



# PEOPLE'S WAR

July 2012



Theoretical Organ of the Central Committee  
Communist Party of India (Maoist)

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## **The chief accomplishment of 60 years of Indian Parliament is to drag formal transfer of power rapidly towards absolute slavery**

The parliamentary system was established in place of rule of the kings as part of the transformation of feudal society into capitalist society through violent revolution. The bourgeoisie led the bourgeois democratic revolutions with the slogans freedom, equality, fraternity and land to the tiller in order to gain the support of the people, particularly the peasants. The bourgeoisie since it came to power veiled its dictatorship by portraying the parliamentary system as a guarantee for political freedom and equality. From its very inception it made a mockery of the namesake equality too by giving voting rights only to the propertied classes. It was only after several struggles and sacrifices by the people in the capitalist countries that they got universal franchise. Voting rights for women and the blacks required many more struggles over a long period of time. The slogan of 'Land to the tiller' was also implemented only to the extent the bourgeoisie needed to free the productive forces from the shackles of feudalism and the peasantry did not get land. In all these countries the transformation took place from feudalism to capitalist and corporate agriculture. The working class and the petty bourgeoisie that took to struggles on the slogans raised by the bourgeoisie were cruelly suppressed by the same capitalist class. In several countries as soon as the proletariat consolidated as a political force and entered the political arena, this same bourgeoisie colluded with the feudal class. In the capitalist countries themselves that gave birth to the parliamentary system it is working as a system to fulfill the economic interests of the monopoly capitalists and as an instrument for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The imperialists feared the intensifying people's struggles in the colonial countries for independence at the end of the Second World War and later, the victories of the Red Army of Soviet Union, the victory of the Chinese revolution that shook the world and the expansion of Communism and had

to let go off their colonies in an inevitable condition. So they resorted to formal transfer of power to the comprador big bourgeoisie (CBB) and the big landlord classes that had colluded with them and the parliamentary system came into existence in backward countries like India through this. In these countries the CBB colluded with the big feudal classes on the one hand and with the imperialists on the other and betrayed the democratic revolution. As part of this, in our country the ruling classes of big land lords and the CBB who had colluded with the imperialists have formed the parliament and are running it with the purpose of facilitating imperialist indirect exploitation, oppression and control in place of their direct rule. Since then the Congress party as their representative has been running this process continuously and conspiratorially to this day as the running dog of the imperialists. It turned the parliamentary democracy into a farce for votes that is performed every five years. All the parties that wallowed in the pigsty of parliament – whether they were in power or in opposition – performed the single task of fulfilling the interests of the big land lords, CBB and their imperialist masters.

While grandly celebrating 60 years of Indian parliament all these bourgeois, feudal and revisionist parties vied with each other in highlighting it to the skies as representing independence, sovereignty, democracy, equality, freedom, progress, prosperity, peace etc but all these are nothing but a big sham. The only thing that these parties did was to speed up the process of transforming formal transfer of power into absolute slavery to the imperialists and increasingly sharpen their fangs to suppress in a fascist manner the revolutionary, democratic forces, people's struggles and movements that have been opposing this treacherous process. The non-Congress parties are spreading an illusion that the declaration of Emergency by the Indira Gandhi led Congress government between 1975 and 1977 was the only dark period where democratic rights were curbed and that democratic rule continued during rest of the period under the parliament. We must on this occasion emphasize the fact that even during the entire period when there was no Emergency the parliamentary system had always resorted to severe repression on the toiling oppressed masses in our country, especially when they fought for their rights.

Which class or classes have political power is the factor that decides the nature of the State in any country. In our country political power went to the big land lords and CBB that constitute the smallest percentage in the population and sucked the blood of the people of our country and not to the

overwhelming majority of the toiling and oppressed masses – the workers, peasants, petty bourgeois and the national bourgeoisie. That is why the parliament remained an institution that served their interests and those of their imperialist masters. It never fulfilled the interests of the toiling masses who are creating the riches of our country and who are its true inheritors. The interests of both these sides are contradictory to each other. So fulfilling their interests by itself means harming or curbing the interests of the toiling masses. Every crucial decision taken in any sphere in these 60 years would clearly prove this.

What is the backdrop for these 60 years celebrations of the parliament? Why are both the ruling and opposition parties going all out to spread illusions among the people by shouting at the top of their voices about parliamentary democracy? Imperialism is getting bogged down more deeply into crisis and the parliament has lost any meaning for its existence in the capitalist countries themselves. In spite of any number of circus feats like bail-outs and tax cuts to big monopoly companies, the ruling classes of these countries are not able to overcome this crisis. Huge cuts are imposed on the already meager social welfare measures, turning the lives of the common people unbearable. In the name of ‘War on Terror’, the ruling classes there are turning the parliamentary democracy more autocratic day by day, curbing even the namesake rights that existed before and suppressing the working class and the middle classes. The labor aristocracy that has been surviving on the crumbs thrown by the ruling classes from the riches looted from the colonial/semi-colonial/neo-colonial countries is increasingly getting exposed. The wars of occupation that the imperialists chose as one of the chief means to overcome the crisis are leading to further economic and political crises. In spite of imposing the burden of the crisis on the backward countries they are unable to overcome the crises and solve the basic problems of the people there. As one of the ill-effects of the crisis national chauvinistic parties and forces are gaining strength. Parliaments became havens for corrupt politicians, scams and illicit earnings. The people are increasingly becoming disillusioned with bourgeois democracy thanks to the huge gap between the income of the corporate classes and the common people. The working class and other people are rejecting the corporate dictatorships implemented through the parliaments and are gradually and increasingly getting attracted towards socialist views.

In India too, in recent times the real face of parliamentary democracy had been exposed as never before in history. The scams worth thousands and lakhs of crores of rupees that the Congress, BJP and other parties resorted to are coming to light one after another. The governments are lifting all kinds of restrictions/regulations on a daily basis by signing MoUs worth lakhs of crores of rupees to sell the riches of our country to the imperialists. The intervention of the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists into every sphere including defence is increasing day by day. The ruling classes are not only changing the laws to suit all these but are also promulgating new laws and regulations in a treacherous manner and the word sovereignty has no longer any meaning. In order to suppress the people who are opposing and fighting all these phenomena and to curb the even the meager rights and the hard-won civil rights and the rights of workers, peasants and other oppressed classes and sections of people, they are turning the laws more draconian. Following the model of the imperialist countries they accelerated their attempts to form horrendously brutal institutions like the NCTC. They have not only turned elections into a ritual and a farce but have also turned them into periods of severe repression wherever people used their democratic right to boycott them. Probably as nowhere else in the world, they have deployed lakhs of military and paramilitary forces in vast areas (Kashmir, North-East and the Maoist movement areas) since a long period of time. They are trying to deploy them in several more areas. They are waging a 'War on the People'. Thus the atrocities and carnage carried on by the ruling classes at an unprecedented scale under a nakedly fascist rule wearing the mask of parliamentary democracy have on an equal scale given rise to severe anger and hatred among the people towards it.

Whoever may have come to power in Delhi or in the states till date, all of them had continued their rule in accordance with the changes in the balance of power between the imperialists. All the decisions made in the parliament were made in accordance with their interests. As a result, in the past 60 years, the condition of the peasantry that constitutes 70% of our population has worsened. Unofficial estimates state that due to agrarian crisis, in the past fifteen years five lakh peasants committed suicide. Due to massive increase in expenses for agriculture, farming is increasingly turning burdensome and the poor peasants are becoming landless while the middle peasants are turning into poor peasants. Due to the MoUs signed

with the imperialists and the big corporations of our country for SEZs, mining and various huge projects, peasants, particularly the Adivasis and urban poor are losing their Jal-Jungle-Zameen and becoming displaced. They are losing everything and facing destruction.

Problems such as retrenchments, closure of factories, blatant violation of labor laws, steep fall in wages due to the constant increase in reserve army of the unemployed, steep fall in real wages due to inflation and price rises are playing havoc with workers lives. Due to the ill-effects of liberalization, privatization and globalization (LPG) policies, the conditions of the private workers is rapidly declining to the level of the 18<sup>th</sup> century European workers with working hours and work burden increasing enormously. Countless problems like unemployment, inflation, price rises, backwardness, illiteracy, lack of medical services, starvation deaths, ban on strikes, firings on demonstrations conducted with genuine demands and for their rights, female foeticide and killing of girl children, deaths due to several curable diseases like malaria and TB, evictions of slums in the name of beautifying cities are pestering the toiling masses that create the riches of this country. The upper-caste, Hindu, patriarchal attacks on Dalits, women and the minorities have not been curtailed, instead are being carried out in more horrific forms. The rotten imperialist culture that is flowing into our country without any control or check is destroying the social life and values. It colluded with the semi-feudal culture here and has in particular increased violence on women on a massive scale. The great and glorious 60-year old independent parliamentary system turned our country into a prison-house for nationalities and murdered thousands of youth by resorting to blood-bath to suppress the struggles of Kashmir and North-East states for self-determination including the right to secession. In accordance with the interests of the imperialists, in the name of ‘mixed economy’ for a long period before 1991 and from then onwards in the name of New Economic Policies, they have opened wide the gates of our country to corporate investments and helped the CBB that colluded with them to multiply their properties on a massive scale. They are making economic, financial and political decisions in the parliament to facilitate this. These decisions are making the lives of workers, peasants and the middle classes unbearable on the one hand and on the other have led to the closure of domestic industries of lakhs of small and middle bourgeoisie. Handicrafts and cottage industries suffered an irreparable damage. To be precise, 60 years of

parliamentary democracy could not solve even a single basic problem of the people. On the contrary, it made them more complex and intense. As if all this is not enough, in accordance with the ambition for world hegemony of the Soviet Union at one time and of the US at present, India as their junior partner and with its expansionist ambitions is playing the role of the local bully in South Asia. It even sent its armies into countries like Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. It occupied Sikkim. It is intervening in the internal matters of Nepal and Pakistan at every step. It is to suppress the people who are fighting against all these that the defence budget was increased to whopping amounts at an unprecedented scale. Along with the draconian laws they got as a heritage from the cruel colonial rule of the British, they are making several new laws and institutions for suppression. The number of military, paramilitary and police forces are being expanded enormously. They turned parliament into a deceptive institution, debating club and a pig sty that formulates and puts its mark of approval on all these reactionary, treacherous and anti-people policies.

Since the First War of Indian Independence of 1857 up to 1947, countless Adivasi and peasant rebellions were waged as part of the democratic revolution, against colonial occupation, loot and suppression and against the feudal exploitation and oppression here. Militant workers struggles were waged. Warli, Punnappa Vayalar, Tebhaga and the heroic Telangana armed peasant struggles were led by the Communist Party of India (CPI). The Congress party which colluded with the imperialists and betrayed the independence movement sent the Army as soon as it came into power and soaked the glorious Telangana armed struggle in bloodbath.

Instead of spreading all over the country the Telangana armed struggle that was advancing by fighting back the Army and advancing the movement with the aim of establishing liberated area by building a people's army, the then CPI withdrew the armed struggle and greatly betrayed the revolution and got bogged down neck deep in revisionism. The great storm of Naxalbari that arose by declaring that the bourgeois democratic revolutions have become outdated and that we can liberate India only through New Democratic Revolution under the leadership of the proletariat shook the entire country. It out rightly rejected the sham parliamentary democracy and placed the Protracted People's War as the path of liberation. It became the path of the genuine revolutionaries in India. Our party, CPI (Maoist) is advancing in this path, expanding people's war all over the country while facing several ups and downs and is building Revolutionary People's



Committees as the real alternative to the parliamentary system in several areas with the aim of establishing liberated areas. The number of people in our country who are embracing this alternative is progressively increasing.

It is in this entire backdrop that we must contextualize the hullabaloo about the uniqueness, holiness, necessity and inevitability of the parliamentary system that the ruling and the opposition parties are kicking up. It is precisely because the hollowness of this system is getting increasingly exposed in the world and in our country that they are falling over each other to preserve it. Moreover, post-modernism, reformism and Gandhism and the imperialist-sponsored NGOs as part of these trends are trying in various forms to increase the legitimacy and establish the permanence of capitalism and its parliamentary system. On the other hand, in countries like Nepal the revisionist leadership led by Prachanda-Bhattarai betrayed the people's war and is trying to increase illusions among the people towards parliamentary democracy. That is why, the necessity for genuine revolutionaries and Maoist parties to expose the fact that parliamentary democracy is nothing but an instrument for the class dictatorship of monopoly capitalists and their lackeys and give a call to the people to join the revolution by rejecting it has increased further. It is necessary to unite the vast masses and develop people's war to overthrow the rule of the CBB and the big land lord classes by utilizing the excellent revolutionary conditions developing all over the world apart from exposing the parliamentary system in ideological and political spheres,

On this occasion CPI (Maoist) is one more time giving a call to all people to boycott the 60 year celebrations of the Indian Parliament and to overthrow it completely through armed struggle for the liberation of our country. All the fundamental problems faced by our people would be solved only through the establishment of a federal democratic republic and people's democracy of the four classes on the basis of worker-peasant unity by fighting against the enemy while forming a strong people's army and united front under the leadership of the CPI (Maoist) in the path of protracted people's war for the victory of New Democratic Revolution. Only then we can overthrow the parliamentary democracy that serves as a mask for the dictatorship of big CBB and big land lords and establish genuine democracy of the people. We can liberate our country from the domination of the imperialists and achieve genuine sovereignty along with genuine independence. We can advance the country in the interests of the vast masses along the path of genuine progress and peace.

