New Delhi, February 7, 2014**

The Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) is developing Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) for the Central Reserve Police Force for use in the Naxal-hit areas of Chattisgarh and Jharkhand and

would demonstrate the operational capability of the first such vehicle, Nishant, in a couple of months in Jagdalpur.

Giving details of the UAV project during a media interaction at Defexpo 2014 here, DRDO chief Avinash Chander said the vehicles being developed for CRPF would be able to help the forces trace and track down the ultra Left operatives in even thick forests.

To begin with, he said, CRPF had expressed the desire to procure 16 such UAVs for its operations. The force was earlier using the UAVs of National Technical Research Organisation and Indian Air Force, which were, however, not as effective in operations in thick forests. Mr. Chander said the scientists of DRDO have worked closely with CRPF in developing the UAVs. "The two have worked closely on the configuration required for operation in such difficult areas." He said for UAVs meant to work in thick Indian forests, the organization was working on "lower frequency radars".

The DRDO chief said the Army is also procuring Nishant for operations but its requirement was much different.

## **Moment of Truth for India**

**The Hindu, February 8, 2014**

India is exceptional among democracies in having no legal framework for its intelligence services, nor a system of oversight and accountability for covert operations.

For the first time in the history of independent India, a high official of its intelligence services stands indicted for cold-blooded killing in the service of the Republic. Thursday's Central Bureau of Investigation charge sheet against former Intelligence Bureau Special Director Rajinder Kumar and his subordinates for the alleged extra-judicial execution of Maharashtra residents Ishrat Jahan Raza and Javed Sheikh, as well as two alleged Pakistani Lashkar-e-Toiba operatives, marks an unprecedented challenge for India's national security system. The CBI's charge sheet has blown the lid off the comforting fiction that extra-judicial killings are aberrations, crimes carried out by brutish policemen and villainous provincial politicians. In this case, the Gujarat Police might have played executioner, but the charges against Mr. Kumar give reason to believe that the death warrants were signed, so to speak, in North Block. Loud and acrimonious political debate has broken out on whether the four victims were linked to terrorism or not, which really is an irrelevant issue. Instead, political leaders must introspect on the role of governments in encouraging murder as a tool of national security, and demonstrate the legislative will needed to set wrongs right.

India is exceptional among democracies in having no legal framework for its intelligence services, nor a system of oversight and accountability for covert operations. Every time they run trans-border operations or plant moles in terrorist groups, they break the law. Ajit Doval, a former IB Director and the only Indian police officer ever to be awarded the Kirti Chakra, has candidly said the operation that led the President to give him the coveted military honour involved the killing of a Pakistani spy, the illegal detention of terrorism suspects and smuggling across international borders. For individual officers, the absence of a regulatory law for covert operations creates perverse incentives for wrongdoing: who, after all, would want victims of their criminal acts to tell the story in court? In its absence, kidnapping has been substituted for legal detention, torture for criminal investigation, and the bullet delivered to the back of the skull, for trial. Leaders of all parties, though, have been loath to change the system. For years now, figures like Union Minister Manish Tewari, and former intelligence chiefs, have campaigned for the legal regulation of the intelligence services, arguing that the *status quo* will end up undermining national security. To continue to ignore these voices will ensure the destruction of the intelligence services, and threaten the security of the republic they are charged with defending.

## **Intelligence Department to Recruit Youths to Keep Watch on Maoists**

**Times of India (2014), Kolkata/ West Midnapore**

In an effort to keep a close watch on Maoist movement in West Midnapore, the IB has decided to recruit young persons from the bordering villages. They will be recruited in different central government departments and projects but their main work will be to keep a watch on the Maoist movement. This is a pilot project where initially 40 youths will be recruited. If the project becomes successful then it will be replicated in other districts also.

According to sources in the intelligence department, Maoist activities have increased not only in the districts like Purulia, Bankura and West Mindapore but also in the districts like Nadia, Birbhum and Murshidabad. “Considering the increase of Maoists activities in the state, the intelligence department has decided to increase the information network and for that new people will be recruited mainly from the bordering villages of Gopillabvpur, Nayagram Jhargram and Binpur,” an officer in the intelligence department said. Sources in the district administrative department confirmed that they have received a letter from the intelligence department where they have been asked to train some youths so that they can work as a part of the concerned department. The intelligence department has mainly asked the civil defence, public health engineering, water resources department and public works department to train the youths.

“We have been asked by a central government agency to train some youths and engage them in different kinds of works,” an official in the public health engineering department said. “This is a pilot project where nearly 40 odd youths will be recruited from 18 bordering villages like Amjhuri, Adharkali, Atnasol, Sagarmoni, Adharia, Baghaberia, Bajuri under Gopiballvpur block, Amjam, Andharisol, Arra, Babuidanga, Malam under Nayagram block and Aguboni, Asnaboni, Asnapara Chotodigiha under Jhargram block. Apart from that, some recruitment will also be done from Binpur, Lagrah and Kantaphari. If the project becomes successful then the model will be replicated in other districts,” the officer of the intelligence department said.

According to senior police officers, the activities of the Maoists have increased in recent past and they are active in the bordering areas. “Two teams, one led by Madan and the other led by Shyamal are active in Belpahari area and one team led by Jayanta has been traced in Chakulia area in Jharkhand. Not only that, teams from Jharkhand and Odisha often cross the border and enter into Bengal. They don’t stay here but hold meeting and go back,” a senior district police officer said. When asked about it, IG (western range), Siddhinath Gupta said, “Maoists activities have increased in these areas and we are spreading our information network in different ways so that we have a first hand knowledge about their movement and for that we are making different plans which we cannot divulge.”

### Psy-war of the Odisha Government

This is a poster of the Odisha government announcing rewards on the ‘Heads’ of Maoist leaders working in the state after a Unified Command meeting it conducted in mid-2012. One of the leaders (the second one in the picture) is Savyasachi Panda, who had since been expelled by the CPI(Maoist) in July 2012. As the state is already aware of his liquidationist activities through the CCM’s statement in Odisha portrayed him with a ‘decent work’ here. The portrayal of all other leaders with ‘cruel’ expressions (in their view) shows the contempt in which the neo-fascist Naveen Patnaik’s police officials hold the genuine people’s leaders.

KAIN BANEGA CROREPATIR

1. Balakrishna (CCM)	- 50 Lakhs
2. Savyasachi Panda	- 20 Lakhs
3. Krishna (DCM)	- 10 Lakhs
4. Nikhil (DCM)	- 10 Lakhs
5. Ankita (DCM)	- 3 Lakhs
6. Nikita (DCM)	- 3 Lakhs
7. Sunil (DCM)	- 3 Lakhs
8. Banti (DCM)	- 3 Lakhs

The people of Odisha knew who their real leaders are and they are protecting them as the pupils of their eyes. They are not going to be deceived by such tasteless, base psy-war tactics of the rulers implemented as part of the LIC Strategy dictated by their US imperialist masters.

### Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) NAXALBARI Central Organising Committee

February 20, 2014

#### In Memory of Comrade S. A. Rawoof

Comrade Sheik Abdul Rawoof (Viswam), who was Secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) NAXALBARI till he retired in 2006, passed away on the 9<sup>th</sup> of February, at the age of 89. He was suffering from age related diseases. Before laying his body to rest on the 11<sup>th</sup> evening at his home village of Kuttagulla (Kadiri Taluq, Anantapur District, Andhra Pradesh) it was kept for public viewing for two days. Thousands of people came from far flung areas to see their dear comrade one last time.

Comrade Rawoof, popularly known as ‘SAR’, leaves behind inspiring memories of a life wholly dedicated to the cause of the people, to revolution. While a student he was attracted to the Communist Party of India. Those were the tumultuous years of the anti-colonial struggle and, most importantly, the great Telengana peasant armed struggle led by the communist party. Soon enough comrade Rawoof became a party member and remained a communist throughout. He was dissatisfied by the CPI’s deviation to the electoral path. But, under discipline, he had to contest local elections and unwillingly became the first communist municipal chairman of Kadiri. True to his revolutionary character that post was transformed by him into one of a fighter. He refused to be cut off from the masses by the pomposity of office and, even more, firmly resisted all attempts to make him a tool of anti-people acts sought to be enforced through the local body.



When the rebellion within the CPI (Marxist) he immediately joined it. Nothing more than a disguised version of that old revisionism. Then the great peals of Naxalbari thundered in the Indian sky. Rawoof immediately rallied with the new revolutionary polarisation. Yet, confusion was being created by the centrist stand of Nagi Reddy who was then the most prominent leader seen as a supporter of the Naxalbari armed rebellion in Andhra Pradesh. This was quite a problem in the Rayalseema region, from where Nagi Reddy came, and, which was then Rawoof’s center of activity. Yet the comrade’s steadfast revolutionary convictions soon lead him to unite with those struggling against Nagi Reddy’s rightism. He linked up with the comrades in Srikakulam who were already carrying out armed struggle guided by comrade Charu Majumdar and became a member of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). Following the directive of the party he left his occupation as a lawyer and became a professional revolutionary. He remained that till the very last years of his life; until he was forced to live under continuous medical supervision.

Rawoof was elected a member of the Andhra Pradesh State Committee of the CPI (M-L) in its State Conference in 1970. Though elected as a member of the delegation from AP to the 1970 Party Congress he couldn’t participate due to some technical glitches. He remained a member of AP State Committee till his arrest in 1973. While in jail two significant developments led to a new chapter in Rawoof’s political life. The AP State Committee led by Kondapalli Seetharamiyya (KS) openly called for a ‘suspension’ of armed struggle arguing that this was necessary for a reorganisation and re-launching of the armed struggle by utilising the new opportunities given by the post-Emergency situation. This was not consulted with Rawoof, though that was quite possible in the relaxed atmosphere existing after withdrawal of Emergency. As accounted by Rawoof in his summation, even while being in jail he made all efforts to contact KS and raise his objections to this proposal. They were not accepted. This was also a period when the international Marxist-Leninist movement was also grappling with the capitalist coup in China by the Teng-Hua clique and the Albanian

Party's efforts to utilise the emerging opposition to this as a means of attacking and rejecting Maoism (then termed as Mao Tsetung Thought). Except a few parties and organisations, most in the M-L camp either capitulated to one or the other of these anti-Marxist camps. The AP State Committee supported the Communist Party of China usurped by the Teng-Hua clique and upheld the Three Worlds Theory falsely attributed by them to Mao Tsetung. In view of these factors, Rawoof decided to rebel, break out and lead the formation of a new organisation, known as the AP Reorganisation Committee, CPI (M-L). The correctness of this step remains a matter of debate within the Maoist movement in India. Yet his determination to persist on the path of armed struggle and ideological sharpness in immediately grasping the full import of international developments can never be belittled. It was inspired by a great tradition set by Charu Majumdar. Its basic correctness is confirmed by history, even if certain aspects underlying that decision to rebel and the practical course he subsequently followed may be controversial.

The formation of the APROC under Rawoof's leadership soon enough led to establishing ties with the Kerala State Committee which was holding similar positions. This led to the formation of the Reorganisation Committee, CPI (M-L) in 1979 (later renamed as Central Reorganisation Committee, CPI (M-L) in its 1<sup>st</sup> All-India Conference held in 1981). This party played an instrumental role in the struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought (as Maoism was then termed) at the 1st International conference of 1980 and later in the 1984 conference that led to the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. In all of this Rawoof played an important role as a member of that party's leading body. He was a staunch internationalist.

During this period Rawoof gave leadership to the development of armed struggle in AP, facing up to savage state repression which took the lives of many comrades. Rawoof himself was arrested in 1983 and jailed for 3 years and later for 4. (He was imprisoned for a total of 12 years during his plus five decades long revolutionary life.) Meanwhile he took up the struggle against the rightist positions being advanced by the CRC leadership. In 1985, while still in jail, he led a split against it when it formally launched itself on a disastrous course of liquidation. Later in 1989 he joined the CPI (M-L) Red Flag since it was accepting the 1970 program of the CPI (M-L). When it started deviating from these positions he struggled against this, finally leading to comrades of two States, AP and Karnataka, breaking off and forming the CPI (M-L) Naxalbari. They and the Maoist Unity Center, CPI (M-L) then merged in 1999, as CPI (M-L) Naxalbari. Rawoof was its Secretary till 2006.

Rawoof was a staunch follower of Charu Majumdar. His firm adherence to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and loyalty to Charu Majumdar's positions were his ideological mainstays, tempered with an intense hatred towards the oppressors. While firm in his ideological orientation, he was also critically aware of the shortcomings in his grasp and application. He frankly admitted in his summation report, "We failed to correctly implement the line of area wise seizure of political power... annihilations, which were not linked to the seizure of political power turned out to be only militant economism and the whole activity was roving guerrilla activity...". He accepted his own role in the setbacks and admitted that he "was given to spontaneity to extend the movement without preparing the cadres ideologically and organisationally and on questions of military line." For various reasons, some beyond his control, this awareness could not be translated into a timely and deep going rectification.