**Party Letter : 1/2012**

**For Party Members**

**Great Leader Of Indian Revolution,  
People's War General and Politburo  
Member Of CPI (Maoist)  
Comrade Koteswarlu Is Immortal !  
It Is Impossible To Stop  
The Advance Of The Movement  
With The Murders Of Revolutionaries !**

**Dear Comrades !**

Another revolutionary general laid down his life in the Indian revolutionary movement. On November 24, 2011 we have lost the great leader of Indian revolution, CPI (Maoist) Politburo member and our beloved comrade Mallojhala Koteswarlu. This would remain another dark day in our revolutionary movement's history. The fascist ruling clique of Sonia-Manmohan-Pranab-Chidambarm-Jairam Ramesh carrying on an unjust war on the oppressed masses colluded with West Bengal Chief Minister Mamta Banerji and prepared the conspiratorial 'covert



operation' plan for murdering comrade Mallojhala Koteswarlu. With the coordination of central IB and West Bengal state intelligence, the most cruel officers in the high-command of the commando forces under the leadership of CRPF Director-General Vijayakumar with the help of counter-insurgency SP Manoj Verma caught him unarmed in a covert plan. The cowardly enemy mercenary killer gang tortured him in the most unspeakable manner and his body was turned into pulp in the most horrible manner. His right eye was pulled out. His fingers were cut off. His hands and legs were broken. His ribs were crushed. They fired a bullet into his mouth and his face was rendered beyond recognition. His feet were burnt on an electric heater. He was brought in the last stage of his life to Burishol in Kushboni forest of West Midnapore district (in West Bengal), shot dead and then a false encounter story was circulated. Our beloved leader Kishenji breathed his last and his martyrdom proclaimed to the world that revolutionaries who lay down their lives for the people are immortal, that final victory belongs to the people, that no force in this world can stop the victory of the revolution and that final defeat and destruction is that of the exploiting, oppressing classes.

Comrade Koteswarlu is a great revolutionary. He was a brave fighter who did not waver in the face of tortures by the enemy. He set up a great ideal for the future generations by holding aloft the revolutionary flag while preserving the party secrets spilling his warm blood.

**“Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the people and the sufferings of the great majority at heart, and when we die for the people it is a worthy death. Nevertheless, we should do our best to avoid unnecessary sacrifices.” - Mao** [“Serve the People” (September 8, 1944), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 228]

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**“All men must die, but death can vary in its significance. .... To die for the people is weightier than Mount Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather.”**

**- Mao** [“Serve the People” (September 8, 1944), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 227. 4]

Comrade Koteswarlu was a revolutionary of the post-Naxalbari generation. Though Naxalbari suffered a setback he was influenced with the lessons of that great revolutionary tide and started his political career when the party was making preparations for a new revolutionary upsurge. He became a part of that upsurge and when that was developing as a higher level People's War, he developed along with it and became one of the prominent leaders who led that movement. With a vast experience of 38 years comrade Koteswarlu developed step by step along with revolutionary movement, won the confidence of the entire party cadres and stood as a brave general in the path of Protracted People's War (PPW). As part of expanding the revolutionary movement he worked in several areas and built mass movements. He worked tirelessly in taking the revolutionary movement to new heights by taking up several responsibilities in the course of development of the party. Ideals such as the superior revolutionary commitment and determination, initiative and presence of mind, comradely love and affection, dedication, study and serving nature of that martyr would remain a model to follow for communist revolutionaries. He carved a niche of his own in the revolutionary movement under many names such as Prahlad, Pradeep, Sankar, Ramji, Vimal, Kishenji etc. In the initial days, peasantry and close comrades called him affectionately as Koti and Kotanna. Comrade Koteswarlu fought with unbending courage till the end for the sake of the revolutionary ideology he believed in and dedicated his invaluable services to the revolutionary movement selflessly. He etched his name permanently with blood soaked letters in the history of sacrifices of the Indian revolutionary movement, set up an ideal and imparted an ideal spirit of struggle for many generations to come.

In his long revolutionary life, he played a prominent role in several spheres, dedicated everything for the liberation of our country and finally shed his blood on the historic Lalgarh soil. Our Central Committee is humbly paying red homage to martyr comrade Koteswarlu with respect, a heavy heart and eyes filled with tears on behalf of the entire party, People's Liberation Guerilla Army, Revolutionary Janatana Sarkars, revolutionary mass organizations and revolutionary masses. It is vowing that we would strive with boundless commitment to fulfill his aims with the inspiration of the ideals he set up and by learning from the movement experiences he imparted. It is vowing that we would intensify revolutionary mass struggles, mass resistance movements and People's War. The enemy classes are

celebrating that they have given a severe blow to the revolutionary movement by murdering comrade Koteswarlu. But let us wipe our tears and take up this challenge courageously on behalf of the oppressed people and the revolutionary camp. Let us declare clearly to the enemies that we would definitely take revenge for the murder of Koteswarlu by expanding to the four corners of the country and developing the Maoist People's War to lofty heights. Let us vow one more time with clenched fists that we would sacrifice everything by taking as an ideal comrade Koteswarlu and all the martyrs to fulfill the aims of our beloved martyr comrade Koteswarlu by destroying this exploiting society.

On this occasion, our CC is expressing deep condolences to his mother Madhuramma, his life partner, his other family members, relatives and to all the comrades who worked with him. It is sharing its grief with the party ranks, revolutionary masses and all his friends who have been immersed in a sea of grief after they lost a beloved comrade with his martyrdom. The murderers who killed our beloved comrade Koteswarlu are the same ones who are behind our difficulties, travails and tears. CC is calling upon all of you to fight the enemy with doubled hatred and steeled determination.

Let us look briefly at the prominent events in the long revolutionary life of comrade Mallojhala Koteswarlu who fought till he shed his last drop of blood and sacrificed everything for the sake of revolution, not bending in the face of the enemy.

## **Family Background**

Comrade Koteswarlu was born on November 26, 1954 in Peddapally town of Karimnagar district in the state of Andhra Pradesh. His father was Mallojhala Venkataiah. He was a Congress person who participated in the Indian freedom struggle and supported the struggle against the Nizam in Telangana. His mother was Madhuramma. She developed progressive ideas with the influence of her husband's politics. They raised their children amidst many financial difficulties and influenced them with democratic ideas. He studied up to high school in Pedddapally. With the encouragement of his father, he studied the writings of progressive writers and imbibed anti-feudal and progressive ideas since his childhood. In the later period when comrade Koteswarlu carried on revolutionary activities on a vast scale, he always got revolutionary sympathy, moral support and help in all manners from his parents and relatives. During the period of legal

opportunities gained after Emergency, their house also served as a revolutionary centre. In those days many comrades used to frequent their home and they were like parents to all of them. They loved all like their own children and helped them. Though they faced severe repression from the police and their house was destroyed two times they did not surrender to enemy counseling. Their support for the district movement was present in this manner. Their encouragement in the development of Koteswarlu as a revolutionary is immense.

### **Initiation Into The Movements During Student Days**

Like his father, Koteswarlu too had patriotic ideas. By the time his high school study was completed, the movement for separate Telangana came to the fore in 1969 and immersed the youth in its upsurge. Young Koteswarlu participated in it militantly. He developed into one of the student leaders of the movement for separate Telangana in Peddapally town.

Comrade Koteswarlu was intelligent in his studies. Mathematics was his favorite subject. He was popular among the students. Koteswarlu who completed his high school studies (11th standard) in Peddapally went to Karimnagar (the district head quarters) for higher studies. He joined the PUC there and was acquainted with revolutionary politics and Literary Friends. With each year, his relations with revolutionary politics deepened. He passed PUC with good marks and joined BSc (Mathematics) and completed this degree course in 1974.

In 1973 he burnt the 'national' flag in his college along with his revolutionary friends as part of boycotting sham independence day celebrations and got arrested. He participated in the building of revolutionary student organization in 1974 and laid the foundations for the building of a strong revolutionary student organization in the district. While participating actively in the revolutionary student movement, he abandoned his studies and developed into a full time party activist. In 1975, after the formation of the Radical Student Union (RSU), he strove to spread the student movement in the district. Koteswarlu who developed contacts with revolutionary literary and cultural organizations which had already been formed and were involved in the building of revolutionary movement, became a part of the civil rights movement too which emerged newly and was expanding and strove to build these organizations in the district. Comrades Bhoomaiah

and Kista Goud had contacts with the revolutionary movement in Adilabad district and were arrested as the accused in the annihilation of a local traitor of the people. They were sentenced to death. Comrade Koteswarlu participated in the agitations that flared up all over the state against the death sentences and also involved the students in the district in the agitation.

On June 26, 1975 Emergency was declared in India. In the most fascist manner, the then Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi did not spare even the ruling class opposition parties all over the country and put in jail all of her opponents, in their thousands. She transformed the whole country into a jail. Mass organizations came into existence as a result of the serious involvement of our party in the building of the revolutionary mass movement by overcoming the leftist tactics of the Naxalbari period. Soon they became victims of the fascist Emergency. During the Emergency, all the revolutionary parties and revolutionary mass organizations were banned and had to go underground. Comrade Koteswarlu too went underground at that time. During the dark rule of Emergency, he worked among the rural peasantry of Vemulavada in Sircilla taluq in the district and learnt his first lessons in agrarian revolution. As there were no regular contacts with the secret party leadership during the Emergency, the cadres led their revolutionary life with Bolshevik determination keeping their whereabouts very secret to the enemy and fulfilling their daily needs and traveling expenses etc with the little money they got as funds from revolutionary sympathizers. Comrade Koteswarlu took shelter near his friends and relatives and transformed them into revolutionary sympathizers and played a revolutionary role in involving his younger brother in the revolutionary movement along with him. During Emergency, police shot dead comrades Surapaneni Janardhan, Sudhakar, Anand Rao and Murli Mohan in a fake encounter at Girayipalli and in this backdrop all the revolutionaries had to conduct their activities in the most secret manner. Comrade Koteswarlu was arrested near Marigadda in Sircilla area while expanding revolutionary activities immediately after the lifting of Emergency.

### **Rebuilding The Party–1977 Telangana Regional Conference**

To overcome the setback of Naxalbari and Srikakulam, the Andhra Pradesh State Committee (APSC) belonging to the stream of erstwhile People's War party in its document named 'Let us review the past and advance the armed struggle' (Self-Critical Report – SCR) had summarized

the positive and negative lessons imparted by the glorious revolutionary upsurge of those days. The party came to the conclusion that only by basing on these lessons and carrying on ideological, political and organizational work by depending on the remaining limited subjective forces we could create another new revolutionary upsurge. Party concentrated its efforts in this direction while carrying on a serious struggle with right opportunism. SCR document made us change our leftist tactics. It steered our practice in the correct direction. It had a great impact on the party. Emergency was lifted due to the deluge of mass protests against Emergency fascist rule and due to the severe contradictions between ruling classes. As a result favorable conditions were created for open activities.

In the beginning of 1977, Telangana Regional Conference of the party was held in Nagpur. This conference passed the 'Viplavaniki Baata' ('Path for Revolution') document formulated by the COC in 1974-75. Comrade Koteswarlu attended this conference as a delegate. Later APSC released the 'August Resolution' according to the concrete conditions. Plans were formulated to develop the revolutionary movement in its light with new tactics and basing on mass line.

As result of the armed agrarian revolutionary work carried on by firmly implementing this plan, another new revolutionary upsurge began with Karimnagar, Adilabad, Chittoor, Anantapur and Visakha struggles in Andhra Pradesh and with Gaya, Aurangabad, Hazaribagh, Giridih, Palamau and Jehanabad struggles in Bihar due to the efforts of erstwhile MCC and Party Unity streams. As one of the leading comrades of Karimnagar district, comrade Koteswarlu played a prominent role in expanding the revolutionary activities.

## **New Upsurge Of Karimnagar and Adilabad Peasant Revolutionary Struggles**

The second conference of RSU was held in 1978. RYL (Radical Youth League) was formed in 1979 and state Rytu-Coolie Sangham (APRCS - Peasant-Laborer Association) was formed in 1981. Comrade Koteswarlu played an active role in these. The development of RSU activities in the state led to the formation of RYL. Students and youth took up the 'Go to Villages' campaign since 1978 and gave a fillip to the armed agrarian revolutionary activities in the rural areas. Civil rights movement developed in this course. As a result of this movement, the government was forced to



appoint the Bhargava Commission to conduct an enquiry into fake encounters including the Girayipalli fake encounter. PUCL formed another committee under former High Court Justice Tarkunde. The student leaders of those days strove to provide evidences on fake encounters. Party intensified revolutionary activities in all spheres utilizing the legal opportunities available. Karimnagar and Adilabad districts became centres for peasant movement. It was these movements which laid the foundation for comrade Koteswarlu to develop into a leader.

Karimnagar was one of those most backward districts in Telangana, notorious for severe feudal oppression. In 1977, peasantry rose like a hurricane due to the revolutionary movement which developed in areas like Jagityal, Korutla, Metpally and Sircilla in Karimnagar district. They questioned the feudal exploitation and oppression of ages. The peasants and laborers began the 'rule of Sangham' declaring that the rule of land lords will no longer apply. On September 7, 1978 a huge public meeting was held in Jagityal with thousands of peasantry. This won a permanent place in the history of revolutionary movement as 'Jagityal Jaitrayatra' (Victory March of Jagityal). It suppressed the arrogance of the land lords in the villages and stopped giving 'fire and water' (i.e., social boycott) to them. This was a people's struggle form which terrified the age old feudalism in those days. *Sanghams* (peasant-labor organizations) calculated all the illegal money forcefully collected from the oppressed peasantry by the feudal lords during their rule and put conditions that all that money must be repaid to the people. They gave judgments that all the peasants' lands forcefully occupied by the land lords must be returned to the owners and that village common lands must be identified by the *Sanghams* and distributed to the landless poor peasants. The land lord class that was alarmed by the upsurge of the revolutionary peasantry, increased pressure on the government and made it proclaim Jagityal and Sircilla areas as disturbed areas. State unleashed its repression on the rural revolutionary peasantry. Police forces established camps in the villages for protecting feudalism. On the one hand, police intensified arrests of peasantry on a large scale and sent them to jails. Due to this, party was faced with the higher task of transforming anti-feudal struggle into anti-state struggle.

Party began strengthening as a result of the upsurge of peasant movements in Karimnagar and Adilabad districts. After APSC formulated

new tactics in the light of the SCR in August 1977, comrade Koteswarlu was elected a member of the party's joint district committee of Karimnagar and Adilabad which was formed for the first time in 1978. In the party district conference held in the beginning of 1979, two separate district committees were elected for the two districts. Comrade Koteswarlu took up responsibility as the secretary of the Karimnagar district committee.

In the course of expansion of the revolutionary movement to various spheres within a short period, the district level leadership that newly came to the fore in the various movements gained new experiences. Basing on the AP state movement and the Dharmapuri peasant movement in Tamilnadu, the APSC and the Tamilnadu state committee came together and formed the CPI (ML) [People's War] on April 22, 1980. The 12<sup>th</sup> party state conference of AP was held in September 1980. The conference reviewed the SCR document prepared by the APSC on the Naxalbari upsurge and its setback, the correctness and shortcomings of its new tactics and their practice. It summarized the experiences. This conference took up the necessary tactics to take the AP state movement, particularly the peasant revolutionary movement that developed in Karimnagar and Adilabad districts to newer heights. The most important among them were – building the people's army following the path of PPW that would establish area-wise political power, sending squads to Dandakaranya (DK) with the aim of establishing liberated areas, expanding the revolutionary movement all over the AP state, expanding the revolutionary movement to five districts as part of developing North Telangana into a guerilla zone and giving utmost importance to achieve unity with the genuine revolutionary forces. The document released under the title 'Let us develop the peasant movements of Karimnagar-Adilabad districts to the higher stage' (popular as Guerilla Zone document) explained these tactics. Comrade Koteswarlu participated actively as a delegate in that conference. The conference elected him into the state committee (SC). In the SC meeting held after three months, he was elected as its secretary and became popular among party ranks as 'Prahlad'. He worked as the state secretary till October 1984 and as an SC member till end 1986. In end 1984, he married a full time party activist.

### **Tireless Efforts As The APSC secretary**

Braving the severe repressive methods of the enemy, the party and revolutionary movement sustained and were strengthening all over AP and

in DK. In 1981, the historic 56-day strike of the coal mine workers of Singareni went on in an unprecedented manner and laid the foundation for the formation of Singareni Karmika Samakhya (Sikasa). All India organizations like the All India Revolutionary Students Federation (AIRSF) and All India League for Revolutionary Culture (AILRC) were formed. On the other hand, party ranks stood firm in isolating the liquidators and in preserving the correct political line in the internal struggle against opportunism that arose in the party. The then leader Kondapalli Seetharamaiah (KS) who played the important role in the re-consolidation of the party was released from the enemy's custody in a most daring action by a special guerilla squad. The SC took up a rectification campaign against the six wrong trends that arose in the party.

In order to defeat the fascist undeclared war launched by the central and state governments since the beginning of 1985, the SC formulated tactics of self-defence war. Even while fighting back the severe repression of the enemy all over the country, anti-imperialist and anti-state mass agitations came to the fore. The efforts of mass organizations among the people and united front work in the movements developed. Under the leadership of Agitation and Propaganda Committee (APC) of the APSC, publication of magazines of party and mass organizations and propaganda were carried on a huge scale. Party formulated correct tactics in student-intellectual and worker fields and worked creatively. People's resistance actions were conducted on a huge scale all over the state against the repression of the enemy. Revolutionary movement took another step forward by defeating the enemy offensive and preserving the movement. Party cadres were sent in a planned manner to DK from AP, particularly from North Telangana. The erstwhile PW party and the movement developing under it had a strong impact on the genuine revolutionary forces in the country and the revolutionary masses. Comrade Prahlad's role as the secretary of APSC in all of these is prominent.

## **Role As The General Of PW In DK**

By the beginning of 1985, in the vast area of DK, i.e., in the vast forest-adviasa areas stretching from Adilabad in the West to Visakha agency in the East via Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh and Odisha borders, revolutionary movement, party, people's guerilla forces and class struggle expanded and developed. As a result conditions were created to form a separate leadership

structure of its own for this movement. However, it took two more years to formulate tasks with the higher aim by forming a separate leadership team while facing the undeclared war launched by the enemy, carrying on the internal two-line struggle inside the party in the correct direction and reviewing the DK movement in time. Under these conditions, in end 1986, APSC decided to lessen the number of members in the SC, to rebuild it as a shorter committee and to send some of the leadership from there to DK. As part of that, comrade Prahlad went to give direct leadership to the DK movement as 'Ramji'. Comrade Ramji who was in the forefront in guiding the DK movement as the APSC secretary and secretariat member till then, now directly became a part of it.

In the first party conference of DK held in February 1987, comrade Ramji was elected as a member of the Forest Committee (FC) which was formed in that conference. He applied the experience gained in AP directly in DK and stood in the forefront in developing it. He particularly concentrated on the development of Gadchiroli movement. He also went to East Division for some time to fulfill the needs of the movement. As a FC member he led the movement from 1987 to 1993. He won the confidence of the party cadres, guerilla soldiers, commanders and people. In that period, the DK movement consolidated and expanded. Mass base developed and class struggle intensified. Subjective forces developed. They made the political, military and organizational preparations to carry on guerilla warfare even while resisting the enemy. They launched the guerilla warfare and developed it. Comrade Ramji's role in developing the DK movement in this seven year period as a participant in it is prominent.

The guerilla life he led in DK is an ideal one. He played a valuable role in the course of development of the movement as a guerilla fighter, commander and party leader. His played an important role in introducing the system of urban organizers and the system of mass organization organizers, in taking up the task of building revolutionary women's organizations, in encouraging women in various spheres and molding them into brave guerilla commanders and efficient party leaders, in conducting anti-patriarchal struggle, coordinating urban and forest movement and in the manufacturing of grenades and weapons. He was a military expert who realized the importance of military training camps in the practice of guerilla warfare. He participated in several military training camps as a

student and instructor since 1981 to his last days. The military training camps conducted by the party in 1987 and 1989 would remain milestones in the development of guerilla warfare. In these camps relatively better new training was imparted. They introduced to the guerillas the necessary military skills and techniques. Comrade Ramji participated in these training camps as a student and became a marksman. He was a sniper. He implemented discipline which is like lifeline for the soldiers of PW and made others implement discipline too and was ideal in this matter as a commander. He played an important role in formulating the standing orders by the FC. He played an active role as a FCM and CCM in consolidating and expanding the guerilla squads as platoons and companies. His role was also crucial in building the PLGA. He was an expert in using various kinds of weapons. He studied with interest several military books such as History of rifle written by Engels, military manuals written by Sher Jung and the history of weapons etc. He escaped with knack from the attacks of the enemy to wipe him out several times with the support of the people.

## **Keeping The Party Line Aloft In Internal Struggles Of The Party**

The APSC decided to take up rectification campaign against the six wrong trends (non-proletarian trends) inside the SC of the erstwhile CPI (ML) [PW] in 1985. As a continuation of this, the first internal struggle inside the party was conducted in the PW party in 1985. Satyamurthi, Veeraswamy and others in the CC created a crisis situation inside the party. As APSC secretary and member, Comrade Prahlad played a great role in making the cadres of AP and DK stand steadfast and united around the party line during the crisis. He put in lot of efforts in the party plenums to isolate the liquidationist opportunists, to preserve the party from their conspiracies and for uniting the party.

In 1991, the second internal struggle arose inside the erstwhile PW party. The then party secretary KS himself was the reason behind this crisis. On that occasion comrade Ramji fought back very efficiently the liquidationist politics of opportunists and careerists like KS, Bandaiah, Prasad etc.

Comrade Ramji played a prominent role as one of the members of the new leadership team in the internal struggles of the party against the opportunist, liquidator cliques that arose inside the party.

## **Immense Contribution As a CC Member**

Comrade Ramji was co-opted into the Central Organizing Committee (COC) in 1993 and was elected as the Central Committee member in the All India Special Conference held in 1995. Since then he took up higher level responsibilities as Bimal and Kishenji. The new leadership which came to the fore after isolating and defeating the opportunists from the party, formulated a plan for expanding the revolutionary movement inside the country and he played a prominent role in this as a member of that team. Till then PW party was limited only to South India. The CC also took up unity with genuine revolutionaries as an important and immediate task

In such circumstances, the CC decided that comrade Koteswarlu must go to West Bengal for expanding the movement. Since then for eighteen long years he lived and worked among the revolutionary masses and comrades of Bengal, learnt Bangla language, understood the social, economic and political situation in Bengal, built the movement and breathed his last there while working as its leader. While particularly concentrating on Bengal, he worked for expanding the party in the various states of North India.

## **Rebuilding The Bengal movement**

After the setback of Naxalbari, though various groups in the ML stream made many attempts, as they were entrenched in left and right deviations and due to their wrong tactical lines, they could not achieve any considerable results. Under such circumstances, comrade Koteswarlu conducted an ideological struggle sharply and firmly against the neo-revisionism of CPM and its social fascism entrenched in Bengal since decades. He got acquainted with the old friends belonging to the revolutionary camp. He conducted sharp polemical debates against the right opportunists and exposed the true colors of those persons who were dogmatic and were known for conducting unending debates. He worked tirelessly to creatively apply the party line and experiences to the concrete conditions in Bengal. He fought back the ideological and physical attacks of the social fascists on the one hand and the attacks of reactionary forces on the other hand and strengthened the party by fighting back the right politics entrenched since decades in the garb of revolutionary parties.

People of West Bengal suffered unspeakable atrocities at the hands of the neo-revisionists. Under the rule of the social fascists, there was no

opposition to the orders of the CPM right from the universities in Kolkata to the remote villages in the state. But they set up a din of propaganda that land reforms were implemented in West Bengal as never before in the whole country and that peasantry were leading happy lives. Revolutionary activities put a stop to that propaganda. As revolutionary activities once again began in several areas in West Bengal, vast oppressed masses became enthusiastic.

Comrade Koteswarlu put serious efforts in West Bengal to rebuild the party, to unite the genuine revolutionaries into the party and to strengthen the party. He began work for building the student, youth and workers' movements in Kolkata and tried to turn the city into a revolutionary centre. He drove the party leadership there to conduct militant struggles on mass issues by going into various sections in the Kolkata city. He played a prominent role in formulating the Bengal-Jharkhand-Odisha (BJO) border region perspective and in developing it into a guerilla zone with the aim of establishing liberated area by developing guerilla warfare in that area. He mobilized the support of the Bengal intellectuals and democrats to the revolutionary movement. It was as a result of all of these efforts that the Singur and Nandigram movements came to the fore and later in legacy of Naxalbari, the historic Lalgahar revolt erupted as an upsurge of revolutionary mass struggles.