If Rawoof had a track record of rebelling against what he saw as wrong line and leadership, this was never given to a narrow group mentality. That much is well proven by his efforts for unity, for building a unified all-India party. It was also proven by his keenness to value and learn from the revolutionary experiences of other Maoist parties, even when disagreeing with them. In a letter written to the CPI (M-L) Red Flag leadership he wrote, "CRC never discussed about the revolutionary movement led by different ML organisations, particularly PW, MCC and Party Unity, which are in armed struggle. It is very unfortunate that CRC is taking a very negative attitude towards PW... Is it not necessary that we should learn from both the positive and negatives aspects of the revolutionary movement led by that party, which has become the main target of state repression?" This broad heartedness, this steadfast Maoist attitude of learning even from those with whom one disagrees, will always shine as an example for generations of communists.

His communist qualities, capacity to integrate with the people, simple living, willingness for hardship and absolute faith in the party and the people have forever endeared him. Rawoof was amazing in his capacity to effortlessly bridge the age-gap and win over the young to the cause of revolution. For all the signs of aging

so visible on him, his was not the 'wrinkled gaze of the elderly'. There was never a distance, the aloofness of 'seniority', with them. If he was affectionately called 'Thatha' (grandfather) by young comrades, this was one who was quite the opposite in his relations with them.

Comrade S.A. Rawoof is no more with us, now physically. Already for the past few years, debilitated by growing dementia, he was in disconnect - unable to recognise his close associates, unable to meaningfully communicate with them. In the initial stages, the intense struggle he was waging to resist the advance of that condition could be seen in flashes of political terms in his broken conversations. But that too would soon end. It was cruel to stand witness to this communist fighter's plight, his gaze now made vacant by disease. It was painful to recollect that sharp look and decisive voice, so stark in contrast to the dullness now seen. It was difficult to relate this indifferent person to that bundle of energy, that empathy and concern for the people and his comrades.

**We honour this great communist revolutionary by dipping the Red Flag !**

**We honour him by dedicating ourselves even more to the realisation of the revolutionary aims he lived for, for his long cherished desire to achieve the unity of Maoists in India into a single party !**

**Central Organising Committee  
Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) NAXALBARI**

# **COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)**

## **CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

**March 1, 2014**

### **Condolence Message of CC, CPI (Maoist) on the Demise of Comrade S.A. Rawoof, A leader of Indian Revolution**

Comrade S.A. Rawoof, a leader of Indian revolution passed away on the night of February 9, 2014 due to severe ill-health. He was in his eighties. Kadiri town of Anantapur district in Andhra Pradesh is his native place. He studied law. He joined the Indian communist movement in the 1950s. Comrade Rawoof was one among those who fought ideologically against the revisionism of CPI and neo-revisionism of CPI (M). The CC, CPI (Maoist) humbly pays homage to Comrade S.A. Rawoof with bowed heads.

The armed peasant revolution that began in Naxalbari in 1967 is a great turn in the history of the Indian revolution. It was Naxalbari that was the beginning for the armed peasant revolution that is ongoing as a continuation of the revolutionary legacy of the heroic Telangana armed struggle that was waged from 1948 to 1951, the Punapra, Vayalar and Tebhaga movements and that began consciously with a concrete aim under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought (Maoism at present). The Naxalbari struggle burst forth as a result of the sharp ideological struggle waged inside the party after rebelling against the revisionist leadership. It was the struggle that brought the Telangana armed struggle of the past once again into the agenda in India. Before Naxalbari it was never theoretically accepted in the Communist Party of India the central and crucial task of the revolution is to win a countrywide victory through the path of protracted people's war (PPW) that builds base areas in the vast rural areas where the enemy is weak, that expands gradually from isolated areas to wider areas and finally surrounds the cities and captures power. This was the first blow of the axe for the entrenched revisionism in our country. It was with this that the foundations of revisionism were shaken. The Naxalbari peasant revolution inspired the oppressed masses of all over our country and to an equal degree it worried the exploitative classes. Gradually the understanding that the Naxalbari path is the only way for the liberation of the peasantry developed among the oppressed peasantry. Along with the workers-peasants that are suffering from increasing unemployment and economic crisis, the middle classes were inspired as never before in the Indian revolutionary history. Within a short span the spark that was lighted in Naxalbari spread to several areas in India. The armed peasant struggles in Srikakulam, Mushahari, Birbhumi, Gopivallabhpur, Lakhimpur and Kheri terrified the exploiting classes all over the country.

Comrade Rawoof is one of those communist revolutionaries who led the revolutionary movement in Andhra Pradesh state by rebelling against the revisionist leadership strongly supporting the Naxalbari upsurge and declaring that Naxalbari is the only path. Comrade Rawoof who till then he worked as a lawyer and worked in open activities, left his profession and went underground. He firstly joined the AICCR that was formed in 1968 under the leadership of comrade Charu Mazumdar and was a State Coordinating Committee member of the Andhra Pradesh state unit. He participated in the meeting held in Guthikonda Bilam under the leadership of comrade Charu Mazumdar with the leadership representatives of Andhra Pradesh and was elected as a member of the Andhra Pradesh State Organizing Committee. Later he was present in the CPI (ML) that was formed on April 22, 1969. He was one of those prominent comrades who waged an ideological, political struggle against the right opportunist revisionist theories of Nagireddy, Devulapalli and Pullareddy. He attended the state conference of the CPI (ML) in Andhra Pradesh that was held in May 1970 and was elected as a State Committee member. When the party split in 1972, he stood on the side of the Central Organizing Committee and the CPI (ML) and was a member of the Andhra Pradesh Provincial Committee (State Committee). In 1973, he was arrested in Bengal. In 1977, Comrade Rawoof left the party opposing the August Resolution formulated as tactics by the Andhra Pradesh Provincial Committee (APPC) according to the changing conditions. Though the APPC and particularly the Rayalaseema comrades appealed

to him to carry on two-line struggle inside the party by putting his opinions regarding tactics for discussion, comrade Rawoof rejected and left the party. He formed another revolutionary party in Andhra Pradesh state. With this a split occurred in the party.

In 1979, comrade Rawoof along with CPI (ML) Kerala State Committee became a part of the launching of Central Reorganizing Committee (CRC), CPI (ML). In that he was a member of the CRC Committee. The CRC was one of the three founding members of the Internationalist Communist Movement (RIM). The other two founding members were the Peru Communist Party and the Revolutionary Communist Party (USA). Though the CRC made several attempts to build armed struggle in Andhra Pradesh in the 1980s it could not get appropriate results as it could not develop its mass base. As the party failed in going into the people the party could not expand and the movement was damaged. Comrade Rawoof opposed the right opportunist revisionist theory of Venu, the General Secretary of CRC, CPI (ML), cut his relations with it and took the revolutionary path.

In 1987, comrade Rawoof became a part of rebuilding that party as CPI (ML) Red Flag and continued as its CC member till 1998. He fought against the right opportunist revisionist path brought by Ramachandran who was its General Secretary and united the revolutionaries in that party around the correct revolutionary path. Later MUC joined with CPI (ML) Maharashtra and Kerala units and emerged as CPI (ML) Naxalbari in 1999. Comrade Rawoof worked as the General Secretary of this unified party till 2008. Comrade Rawoof put efforts to establish that as a revolutionary party. This party was a founder member of CCOMPOSA (Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organizations of South Asia). This party played a good role in carrying on revolutionary propaganda. Internationally, it played a major role in RIM and CCOMPOSA in exposing the revisionist paths brought to the fore by Bob Avakian, the leader of RCP (USA) and by Prachanda and Bhattarai in UCPN (Maoist) in Nepal. Since 2008, comrade Rawoof suffered from severe ill-health.

Comrade Rawoof worked with the aspiration and confidence that at some point of time the revolutionaries should unite around a correct Maoist path in India. He did not care the several ups and downs in the movement and the state repression and with unflinching commitment towards the revolution, steely determination and resolve he stood as a great revolutionary leader till the end. He worked tirelessly to realize the PPW for the victory of the New Democratic Revolution in India. He was martyred while working for the realization of unity of genuine revolutionaries in India by uniting the party he built around Maoist revolutionary path. He strongly believed in the slogan - "Naxalbari Ek Hi Raasta."

The CC, CPI (Maoist) upholds the martyrdom of comrade Rawoof and is expressing its deep condolences at his demise. It shares the grief of his family members. It is vowing one more time on this occasion that we would fight till the end to fulfill the aim of New Democratic Society-Socialism-Communism he dreamt of.

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

# **COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)**

## **CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

**March 24, 2014**

**Boycott the Sham Parliament and Assembly Elections!**

**Make the New Democratic Revolution Successful!**

**The Building of an Indian People's Democratic Federal Republic  
based on Genuine Democracy and Self-reliance  
is the Only Alternative!**

The elections for the 16<sup>th</sup> Loksabha and for the assemblies of Telangana, Seemandhra, Odisha, Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh are to be held from April 7 to May 12, 2014. The exploiting ruling classes of our country are readying to impose another huge financial burden on the people by spending thousands of crores of rupees on this. On this occasion the major parliamentary parties Congress and BJP are vying extremely with each other for power and are trying to deceive the people one more time by claiming that only they would develop our country. Defections from top to bottom from the opportunistic alliances of the UPA led by Congress and the NDA led by the BJP to other parties and vice versa had begun long before and they are assuming rapidity as the elections approached.

Recently the Third Front came to the fore with much fanfare with eleven parties. As everybody expected, it is still immersed in fist fights regarding sharing of seats. The agreement between the Left Front and the AIADMK in the Third Front became invalid even before the ink had dried due to differences in sharing seats. The left parties including CPI (M) had not yet recovered from the insulting defeat they had suffered in the West Bengal elections. Parties like the SP, BSP, DMK, AIADMK, Biju Janata Dal, Janata Dal (U), Trinamool, AGP, TDP, TRS, YSRCP etc are fearing defeat to join either the UPA or the NDA and so have either joined the Third Front or going it alone with so-called slogans of social justice, emancipation of Dalits and Bahujans and regional development etc. Both the Third Front parties and those parties contesting on their own are following a 'wait and see' policy to join whichever alliance comes to power after the election results. As Lok Jansakti Dal joined the NDA as it felt defeat was certain if it remains in UPA, the RJD is continuing in the UPA to somehow keep its lantern burning. The politicians belonging to various parties who came to the fore overnight with new flags and new agendas after leaving their parties fearing defeat due to people's wrath or because they did not get a seat in their parties are flinging as much mud as possible over each other in this fight for seats. As they had come to power leaving all morals and rules aside with the sole aim of power through money – money through power and again power through money and had exploited, oppressed and tortured the people without respite and lost the confidence of the people, they are resorting to such blatant opportunist methods having lost any hope of winning in these elections.

The Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) entered the electoral arena with the aim of benefiting from submerging the people in illusions one more time. It is trying to catch the attention of the people with revolutionary rhetoric sheltered in ideological eclecticism consisting of Gandhian 'Ahimsa' and 'Swaraj' and 'socialist' politics of Jayaprakash Narain and its NGO 'direct participatory democracy' stands.

Though elections have been held several times and several governments had changed in the past 65 years of 'independent' rule, it is a fact that even to this day the basic needs of the people like food, clothing, shelter, education and health care remained out of reach. The oppressed masses who constitute 95% of the population are confronting poverty, illiteracy. Unemployment, price rises, diseases, starvation deaths, corruption etc on a daily basis. 77% of the population is living on less than 20 rupees per day. On the other hand the big bourgeoisie and the big landlords are enjoying enormous amounts of wealth. Hundred corporations belonging to vultures like Ambani, Tata, Birla, Mittal, Jindal etc account for 25% of the GDP of our country. The chasm between the rich and the poor increased beyond imagination. Corruption and scams increased in leaps and bounds. The laws formulated to hamper these social differences and to prevent them had never been used on the moneyed classes. As a result, social unrest is swelling. The Hindutva Sangh Parivar religious chauvinist oppression on the religious minorities and the Hindutva Brahminical upper caste oppression on the Dalits in our country have increased. The repression on national liberation struggles like Kashmir, Asom and Manipur

is increasing day by day. As a result of the long drawn struggles of the Telangana people for decades together the parliament had to inevitably give its approval for the formation of a separate state for Telangana. However, they are still suppressing cruelly aspirations for separate statehoods for Bodoland, Gorkhaland etc. The Adivasis are continuously denied their rights over *Jal-Jungle-Zameen-Adhikar*. The women are getting crushed under imperialist and feudal vicious culture.

As the UPA government led by Congress is rapidly implementing the second phase of economic reforms in its five year rule as a continuation of the Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization (LPG) policies due to the pressure of the imperialists and the big capitalists of our country who are bogged down in the world economic crisis, the conditions worsened in all the sectors in our country. It signed countless MoUs with MNCs and big corporations of our country and opened the doors widely for indiscriminate exploitation by handing over the natural riches of our country to them. Blatantly violating the 5<sup>th</sup> Schedule, PESA etc of the constitution in Adivasi areas it is holding gram sabhas at the point of the gun in several areas in our country with peasantry and the Adivasis, forcefully taking their consent for land acquisition and is implementing policies that would displace them on a gigantic scale. Due to the bankrupt policies of this government, the industrial production in our country suffered and lakhs of workers were thrown on the roads. Work burden on workers increased. Their real wages plunged. The number of unorganized workers outside the purview of labor laws increased. It took up policies that would hand over retail trade to the imperialist companies. It gradually handed over the agriculture sector to the corporations and pushed agriculture into severe crisis. Increase in production costs, lack of government support in the form of loans etc and lack of minimum support prices led to large scale suicides of farmers. The lives of the people became intolerable with the skyrocketing of daily consumer goods with the time to time increase in petrol and diesel prices. The privatization of education and health sector turned them into a rarity for the common people. Corruption reached the skies and with great scams like 2G spectrum, Commonwealth Games, Coal gate etc the various ruling class politicians, cliques, government-military higher ups gulped down lakhs of crores of rupees of people's exchequer. These brazen bandits and traitors stashed away billions of dollars in Swiss banks.