## **The All India Special Conference Of The Erstwhile PW Party In 1995**

In 1995 the erstwhile PW party held its All India Special Conference (AISC). After the eighth Congress held in May 1970 by the CPI (ML), this was the first time that a party conference was held on such a vast scale and at such a higher level. This conference paved the way for advancement by deeply reviewing the revolutionary practice between 1980 and 1995. Comrade Koteswarlu actively and creatively put ideological efforts as one of the members of the steering committee in making preparations for the conference, in formulating draft documents, in reviewing the other important calls given by the party and giving them final shape. This conference enriched the basic documents of the party. It took appropriate lessons by reviewing the developed movements in AP and DK and the movements that are at a primary level in Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra, West Bengal, Delhi

and Haryana. It decided that work must be carried on with the aim of establishing liberated areas in North Telangana and DK and formulated the necessary tasks for that sake. Comrade Koteswarlu played an important role in all of these. This conference unanimously elected comrade Koteswarlu into the CC.

After this conference, united front work advanced a step forward with an All India perspective under the leadership of the CC. Contacts with Maoist parties of various countries developed. Efforts were put in a planned manner to develop agrarian revolutionary guerilla warfare in North Telangana, North Andhra-Odisha border and DK areas. Concrete perspectives were formulated for the development of revolutionary movement in South Telangana, South Coastal-Rayalaseema and North Andhra-Odisha border (East) Regions in AP. Efforts were put in a planned manner for party consolidation and for the political and military training of party and military leadership and members. As proper importance was given to running magazines and propaganda, the work in this field was done relatively better. Comrade Koteswarlu played a prominent role in all of these works.

### **9th Congress Of The Erstwhile PW Party In 2001**

After the unity of the erstwhile CPI (ML) (PW) and CPI (ML) (PU), the newly formed CPI (ML) [PW] successfully held its 9th Congress in 2001 March. The Congress was held successfully with the following successes – enrichment of the party basic documents with the lessons learnt by reviewing the Indian revolutionary movement which was carried on under the leadership of the stream that had united the various groups, individuals and forces in the revolutionary stream of CPI (ML), enrichment of the various party policies and the appropriate tactics as part of these, formulation of tactics keeping in view the concrete conditions of the various movements, consolidation of the people's guerilla army with the aim of establishing liberated areas by keeping in view the concrete conditions, formulation of guerilla warfare tactics, election of central and state committees with the teams that developed in the course of the development of the movement, creation of ideological and political basis for achieving unity with the MCC, another principal Maoist stream in the country by avoiding the ongoing clashes with it, development of class struggle, expansion of the party, achievement of unity with the movements of the oppressed



nationalities and the various democratic movements in the country and an appropriate role in the international Maoist movement by strengthening the relations with Maoist parties in various countries. Comrade Koteswarlu played a prominent role in all of these as a CC member. He held aloft the party line by exposing the left adventurist politics which came to the fore in that Congress and by keeping aloft the revolutionary flag of the party. In that Congress, comrade Koteswarlu was elected as a CC member and was elected as a Politburo (PB) member inside the CC and as the secretary of the North Regional Bureau (NRB).

### **Role As The Secretary Of North Regional Bureau**

As the secretary of NRB, comrade Koteswarlu made several concrete suggestions for the development of Bihar-Jharkhand movement and put efforts to advance it. The efforts put by comrade Koteswarlu are worth mentioning in developing the strategic areas of Koel-Kaimur guerilla zone basing on the analysis of the 9th Congress of the erstwhile PW, in developing guerilla warfare in Magadh, in taking up guerilla bases perspective, in building of people's democratic power organs, in intensifying the struggles against feudalism and against the private armies of the land lords, in formulating concrete tasks to take up rectification campaign and tactical counter-offensives in a planned manner and in driving the party leadership and ranks in that direction.

Comrade Koteswarlu worked hard to develop movements in the student, intellectual and worker fields. He took initiative to build peasant united front forum in the backdrop of the crisis that arose in the agricultural sector due to the new economic policies taken up by the ruling classes of our country. He strengthened the party structures from below and put efforts to build district committees. He drove the party leadership to consolidate the dalits into class struggle against the entrenched feudalism in the rural areas of Haryana. He put efforts to develop student, women and cultural movements in Haryana. He gave guidance to consolidate the movement and conduct party propaganda among students and youth in Punjab. He put efforts to consolidate the party forces which were scattered in various states into party structures.

### **The Historic Unity Congress – Ninth Congress Of 2007**

The unification of two parties which had been striving to build

revolutionary movement in considerable areas in the country and had considerable mass bases and their emergence as a single party – the Communist Party of India (Maoist) has changed the very pace of the New Democratic Revolutionary movement in our country. CPI (Maoist) conducted its Unity Congress-9th Congress in January 2007 in the most enthusiastic atmosphere.

This Congress analyzed the party basic documents, policies, POR (Political and Organizational Review) and the vast experience of the four decade long revolutionary movement and enriched them. Party's understanding towards party, army and united front was improved further. It gave clarity towards the central, principal and immediate task and gave a call to develop guerilla warfare into mobile warfare and PLGA into PLA with the aim of establishing liberated areas. In order to develop people's alternative political power and to speed up the process of building guerilla bases it gave further clarity on construction and destruction. It formulated a plan for rectification campaign against the non-proletarian trends to bolshevize the party. In order to defeat the suppression-annihilation campaign of the enemy all over the country, it gave call for tactical counter-offensive campaigns, wide scale political mass agitations and people's resistance struggles. While exposing the conspiratorial LIC policy implemented by the enemy, it gave clarity that this should be defeated with Maoist People's War by depending on mass base. It decided that unity efforts must be done with nationality movements against the common enemy. In order to come to a correct theoretical understanding towards the international revolutionary parties and forces and for making united efforts with them, it formulated guidance with proletarian internationalism. Comrade Koteswarlu played an active role in the preparations for this Congress, in conducting it and in the discussions. He was elected as a CCM in this Congress and was taken into the PB in the CC. He was part of the East Regional Bureau (ERB) and looked after responsibility of West Bengal as its in-charge.

### **Role In Unifying The Revolutionaries As a CC Member**

After the temporary setback of Naxalbari, in the course of making efforts to once again build a strong revolutionary movement in the strategic areas and among the various oppressed classes and sections, the efforts for unifying the genuine revolutionaries in the country intensified. In the

1990s, this effort began yielding results. Comrade Koteswarlu too put efforts for unity with fellow revolutionaries and organizations in the country on the basis of the Strategy-Tactics, SCR of 1980 and policy documents as the CC member of the erstwhile PW. Particularly, he played the main role in the unity of the erstwhile CPI (ML) (PW) and CPI (ML) (PU) in 1998. Due to the review done by the erstwhile PW party's 2001 Congress in ideological, political, military, organizational and tactical matters and its practice and due to the results already achieved by MCCI in these matters a basis was created from the ML stream and the MCCI stream for the unity of the two parties. The role of comrade Koteswarlu in the historic unity of the two prominent revolutionary streams in India on September 21, 2004 and in both the streams becoming a mighty surge after unity is invaluable. Comrade Koteswarlu participated as a member in the delegation of CPI (ML) [PW] in the bilateral meetings held in several phases between the two parties. Comrade Koteswarlu contributed in the exchange of documents, study, conducting talks in a balanced manner, synthesizing the positive aspects in the practice of the two parties and incorporating it in the new united party's documents. In the annals of Indian revolutionary history comrade Koteswarlu's name would be prominently displayed in the unity efforts of communist revolutionaries.

### **In Advancing Fraternal Relations**

Basing on the revolutionary movement developing in various areas in India and the People's War which came to the fore rapidly, our party worked with initiative in the direction of building a revolutionary coordination centre in South Asia. Under the circumstances where there was no revolutionary centre in the world after the Third International was dissolved and after the death of comrade Mao, RIM (Revolutionary Internationalist Movement) was formed with the efforts of some proletarian parties. Even while maintaining relations with them separately, our party developed fraternal relations with the Maoist revolutionary parties and groups in South Asia. In the seminar conducted on Nationality Question in Delhi in 1996, MCC, PW and Party Unity parties participated with initiative and submitted papers regarding their stand on Nationality Question. These parties played an active role in the formation of CCOMPOSA against imperialism, Indian expansionism and state violence on movements. Comrade Koteswarlu played main role in this effort.

Comrade Koteswarlu developed friendly relations with several fighting organizations in the country. He played a praiseworthy role in developing an united struggle understanding against the expansionism of the Indian exploiting ruling classes by maintaining revolutionary relations with the nationality liberation organizations that are fighting for the right to self-determination including the right to secession in states such as Assam, Nagaland and Manipur. He strove hard for building an united front with the fighting mass organizations of Kashmir. The nationality liberation struggle organizations have lost confidence on the so-called communists who are bogged down in revisionism since decades. His role in developing good relations with those nationality liberation fighting organizations on the basis of our party policy and in making common struggle memoranda of understanding with them is exceptional.

### **Role In Building The Historic Lalgarh People's Revolt**

Foreign capital flooded our country as a result of the imperialist globalization policies and hundreds of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) came into existence. They are mainly grabbing the fertile lands of the peasantry who are nearly 70 percent in our population and have become a life and death problem. The peasantry in West Bengal opposed grabbing of their land for the construction of Tata's Nano in Singur, chemical hub of Salem group in Nandigram and Jindal steel industry in Lalgarh and the indiscriminate loot of the vast and invaluable natural resources of our country. They chose the path of struggle stating that they are ready to give their lives but not their lands. In Nandigram the peasantry formed the BUPC and carried on militant struggle. The peasantry faced many atrocities of the police such as murders, missing of dead bodies, rapes on women, arrests, jails, tortures etc and put up armed resistance under the leadership of the party for their lands. Our party led the armed resistance of the Nandigram people and united with all the forces which could come together for the building of a broad united front. Democrats all over the country including students in Kolkata and the intellectuals in the state rallied in support of the Nandigram people's struggle. Buddhadev government had to bend to the people's might in Singur and Nandigram and was forced to withdraw Tata's Nano car manufacture and Salem's chemical hub. Comrade Koteswarlu worked tirelessly to steer these mass struggles in the correct direction towards success.

PLGA guerillas blasted a mine under the convoy of Jindal, state Chief Minister Buddhadev Bhattacharya and central steel minister Ram Vilas Paswan who were returning after laying the foundation stone for the construction of Jindal steel industry on November 2, 2008. Using this as a pretext the state unleashed repression on Lalgarh. People resisted the atrocities of the police forces under the leadership of PCAPA (People's Committee Against Police Atrocities). In each village hundreds of people united and agitated on a huge scale on their just demands. They dug up roads to stop the police. They held protest rallies with thousands of people. People used all kinds of struggle forms from peaceful struggles like Arandhan (not lighting the cooking fire) to armed resistance in several places. They formed the Sidhu-Kanu militia. The entire Junglemahal area was boiling with militant mass agitations. The 'Marxists' who earned notoriety since decades for terrible rule were taken aback with these revolutionary mass agitations. They resorted to armed attacks with their goon forces such as Harmad Vahini to stop these agitations. State police, central paramilitary forces and Harmad Vahini together intensified the attacks. They resorted to atrocities, burning of houses and destruction. However people did not step back and fought bravely. Guerilla warfare was intensified by conducting ambushes and raids under the leadership of PLGA forces and the Sidhu-Kanu Jan Militia. 24 Eastern Frontier rifles jawans were wiped out in Silda raid and people's strength was demonstrated. In the villages, CPM offices which served as torture chambers were destroyed by the people with hatred. Propaganda war was conducted against the psychological warfare of the enemy. Schools, hospitals, protected drinking water facilities and even public distribution system began to be seized by the people to fulfill the basic needs of the people. Lalgarh people's struggle created tremors in the CPM power centre. Solidarity movement spread all over the country in support of Lalgarh people's struggle. International solidarity was expressed. Lalgarh people's power came into existence at a primary level. Comrade Koteswarlu played the main role in guiding this Lalgarh people's revolt in the correct direction, in taking up appropriate tactics and implementing them in practice, in strengthening PLGA, party, mass organizations and mass base and to advance with the aim of establishing liberated areas, in arming the PLGA, in training the guerillas and teaching them guerilla warfare techniques. Revolutionaries must learn from his efforts in building Lalgarh movement as a model for the whole country.

## **Contribution In Ideological, Political, Propaganda And Literary Fields**

Comrade Koteswarlu played main role in enriching the party basic documents and in formulating party's policy documents. While leading the AP movement and while he was the in-charge of Bengal state and as a CC and PB member, he played prominent role in formulating internal circulars and letters. He worked actively in running Bengal state magazines. He contributed significantly in conducting polemical debates against right opportunists and CPM neo-revisionism. He wrote many poems under the pen names of Godavari, Asidhara, Babu, Anna, Oka koduku (A son) etc. He contributed extensively in the propaganda sphere. As the spokesperson of ERB and as PB member he stated the stands of the CC through press statements and interviews on various issues.