The schemes taken up by the UPA government and hyped to the skies as the dream of Indira Gandhi's '*Garibi Hatao*' realized by Sonia Gandhi have all turned ridiculous with reeking corruption. In fact, the yesteryear slogan of land reforms disappeared completely. Due to its ecology-damaging policies natural disasters like in Uttarakhand, untimely rains and cyclones are occurring and people are suffering heavy losses. Its newly legislated acts relating to 'land acquisition', 'food security' and 'Nirbhaya' are aimed at either serving the interests of the imperialists and the exploiting ruling classes or as an eye-wash.

The UPA government depended on military, paramilitary, special police and commando forces and on intelligence agencies like IB, NIA and SIB to suppress the masses who are rebelling against their anti-people policies and to consolidate its rule and carrying on offensives in fascist methods. It is curbing civil rights and even the right to live. The enemy forces are carrying on massacres of hundreds of Adivasis, Dalits, other oppressed masses revolutionary activists and in revolutionary movement areas led by our party. As part of carpet security all the movement areas in the various states have been turned into military camps of enemy forces. Thousands of innocent people, revolutionary activists and leaders were put in jails. On the one hand they are shouting that 'the Maoist guerillas who are resorting to violence in the forests do not have any ideology' and on the other they are trying to control the intellectuals by stating that 'the Maoist ideologues in the cities who are continuously stoking the Maoist ideology are more dangerous than the guerillas.' They are trying to isolate the progressive intellectuals, writers, youth and the students from the revolutionary movement and stand them in opposition to it. The BJP, left front and other state governments are also collaborating with the UPA government in this. The BJP had supported the UPA government in the past ten years on all the major policies it implemented. The only difference being where they sat – whether in ruling or in opposition. All their accusations and counter-accusations were done with the intention of deceiving the people. There is not much difference between the central and state governments too in this matter despite any party being in power. Similarly this suppression is not confined only to the Maoist movement areas. The anti-POSCO, anti-nuclear Kudamkulam struggles are the fresh examples of this. The hegemony of the US imperialists in the economic, polity, military and cultural spheres and the intervention of its intelligence agency FBI increased during UPA rule. The Wikileaks revelations made it clear that nearly one lakh US soldiers and officers are staying clandestinely in our country and are conveying all kinds of support and help directly and indirectly in imposing fascism on the people.

The Congress that was in power continuously for ten years followed pro-imperialist, pro-CBB and pro-

big landlord policies and was responsible for the agonizing living conditions of the people and the disastrous economy of our country and for the massacres of thousands of activists of various democratic and revolutionary movements and people, persecution of religious minorities in the name of 'terrorists.' It won the dubious distinction of being the originator of the biggest and highest number of corruption scams in the parliamentary history of our country. As a result it won the severe hatred of the people. To escape this and hoodwink the people the Congress is bringing to the fore its main slogan of '*Bharat Nirman*' pointing towards the 'development' it achieved in its ten-year rule and towards the anti-corruption, land acquisition, food security and Nirbhaya acts and welfare schemes that it formulated. The Congress has been in power at the centre and in most of the states for the maximum time after 1947. It was mainly responsible by being in power for such a long period of time for the anti-people policies that were formulated and implemented. The massacres of religious minorities, particularly the massacre of Sikhs in 1984 took place under its rule. Though Sangh Parivar was directly responsible for the destruction of Babri Masjid it was the Congress that was behind the high drama from the centre. It was mainly responsible for suppressing the just national liberation struggles of the Kashmir and the present North East by massacring tens of thousand of youth through its military brute force. It implemented all these anti-people policies by taking the help of other parliamentary parties when in power and also by colluding with the ruling alliances when not in power. Who else would be mainly responsible than the Congress for the insufferable conditions of the workers, peasants, petty bourgeois sections, oppressed nationalities, Dalits, Adivasis, religious minorities, women, small and medium capitalists in our country? The people are not so gullible as to believe its '*Bharat Nirman*', so-called welfare schemes, deceptive anti-corruption pose

BJP's main attack is on the corrupt rule of the Congress. It is clear that it does not have any basically different policies than Congress on any of the main issues confronting the people and the country and has the same corrupt, treacherous and dictatorial policies in any sphere. With the directive of the RSS, BJP announced the Hindu bigot and mass murderer Narendra Modi as its prime ministerial candidate. It is hiding its Hindu chauvinist agenda behind the 'Gujarat Vikas' model and is concentrating its entire machinery around Modi to capture power at the centre one more time. 'Gujarat Vikas' model means terrorizing the Muslim and Christian minorities, seizing their properties, chasing them away from their abodes or making them servile through massacres of Muslim religious minorities and subjecting them to innumerable atrocities along with atrocities on Christian religious minorities; making the entire state as the hub for the investments of MNCs, big bourgeoisie and opening doors to their endless exploitation and oppression. The Sangh Parivar and the BJP are aiming to establish this Hitlerite model in the guise of 'Vikas' in the entire country by coming to power in these elections. Congress came to power the previous two terms and won the severe wrath of the people. So the ruling classes and the US imperialists are openly supporting the candidature of Modi for the PM post as he would implement their agenda ruthlessly. Accordingly the corporate media is propagating Modi on a huge scale. Its attempt to win in the Delhi elections by bringing a religious divide through religious riots in Muzaffarnagar indicates only its fascist face. Rajnath Singh's statement a few days before the election dates were announced that he was apologizing to the Muslims 'if at any place any wrong was done to them' is nothing but a ploy to hide the massacre of Muslims carried on by Modi in Gujarat and gain their votes. But how would the Muslim and Christian religious minorities forget the massacres, discrimination, suppression and chauvinism that they suffered in the hands of the Sangh Parivar right from 1947 to the recent Muzaffarnagar killings? The pogrom and persecution of religious minorities in Gujarat under Modi met with unprecedented opposition and protest not only in Gujarat but all over our country. Even if they come to power, the Hindu fascists will have to face the countrywide active resistance of the Muslim and Christian minorities, revolutionary and democratic forces. This would be the foremost task of these forces then.

The AAP that was born and brought up with a NGO background and on imperialist and NRI funds and support, is not going into the roots of this system and into the basic problems of the people and is resorting Gandhian feats for solving people's problems. They do not have any solution for the basic problems of the oppressed classes, people and sections that are being suppressed under exploitation and oppression. It is serving as a safety valve to divert the erupting people's anger into peaceful and parliamentary solutions and trying to cash in on it.

The actual issues of the people never come up for discussion in the parliament and the assemblies. They are under the control of the imperialists, CBB and the big landlords. Where is the place for democracy in this system where votes could be bought with money, liquor, religious and casteist sentiments? It is ridiculous to

call this a democracy when criminals, bandits and notoriously corrupt politicians win in elections. In fact, when we look into history we find that people's problems have always been solved through people's struggles, class struggles and PPW and not through parliamentary forums.

As elections are being conducted like a farce each time, the Election Commission of India vowed to strengthen democracy during these elections and is trying to bring in several reforms along with including guidelines according to the Supreme Court order. As part of strengthening democracy, the SC had issued orders to give the voters the right to 'reject.' As a result, the NOTA button was introduced in the EVMs for the first time during the assembly elections in five states in 2013. Now during these Loksabha elections this is being introduced all over the country. In fact, this NOTA right suppresses the 'right to recall' the elected representatives that the people should rightfully have. If they really intend to give the 'right to reject', then why are they deploying lakhs of government armed forces in areas where our party had given the call to boycott the polls in the name of conducting 'free and fair' elections and carrying on attacks, search operations, arrests, fake encounters and massacres?

The great Marxist teacher Lenin stated in his 'State and Revolution – *“Elections are held to decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament—such is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism, not only in parliamentary-constitutional monarchies, but also in the most democratic republics.”* This is more applicable to our semi-colonial, semi-feudal country that claims itself to be the 'biggest democracy in the world.' That is why, none of the oppressed masses believe that their lives would change or that there would be a fundamental change in this system through these elections. In all the elections held our country so far, considerable number of voters are distancing themselves from polling. The stronger parties occupy the polling booths with their goon force and conduct rigging. Even those who vote are not doing so with the belief that these elections would benefit them. They are voting just for local needs or other pressures or lures such as caste, religion, regionalism, money, liquor, goondaism etc. There is no alternative for the people in this sham parliamentary system.

All the major parties coming to the fore in the elections are subservient to the imperialists and represent the Indian exploiting ruling classes. All these parties are anti-people, treacherous corrupt, oppressive, reactionary and fascist in nature. Serving the interests of imperialism, CBB and the big landlord classes, keeping intact the Indian semi-colonial semi-feudal system and crushing all democratic and revolutionary movements is the aim of these parties. They are coming together to suppress our party, the CPI (Maoist) that is coming to the fore as an alternative to this, the NDR led by it and the embryonic new organs of political power that represent the Indian people's democratic federal republic based on genuine democracy and self-reliance. Though these comprador parties loll in the pig-sty of the parliament for power and engage in dog-fights with each other for their share in the loot, when it comes to crushing the revolutionary movement by labeling it the 'gravest threat to internal security' of our country they are all unanimous. They are resorting to a severe multi-pronged offensive according to the US dictated LIC strategy and tactics. Their deceptive proposals for Peace Talks and reform schemes are aimed at diverting the people and the democrats and to carry on a further heavy offensive on the revolutionary movement. The countrywide multi-pronged offensive carried on in the name War on People - OGH since mid-2009 by the central government by colluding with BJP and along with various state governments is a part of this. They are trying without success through repression to preserve this rotten exploiting system. But in a backdrop where the revolutionary conditions are maturing day by day, they are doomed to be swept away by the people.

The present exploitative system cannot be transformed with elections. The basic problems of the people would not be solved. Even their basic needs would not be fulfilled. All the electoral parties are dead against genuine democracy, self-reliance and sovereignty of our country. None of them is morally qualified to ask our people to vote for them. That is why our party is giving a call to the entire people of India to boycott these sham parliamentary and assembly elections and to march forward in the path of PPW for the victory of the NDR that is waged with agrarian revolution as the axis on the basis of 'land to the tiller' for building an Indian people's democratic federal republic. This new democratic state will be the people's democratic dictatorship exercised by the united front comprising the proletariat, peasantry, petty-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie class under the leadership of the proletariat based upon the worker-peasant alliance and liberate our country from the clutches of the imperialists, the CBB and the big landlords.

**Abhay,**

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

# **COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)**

## **CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

**March 25, 2014**

### **Tongpal Ambush is the Consequence of White Terror of the Indian State in the name of Operation Green Hunt – ‘War on the People’**

On March 11 in a valiant attack by our People’s Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA) commanders and red fighters on the joint forces of paramilitary and district police on the Jagdalpur-Konta NH-221 near Tongpal of Sukma district in Chhattisgarh, 11 CRPF jawans belonging to the 80<sup>th</sup> Battalion and four district policemen died. Our guerillas seized 19 weapons (six AK-47s, two SLRs, seven Insas rifles, three grenade launchers, one LMG), ammunitions and other military equipment. The Tongpal ambush is part of the tactical counter-offensives carried on by the PLGA all over the country under the leadership of our party in self-defence against the white terrorism of the Indian state in the name of Operation Green Hunt (OGH)– The War on People. The Central Committee sends its revolutionary greetings to the PLGA forces for making this ambush successful.

While this incident enthused a lot the oppressed masses of our country who are being crushed under the iron heels of the mercenary paramilitary and police forces, the exploiting governments and their lackeys were shaken to the core once again. The central and state governments, the Congress and the BJP condemned this attack. The Congress gave a call for state bandh stating that this was the failure of the state government and demanding Raman Singh’s resignation. The Home Minister Sushil Kumar Shinde, Chief Minister Raman Singh and the higher police officials immediately rushed to the spot to keep up the morale of their mercenary forces and shed crocodile tears while stating that this was a cowardly act of the Naxals, that the Naxalites had in fact weakened, their documents prove this and they had resorted to this horrific act to cover their weakness. Shinde proved his counter-revolutionary character by stating that they would take revenge for this terrorist act of the Naxals. And he is the Home Minister of India – ‘the biggest democracy in the world!’

To cover up the War on People carried on in the name of OGH, the central and state governments are accusing us of being terrorists. Who are actually the terrorists? If we had really weakened why are more than four lakh central and state armed forces deployed in the revolutionary movement areas and why do they carry on nonstop combings and attacks, harass, arrest, put in jails, murder, rape, kill in fake encounters and massacre the people without respite? Why were 165 companies of paramilitary forces deployed during the Chhattisgarh assembly polls in an unprecedented manner? The central and state exploiting ruling classes that are carrying on incessant offensives on the people of our country by fascizing the state machinery are the real terrorists. The plans for these offensives are made under the direct supervision of the FBI, the intelligence agency of the US imperialists sitting in Delhi. The aim of these offensives in to completely wipe out our party, the protracted people’s war led by it, the Revolutionary People’s Committees (Revolutionary People’s governments) formed on the basis of genuine democracy and self-reliance and developing as an alternative to the exploiting Indian state. In the name of ‘gravest threat to the internal security’ of the country and in accordance with the US dictated LIC strategy and tactics, they are resorting to a severe multi-pronged offensive. Their deceptive Peace Talks proposals and reform schemes are intended to divert the people and the democrats and to carry on further heavy offensive on the revolutionary movement. In the backdrop where revolutionary conditions are increasingly maturing, it is the conspiracy of the ruling classes to preserve this exploitative system by making the people leaderless through decimation of the leadership of the progressive revolutionary forces.