From his initial days he conducted political classes to the cadres and put lot of efforts for their development. In 1996, after he took up the responsibility of Central Political School and SCOPE, he concentrated on teaching theory to the leadership cadres and planned for a teaching campaign. He participated in preparing notes along with teachers on selected topics and imparted them to the party.

## **Beloved Leader Who Won The Confidence Of The Party Ranks**

Comrade Koteswarlu won the affection of thousands of party cadres in his 38 year long revolutionary life. He got the immense love of the people. He used to enquire about the needs of the cadres. He remembered and fulfilled the needs of the cadres acquainted with him. He used to meet the available cadres definitely. When not possible to meet, he used to write letters to them. He used to ask the guerillas and his close associates about their experiences in people's war and gain knowledge. Whenever cadre met him, they used to feel that they have met their much-loved political teacher who loved them in turn. They felt it was an unforgettable experience to meet him, that they have learnt many things, that they have identified their weaknesses, that he encouraged the good things in them and motivated them. He took special care to provide medical care for the injured comrades in revolutionary movement. One must learn from him how to provide suitable

work to them according to their physical condition and how to give encouragement. Comrades facing problems wished for his presence or read letters written by him again and again for inspiration.

## **Huge Protests Against The Murder Of Comrade Koteswarlu**

After hearing about the horrible murder of comrade Koteswarlu, the Maoist parties and organizations all over the world, democratic, progressive and revolutionary organizations and peace-lovers expressed their anger and protest against the Indian government and the Mamta Banerji government of West Bengal. They condemned this brutal act in no uncertain terms. They sent condolence message to our party expressing their grief at his murder. Several human rights organizations, democratic organizations, several writers, artistes, journalists and media friends condemned the murder and demanded independent judicial enquiry. Many prominent persons wrote articles in magazines. In this backdrop an international week of solidarity for the Indian People's War was declared between January 15 and 22. In a word, the working masses, the democratic and revolutionary camp of our country and abroad felt it was a loss to them. They felt the grief as their own.

On this occasion our CC, on behalf of our party is expressing thanks to all these organizations and persons. It is such democratic and revolutionary consciousness and solidarity that gives constant inspiration to the world proletarian mass movements.

The entire party, PLGA and people in all the states in our country and in the guerilla zones wiped their tears and vowed to spread PW to all the four corners of the country and mobilize millions of masses into the revolutionary movement and to create thousands of 'Koteswarlus' and several 'Lalgarhs' and 'Narayanapatnas' to fulfill the dreams of comrade Koteswarlu. They vowed to overthrow this murderous brutal state and make success the New Democratic Revolution.

**Let Us Hold Aloft The Aims Of Comrade Koteswarlu!**

**Let Us Intensify People's War To Create Thousands Of Koteswarlus!**

Comrade Koteswarlu was a warrior steeled in the flames of class

struggle. Since he joined the party he worked amidst many ebb and tide and was steeled by becoming a part of the twists and turns, ups and downs of the movement. For nearly four decades thousands of cadres and hundreds of leaders - many of whom were colleagues who worked along with him - laid down their lives in the revolutionary movement. Severe repression and dangers lay in wait at every step. He stood firmly and bravely in the face of all such odds and led the movement in various areas in the country. He stood steadfast amidst fascist repression and massacres and worked. With his martyrdom the Indian revolutionary movement faced severe loss.

### **Comrades!**

The enemies are celebrating that they have murdered comrade Koteswarlu. They are eager to wipe out our revolutionary movement completely. This eagerness is not at all coincidental. This is a result of the world economic crisis which is erupting in new forms with each passing day. The flames of anger and protest of the entire people of the world are leaping up to the sky. The Arab people's upsurges, the various nationality liberation struggles, the mass agitations of Europe, the 'Occupy Wall Street' agitations which have spread like a wild fire to 90 countries, the Maoist People's Wars that are advancing in countries like Philippines and India, the democratic, nationality liberation and anti-displacement agitations that are going on in our country for land, food and liberation and against the exploitation, oppression, sham development policies of the ruling classes are all a result of these. The conspiracy of the imperialists to loot this world at their will by wiping out these agitations and movements before the economic crisis turns into revolutionary crisis is the real reason for this eagerness.

### **Dear comrades !**

Our CC is still to get clear details regarding the fake encounter of comrade Koteswarlu. The CC is still to examine deeply and concretely the conditions which led to it and the reasons behind the incident. After the CC-3 meeting, our party suffered heavy losses with the arrest of one PBM, three CCMs and the murder of PBM comrade Koteswarlu. In the past five years our party lost most valuable comrades. It lost great comrades who have gained vast experience in the long revolutionary movement and were experts in respective fields. All of them were heirs of the glorious Naxalbari movement which gave a turn to the Indian revolutionary movement history. At this juncture where we are advancing by fighting back the Green Hunt



military offensives of the enemy and putting efforts to build an united movement by mobilizing people of various sections, their martyrdom is a further serious loss. It is not easy to fill their place in the movement. But it is a fact that they all have been born and developed in Protracted People's War. It was due to the tough class struggle that they have steeled so. In the future too several such revolutionaries would definitely be made in the same manner. It is the people and the people's movements that gave birth to such brave and dedicated revolutionaries like comrade Koteswarlu. The worker and peasant oppressed masses would arm themselves with the revolutionary message spread by him from Jagityal to Junglemahal and would definitely advance the Indian NDR along the path of victory. Let us fulfill their losses by advancing the PPW with resolute determination. People are the makers of history. Final victory belongs to the people.

**“Thousands upon thousands of martyrs have heroically laid down their lives for the people; let us hold their banner high and march ahead along the path crimson with their blood!” - Mao [“On Coalition Government” (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III]**

- ★ Let us build liberated areas by fulfilling the central, principal and immediate task set by the Unity Congress-9th Congress!
- ★ Let us protect the leadership and mold our party into an impregnable secret party in a Bolshevik manner!
- ★ Let us fight tirelessly to defeat the fascist Green Hunt offensive which is going on as part of the LIC conspiracy of the enemy! Let us intensify the guerilla warfare!
- ★ Let us adhere firmly to our party line and fight against various kinds of revisionism, right opportunism and left adventurism with the inspiration of comrade Koteswarlu!
- ★ Let us create people's revolts in the model of Lalgarh and Narayanapatna and strengthen our mass base!
- ★ Let us build strong urban movement and plain movement to advance the PPW! Let us expand the revolutionary movement to new areas and spheres!

**Central Committee**

Date : 14 January 2012

**CPI (Maoist)**

# **Hail the 7th Anniversary Celebrations of our glorious new Party !**

**Let us strengthen and expand the party in  
accordance with the excellent material  
condition, level and expanse of the  
movement and fulfillment of the  
tasks of the movement !**

**Let us strengthen and expand the mass base  
to develop subjective forces and  
to develop People's War !**

**Let us intensify and expand guerilla warfare  
to fulfill the central task and to defeat  
Operation Green Hunt !**

*Central Committee call to the entire party to grandly celebrate  
the 7th anniversary of our party with revolutionary fervor  
from September 21 to 27, 2011*

**Dear Comrades,**

We are about to celebrate the 7th anniversary of our glorious new party on September 21 this year. September 21 is a day of utmost significance for our party. This is a historic day. On the occasion of the 7th anniversary of the party, let us remember the builders of our party, the great leaders of the Indian Revolution, martyrs and our beloved comrades Charu Mazumdar and Kanhai Chatterji and all those thousands of brave warriors who have been martyred during the course of New Democratic Revolution (NDR) since Naxalbari to this day. After the 6th anniversary of our party, in the past one year 229 of our beloved comrades have laid down their lives in DK, BJ, Bengal, Odisha, AOB, NT, AP, Maharashtra, UP and in CG-OS border while advancing People's War by bravely and valiantly

fighting back the ‘Operation Green Hunt’ implemented in the most brutal manner by the reactionary Indian ruling classes with the aim of wiping out the revolutionary movement. Let us remember each one of these valiant fighters and pay our red homage to them. Let us take vow with clenched fists to carry forward the great aims of our thousands of martyrs who have laid down their lives in the NDR. Let us take the brave and inspiring lives and sacrifices of these martyrs as an ideal to follow and march forward with steely determination along the path of People’s War. On the occasion of the 7th anniversary of our party, our CC is sending hearty revolutionary greetings to all the comrades in our party, PLGA, Revolutionary People’s Committees (RPCs), mass organizations and to the hundreds of comrades who are fighting back the enemy in the prisons all over the country.

On this occasion, let us take a look at the political situation in the past one year after the 6th anniversary of the party to formulate immediate tasks and review the practice of our party carried on with the aim of advancing the People’s War in our country.

## **International situation**

The economic crisis which continued in whirls since the end of 2008 took the breath out of US imperialism and recently it burst forth in the form of a debt crisis. EU too got bogged down in this crisis. At present capitalism is sinking down with an unheard of debt burden in its entire history. This debt crisis is shaking the economies of the entire semi-colonial economies which are dependent on the exports-imports and capital of imperialist countries. The jolt of this crisis is so severe that it gave a big jerk to the world stock markets. To decrease the debt burden, the governments of many countries including the Obama administration have taken steps to increase income and to reduce expenditure to a large extent. Due to this the governments of these countries are taking measures to introduce cuts in the already meager welfare measures of the people and pensions on a large scale. This crisis is making the lives of the workers and middle class people in the capitalist countries unbearable. As a result, thousands and lakhs of workers, employees, students and pensioners have resorted to large scale strikes and agitations in the recent past in several EU countries and US. The dissatisfaction of blacks and Asians in several cities in Britain, including London burst forth and left the British imperialists gasping for

breath. This debt crisis would not only further intensify the contradiction between the workers and the capitalist class in the imperialist countries but would also help in intensifying the fundamental contradictions of the world.

The rebellions and agitations that arose at various levels against the despotic rulers in countries like Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Libya and Syria in the Arab World have not only shaken their foundations but have also terrified the imperialists. The attempts of the imperialists to protect their lackey despots in Tunisia and Egypt failed. However they were temporarily successful in seeing that other leaders of the same governments and the rightist forces in the movement came to power in the place of their lackey despots. They helped in all manners their lackey despots in Qatar and Saudi Arabia and could cruelly suppress in the initial stages itself the people's movements which arose there.

Imperialists, particularly France, Britain, US and Italy who moved their coins on the chess board in Libya even before Colonel Gaddafi was overthrown, gave all kinds of military and non-military support to the movement which arose against his regime in the name of 'protecting human rights'. They made their lackeys in Arab League stand up in opposition to Gaddafi. In the name of their 'rubber stamp' UN they imposed several sanctions along with declaring a 'No fly zone'. Immediately they rained bombs incessantly and crippled the soldiers of Gaddafi. Gaddafi and his followers had to leave Tripoli. Oddly the people's rebellion and the aggressive war of the imperialists have got mixed up in Libya. Finally the situation is turning such that the imperialists are able to tighten their grip over the oil deposits of Libya just as the imperialists wished for. Though ordinary people have participated on a huge scale in the rebellion in Libya, as it was the anti-Gaddafi ruling cliques and the lackeys of various imperialist countries who have led it, it would not take much time for the people to realize that the change which they expected would be impossible in practice. The imperialists are trying in a thousand ways to carry on the Libyan experiment in Syria too using the fig leaf of UN in the name of 'protection of human rights' like in the past.

The leaders who came to power in Tunisia and Egypt replacing the despots have declared that establishing parliamentary democracies is their aim. But they agreed only very partially the demands brought to the fore by the people during the agitations. They declared that they would carry on

the policies of the past governments regarding imperialists and several other important matters. There are some differences in various countries. That is why the people and various agitators are fighting strongly against the new governments. The contradictions between the rulers and the people in these countries, between the various cliques in the ruling classes and between the people and the imperialists are continuing very severely in new forms. These phenomena which occurred in the Arab World have further intensified the contradictions between US and Russia and between US and China. Though these movements have helped in fulfilling the democratic aspirations of the people only partially, they would serve as a step in the path of achieving genuine democracy and freedom. Let us hope that they would continue to fight till their aspirations are fulfilled against the new governments which implement the old policies. No despots and no imperialists who guide them can permanently suppress the democratic aspirations of the people. None of them can dictate their future.

In the name of 'War on Terror', the US imperialists are conducting drone attacks on the villagers in Afghanistan and Pakistan almost on a daily basis and are brutally murdering ordinary people including babies, women and elderly persons. They are facing the severe wrath and protests of the people of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Even to this day the resistance wars of Afghanistan and Iraq are making the imperialists sleepless. The hundreds of billions of dollars spent by them to occupy these countries and to maintain their hegemony over them have helped in pushing them into severe economic crisis. The imperialists earned the severe wrath of the people of their countries due to the wars of aggression and the ceaseless massacres they are carrying on. Though the US imperialists killed Bin Laden, they are still being haunted by the specter of Al Qaeda.