As part of this, in the movement areas of Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Asom hundreds of Adivasis, other oppressed people and the revolutionary activists. In these offensives, just in the past one year more than 150 revolutionaries and common people were massacred by the mercenary armed forces. The movement areas were turned into military camps. Thousands of innocent people, revolutionary activists and leaders were incarcerated in prisons. In Gadchiroli of Maharashtra, Govindgaon, Bhatpar, Sindesur and Medri massacres and even before

that blood has dried the attacks at Pendodvaya and Indur, the recent Bethkati massacre in Gondia district, the Lakarbandha massacre in Jharkhand and other attacks, the Puvvar, Maraiguda, Odnar, Edesmetta, Burgum, Badakakiler and Nelnar attacks in Dandakaranya, the Silakota, Munguluvalasa attacks in Odisha are the prominent among these. In Govindgoan when our comrades were returning after conducting a meeting at night, the police lay in wait and killed six of our comrades including a DVCM comrade Sankar, killed five persons including three villagers in an attack from rear in Bhatpar and killed seven persons including three villager who brought food in Sindesur. In Medri, the Medri villagers are the eye witnesses for the massacre of six women comrades. It came to light in the media too. After the murders, the notorious C-60 commandos did not leave even the dead bodies of the women comrades, captured in mobiles their obscene behavior with them and are selling that in weekly markets. In Lakarbandha (Jharkhand) the CoBRA commandos and the reactionary TPC goons murdered ten persons including comrade Prasant in a one-sided attack targeting our party leadership. In the Puvvar incident, 4000 greyhounds, CoBRA, CRPF and CAF forces surrounded our 26 member PLGA force and brutally murdered important leadership from SZCM comrade Sudhakar to the AC level leadership. At Maraiguda two persons including a District Committee member comrade Naresh were shot dead. In Odnar, two villagers were called to the police station, killed in a fake encounter and buried without even giving the bodies to their relatives. In Edesmetta, they attacked villagers who were celebrating a festival and massacred eight persons including three children. Near Burgum, they attacked a small PLGA team and killed two women comrades. One among them was caught with injuries and killed in cold blood. Similarly in Kuvvem three militia comrades, three in Badekakilaer and three in Nelnar were murdered. While 13 village militia comrades were massacred in Silakota of Odisha, comrade Madhav in Machkhand area and comrades Manganna and Mahender in Munguluvalasa were caught and killed in fake encounters. There are several more were caught in separate incidents and murdered.

On the one other hand, the the ruling classes criticize that ‘the Maoists who resort to violence in forests do not have any ideology’ and have extended the OGH to urban areas by stating that ‘the Maoist ideologues in the cities who are continuously stoking the Maoist ideology are more dangerous than the guerillas.’ The intellectuals who express support to the democratic, revolutionary and national liberation movements are somehow or the other being booked under conspiracy cases such as UAPA and put in jails. Since last year they took another step forward and murdered the beloved leader of the oppressed masses of Andhra Pradesh comrade Ganti Prasadam through black gangs and the leader of the Telangana movement comrade Akula Bhumaiah in an accident. It has become commonplace to make threatening phone calls to several activists and intellectuals who are active in anti-state movements and open revolutionary activities.

To suppress the people who rebel against their anti-people policies and to consolidate their power they are depending on military, paramilitary, special police and commando forces and on intelligence organizations like the IB, NIA and SIB and carrying on fascist offensives. The civil rights and even the right to live are getting curbed.

Is this not direct violence by the Indian state on the 90% oppressed masses, sections and nationalities for the sake of handful of exploiters? It would become clear that every year lakhs of people are dying in this violence if data are collected. What the PLGA is carrying on under the leadership of our party against the white terror of the Indian state machinery is only counter-violence and revolutionary violence. Anybody who knows even a little about history would understand that oppressed nations and the people had followed only this path anywhere in the world when civil rights evaporated.

On this occasion, our party is appealing to worker-peasant and other oppressed masses, democrats, students, youth, intellectuals, patriotic forces, well-wishers of Adivasis, environmentalists, poets, writers and artistes to agitate against the white terror, particularly the violence perpetrated by the central and state governments as part of the War on the People – OGH.

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

# **COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)**

## **CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

**May 15, 2014**

### **Condemn the Arrest of Dr. G N Saibaba!**

### **Free Dr. Saibaba Immediately and Unconditionally!**

The Central Committee, CPI (Maoist), strongly condemns the arrest of Asst. Professor Dr. G N Saibaba by Gadchiroli police on 9 May 2014. According to media reports, Saibaba was abducted by a team of Gadchiroli police from the Delhi University premises while he was returning from work. The so-called upholders of law acted in a blatantly lawless manner as plain-clothed policemen intercepted Saibaba's car, blindfolded him, forced into their car and flew him to Nagpur, from where he was taken to Gadchiroli to be produced in a local court. They did not bother to follow the mandatory legal procedures such as taking permission from the university administration before entering the university premises or arresting its employee, showing an arrest warrant to the accused, informing him about the charges leveled, allowing him to avail legal aid or even intimate family members at the time of arrest. Nor was his severe disability that makes him permanently wheelchair-bound taken into account, thus making a mockery of domestic and international laws and conventions protecting the rights of persons with disabilities. He has been subsequently been charged under several draconian provisions of the UAPA that can lead to years of imprisonment. Only a concerted mass movement for his release can bring Saibaba out of the clutches of the Indian state which seeks to muzzle all genuine opposition to its authoritarian, anti-people and fascist acts.

G N Saibaba is among the hundreds of renowned revolutionary and democratic intellectuals and political activists of the country who have earned the wrath of the government for their unflinching opposition to the ruling classes and for uniting with the all democratic struggles of the masses of the country. Inspired by the struggles waged by workers and peasants as well as various sections of the middle class and all oppressed social communities of the country for their just demands and for establishing a genuinely democratic new society, they have not only voiced their support for the wretched of the earth, but have also been mobilizing public opinion in favour of all people's struggles, providing them much-needed solidarity. They have also been at the forefront of people's movements against the country's oppressive rulers. In this way the democratic and progressive intellectuals of the country have historically played a very crucial role. In refusing to serve the powers-that-be, such intellectuals, democrats and political activists have inadvertently become the enemies of the state and friends and allies of the exploited masses.

Dr. Saibaba has been a part of this legacy of struggle in Andhra Pradesh from his student days as a member of the radical student's movement. He has been leading the democratic and revolutionary mass movement at the all-India level since the formation of All India People's Resistance Forum (AIPRF), and subsequently as a leading member of Revolutionary Democratic Front (RDF). He was also an executive member and worked actively in the anti-imperialist movement led by the International League of People's Struggles (ILPS) and other international forums. He is known in the country and internationally for his views upholding the rights of the workers, peasants, adivasis, dalits, religious minorities, women, students and teachers, persons with disabilities, etc., and for his close association with various democratic movements.

Activists of revolutionary and democratic movements and intellectuals connected with them have been subjected to stepped-up state repression and violence all over the country. This has been the case in all the states of the country and particularly in the areas of Maoist movement after Operation Green Hunt (OGH) was started in mid-2009 by the Indian government. This is because progressive intellectuals and political activists have been at the forefront in opposing all forms of state repression like Salwa Judum and other fascist campaigns of the government and its central and state armed forces against the vast masses of the country, and from mid-2009 onwards against OGH – Indian government's war on the people of the country. The strong opposition to OGH in India and abroad has pushed the ruling classes on the back foot, since they wished to carry out this operation quickly, in silence and away from the public view. Saibaba is among those who have been in the forefront opposing OGH, exposing this fascist onslaught in the interest of the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and big landlords.

The government loses no opportunity to associate any genuine and militant opposition for democratic values, just rights of the people, and political and ideological beliefs that contradict the ideology and practices of the ruling classes. Hundreds of other intellectuals and activists across the country have been persecuted for their alleged adherence to their ideological beliefs, are killed in fake encounters, handed out capital punishment, life imprisonment or long prison terms under trumped-up charges, subjected to harassment and intimidation, gagging of their freedom of speech etc. by putting aside all its so-called judicial norms and fundamental rights of the Indian citizens. Various people's organisations have been accused from time to time of being Maoist 'frontal organisations', thereby intimidating them and paving the way for their suppression. Saibaba and RDF too have been made targets of government witch-hunt through its draconian judicial system.

Ever since Hem Mishra, a student from Delhi, was arrested by Gadchiroli police in July last year, Maharashtra government in connivance with the union home ministry has conspired to implicate a number of people associated with democratic movements and peoples' organisations. As a part of this plan, journalist Prashant Rahi was arrested and imprisoned last September by the same police. Even without a semblance of concrete evidence to substantiate the allegations made by the police, courts have swallowed their cooked-up story and refused to grant bail. At the same time, Maharashtra police and central intelligence agencies have used these arrests as a pretext to cast their dragnet even wider. On the basis of spurious and planted 'evidence', Gadchiroli police have connected Saibaba to these arrests, two times raided his house and interrogated him for hours and forcefully took away his personal electronic gadgets. This was followed by his recent arrest in a dastardly manner based on a fabricated charge-sheet filed two months back.

Saibaba's arrest is a part of the latest intensified wave of state-terror under OGH. People's movements in general and revolutionary mass organisations in particular have come under attack in this multi-pronged offensive that includes not only conventional but also psychological warfare. Organisations that espouse genuine democratic politics for the emancipation of the oppressed classes and peoples have been singled out by the government for attack. This is evidenced by the ban imposed on several revolutionary and democratic mass organisations by the AP government including RDF, the recent state-orchestrated murder of mass-organisation leaders Ganti Prasad and Akula Bhoomaiah, arrest of Rajkishore, Saibaba, etc., in addition to hundreds of other incarcerated artists, intellectuals and political activists associated with people's movements.

More such assaults on the country's progressive individuals and organisations are to be expected in the near future as the grip of the big landlord and comprador bureaucratic bourgeois over the country's masses tightens with the deepening crisis of imperialism worldwide, the consequent consolidation of the fascist forces and the increasing fascization of the state to serve this end. The need therefore is to brace up for resisting this assault. Needless to say, simultaneously and largely in consequence of this new wave of class violence, an upsurge in people's resistance reflecting the intensification of class struggle can also be anticipated in the coming days.

The CC of our Party calls upon the democratic and progressive organisations, forums, civil rights bodies, students and youth, professors and teachers, dalits, adivasis, persons with disabilities, journalists, lawyers, writers, artists and all other pro-people sections of the country and abroad to build a widespread mass movement to free Dr. Saibaba. We must also demand the release of Hem Mishra, Prashant Rahi and other co-accused in the case. Such a movement will highlight the demands of the thousands of political prisoners associated with various struggles in the country and will also compliment the struggle for their release. Only a movement of this kind can put a check on the state's fascist crackdown on pro-people intellectuals and democrats in the future. We are confident that this movement will be able to raise the banner of resistance against state-terror in its various manifestations by resolutely holding on to democratic convictions in the most difficult of circumstances, by firmly relying on the broad masses and by uniting the progressive forces.

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

# **COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)**

## **CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

**May 19, 2014**

### **The Victory of BJP in Narendra Modi's Leadership Indicates the Intensification of Exploitation, Oppression and Fascism in the Country!**

### **Build a Widespread Struggle to Fight Back the Threat from Brahmanical Hindu-Fascists by Uniting all the Revolutionary and Democratic Forces!**

The so-called largest democratic process in the world, the elections for the sixteenth Loksabha, has been conducted in an unprecedented manner extending over nine phases. For this, 70 lakh election officials and millions of armed forces were deployed. Public funds amounting to tens of thousands of crores of rupees belonging to the people of the country were spent on this exercise. The Election Commission claimed that it was done in order to ensure a "free, fair and impartial" election. There was great anger among the masses against these farcical parliamentary elections. Our party CPI(Maoist) and the national liberation movements of Kashmir and a few forces from North East particularly in Manipur called for a boycott of these farcical elections. It is only to suppress the growing anger of the people against these elections that such a large number of armed forces were deployed during the elections all over the country, and in areas of people's struggles in particular. Elections were conducted like a war exercise under the supervision and control of the Indian armed forces.

The Election Commission in an unprecedented way have been carrying out many new kinds of maneuvers to entice the people of the country to vote and to increase the total poll percentage since the 15<sup>th</sup> Loksabha elections of 2009, which was continued in this year's elections too. Behind the scene, all kinds of help were extended by the imperialist agencies to carry out the process and by taking this help the corporate sector of the country directly entered the electoral fray to drum-up the importance of "right to vote". By using the corporate media, parliamentary parties as usual made false promises to the people. A sort of illusion was created about the significance of parliamentary elections and a tempo was created around it. People were pressurized to cast their vote in areas where the masses are more critical of the parliamentary system. It is claimed that the Election Commission has put enormous efforts to conduct the elections successfully and has significantly curbed money and muscle-power. Disproving such claims, all the parties presented scamsters, gangsters and criminals as candidates before the people. Not a single party raised and brought forth the basic problems faced by the vast masses of the people and the country. During election campaigns, competing parties and candidates concentrated more on attacking one another, thereby exposing and unmasking one another's anti-people character, reactionary and self-seeking activities, scams and corrupt practices. Black money, muscle-power, religion, caste, regionalism, liquor, drugs and other enticements or coercive measures were used extensively by all parties and candidates. For instance, more than 200 crores of cash and over 2 crore litres of liquor were seized by the police across the country during the elections which were meant to be distributed among the electorate. As can be imagined, this is just the tip of the proverbial iceberg. Corporate media itself has revealed that more than 30,000 crore rupees were spent to advertise and promote Narendra Modi alone. Flouting the official limit to election expenditure of 70 lakhs per candidate with impunity, each candidate in the fray spent an average of 8 crore rupees during this election. The farcical nature of the so-called largest parliamentary elections of the world can be perceived from such revealing facts.

The Congress played a most reactionary and anti-people and treacherous role while being in power for the last ten years and aggressively implementing pro-imperialist and pro-ruling classes' policies in a big way. The Congress committed all kinds of crimes against the country and its people. As a result, its seats got reduced to less than fifty in an unprecedented manner in this election – the worst ever electoral defeat in its entire history. By using the people's pent-up anger against the Congress, BJP and NDA under the leadership

of Modi emerged as the first ever non-Congress party to win a clear majority in the parliament with 282 seats and together with its NDA partners captured 334 seats out of 543.

Even before the announcement of the elections, a large number of additional paramilitary forces were deployed and the armed forces intensified cordon-and-search operations in all the revolutionary areas of 14 states, in areas of national liberation struggles in Kashmir and the North East and other regions where people's resistance movements are going on. The first countrywide week-long (26 December 2013 to 1 January 2014) suppression campaign was carried out in 9 states with 40 thousand additional paramilitary and state police forces. In the second suppression campaign that lasted from 19 March to 27 March 2014, more than a hundred thousand paramilitary troops and 6000 commandos, four Israeli spy aircrafts, a large number of mine-proof vehicles fitted with radars, etc., were used led by 70 Inspectors General (IG) in six states where the Maoist movement is active. These counter-revolutionary campaigns were aimed at suppressing the movement and create a white terror among the people to conduct their 'democratic' elections. In the areas of revolutionary and national liberation movements, tens of political activists, liberation fighters and common people were murdered by these forces. A large number of people and political activists were captured and tortured. They did not spare even women, children and the aged. Villages were attacked and their residents were collectively punished through merciless beating. Elections were conducted at gunpoint by unleashing widespread state-terror. The statewide bandh in Kashmir called in protest against the detention of Hurriyat Conference leaders who had given a poll boycott call, was successfully observed on 21 April. Kashmir Valley was rife with bandhs and protests against the atrocities and repression by the Indian army and other state forces on the one hand and with state repression accompanied by curfew on the other. Kashmiris fought pitched battles against the gun-wielding army and paramilitary forces with stones by defying curfew and other prohibitory orders.

In spite of using coercion and threat to such a large extent and even after creating an atmosphere of terror, the polling percentage fell far short of the 90 percent target set by the Election Commission. Only 66% percent voters cast their vote as per official reports. The actual voting percentage, however, would be much less if we take into account the percentage of rigged and false votes among them. Money-power, muscle-power, the state machinery and the armed forces were rampantly used for such electoral fraud involving all the major parliamentary parties. Even after deploying innumerable helicopters and aircrafts of Indian Air Force and Indian and foreign private companies to transport election officials and material, many election booths were shifted to police stations and paramilitary camps in areas where revolutionary and national liberation movements are strong with the pretext that conducting polling in those areas would be difficult. Large-scale fake votes were cast in these booths. Nevertheless, even 5-20 percent polling did not take place in Dandakaranya, Bihar-Jharkhand, Odisha and Andhra-Odisha Border and other areas where Revolutionary People's Committees are present and the Maoist movement is strong,. In Kashmir, even after creating state-terror prior to elections, merely 27% polling took place as per official claims. In the context of elections, the slogan of Azad Kashmir once again reverberated across the valley.

The 'alternative' of NOTA has been brought forward to deny the people the 'right to recall'. Due to a lack of alternative and threats from the political parties and armed forces, more than one crore voters pressed NOTA button. This is primarily because those who chose not to vote are often branded as terrorists or Maoists. In the revolutionary and national liberation movement areas, responding to the call of poll boycott, the people of these areas and in places where democratic movements and anti-displacement movements are going on, people in significant numbers have rejected these farcical elections in protest against the anti-people policies of the governments their repression. The CC, CPI(Maoist) extends revolutionary greetings to all of them for daring to defy the state and boycott the elections even while facing grave threats and intimidation.

In defensive campaigns against the reactionary forces, the red fighters of our PLGA conducted many heroic attacks in Dandakaranya (Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra), Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha and Andhra-Odisha Border Area and other regions and inflicted a number of casualties to the enemy troops and seizing many arms and ammunitions. It is a matter of great regret, however, that our PLGA forces ambushed vehicles carrying poll officials mistaking them to be police vehicles. Some employees engaged in poll duty died or got injured due to such mistakes. Concerned units of our party has already apologized for these unfortunates incidents. We once again extend our apology to the people for this and express our heartfelt condolence to the relatives and friends of the deceased.

In the farcical elections, the BJP has claimed that it has won an unprecedented and historic victory. However, the total vote share they received is no more than 35 percent. There can be no bigger bankruptcy in this so-called largest democracy of the world than to claim a 'historic victory' for a party that wins a mere 35 percent of the votes polled. One more time the scamsters, gangsters and criminals came to power, revealing the farcical nature of the parliamentary system.

Narendra Modi was put forward as the BJP prime-ministerial candidate by the Sangh-Parivar and with its sponsorship and full involvement in the elections, BJP has gained an unprecedented victory under Modi's leadership, however may be. On the other hand, the UPA-led by Congress had to suffer a humiliating defeat. During the rule of UPA government, neo-liberal economic, political, social, cultural and ecological policies were implemented in a large scale, corruption and scams manifested itself in an unprecedented manner, price rise skyrocketed, access to healthcare and education became much more meager for the people, lack of accountability to the people, high rate of unemployment, retrenchment of workers, farmer's suicide, atrocities and violence on women, gaping social inequality, starvation, atrocities on dalits by the Brahminical casteist forces, suppression of the rights of the oppressed nationalities, depriving the adivasis and the oppressed of their *jal-jangal-zameen, haq-adhikar aur izzat*, state repression on the anti-displacement movements and the separate statehood movements particularly in Telangana and Gorkhaland, rampant ecological destruction, etc., all of which are major reasons resulting in the accumulation of people's anger against the Congress and its allies.

The mass anger against UPA government and the anti-corruption campaign initiated by Anna Hazare-Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) has been successfully utilized by the BJP for electoral gain. By remaining behind the scene, BJP-RSS orchestrated anti-Muslim attacks and stirred-up Hindu religious chauvinism against them all over the country, particularly through the attacks in Muzaffarnagar and Samli, UP. RSS played a central role in this. In the North East, particularly in Assam, BJP could mobilize the Hindus to some extent against the perceived Bangladeshi Muslim immigrants and garner their votes. The above explains the hollowness of BJP's claim that it has gained the votes from all sections and thereby the divisions of religion, caste, community and gender etc. It is a fact that BJP has not gained the majority of votes from the Muslims and dalits. That behind BJP's win there is no countrywide 'Modi-wave' is shown by the election results of Kerala, Odisha, Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Telangana, Seemandhra, etc., where BJP did not perform well. In Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim too non-NDA parties have won. The so-called Modi-wave is the joint creation of the big corporations and its corporate media. Narendra Modi has been put forward by the imperialists, the MNCs, big comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and big landlords to divert the people's wrath against the neo-liberal policies of the ruling classes and usher in fascism like Hitler to serve their interests more effectively. In fact, the Congress has been thoroughly exposed and discredited as an out-and-out anti-people, reactionary and corrupt party. Perceiving the people's anger, the Indian ruling classes and imperialists have presented another ruling-class party in the form of BJP and Narendra Modi in place of Manmohan Singh as an alternative before the people, only to hoodwink them with parliamentary illusions for another five years.

In this election, UPA constituents and particularly Congress were wiped out in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Seemandhra, Delhi and in some other places. In most of the other states Congress was reduced to a very few seats. In spite of creating some reformist rhetoric, AAP could not perform well because it lacked a clear-cut position on the basic problems of the people and the country and even burning issues facing the people. SP, BSP, RJD, JD(U), DMK, the Left Front led by CPI(M) and other regional parties which championed the same policies of Manmohan Singh government and that were mired in corruption, exploitation and suppression and opportunism too had to suffer ignominious defeat. DMK, BSP and National Conference in particular have been washed out and have no presence left in the parliament. In Odisha, BJD came to power for the fourth time due to the absence of any effective parliamentary opposition. In Andhra Pradesh, Telugu Desam Party and TRS took advantage of the people's anger against the Congress and registered victories. In Kashmir, National Conference had to pay for its collusion with the Congress party and policies aimed at crushing and liquidating Kashmir's national liberation movement.

After securing a simple majority in the parliament under the leadership of Modi, BJP is acting magnanimous in victory and is promising to carry along its NDA partners. It has promised to work for even those voters and social sections who have not voted for it. Modi himself in his address to the people after the election victory has said that "It is a victory for Bharat", that "India will be made self-reliant" and that "*Acche din*

*anewale hai*” (“Good days are ahead”). Hearing this, some people are under the illusion that this is a beginning of ‘good governance’ and that Modi will bring about ‘change’. Some also naively believe that BJP will not run its government on the basis of its Hindu-fascist agenda as in Gujarat but on the basis of a development agenda. Some believe that the days of the 2002 Gujarat pogrom have been left behind and that all sections and communities will be treated equally, corruption will be checked, unemployment opportunities will be created, women’s safety will be ensured, etc. under Modi’s NDA regime. However, Modi and other champions of Brahmanical Hindutva will never fulfill these aspirations. On the contrary, the neo-liberal policies implemented by the UPA government will now be even more aggressively executed by the NDA government led by Modi. The conditions of the masses will further deteriorate in all fronts.

NDA’s clear majority in the parliament under Modi’s leadership, absence of a strong parliamentary opposition, and most importantly RSS/BJP’s Hindutva agenda are indications of the coming fascist onslaught. It will not take long for BJP-led central government to reveal its fascist, pro-imperialist, anti-federal and Indian expansionist face while using the people’s mandate to justify its anti-people actions. Workers, peasants, Muslims, dalits and other exploited masses will soon find themselves amidst growing persecution as BJP’s government reveals its fascist face. Modi and co. and the big compradors and big landlords are promoting his ‘Gujarat Model’ in a big way in their attempt to create illusions among the masses. The real meaning of this Gujarat Model, which has been said to be ‘the laboratory of Hindutva’, is the suppression of all forms of dissent, including that of the workers, peasants, religious minorities particularly Muslims, and other exploited and oppressed sections of the society. It means suppression and control of dissent coming from its opposition camp and even from within its own camp, opening the doors for the big domestic and international corporations to plunder and loot as much as they wish, and other similar measures. Combined with these, ‘Gujarat Model’ signifies the extensive use of mass media in a Goebblesian manner to present the image of an iron-willed leader and a strong party capable of resolving all of people’s problems. Modi’s Gujarat Model of fascist rule now extends to the entire country and amplifies the expansionist threat in the entire South-Asian sub-continent. The election manifesto of BJP does not forget to present its anti-Muslim, anti-Kashmir nationality and Hindutva agenda. It promises to scrap Article 370, impose Uniform Civil Code and build Ram temple, among other things. This poses a threat to the people of India and an existential threat to the armed agrarian revolutionary war, religious minorities and oppressed nationalities and dalits and other oppressed communities.

The emergence of fascism to overcome its crises and counter the growth of revolutionary, national liberation and democratic movements in the context of deepening imperialist crises worldwide is a growing phenomenon in the present times. To effectively implement the neo-liberal policies, imperialists and their allies seek to establish neo-fascist forms of rule. This can be seen in India as well. This is a challenge before the revolutionary and democratic forces and the masses of our country. That is why the exploited masses of India, oppressed nationalities, patriots and pro-people individuals and organisations, students and youth, intellectuals and other progressive forces should comprehend the serious threat posed by the growth of the Brahmanical Hindu-fascists. Building broad-based and powerful mass movements by uniting all the revolutionary and democratic organizations, forces and individuals and the vast masses against all ruling classes, particularly against saffron fascism, is an important task before us. Simultaneously, struggles must be waged to resolve the day-to-day and the basic problems facing the masses. No right can be won by the people without struggles. Only by uniting all the struggling forces and defending, intensifying and expanding the protracted people’s war and the completion of the new democratic revolution with armed agrarian revolution at its axis can the basic problems of the people and our country be resolved and all reactionary, fascist and counter-revolutionary weeds be uprooted.

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

# COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)

## CENTRAL COMMITTEE

May 20, 2014

### Red Salutes to Veteran Leader of Naxalbari and Revolutionary Intellectual Comrade Suniti Kumar Ghosh

Comrade Suniti Kumar Ghosh, a veteran leader of the CPI(ML) and a revolutionary intellectual, passed away on 11 May 2014 at Asansol, West Bengal, at the age of 96. He was suffering from illness caused by old age for some time. Central Committee of CPI(Maoist) pays its humble red homage to Com. Ghosh on behalf of its entire rank, PLGA, revolutionary mass organizations and organs of revolutionary people's political power. We convey our heartfelt condolences to his family and friends.