The earth quake in Japan caused very serious economical, political and ecological loss to the Japanese. It shook the Japan imperialists to the core. The radiation which emanated and is still emanating in dangerous levels from this plant has proved to be a long term danger not only to the people of that country but also to the people of the neighboring countries and to the marine creatures. After this incident an agitation arose on a massive scale in Japan with the demand that nuclear plants must be closed down. People rose in agitations in several countries all over the world including Germany with the same demand. As people agitated on a huge

scale the German government announced that it would close six out of seven plants within one year. The unscientific, myopic, narrow, selfish, mindless and bankrupt ecological policies of the ruling classes of the entire world including that of Japan imperialists have been thoroughly exposed by the accident at Fukushima nuclear power plant.

After Aquino, the lackey of US came to power in the general elections in Philippines, the government announced that it would completely suppress the People's War within three years. It launched the suppressive campaign 'Oplan Bayanihan' for this sake. The US imperialists are blatantly giving all kinds of help to the Aquino government to suppress the Philippines revolution. However this bankrupt suppressive campaign is receiving blow after blow in the resistance war carried on by the New People's Army and the oppressed people under the leadership of the communist party.

## **Domestic situation**

The phenomena which occurred in the economic and political spheres internationally in the past one year have severely impacted the economic and political spheres of our country. We can see this impact very clearly in forms such as huge price rises of fuel, daily needs and food items; scams and corruption increasing on a massive scale; the jolt to the stock markets; cuts in welfare programmes; increase in the number of unemployed persons etc. The decreasing living standards of the people of our country and the increasing inflation are thoroughly exposing the propaganda done by the Sonia, Manmohan Singh, Pranab Mukherji, Ahluwalia and Rangarajan clique about the economy of our country, GDP and per capita development indices. While the finance minister Pranab Mukherji has shamelessly announced that he would lift the remaining restrictions in spheres such as banks, insurance and defence to attract foreign capital, Chidambaram brazenly announced that they would crush the Maoists with an iron heel to establish a peaceful atmosphere for this sake.

Lakhs of peasantry, adivasis, poor and middle class people are being displaced from their lands and abodes due to various mines; heavy projects-industries, SEZs, air ports, Express highways etc; real estates; parks, tiger projects; eviction of poor people from slums in cities etc. According to a report published in a magazine, lakhs of people losing their lands are agitating in forty districts of 17 states on displacement issues. If they become

completely displaced, they would lose nearly four lakh acres of fertile lands and lakhs of acres of forest lands. At present nearly 10 crores of the population are being affected by the displacement issue directly and indirectly. The ruling classes have unleashed cruel repression on all the militant struggles on displacement issue in states like Odisha, Maharashtra, UP, Chhattisgarh etc in the past one year. The democratic forces are standing in support of these movements and extending their help in various forms. Due to the militant movements of the people against land grabbing by the government, MNCs, big industries of our country, political leaders, builders, land mafia and contractors, the ruling classes are about to bring a new 'Land Acquisition Act' soon. Though this act would extend namesake help to the people in some aspects, this would actually be full of illusionary rhetoric that this would preserve the land rights of the people. However, this act would mainly serve to throw into the dust bin all the laws made for the Adivasis and would destroy the land rights of the peasantry and the poor people. This would very seriously impact the condition of land rights in the country in favor of the needs of the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisies (CBB) and government capital. This would be a strategic offensive against the agrarian revolution. This is a poison fruit given by the world wide economic crisis to the people of our country. However this issue would help the intensification of all social contradictions.

In the assembly elections to five states conducted in May, the governments of parties in power in Bengal, Tamilnadu and Kerala fell and the main opposition parties came to power. In Assam, Congress party came to power again, while the chief minister of Pondichery changed his party and came to power again. Due to anti-incumbency the DMK and Left front parties were defeated and AIADMK and Congress parties came to power in their place.

As far as our movement is concerned, the election results of Assam and Bengal have a special significance. Even before the elections in Assam the ULFA leadership took a path of surrender and gave masked support to the government in the assembly elections. A section of the Bodo movement also supported Gogoi. This helped Gogoi to win. Surrender of ULFA would negatively impact the North-East nationality movements. In Bengal CPM ruled for a long time in the bourgeois parliamentary path and finally lost its power in these elections. The main reason for this is the outdated economic

and political policies it followed being in power for a long time. These policies gave rise to severe dissatisfaction among the middle class and peasantry. From the beginning it considered the Maoist parties its arch enemy and unleashed never-ending repression by colluding with the centre. Democrats too severely protested and fought against its despotic social fascist rule. This party was fully entrenched in severe internal factional struggles at the state and central levels and Left Front too faced the same situation. It was under such circumstances that Mamta Banerji could come to power. Being an alliance partner at the centre was a favorable factor for Mamta. Along with this, the promises she made as part of the election campaign too helped her to win. Media played its part in it too. To be more precise, as the social contradictions continued at a very serious level in Bengal, one ruling clique replaced another ruling clique in power.

After the elections, considerable number of people there may see the Trinamool party and its leader Mamta Banerji as champions who pulled down the social fascist rule. Only when one looks at the following factors like – class composition of Trinamool party’s leadership, its economic and political policies, its role in the NDA (BJP) and UPA (Congress) governments at the centre, chorusing with Chidambaram about Maoist party as soon as it came to power in the state and announcing a rehabilitation policy for the Maoists by inviting them to come into the mainstream by renouncing violence, declaring that it would withdraw the Joint Forces only after a peaceful atmosphere was established in Lalgarh and its daily practice – can one properly assess its class nature, its class representation, its role in the parliamentary political system and its role in present day Bengal.

There were some changes in the political situation in Bengal after elections. Keeping these in view we must formulate proper tactics and rally the people. To the extent we can do this, we would be able to develop the party, mass base and fighting power and create the conditions for further developing the People’s War.

The massive scams worth thousands and lakhs of crores of rupees resorted to by the various ruling class parties, their leaders and government officials were exposed one after another in the past one year. The ruling class parties blamed each other at an unprecedented level. It has been thoroughly exposed among the people more than ever that parliamentary parties and the government machinery have become putrefied with



corruption. The discussion which opened one more time about corruption gained momentum in the country. As corruption is also one of the main reasons for the unbearable living conditions of the people, the vast masses of the people are deeply dissatisfied with their governments. The conditions were created for this dissatisfaction to burst forth. Utilizing such a situation the likes of Anna Hazare and Ramdev Baba entered the arena. The ruling classes and their media focused them as champions who fight against corruption. The ruling classes considered Anna Hazare as a safety valve and their savior who descended to save them before the dissatisfaction of the people takes a consolidated form, turns into a militant country-wide movement and shakes their foundation. Anna Hazare who sat in Satyagraha and his close followers know very well how deceitful it is to make the corrupt fellows pass a bill to terminate corruption and to make the people believe that corruption would end due to this bill. The ruling classes too know this truth. We must say that Anna Hazare and the ruling classes were temporarily successful to some extent in making the people not clearly understand the root cause of corruption, the method to destroy it and the solution for it. In fact, the ruling classes know that the new law could do nothing to them just like the past laws. Even then they are not ready to formulate the Lokpal bill even to the extent they agreed to in public.

Under circumstances where the people of our country are being crushed under imperialists, CBB and land lords, are being cruelly suppressed by the despotic state and where a social revolutionary storm is brewing, the ongoing People's War under the leadership of the Maoist party is increasingly seen by the people of our country as an alternative. In these conditions, it is not by any accident that Anna Hazare brought to the fore the peaceful path of ending corruption through Satyagraha and legal reforms. That is why Anna Hazare brought to the fore the Gandhian method of struggle as an alternative path which would depreciate the Protracted People's War (social revolution) ongoing under the leadership of the Maoist party at present in our country and the fighting spirit of the people. The real motives of Annas and Babas is to give legitimacy to the present system and the Satyagraha-peaceful path by giving rise to illusions that the present wholly decadent and putrefied sham parliamentary democratic system can be cured through some treatments (through legal reforms). However, their sham Satyagrahas and legal reforms which do not speak even one word about the relation between

corruption and the system, corruption and globalization and corruption and the monopoly profits of MNCs and CBB will not be able to keep the people in illusions for a long time. It is only the People's War which can show a permanent solution and proper path of struggle to the militant people's struggles coming to the fore on various issues apart from those against corruption. Not just at the central level but also in states such as Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamilnadu, Uttar Pradesh, Odisha, Chhattisgarh, Punjab, Madhya Pradesh etc the contradictions between the ruling classes have intensified a lot in relation to corruption.

Recently the intervention of Indian expansionists in Nepal politics increased further; crucial agreements were signed with the Hasina government in Bangladesh. Surrendering the ULFA leadership and making them come for talks is part of this. They increased pressure on Pakistan and are working as junior partners to US in Afghanistan. They have seriously damaged the movement of the oppressed nationalities of North-East and Kashmir people's movement.

Recently Indian government signed agreements with US regarding internal security. There are various matters related to security in these. As part of them are also present matters relating to modernization of police, paramilitary forces and their utilization. As part of them are also present matters relating to training, technology, weapons, exchange of information, advices etc which are necessary for them. Thanks to these agreements now FBI can legally sit in office in our country and hold Chidambaram (home ministry) at the end of their leash. It would try to increasingly put to use its technology, experience etc it has in suppressing the movements in the world. Due to all these factors, the contradictions between the imperialists and the Indian people would further intensify.

The movement for separate Telangana has intensified the contradictions between the various ruling class parties but also internal contradictions in the Congress and Telugu Desam parties more than ever.

Movements are raging in all four corners of the country on issues of displacement, ecology and indigenous people due to the policies of government of grabbing lands of peasantry, Adivasis, poor and middle class people in the name of development of the country. In the coming days people's movements would intensify further on these issues. Struggles are

developing over issues such as price rises, corruption, Operation Green Hunt etc. The movements in Kashmir and North-East have temporarily stepped back. However the iron heels of the Indian ruling classes, their schemes and conspiracies cannot keep the aspirations of these nationalities suppressed for a long time. The long struggle history of these nationalities has proven this truth again and again. As these movements have stepped back, the ruling classes find a favorable situation to deploy more paramilitary forces on our People's War. The developing people's movements are a result of the intensification of major and fundamental contradictions in our country.

The ruling classes have intensified in an unprecedented manner the offensive on the People's War going on under the leadership of our party. They are spending thousands of crores of rupees for this suppression. All governments are cruelly attacking each and every movement and carrying on a despotic rule.

## **OGH offensive intensifies and expands**

As soon as UPA-2 came to power at the centre, the central and state governments carried on more intensely and on a wide scale in the past one year the OGH launched by them with the intention of wiping out the People's War. In the past one year the intelligence agencies have taken as their main priority destroying the leadership elements of our party at all levels, particularly the central and state leadership and carried on the offensive with special concentration. Our CC members comrades Jagdish Master (Bhupesh, PBM), Pulendu Sekhar Mukherji (Sahebda), Varanasi Subrahmanyam (Srikant), Vijay Kumar Arya (Jaspal); Bengal state committee secretary com. Sudeep Chongdar, Punjab state committee secretary com. Parmajit, BJSAC secretariat member com. Umesh Yadav (Abhimanyu), Maharashtra state committee member com. Angela, some state committee members belonging to Bengal, Odisha and Maharashtra and some other comrades in various states have been arrested.

Ruling classes have now brought their army into the arena to suppress the People's War going on in the vast areas of our country at various levels. They have sent troops at Brigade level to Bastar to impart special training to them in counter-insurgency. The central government has given them permission during training period to attack at any time using the excuse

of self-defence. UAVs are being used in Bastar and Gadchiroli. For the sake of medical facilities of the 70,000 paramilitary forces deployed for anti-naxal operations, they are going to launch a 'Special helicopter ambulance service'. These ambulances would give medical care to the police forces involved in counter insurgency operations too when necessary. Apart from Air Force helicopters, many helicopters taken on lease are used extensively for moving of troops, carrying the wounded, supply of weapons and ammunition, transport of medicine and supplies; for building base camps as part of carpet security and for visits of police and paramilitary higher officials. Central government allowed the Air Force to resort to strikes at any point of time on the pretext of self-defence. The ruling classes are rapidly finishing the preparations such as training and rehearsals required for directly using army and Air Force in the war being waged on the people.

Already the ruling classes have deployed lakhs of police and paramilitary forces to suppress our movement all over the country and are carrying on severe repression. Thousands of retired soldiers are employed claiming that police and paramilitary forces are not sufficient to strengthen and expand carpet security and to intensify search and destroy operations. Chidambaram announced that they would use more of these forces. According to the estimates of a magazine, they would need one lakh security troops to control the Naxalites in Bastar alone. At present there are 40,000 state police forces, more than 5,000 SPOs, more than 10,000 Gopaniya Sainiks, home guards and Nagar Suraksha Sainiks along with 25,000 central paramilitary forces in Chhattisgarh. From this we can understand at what level the reactionary ruling classes are thinking of deploying forces for suppressing the movement. They are recruiting on a huge scale into police and paramilitary and are establishing special training centres in various states to give training to them in counter-insurgency. They are spending thousands of crores of rupees for modernizing the forces. Movement areas are being turned into cantonments of police and paramilitary forces. The Intelligence agencies are being modernized on the lines of those in the imperialist countries. They are carrying on inhuman massacres and atrocities in the most cruel manner to suppress our movement. They are improving coordination between central and state intelligence agencies. In addition, in every state they are recruiting thousands of persons in overt and covert methods to conduct cover operations under various names up to the village

level and to expand the intelligence mechanism. In the past one year, more persons were recruited into SPOs in Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bengal, Odisha and Maharashtra. They decided to increase the number of SPOs in the country from the present 13,500 to 25,000. Though the Supreme Court rejected the appointment of SPOs in Chhattisgarh, practically this organization is still continuing. The Chhattisgarh state cabinet has taken the decision to change all SPOs into auxiliary police force.

The carpet security in DK, BJ, Odisha and Bengal is being strengthened and expanded rapidly. As part of this, they decided to build 400 special police stations newly in nine states. The central government would bear 80 percent of the expenditure for building these special police stations. They are turning all our movement areas in nine states into a police corridor (police-paramilitary-military). This was announced publicly by the ex-DGP of Chhattisgarh Viswaranjan. As part of this 70 special police stations are being built newly in Odisha with an expenditure of 140 crores of rupees. Each special PS would be attack proof in the lines of military. This PS would be located in a three-storey building and there would be a compound wall like that of a fort on all the four sides. This would house a modern gymkhana too. They would serve as Nazi like torture chambers.

Already they have established military sub-area commands in our movement areas. The brigadiers who are leading them are playing a strategic role in suppressing our movement. Recently under the leadership of the central government 'unified command centre' was formed for Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Odisha and Bengal states. A higher official of the army would lead this command. This command would formulate plans for joint operations/campaigns and would lead them. Various border states would conduct operations under the leadership of the joint command. They have intensified civic action programme apart from psychological operations as part of psy-war with the evil design of isolating the Maoists from people who integrate like fish in water with the people, to cover up the endless violence, atrocities and destruction perpetrated on the people and to confuse the people and make them stand on their side by hook or crook. All putrefied and most reactionary concepts and values like lies, twisting of facts, cock and bull stories, blindness, decadent culture, evil customs, fear, surrender, selfishness, deception, unfairness, betrayal, dictatorship etc are illusorily portrayed as being proper, democratic and aiding the development of society

and psychological operations are being conducted which would put even Goebbels to shame. Similarly they are formulating various schemes under beautifully etched names and are making the paramilitary, police and military forces to implement the civic action programme. Along with these, the killer gangs are made to conduct disruptive activities. The families of comrades working in various spheres in the movement areas are being incessantly attacked in various forms.

Thousands of comrades right from Central Committee members to ordinary people are languishing in inhuman conditions in jails in 15 states of our country. False cases have been foisted on each one of them. In the past one year, life imprisonment was pronounced for PUCL leader and people's doctor Vinayak Sen, CC comrades Narayan Sanyal and Amit Bagchi and some other comrades. In Jharkhand the revolutionary cultural organization Jharkhand Abhen's leader Jeetan Marandi and three other mass organization activists were given death sentence in a false case. Even the open activities of MOs in the movement areas are being suppressed most brutally. They have been banned as illegal activities.

## **Our War of Self-Defence**

In the past one year the internal war between revolution and counter-revolution intensified further. This war is being waged in all spheres. Our entire party, PLGA, RPCs, mass organizations and all those who are part of the revolutionary camp fought back the OGH valiantly. We made many sacrifices in this course. It is our war of self-defence which played the decisive role in preserving the movement, in advancing it, in keeping high the morale of the revolutionary camp and in influencing the people of the country. We can briefly explain the war of self-defence waged by us in the past one year as follows.

On the whole, we strove hard to preserve and advance the People's War. The enemy carried on suppression most cruelly and widely in all the spheres with the aim of completely wiping out the People's War. The strengthening and expansion of carpet security and considerable increase in the number of forces deployed in search and destroy operations as part of this has affected our war of self-defence in various forms. Due to our mistakes and repression of the enemy we have lost subjective forces considerably and have suffered some serious losses in other spheres. The

various conditions of our movement areas is as follows – strong guerilla areas, areas where the movement has weakened considerably or has faced setback, newly extended areas, areas of influence.

In the strong guerilla areas even to this day party, PLGA, various mass organizations and RPCs in some of these guerilla bases are functioning under the leadership of our party committees. Lakhs of vast masses are present in these areas.

Even while fighting back the continuous offensives of the enemy on our strong areas which are serving as crucial positions for People's War, we did political and organizational work to consolidate our subjective forces and organization. We strove to improve the functioning of the party committees and to formulate tactics keeping in view the changes in the conditions. We strove to strengthen and expand the political power. We strove to rally the PLGA and the people for fulfilling the central task. We strove to improve our practice by summarizing the new experiences.

Mainly in DK and BJ, and to some extent in AOB, Odisha, Bengal and Maharashtra and NT our PLGA forces have courageously conducted tactical counter-offensives on the enemy forces. They have wiped out 225 enemy forces and seized about 200 weapons. Similarly some selected targets among the class enemies and enemy agents who vowed to damage the revolutionary movement were punished. We rallied the people's militia and the people in our strong areas. The success of the guerilla war operations is considerable where our mass base is strong. In guerilla zones we mobilized the people against OGH in various forms. We strove to fight back the enemy psy-war at various levels. The higher level experiences we gained in such areas helped the development of People's War in the country.

In areas where our subjective forces and the movement have weakened or suffered a setback, we are working by formulating tactics with the aim of overcoming the present condition. Though we have not gained any considerable successes in the past one year in these areas, we can say that we could develop revolutionary aspirations among the people by sacrificing at every step.

In the past one year in every area where our party and the PLGA extended their activities, the people invited us with utmost enthusiasm. They were greatly influenced by the People's War politics. The response

of the people worried the central and state governments. Immediately they sent paramilitary and police forces in huge numbers to these new areas by strategically making preparations on a war footing for an offensive. These forces are carrying on search and destroy operations. The ruling classes calculated that it would be very difficult to stop the advance of People's War in the country if the people in these areas rise and get consolidated and launched such a severe offensive on them. Within a period of one year seven comrades have laid down their lives while bravely fighting back the attacks of the enemy forces in East Chhattisgarh and West Odisha border area. The enemy caught four peasants and shot them dead. In these areas we are striving to raise the political consciousness of the people, to consolidate them and to fight back the enemy attacks with the immediate aim of giving a consolidated form to the movement with a strategic viewpoint.

The inhuman, unjust OGH war waged on the people by the ruling classes with the full support of the imperialists, particularly US imperialists to destroy the People's War in our country was severely opposed by the Maoist forces, progressive, democratic forces and anti-imperialist forces in the country and the world. They supported the People's War and built solidarity movements.

Various kinds of friendly forces are present in our areas of influence and outside them. We are working with the friendly forces in these areas against OGH and on issues such as displacement, corruption, price rises, release of political prisoners, civil rights etc. we are working with the aim of developing these areas into movement areas and of expanding the areas of influence with the help of these.

We are fighting back the severe repression of the enemy to suppress the Lalgarh and Narayanapatna movements and are striving for fulfilling higher level tasks. We conducted struggles by rallying people on displacement issue which came to the fore in several places in movement areas. We extended support to the people fighting on displacement issue in the country. We rallied people in support of these. People fought on their daily issues under the leadership of mass organizations and united front forums. We are mobilizing people vastly during occasions such as anniversaries of Party Formation Day and PLGA Formation Day, Martyrs' memorial week, International Working Women's Day etc. and are carrying on propaganda activities in various forms.



In the past one year our comrades have waged struggles in various forms in jails too. Our comrades in various jails strove to rise the consciousness of thousands of ordinary prisoners. Agitations were conducted for the release of political prisoners and for the rights of the prisoners inside the jails and outside. In this one year beating the continuous surveillance of the enemy, some comrades in Bihar and Jharkhand escaped from the prison walls very bravely and directly joined the People's War. Our CC sends hearty revolutionary greetings to them.

Our CC has reviewed the shortcomings in implementing secret party principles and work methods, in properly assessing the changes occurring in the conditions of the enemy and our conditions, in implementing principles of guerilla warfare, in building mass movements, in consolidating the party, in carrying on political propaganda and has formulated tasks. These must be strictly implemented by the entire party.

### **Comrades,**

The crisis engulfing the imperialist countries burst forth in the form of debt crisis. This crisis is shaking the entire world at different levels. In our country and the world, various social contradictions are intensifying along with the fundamental contradictions. People are coming out on streets in various countries. People are fighting everywhere and the reactionary rulers are carrying on repression on them. They are trying to cool them down. On the whole the revolutionary situation in the world is favorable. This is the essence of the international and domestic situation in the past one year.

In the past one year we faced more leadership losses. In this period we valiantly fought back the counter-revolutionary OGH. We won new successes in the war of self-defence. These successes were mainly achieved by the strong guerilla zones. In the very serious repressive conditions carried on incessantly by the enemy in all spheres, every success however small it may be has a lot of significance. Under these circumstances, the experiences gained by our party, PLGA, RPCs, mass organizations and people in the war of self-defence have a lot of significance. If we can get rid of the weaknesses which have been continuing in our party, correct the mistakes and shortcomings committed and strive with steely determination to overcome the limitations, if we can work by basing on the positive aspects, on our self-strength and on the people and work

with steely determination, if we can rally the people and the PLGA efficiently by formulating appropriate tactics-work methods in accordance with the concrete conditions, if we can work unitedly and with determination by creatively applying our party's political line to the concrete condition of our present People's War under the favorable revolutionary and material conditions – then it is quite possible to preserve our subjective forces, to increase our mass base, increase our self-strength and to fulfill the central task formulated by the Unity Congress by intensifying and expanding the People's War, thus achieving another new leap in the Indian revolutionary movement.

At present, on the one hand there are complex issues, challenges and great dangers in front of our party. On the other hand are the successes and great experiences gained by us through self-efforts. The revolutionary material condition necessary to win successes is present too. Of the two, even to this day the aspect needed for the advance of the revolution is the primary one. However the path for achieving victory is not straight. We have to advance forward with unparalleled courage, valiance and supreme sacrifices till the day of final victory in spite of any number of hurdles in this path which is thorny, full of highs and lows and twists and turns. On the occasion of the 7th anniversary of our party, let us vow that we would advance forward with endless courage and great fortitude in the path of Protracted People's War (PPW) for the victory of New Democratic Revolution in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Final victory belongs to our party and the people advancing forward in the path of PPW. Final defeat is that of all kinds of reactionaries.

### **Comrades,**

Celebrate grandly with revolutionary fervor the 7th anniversary of our party in villages, towns and in each and every place where our party comrades are present. Conduct propaganda campaigns, meetings and rallies about these anniversary celebrations in creative methods. Hold aloft the red flag of our party in these. Hail the revolutionary ideals of the thousands of martyrs who laid down their lives in the Indian New Democratic Revolution and in the war of self-defence of the past one year. Clearly place before the people the successes won and the valuable experiences gained by us. Declare that we would correct the mistakes committed in the course of practice. Present in a lucid manner about the excellent

revolutionary situation, about the need to defeat the OGH carried on by the enemy to wipe out the People's War and about the movement tasks which are to be fulfilled. Hold aloft the democratic and communist culture and values. Take the vow that we would advance forward with steely determination in the path of People's War in spite of any number of hurdles, tears and difficulties that we may have to endure for the victory of the New Democratic Revolution.

## **Immediate tasks**

In the present conditions, we must take up the following tasks. We must creatively implement them in the movement areas which are at various levels with the orientation of increasing the mass base, consolidating the party, developing the guerilla warfare and extending the movement areas.

### **1. Let us strengthen and expand the party in accordance with the excellent material condition, level and expanse of the movement and the fulfillment of the tasks of the movement.**

We must correct the shortcomings in abiding by the secret organizational-work methods and principles of guerilla warfare in order to preserve the subjective forces, in formulating proper tactics and in firmly implementing discipline; we must correct the shortcomings in formulating appropriate tactics (struggle and organizational forms) with a strategic viewpoint according to the concrete conditions in the country and the concrete conditions in the various areas and the ebb and flow of the movement, in formulating other tasks around the central task and in the organizational work of implementing tactics; we must strive to develop the present revolutionary war into a complete war by understanding the path of PPW deeply; we must improve study of concrete conditions, theoretical study, study of history and training in order to increase the abilities and strengths of all the leadership committees and to develop new leadership; apart from successfully conducting rectification campaign in order to preserve the proletarian nature of the party and to adhere firmly to the party's ideological, political, organizational and military line, we must implement the three styles of work taught by Mao; we must formulate concrete programme to consolidate and expand the party depending on the concrete condition in various areas and fulfill the task.