Com. Ghosh made important contributions to the revolutionary movement in India during his long association with the communist party. He was a member of the undivided Communist Party from the 1940s when the country was still reeling under direct colonial rule. Growing up in the shadow of colonial oppression, he inculcated an anti-imperialist political outlook from a young age. He was equally aware of the excruciating feudal exploitation suffered by the poor peasantry in the Bengal countryside at the hands of the landlords. So when Tebhaga movement broke out in 1946, he jumped into the struggle to participate in it. He dedicated his life to the struggle for overthrowing feudalism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and imperialism – the three mountains pressing down people of India.

In the next few years, the revisionist line of CPI became more and more apparent, exemplified by the party leadership's betrayal of the historic Telangana armed agrarian revolutionary movement in 1951. In 1956 CPI displayed its ideological degeneration once again by endorsing renegade Khrushchev's vicious attack on Com. Stalin and on Marxism-Leninism. Com. Ghosh resigned from the party in protest. He was an enthusiastic supporter of CPC in its struggle to expose and defeat CPSU's revisionist capitulation through the Great Debate. When the internal struggle within CPI led to a split and the formation of CPI(M), he joined the new party in 1964 along with other revolutionaries hoping for a clear break with revisionism.

However, CPI(M) leaders soon unmasked their revisionist character by opposing any genuine step towards social transformation. The stranglehold of revisionism in the party prepared the ground for a fresh wave of two-line struggle led by genuine revolutionary comrades like Comrades CM, KC and several others. Com. Ghosh resigned from CPI(M) in 1965 and supported the efforts made by communists led by Com. CM to build an armed agrarian revolutionary struggle in North Bengal. The great Naxalbari uprising of 1967 was an outcome of this sharp ideological-political struggle in the Indian communist movement. It emerged in the backdrop of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution undertaken by the CPC in China to defeat revisionism. CPI and CPI(M)'s revisionism was given a mortal blow by Naxalbari. Com. Ghosh hailed it as a historic turning point inaugurating a new dawn in the country's history.

Com. Suniti Kumar Ghosh soon immersed himself in the great revolutionary upsurge kindled by the Spring Thunder. In 1967 he became a member of the West Bengal Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (WBCCCR) which guided the armed agrarian revolutionary movement in the state. He was entrusted with the responsibility of editing *Liberation*, the English language mouthpiece of the committee that was launched in November 1967. He contributed many theoretical and analytical articles to *Liberation* and *Deshabrati*, writing with the pen-name 'Soumya'. Following the formation of All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (AICCCR) in 1968, he became one of its leading members and continued to edit *Liberation* which now became AICCCR's mouthpiece. With the forward march of the revolutionary movement, most of the AICCCR constituents formed CPI(ML) in 1969 and after a few months the *Dakshin Desh* group led by Com. Kanhai Chatterjee continued the movement separately by forming MCC.

Com. Ghosh made important contributions in the new party as a central committee member and the editor of *Liberation*. With the overall guidance of Com. CM and under Com. Ghosh's able editorship, the magazine played a crucial role in educating the party's rank and file by carrying regular theoretical-ideological pieces, polemical essays against revisionism and right-opportunism, analysis of domestic and international

politics, field reports, etc. It acted as a bridge for communication between the CC and the various party committees. Com. Ghosh strived hard to maintain regular publication of the magazine amid severe state repression that included the closing down of the magazine's Kolkata office by the police in April 1970. The magazine was continued intermittently till early 1972, but the setback suffered by the movement at that time forced its discontinuation.

Com. Ghosh and his comrades upheld the revolutionary line of Naxalbari amid mounting enemy repression as well as growing attacks from renegades, threatening the liquidation of the party. Opportunists like Satyanarayan Singh, Sheo Kumar Mishra etc. questioned the basic line of Protracted People's War and opposed Com. CM's leadership. Com. Ghosh stood firmly with the political line formulated by Com. CM and the programme adopted by the party Congress of 1970, defending the party from right-opportunist attacks.

In this way, Com. Suniti Kumar Ghosh made positive contributions in leading the movement ideologically and politically till 1972. The revolutionary movement was on the ebb following the martyrdom and arrest of several CPI(ML) leadership comrades including Com. CM. The party suffered splits and disintegration. Com. Ghosh was one of the very few leaders who survived the enemy dragnet with the help of the masses. Nevertheless, he was unable to continue his leadership role at a crucial period when the movement lost CM and other leading comrades. In spite of high expectations in the revolutionary camp, he was unable to unify the scattered party forces in the country to build the movement after the setback.

The efforts made by leading comrades like Coms. Sharma, Suniti Kumar Ghosh, KS and Ramnath in 1973 to unify the party by forming a Central Organising Committee (COC) ended in failure due to irreconcilable differences. There was no unity on the evaluation of the past and the tactics to be followed. Com. Ghosh's critical evaluation of the movement was not accepted by other members of COC who came up with their own assessments. Thereafter, different revolutionary streams treaded independent paths in carrying forward the revolutionary movement. Com. Ghosh withdrew from organisational activities and engaged himself in studying and explicating Indian history and society in the light of MLM. He enriched the field of Marxist scholarship by publishing a series of incisive books and articles since late 1970s. Towards the end of his life Com. Ghosh published his reminiscences and appraisal of the Naxalbari movement. While upholding the basic line of the movement, he expressed criticisms and disagreements of the tactics and methods of functioning pursued by CPI(ML) and its foremost leader Com. CM. Published in 2009, these criticisms had their continuity with his summing-up of the movement way back in 1973. Not all of his conclusions and criticisms can be accepted by our party, which has a different view on some evaluations and conclusions drawn by Com. Ghosh.

Nevertheless, Com. Suniti Kumar Ghosh basically remained a consistent adherent of the Naxalbari line and a revolutionary throughout his life. He was a friend and well-wisher of the revolutionary streams that uphold the flag of Naxalbari. He continued to give some valuable suggestions and advices to the revolutionaries as a veteran comrade in the movement. Erstwhile CPI(ML) (PW), MCCI, CPI(ML) PU and as well as CPI(Maoist) maintained comradely relations in various forms with Com. Ghosh. It is a reflection of the great qualities of Com. Ghosh that even during the setbacks of the communist movement domestically and internationally – at times when socialism and communism were written off as antiquated and irrelevant by the apologists of reactionary forces while claiming permanence for capitalism – he held on to MLM and social revolution with unswerving conviction. His deep and vast study, steely determination, hardworking nature and simple lifestyle are values worthy of emulation. In his death, the party and the toiling masses of our country have lost a great friend and fellow-traveller. His lifelong commitment to the proletarian ideology, its great cause of revolution and the oppressed masses will ever remain an inspiration. A pledge to hold high the red flag we have bequeathed from the martyred comrades is the best way to pay tribute to our beloved comrade Suniti Kumar Ghosh.

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

# COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)

## CENTRAL COMMITTEE

June 19, 2014

### The Great Revolutionary Leader Comrade Sushil Roy would Forever Illuminate Our Path Like a Red Sun! Let's Grasp, Imbibe and Propagate Widely His Great Communist Qualities and Ideals!

Comrade Sushil Roy (Ashok, Shome, Barunda), our veteran Politburo member and illustrious leader of the Indian Revolution passed away on June 18<sup>th</sup>, 2014 at All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS) in Delhi after prolonged illnesses. The proletariat and toiling masses of our country have lost one of their greatest sons who selflessly served them for nearly half a century till his last breath, with nothing but their interests and the interests of the revolution in his heart. Comrade Sushil Roy is immortal!

The CC, CPI (Maoist) pays its humble red homage to our beloved comrade Sushil Roy on behalf of its entire rank, PLGA, revolutionary mass organizations, organs of revolutionary people's political power and the revolutionary masses with bowed heads. On this solemn occasion, it vows with raised fists to carry forward his aims till our last drop of blood with redoubled determination and commitment learning from him and our great martyrs. We are sending our deepest condolences to the grief-stricken family, friends and relatives of comrade Sushil Roy and well-wishers of Indian revolution

Comrade Sushil Roy was born in Bangladesh. He was a nephew of Dinesh Gupta whose love for the sacrifice and inspiration he drew from him. He became active in the communist movement in the early 1960s in his early 20s. He joined the CPI in the US demonstrations decrying its revisionist line and joined the CPI in the 1966 food movement in South India. He became part of the internal struggle against the revisionists of his contemporaries he hoped to be replaced by splitting with the revisionist line and joined the revolutionary party and joined it



born 76 years ago in present day Bangladesh. He was a nephew of the great revolutionary martyr Dinesh Gupta whose love for the country and its people, his sacrifice and inspiration he cherished in his heart till the end. He became active in the communist movement in the early 1960s in his early 20s. He worked in the working class movement and joined the CPI in 1963. He was active in the anti-unjust war on Vietnam and the anti-revisionist struggle in Kolkata. He became part of the revisionists in CPI. Like many that the CPI(M) that was formed in 1964 would evolve into a revisionist party in 1964.

He came into contact with comrade Amulya Sen who were rigorously engaged in ideological and organizational preparations for a revolutionary party and waging a new democratic revolution on the lines of Chinese revolution. The clarion call of the Spring Thunder of Naxalbari broke the back of revisionism and he supported and hailed it as 'Naxalbari Ek Hi Raasta' (Naxalbari is the only way). He was part of the *Chinta* and *Dakshin Desh* Group from the very beginning and was one of the founding members of the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC). He became a professional revolutionary and went to far away villages in West Bengal to work with a strategic perspective.

As part of creatively putting the line of Protracted People's War (PPW) into practice, the MCC gained first experiences in building the movement in Sonarpur and Kanksa areas in West Bengal. The party deeply reviewed the shortcomings that led to the temporary setback of these struggles. In true communist spirit, serious attempts were taken up to advance the movement in Gaya-Hazaribagh (of erstwhile Bihar), where work was started under the direct leadership of comrade KC with a strategic plan of building a people's army and base areas by learning from past mistakes. Soon the flames of armed agrarian revolution spread and the enemy repression also became serious. In spite of some serious losses the movement withstood the enemy onslaught under the able leadership of the party that included comrade Sushil Roy. They laid down the basis for building a strong proletarian party, a people's army and a revolutionary united front and achieved

significant advances in the course of armed agrarian revolution.

After the untimely demise of comrade KC due to severe ill health on 18<sup>th</sup> July 1982, Comrade Sushil Roy who assumed the responsibility of the Secretary of MCC in 1982 took up this challenge and strove to mobilize the party in a united manner and develop it and build the movement firmly adhering to the party line. He was elected as the Secretary of the party in the first Central Conference of MCC in 1989. He ably led the party till 1996 as the Secretary of the party. His contributions and services in the ideological, political, organizational military and cultural spheres proved invaluable in building the party, armed agrarian revolutionary war and mass base, particularly in Bihar-Jharkhand and Bengal. He won the confidence of his committee, lower level committees and the entire rank and file of the party through his commitment, proletarian strategic leadership capabilities, hard work, guidance, perseverance and selfless services. Due to serious loss of vision and ill-health he voluntarily put the proposal to step down as the Secretary of the party. The party accepted his proposal in the second Central Conference held in 1996 and he continued as the CCM of the party since then. He continued playing a crucial role in the CC and the party, particularly in ideological and political sphere, successfully conducting two line struggles inside the party, summing up the movement, developing international relations and achieving unity with several genuine Maoist organizations, particularly CPI (ML) [PW].

The role of comrade Sushil Roy in conducting the several internal struggles successfully, the most bitter of which was the two-line struggle waged between 1999 and 2001 against the most opportunist, disruptive, liquidationist Bharat-Badal clique in the CC, and in defending the party's correct line as a leading member and later as the Secretary of the party and a veteran CCM was prominent. As a part of these internal struggles, he along with other leading members successfully fought back the left and right opportunist trends inside the party and once again steered the party along the correct path in spite of suffering some temporary losses during these struggles due to the liquidationist activities of the opportunists.

Comrade Sushil Roy's role in achieving unity with genuine revolutionaries in the country needs very special mention in the annals of the history of the communist movement of India. Unity efforts with PW started in 1981 itself under the direct leadership of comrade KC and laid strong foundation for the unity. Apart from other factors, ultimately the efforts for unity between MCC and PW began to bear fruit after MCC took the initiative to declare unilateral ceasefire declared by the MCC in 2000 which was a turning point and he played the crucial role in this decision. He played a crucial role all through the process of achieving this great unity. He participated as a leading member of the high-level delegation from MCC in the entire merger process. Just before this merger, he also played a similarly important role in unifying with RCCI, RCCI(M) and Second CC. The MCC had held unity talks with the CPI (ML) NAXALBARI and a common understanding was reached about some major issues in the process of achieving unity. Close relations were maintained between the two parties. Comrade Sushil Roy played an important role in these talks too. These also laid the basis for the recent unity between the CPI (Maoist) and the CPI (ML) NAXALBARI in 2014.

After the merger, as a veteran comrade of our party and a Politburo member, he was engaged in completing the merger process at the lower levels and in the effort to mould the entire party in the new conditions of functioning as a united party. He was part of the preparations for conducting the Unity Congress and took part in all important decisions of the CC and the PB in order to advance the PW in all spheres and was also looking after some international work.

The development of the party, PLGA and mass base took a qualitative turn after the merger under a single guiding centre for the Indian revolution and the people's war advanced. So, the reactionary ruling classes of India, with the guidance of their imperialist masters, drew up meticulous plans to arrest or eliminate the leadership of the newly-formed CPI(Maoist). Accordingly, soon comrade Sushil Roy was arrested on May 21<sup>st</sup>, 2005. He was interrogated, subjected to mental torture and put in jail after foisting several false cases. He was subjected to the most inhuman, callous treatment in the prisons of West Bengal and Jharkhand. In fact, he was given bails two or three times during this entire period of incarceration but he was booked under false cases in front of the jail gates and once again put in prisons. The state has been resorting to this conspiracy mostly in case of the leadership comrades, especially the CCM comrades to keep them from leading and serving the revolution. With utter disregard towards his old age and physical ailments he was kept in solitary confinement without any assistance (which he needed direly even to go about his daily

ablutions). That led to the rapid deterioration of his health and also to a fracture of his hip bone. It was only belatedly in September 2012 that he was admitted to the AIIMS in Delhi that too due to strong protests and efforts made by several democratic organizations.

Comrade Sushil Roy suffered from cancer in the urinary bladder. The doctors had already removed a tumor from the bladder and another operation was performed for cancer. He had heart problem (eschemia), and one kidney was completely damaged while another was infected. But he fought with his various illnesses like a warrior till his last breath. It was his revolutionary spirit that made him live for some more time than his physical health. Not for a single moment did he lose his heart or spirit in such an extremely excruciating period of physical pain and disability.

Comrade Sushil Roy's sad demise is undoubtedly is a great loss and an event of immense grief to our party and movement. However, our entire party and the revolutionary masses would learn from this great martyr and would work with redoubled determination to fulfill the goals of the revolution. Our beloved and veteran comrade Sushil Roy was an admirable leader and an exemplary communist. He will live forever in our hearts and eternally serve as an inspiration. Several are the lofty ideals he set up for generations of communists that would come forward to fulfill the dreams of our great martyrs. The entire life of comrade Sushil Roy has been inseparably intertwined with the ups and downs, twists and turns, glories and successes of the Indian communist movement. He immersed himself so anonymously and in true communist spirit in the collective that a major part of his life and work would read as a history of the revolutionary communist movement in our country.

Each communist must learn from our great leader comrade Sushil Roy - firm adherence to MLM and his creative application of it; opposition to opportunism and splittism on the one hand and striving for unity and sticking to it on the other; honesty in accepting mistakes and in rectifying other's mistakes; putting all-out efforts to build the three magic weapons to advance the movement victoriously and submitting individual interests to the collective interests.

Comrade Sushil Roy was an epitome of simplicity and led a very frugal life. He remained unmarried till the end. He stood steadfast in all the ups and downs the movement faced after the severe repression unleashed by the state after Naxalbari, Sonarpur and Kanksa movements and later. He never wavered and stood staunchly like a pillar in fulfilling whichever responsibilities the party entrusted him with. He always started with a positive approach towards other movements and parties to learn from them and studied them with a critical outlook. His study was deep. He was very patient in dealing with comrades. He faced almost every kind of difficulty one could face in a revolutionary life but he overcame all of them with the dignity befitting a true communist. It is the resoluteness of a communist who is ready to bear any amount of pain to eradicate the pain of the humanity. No single person associated with him would ever forget his sense of humor which lifted revolutionary spirits even amidst most harsh conditions. It is not just some endearing personal trait but was also made possible due to his unflinching commitment to a great cause – the liberation of the people of the world from all kinds of exploitation, oppression and discrimination.

Beloved People of our country and well-wishers of Indian Revolution!

It is an undeniable fact that comrade Sushil Roy would not have suffered so much or died so early if not for the callous treatment of the Indian state. We strongly condemn this most barbarous and inhumane covert killing by the ruling classes, their state machinery and imperialists and appeal to all democrats to expose this brutality. We must propagate this fact among the people widely to raise their consciousness about preserving the leadership comrades languishing in jails and rouse them to fight against the countless injustices heaped on them and other prisoners. Comrade Sushil Roy who set an example with his resolute fight against the state even in the face of such horrid conditions would continue to inspire the people in this struggle too.

After comrade Sushil Roy's admission into AIIMS and the operation, he was bed-ridden and in constant need of permanent assistance and this was provided by the revolutionary and democratic mass organizations, individuals and people. The CC, CPI (Maoist) and the entire revolutionary camp send their heartfelt revolutionary gratitude and Lal Salam to all of them who fought tooth and nail for his release, for his proper treatment and gave the much needed personal assistance to him till the end. Our party and the revolutionary masses would never forget the genuine human values they displayed in serving him. They are shining more brightly in contrast to the utterly inhuman treatment of our invaluable leader by the Indian State. Our party believes that rendering services to such elderly and genuine people's leaders is an integral part of our

broader fight to establish genuine human values in the entire world.

Several such tasks are bound to come up in the backdrop of several veteran comrades facing serious health problems languishing in jails from half to even one decade, without bails, proper medical treatment, sanitation and hygiene. The fight for proper treatment of comrade Sushil Roy is part of the broader struggle for the unconditional release of all political prisoners and for prisoners' rights. It is the right and responsibility of the people to get the genuine people's leaders released and getting them properly treated.

The CC, CPI (Maoist) calls upon the entire party rank and file and the revolutionary camp in our country to pay rich tributes to this great communist by conducting memorial meetings in all our areas and elsewhere in the country and propagate his ideals in the widest possible manner. It calls upon the various levels of comrades, well-wishers and sympathizers of the Indian revolution to come forward to propagate his ideals in various forms (writings, films, documentaries etc). We can take forward our New Democratic Revolution to a sure victory and advance to realize socialism and communism only by grasping and imbibing the revolutionary qualities and ideals of our beloved comrade Sushil Roy and other great martyrs.

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

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## **COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

**June 21, 2014**

### **Fight Back the 'Bitter Pill' of Railway Fare Hikes that Modi is Pushing Down Our Throats!**

### **Put up a United Fight Against the Steep Price Hikes!**

Within a few days of assuming power Modi declared in Goa that some bitter pills will have to be swallowed 'to bring the economy on to the rails'. The number of 'bitter pills' being pushed down our throats already seem countless even before the new BJP led NDA government completing one month in office.

One of the main election promises of BJP was to control price rise and inflation. But even before a month has passed, the railway fares were hiked in an unprecedented manner (14.2% hike in passenger fares and 6.5% hike in freight fares). This would put a huge burden on the common people, the poor and middle class people directly and also by increasing the rates of all transported goods in the country including all imported goods. This would lead to a steep hike in prices of all consumer goods and food items. Prices of onions, vegetables and fruits are already skyrocketing and inflation is on the rise. The policy of increasing diesel rates every month (on the pretext of adjustment with the world market prices) taken by the UPA is being continued anyway. Various sections of people are raising serious questions about the subsidies given to the Reliance regarding natural gas production and the subsequent steep rise in its price. Cooking gas prices have already been hiked.

The UPA government has showed the world financial crisis and the fluctuation in oil prices as the 'reason' for price hike in petrol, diesel and cooking gas prices etc. When in opposition, the BJP had severely criticized the Congress led UPA government for this and made this into a major issue during its electoral campaign too. But to justify the recent hikes it is now using a similar pretext that the fluctuation in oil prices in the world market due to the rapid advance of the ISIS against the Noori-al-Maliki government in Iraq's northern parts, etc. Another reason it is trying to throw at our face is the need to 'modernize the railways' and the need 'to clean up the mess' that ten years of UPA rule had led our economy into.

The railway minister even shamelessly tried to put the blame on the UPA government for the atrocious railway fare and freight hikes saying that he was only implementing the decision of the UPA government that had been stalled keeping in view the elections. Every day the Modi Sarkar has been revoking several decisions and structures of the UPA government to further favor the imperialist sharks and Indian comprador sharks but it wants the people to believe that it is 'helpless' in revoking the railway fare hike decision! The same pretext was given for bringing in an ordinance to hand over villages of 7 Mandals of Khamman district of the Telangana state that would be submerged due to the Polavaram project to Andhra Pradesh. The shameless arguments in these two issues have clearly exposed the fact that the 'new' government is no different from the 'old' when it comes to taking most reactionary anti-people decisions.

If we remember that one of the very first announcements of the Modi Cabinet was to clear the ground to bring 100% FDI into several sectors including the railways, the excuse of 'the need for the modernization of railways' and 'cleaning up the mess of the previous government' for the price hikes would stand exposed. Modernization is nothing but a euphemism for privatization of this huge public sector service and selling it away for peanuts to the imperialists and the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie (CBB).

Commenting on the election results on May 16, Modi said 'Good days are about to come'. Of course, good days are bound to come but they would be for the MNCs, their boot-licking lackey collaborators, politicians and all higher rung government officials in our country who stand to gain super incomes and profits due to having a 'strong PM' who doesn't bat an eyelid while pushing 'bitter pills' down our throats one after another till we choke to death. But for the common people the days to come would be ridden with steep price hikes, the consequent rapid deterioration in their living standards/conditions, an unprecedented increase in gap between the incomes of the rich and the poor etc.

#### **Beloved people of our country,**

This is just a sample of the worst things that are to come. Modi very clearly stated soon after he was sworn in that he would not reject all policies of the previous government and would be carrying on the same policies which are 'useful' and the preliminary indications are already so obvious that nobody can ignore them. In fact, every one is going to be affected by them. Immediately after taking over as the PM, Modi announced three priorities of his government which are self-explicatory - bringing in investments, building/completing infrastructure projects and exploitation of natural resources – the perfect international and domestic corporate agenda. Our country is going to witness the rule of one of the most ruthless governments ever to come to power in the days to come due to implementation of this agenda. Unless we all fight this back in an united manner the lives of our people are bound to become simply unbearable leading to untold misery, death and destruction.

The CC, CPI (Maoist) call upon all the people of our country to fight back the steep hike in railway fares and freight fares, inflation in food items, hike in diesel and natural gas prices etc being thrust on us by the Modi Sarkar at the behest of the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists and the CBB. It calls upon its entire party rank and file, PLGA to rally the people on a huge scale in wide-ranging agitations against price hike. It appeals to all revolutionary and democratic organizations and individuals to unite and rally the people belonging to all oppressed classes and sections in the broadest possible manner to put up a resolute and united fight against railway and other price hikes.

**Abhay**  
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# COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)

## CENTRAL COMMITTEE

June 29, 2014

### **Oppose the Construction of Polavaram Project – the Most Heinous Crime against the Adivasis and Synonymous with Human Tragedy and Ecological Destruction!**

### **Build a Broad People's Movement Demanding the Termination of the Project!**

In its very first meeting the Modi cabinet passed an ordinance transferring all the villages of 7 *mandals* in the Khammam District of Telangana that would be submerged due to Polavaram project to Andhra Pradesh (AP). Transfer of scheduled villages and division of an Adivasi area is not only a violation of the rights of the Adivasis enshrined in the constitution and the several laws promulgated in the past by the governments due to people's movements, but is also a decision which is completely against the Adivasis' welfare, their aspirations and their birth-right to decide their own lives. Modi who shouts from the roof-top about 'transparency' brought this ordinance in such a shadowy manner that the Law Minister Ravi Shankar Prasad shamelessly lied that talks were still on about this issue, when he briefed the media about the decisions of the Cabinet. When the truth came out the Telangana people, particularly Adivasis rose in anger. Telangana exploded with several agitations including a state-wide bandh, protests, hunger strikes, rallies etc. demanding the immediate withdrawal of the ordinance.

The Modi *sarkar* barefacedly defended its decision by saying that the decision to bring this ordinance was that of the UPA-2 and that they were simply implementing it. The actual fact is that there has never been any difference between the UPA and NDA governments in taking anti-people retrogressive decisions that fulfill the interests of the imperialists and the domestic compradors. Both have been vying with each other in this. The Naidu-duo (AP Chief Minister Chandrababu Naidu, Union Minister for Urban Development and Parliamentary Affairs Venkaiah Naidu), the rank compradors of the domestic and foreign corporate sharks played a key role in bringing this ordinance. The people, particularly the Adivasis understand clearly for whose interests Modi who has been revoking several decisions taken by the UPA-1 and 2 is bringing this ordinance. The fact is, both these ruling party coalitions had together resorted to this conspiracy of Polavaram in the past and are continuing it now. The only change is where they sit – whether in the ruling chair or in the opposition. The people, particularly the Adivasis have seen through their conspiracy. That is why they are severely opposing the decisions of the UPA in the past and the NDA in the present.

The newly formed AP State Assembly in its very first meeting demanded that the central government implement this as a national project and its construction be hastened. It praised to the skies the Naidu-duo for their key role in bringing in this reactionary ordinance. One of the ridiculous reasons that this duo and their comprador mafia gangs gave for bringing in this ordinance is that the submergence villages should belong to the state of the project. Never was such an argument given during construction of inter-state projects anywhere in India or such absurd proposals been implemented anywhere. The real reason behind this is – it would be convenient for them to deal in the most arbitrary manner in matters such as rehabilitation of Adivasis and to carry on irregularities and misdeeds unhindered if all the submergence villages are handed over to them.

400 villages in Telangana and AP, 50 each in Odisha and Chhattisgarh would be submerged due to the construction of Polavaram project. All the villages in Kukunur, Veleripadu, Burgumpahad, Chintur, Kunavaram and Vararamachandra Puram *mandals* and all the villages of Bhadrachalam mandal except the revenue village of Bhadrachalam where the Ram Temple is located would be transferred to AP with this ordinance. When the previous UPA government proposed this amendment to the AP Reorganization Bill too severe protests were registered by the Adivasis of Telangana, various sections of people and environmentalists. They are continuing now too demanding the withdrawal of the ordinance. Our party's Central Committee and the concerned State Committees, revolutionary and democratic organizations have severely condemned

this decision on both the occasions. They are building a people's movement against the decision.

The construction of the Polavaram project is being opposed by the Adivasis, revolutionary and democratic forces in Telangana and AP, progressive sections of environmentalists, anthropologists, engineers, experts etc. Except the domestic and foreign corporations, Seemandhra big capitalists, landlords, big mafias, politicians and big contractors who would be getting super-profits due to the kickbacks from the construction of the Visakhapatnam-Nellore industrial corridor, due to real estate businesses along the corridor and due to mind-boggling levels of corruption – nobody is supporting this multi-purpose project. They are arguing that the farmers of Krishna and Guntur Districts would be getting irrigation with this project. But this is a sham reason. 'Farmers' here mean primarily the landlords and the rich peasants. This would mainly benefit only them. The number of losses far outweigh its benefits. So they cannot defend its construction by showing the few lakh acres of lands that would be irrigated by it. Several more ways can be adopted to give irrigation to AP farmers who lack irrigation. In fact, this project is harmful to the AP people too as several experts had already warned that the dam would burst due to the rapidity of the flood waters and that this would lead to unimaginable human tragedy in the Eastern Ghats. They had presented several scientific proofs and facts about the dangers of constructing this monster. So the AP people should comprehend the facts, give support to and become part of the struggle against Polavaram project.

The primary victims of this 'modern destructive temple' would be the people of Telangana, particularly the lakhs of Adivasis who would be displaced by it. This would be nothing but a cultural genocide. Because more than 3 lakhs Koya, Kondareddy (ST), scheduled castes and other communities of people who are living on that land and forests would be ruthlessly uprooted from their original abodes due to this. In the parlance of the civilized - they would be displaced.

This project is not only a violation of the human rights enshrined in the constitutions of India and the UN won due to people's struggles but also bulldozing of the human and cultural rights of the Adivasis. Historically and culturally the Adivasis of that area have preserved their identity, fought against the policies of the central and state governments that created hurdles to this, all the while considering themselves citizens of Telangana. They are dead against this transfer. If these villages are transferred to AP, their identity, economy, language and culture etc would all be adversely impacted. Moreover, thousands of Adivasis of Bastar were forced to migrate to the Khamman forests due to the destruction and mayhem perpetrated during Salwa Judum and Operation Green Hunt. Their horrid plight in the wake of this project would be beyond imagination. Even the argument for proper rehabilitation would turn into an eye-wash because they are not even recognized as residents of that area.

By pushing for this project's construction and this dreadful ordinance in the most arbitrary manner without any consultation or consent of the Adivasis, the central and state governments had bulldozed the mandatory for obtaining prior consent of the concerned Gram Sabhas or the panchayats in the Scheduled Area under Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Areas Act (PESA) 1996. Several more articles and provisions of the constitution are being violated continuously and brazenly. For example, this violates Article 244 that provides mandatory process for administration and control of the Scheduled Areas in accordance with the Fifth Schedule which require consultation and approval of the Tribal Advisory Council in the State. This is also a violation of the Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013, as this provides for "land for land" in command area for the affected people under irrigation projects and protection to ensure that "all benefits, including the reservation benefits available to the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Castes in the affected area shall continue in the resettlement area". The project is also a criminal violation of the National Tribal Policy as no project which displaces more than 50,000 tribal people should be taken up in the first place.

This project is yet to get several compulsory clearances like the consent of the governments of Odisha and Chhattisgarh, the consent of the Gram Sabhas there, clearances under the Forest Rights Act and several environmental clearances. This list is very long. In the past when YS Rajasekharaiah government was in power in AP, he even invited tenders and gave away contracts to big construction companies to start construction. The Modi *sarkar* that defends the interests of the exploiting classes is taking countless reactionary decisions at such a rapid rate that it is very likely that it would either obtain the permissions for all these or would take some deceptive measures to hasten its construction.

Several cases filed by the CG and Odisha governments objecting to its construction are still pending in

the Supreme Court. Several cases challenging the construction of this most controversial project filed by the Adivasi and Telangana organizations fighting for environment protection, are also pending there. Yet the AP government wants to go ahead with its construction by crushing the Adivasis under the juggernaut with the full support of the BJP-led NDA government.

The Congress, TDP, YSRCP and BJP parties at the centre and in AP had been demanding national status for this project and its speedy construction. The only reason for their 'impatience' is – supplying water to the countless SEZs of MNCs, industrial corridors, tourism 'industries' and other such 'development' projects along the Visakhapatnam-Kakinada corridor that would be coming up in AP and to line their pockets with the kickbacks they would get in this. They have been making mind-boggling increases in the proposed project construction expenses and corruption and irregularities are also increasing in proportion. This would further increase in future. The notoriously and incredibly corrupt politicians of TDP, YSRCP and Congress in the garb of contractors or big contractors in the garb of politicians are vying with each other to pose as Polavarma champions not for nothing. This is a competition to hoard the billions of rupees of public money that would be poured into the construction of this project.

And, the TRS had never registered the much-needed protest or put any pressure to stop the construction of Polavaram. The construction of this project came as part of the two-in-one formula bestowing the boons of ten years of common capital and Polavaram project to Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema on the one hand and a Telangana state with conditions on the other. Why did the TRS accept this formula if it had not been part of this conspiracy plotted against the Adivasis? Why did it not expose in time the conspiracy plotted at higher levels about construction of Polavaram? What is it if not diverting the people, when it is not fighting against this or the decision of making Hyderabad common capital for ten years? It put the lives of three lakh local Adivasi and non-Adivasis at stake and asked the people to be satisfied with whatever they get as far as the state of Telangana is formed. It called upon the people to hold victory celebrations. Why did it not voice its protest on that occasion? Now it may be giving calls to observe *bandhs* against the above ordinance but the fact is that it did not oppose it when it should have. Can the crocodile tears of TRS defend the people from the Seemandhra, domestic and foreign corporate colonialists? More importantly, it had never opposed the construction of Polavaram. Even to this day, its only demand is to change its design and height. It is fully engaged in giving assurances to its corporate bosses that it is in no way opposed to its construction.

The local people are rejecting the decision of the dictatorial Modi *sarkar* handing over the villages of 7 *mandals* to AP with just a sleight of hand at mid-night and loudly declaring that they are part of Telangana while also demanding that the very construction be stopped. So our party is demanding the KCR government which is claiming that it is against this central government's ordinance that it should recognize this area as an integral part of Telangana, recognize the people there as the citizens of Telangana and provide civil, political, social, education, health, transport etc. rights and facilities and treat them as they would treat any other citizens of Telangana. It is appealing to the people of that area along with the organizations, individuals and all the people who are supporting this movement to demand so. Only thus would it become clear on whose side the KCR party and his government is standing. Our party's stand regarding other political parties in Telangana is also as above.

Adivasi organizations are already fighting against Polavaram by forming a broad united front. As they are fighting tooth and nail against this, the bourgeois and revisionist parties in Khammam are also inevitably supporting their struggle, albeit for namesake. However, these are mainly speaking only on the transfer of the villages of 7 *mandals* of Telangana to AP and participating in the agitation.

The crux of the matter is not just to which state the submergence villages would belong to, but why should they be submerged in the first place. Neither the dictatorial Modi, Chandrababu governments nor any other force on this earth have the right to construct this project or transfer that area to AP against the will, hopes, aspirations, opinions and interests of the local *mulnivasis* and the people. Without a doubt, the people would emerge victorious if they wage this movement basing on their own strength. All the classes and forces belonging to the Adivasi, revolutionary, democratic, patriotic, ecology-related, anthropology-related sections of our society and well-wishers of Adivasis who oppose the construction of this project are all friends of the people. Those who support the construction of this destructive project, all those who work against the interests of the three lakh Adivasis who would be affected by this project and all those political parties that support this could only be enemies of the people. All those forces that are consciously or unconsciously supporting this project should realize that they are standing against the people.

## **Beloved people!**

In our country no proper rehabilitation has been provided till date to those displaced by several previous projects constructed all over the country. Their woes (including death) are numerous and incessant. Simultaneously, when we note how on the one hand through severe repression and cruel armed offensives in Nallamala, Manyam and Saranda, these areas were handed over to mining and other projects of MNCs and big domestic corporations, how they are implementing anti-people decisions through repression and with utter disregard to public protests that arose as part of Narmada Bachao, Jaitapur and Kudankulam anti-nuclear movements and how corporate agenda is being implemented by suppressing militant people's struggles in Kalingnagar and anti-POSCO agitation, it is clear as daylight that the ruling classes would not hesitate to submerge the people in pools of blood to fulfill the interests of the imperialists and the compradors. So it is more necessary than ever before that the people realize that this is not just an issue concerning the construction of the Polavaram project but an issue concerning the entire future of our country. If we do not unite and fight on this occasion against Polavaram these ruling classes would completely destroy our beloved country and our people. A genocide similar to the one perpetrated by the European colonialists is going on in our country at present. The only difference is that the rulers belong to our country. This is something alike an internal colonialism.

Even while severely opposing this ordinance, we must rally the people to intensify, expand and consolidate the movement demanding that the very construction of this project synonymous with colossal destruction of humans and nature be stopped. We should wage a severe struggle through building a broad-based united and militant movement by rallying all the anti-project people. All the struggles against all the reactionary decisions taken by the Modi and Chandrababu governments in the wake of the construction of this project should be waged as part of this movement.

We must build the movement on the following concrete demands and formulate new demands later according to the changes in the movement.

1. The construction of the multi-purpose Polavaram project should be immediately stopped.
2. The law should be changed so that the right to make such one-sided arbitrary decisions is annulled.
3. We should fight for the economical, political, social and cultural rights of the local Adivasi and non-Adivasi people.
4. We must fight for the implementation of pro-Adivasi provisions in the 5<sup>th</sup> Schedule, PESA, 1/70, Forest Rights Act and Land Acquisition Acts which has only remained on paper and never been implemented by the governments.
5. This movement should be linked with the struggles waged by the Adivasis, who are the majority population in this area, for autonomy.
6. This area should remain in Telangana and should not be transferred to AP.

This is a common issue of the people of four states of Telangana, AP, Odisha and Chhattisgarh. This should be a united movement of the people of the four states. Because though Telangana may be its epicenter, this would have destructive consequences not only to the Telugu people of the two states but also to the people of Odisha and Chhattisgarh. All the Adivasi, non-Adivasi forces and organizations affected by this project in these four states should come together to turn this movement into a mighty force. All the forces that had already started agitating in Sukma District of Chhattisgarh and Malkangiri District of Odisha should further intensify their stir. This agitation should form a broad united front with all the organizations fighting against this project. The agitation that is going on limited to the agenda of opposing the transfer of the villages of 7 *mandals* should be made a part of the broad movement opposing the construction of the project.

The CC, CPI (Maoist) is appealing to the people of the four states to come forward vociferously condemning this man-induced catastrophe and appalling injustice being heaped on the most marginalized section of our society – the Adivasis and the gross violation of their rights, self-respect, self-reliance, dignity and self-esteem. It is appealing to them to unite this movement with the various movements going on in our country on similar issues and turn it into a country-wide broad movement.

We are appealing to the workers, peasants, Adivasis, students, youth, poets, artistes, intellectuals, journalists, TV-cinema artistes, government and private employees, traders, Dalits, minorities and women to rally in huge numbers in support of this movement. The CC, CPI (Maoist) is particularly appealing to the Kashmir and North East national liberation fighters to come forward for defending the rights of the *mulnivasis* and support this movement.

We are demanding the Telangana government along with the Odisha and Chhattisgarh governments that are claiming their opposition to the project that they should stand firmly with the people who are opposing the fascist decision of the central government that is bulldozing the interests of the people of their respective states and is against the federal spirit. Our party is warning them that they would have to face the wrath of the people if they resort to any deceptive compromises with the Modi and Chandrababu governments.

Our party is appealing to all the international forces that oppose such anti-people and environmentally destructive projects as big dams and all those who are fighting for the rights of the *mulnivasis* to stand in support of the movement of the people getting submerged under the Polavaram project and to bring in as much as pressure as possible at the international level.

The CC, CPI (Maoist) is calling upon its entire ranks, PLGA, the revolutionary and democratic organizations in the revolutionary movement areas and the people to support the movement, play an active role in it and stand in its the forefront. It is calling upon them to strive to unite all the movement forces and the people. Our party that gives first priority to the people's interests should strive to develop this people's movement into a broad, militant and united movement, strive to rally support of various country-wide movements for this and rally broad masses into this as an integral part of the democratic movement going on against the destructive policies of the ruling classes harming our country's interests. We should strive to make this an integral part of the worldwide broad anti-imperialist struggle.

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