## **2. Mass base must be strengthened and expanded to increase subjective forces and to develop People's War.**

We must deeply understand the general political line of the party to rally the people actively and on a vast scale into People's War; along with political movements, we must mobilize the people actively on a vast scale on issues of daily life; we must politically educate the people whom we mobilize in various movements and in revolutionary activities and consolidate them in various mass organizations; apart from uniting the vast masses of people against the main enemy and forming and functioning appropriate united front structures, we must correct the shortcomings in consolidating them and in establishing party's leadership in them; we must correct the shortcomings in implementing mass line and in integrating the party strongly with the masses; along with strongly fighting back the psychological operations carried on incessantly by the enemy to isolate the revolutionary movement from the people, we must thoroughly expose the fake reforms of the enemy; we must expose among the people the wrong ideologies such as Gandhism, reformism, economism, parliamentarism, post-modernism etc; in the present concrete conditions, we must vastly rally the people on issues such as displacement, SEZs, corruption, price rises, state repression, civil rights etc; we must deeply understand the interrelation between militantly and vastly mobilizing people into class struggles and consolidating them, increasing their active role in People's War and increasing our subjective forces and thus improve our practice.

## **3. We must intensify and expand the guerilla warfare for fulfilling our central task and to defeat OGH.**

To fulfill this task we must deeply understand the reactionary LIC policy, its most deceptive nature and its tactics that was formulated by the imperialists as a counter to the PPW and its basic tactics; we must clearly understand the Special Forces formed by the enemy with a strategic view to suppress the People's War, the intelligence machinery, their method of attacking by concentrating on all spheres, the sham civic action programmes, psychological operations and the evil designs to create divide among the people and inside the party; we must clearly understand that deployment of Special Forces with a strategic view, establishing carpet security,

deploying army and Air Force are intended to stop the PLGA from developing into PLA, guerilla warfare from developing into mobile warfare, guerilla areas from developing into liberated areas and the People's War from spreading like wild fire throughout the country and for suppressing it; we must actively mobilize the people to destroy the intelligence network built by the enemy in the rural areas, to stop the covert operations, massacres, atrocities of the enemy and to prevent rumors from spreading; we must train well the PLGA in tactics to fight back the Special Forces of the enemy and the army; we must actively mobilize our forces and the people in the tactical counter-offensives and the campaigns carried out to inflict damages on carpet security, Special Forces of the enemy and the army deployed in our areas and thus keep the initiative in our hands; by adhering to the policy of active self-defence, of preserving our own forces and wiping out the enemy forces, by preparing for supreme sacrifices which are inevitable in the course of war and by keeping the concrete conditions in the movement areas in view we must formulate proper military tactics and implement them firmly; PLGA must compulsorily implement the operational principles of guerilla warfare in its daily life and battle operations; we must work by keeping in view the interrelation between the various guerilla areas. The decadent culture which is penetrating into the rural areas through all kinds of forces deployed by the government is hugely harming the people's culture. We must build democratic and communist literary and cultural movements against this decadent culture.

#### **4. The movement areas must be expanded and consolidated with a strategic view.**

The extension areas must formulate concrete political, organizational and struggle tasks which would help in developing them into guerilla areas which would consolidate themselves with the aim of establishing liberated areas and function independently; we must work by concentrating on politically mobilizing the people to increase the mass base, in forming and consolidating mass organizations, people's militia and various united front forums; the stronger areas must help the new areas in sustaining themselves independently and they must be functioned with coordination. The enemy would try to wipe us out from the initial stages itself where our mass base hasn't developed much. To defeat such efforts of the enemy we must always implement the secret organizational methods and work methods of

the party and guerilla principles along with courageously fighting back his attacks; we must creatively fight back the psychological operations carried on incessantly by the enemy in various methods; we must build party units at the local level by ideologically and politically educating the forces which stand at the forefront in the mass movement; basing on them we must strengthen and expand the party and the PLGA; we must extend to adequate area with a strategic view, increase guerilla forces and develop guerilla warfare and also strive to build RPCs.

**5. We must put efforts for the release of political prisoners.**

We must build strong movements by mobilizing various forces to get the comrades in various jails in our country released and for the preservation of their rights. The agitations going on inside the jails must be coordinated with these movements; we must put efforts to extend all kinds of support and help to the families of comrades who are in jails.

**Central Committee,**

**CPI (Maoist)**

**25-8-2011**

**Let us develop ongoing higher level  
guerilla war into mobile war with the  
aim of defeating Operation Green Hunt!  
Let us trouble, tire, surround, attack and  
wipe out the enemy!  
Let us fulfill the tasks of our Party's  
Unity Congress-9th Congress!**

*CMC Message on the occasion of PLGA 11th anniversary*

**Dear comrades and beloved people!**

We celebrated one decade of PLGA in December 2010 with great fervor and enthusiasm. We educated our Party and PLGA ranks and vast masses about the great leap forward brought by our PLGA in its first decade in the People's War in India and its prominence. We all strove to learn from the experiences of our PLGA as part of the history of World Socialist Revolution. Everybody knows that our PLGA was formed as a detachment of World Socialist Revolution and in the path paved by the great teachers of the Indian revolution - comrades Charu Mazumdar and Kanhai Chatarji. By December 2, 2011 it would complete eleven years. On this occasion Central Military Commission (CMC) is giving a call to celebrate the 11th anniversary in all our guerilla zones and red resistance areas with the determination to defeat Operation Green Hunt (OGH) of the exploiting ruling classes.

In the People's War ongoing for the liberation of toiling masses in India nearly 150 best daughters and sons of the soil and ordinary people have laid down their precious lives since December 2010 to September 2011. Of them 2 from Dandakaranya (DK), 44 from Bihar-Jharkhand-North Chattisgarh (B-J-NCG), 24 from Odisha, 6 from Andhra-Odisha border (AOB), 4 from Paschim Bang (PB), 4 from Chhattisgarh-Odisha border (COB), 3 from Maharashtra, one from North Telengana (NT) and 10 from Lalgargh mass agitation have laid down their lives. 18 of them were women.

In Kusaboni forests in Jhargram district of Pachism Bang (PB) near Chandsora village on March 10, 2011 police mercenary gangs killed SMC in-charge Sasadhar Mahato in a fake encounter. This is a serious loss we faced in this period. Similarly in the attacks conducted on the enemy by our PLGA forces, several comrades have laid down their lives while bravely fighting with the enemy. In DK - in Morpalli ambush (Dantewada district) section deputy commander comrade Muchaki Gangal, in Bhejji ambush PPCM in battalion and communication man comrade Mangdu, in Usur ambush (Bijapur district) platoon commander comrade Idumal and member comrade Manoj, in Sulungi ambush (Kanker district) Company-1 members comrades Jogal and Syamlal were martyred. In Maharashtra, in Kobramenda ambush (Gondia district) Gondia-North Gadchiroli divisional commander-in-chief comrade Nagesh, PLGA members comrades Manju and Mangu were martyred. In the encounters with the police mercenary forces who came to attack our camps, several comrades have laid down their lives fighting back bravely, wiping out the police forces and in some places seizing weapons too. In DK, in the Narugonda encounter where the notorious cruel police officer China Venta was killed in Gadchiroli district, PL-7 com. Maharu and Kasansur area MI in-charge com. Rakesh were martyred. In Potegaon encounter Chatgaon Area Janatana Sarkar President comrade Ranitha was martyred while bravely fighting back the police who surrounded her after killing 3 policemen and injuring four more. Near Mettanar (Narayanpur district) ACS comrade Kishore, comrade Vikram (Area MI in-charge), near Kullenar comrades Prabhakar (Zone Action Team member) and Ramesh (division I-team member), near Tirka company-1 members comrades Badru, Gopi, company-6 member comrade Akash and militia member comrade Ransai were martyred. In B-J nearly 30 were martyred - In Jharkhand, Harlum and Talaiya encounters of Hazaribagh district, Marung Baru (Bada pahad) and Marhu encounters of Khunti district, Samri encounter of Gumla district, Bara encounter of Palamu district; In Bihar, Manjadih encounter of Banka district, encirclement attack in Dharmaha village of East Champaran district, Panchrukha encounter of Aurangabad. In AOB CRC company-3 member comrade Sandeep in Narayanapatna district; In Odisha

In Kashipur encounter, com. Ravi (DVCM) along with eight more comrades were martyred. In Bihar, in the encounter with counter-



revolutionaries in Bolia of Rohatas district, comrades Veerendra Rana (Zonal committee member) and Vishnu Yadav were martyred.

Apart from these comrades, in DK, comrade Chandana (in-charge of Mobile Academic School of South region-DVC level); comrades Mitku (Area militia commander-in-chief) and Kamlu in a false encounter at Bakulvai (North region); in PB, comrade Khokhan Mahato; in NT, in the attack of secret vigilante gangs village RPC President comrade Ramal of Ramachandrapuram (Khammam district) were martyred.

The women comrades who were martyred while fighting for the liberation of the oppressed masses are - comrades Lata, Jyoti, Santhi, Gajala in Cheruvuru counter-ambush (AOB); in Odisha - Savitri, Baby, Janga (12 year old girl) in Jajpur fake encounter, Rinki, Nirmala, Mamata, Karuna and Kamala in Kashipur encounter; comrade Manjula in Banjipalli encounter in Odisha-Chattisgarh; Rayyo in the Gondmetta ambush in DK etc.

Comrade Salim Mahato (Sub-Zone member) was martyred in the massacre of PLFI in B-J-NCG. In Odisha - PLGA commander Sameer Thalko, Area commander Mohammed Muslimi, supply department driver comrade Badal (Madhu, Lalit kumar Dehuri), PLGA members - in DK comrades Kosal, Kalma Mangu (Bade Chatti), in Odisha Napali, Sunil (Keonjhar); in DK militia platoon commander comrade Sodi Nani, people's militia members comrade Bangaru Raju (AOB), in DK comrades Budram, Munna, Venjam Kelu, in Odisha anti-mining activists Madhav Singh Thakur, Ramesh Sahu of Bargadh district etc. were caught by the police, tortured and killed. Comrades Kesal (PPCM, DK), Madavi Jagal in Warangal Central Jail (North Telangana) died due to illness; in Bihar Area commander comrade Ram Parvesh and some other comrades were martyred in Gaya district in accidents. Apart from these, dozens of ordinary citizens and revolutionary sympathizers were massacred by police and counter-revolutionary gangs. Let us pay red homage to each of these comrades and vow to fulfill their aims. CMC sincerely wishes that all comrades who were injured while fighting the enemy in battle field would recover soon and join the battle again enthusiastically. It sends revolutionary greetings to them for their bravery in the battle field.

In the past one year, hundreds of local mass organizations, revolutionary people's government activists and people were arrested, booked under black laws and put in jails. To suppress the revolutionary cultural movement,

death sentences were pronounced on four cultural activists of Jharkhand Abhen including Jeeten Marandi. It is necessary to build a strong people's movement to annul these death sentences. Particularly, as part of inflicting losses on our party leadership in the dog hunt of the enemy intelligence agencies on April 29, 2011 three Central Committee members and in July comrade Bhupeshda and many other leadership comrades and activists were arrested by the enemy. Though the enemy is making conspiracies to incarcerate them in jails permanently, they're holding aloft the red flags even in jails by opposing this severe repression, tortures of the enemy and the illegal punishments meted out. CMC is sending revolutionary greetings to all these comrades on this occasion. It is looking forward to the day when these comrades would again embrace the revolutionary movement and is making all efforts for this.

### **Dear Comrades,**

Though the various tactical campaigns taken up by the PLGA in various guerilla zones this year have been successful partially, some small and medium military actions conducted by it had a good impact all over the country politically. In DK, between March 11 and 16 the enemy conducted raids in the Chintalnar area in a planned manner and tried to continue without hindrance the second phase attack of OGH. They razed down four villages, killed, raped and were going back after wreaking havoc when our PLGA forces conducted a tactical counter-attack in which four of fascist Koya Commando died and eight were injured. Democrats exposed the destruction wreaked by the enemy. Similarly, the series of night ambushes conducted - on Sukma road near Borguda on May 17, at Gattam near Kattakalyan on June 9th, near Kirandul on June 26; Metlacheru (Bhadrakali) ambush on August 20 worried the enemy a lot. The opportunity ambush was conducted by PLGA on police vehicle at Sunbail (Amamora) in Nawapada district on Chhattisgarh-Odisha border on May 23 to push back the coordination campaign of the enemy at least temporarily on the border of the two states. The attacks conducted by PLGA on Cherpal on May 18, the frontal attack on Jara Police camp on June 9, attack on Bhejji police station premises on June 11 and the attack in front of Vayanar camp on June 24 shocked the enemy. All these brave attacks were conducted in front of or very nearby the enemy camps/police stations. In Gadchiroli, the aggressiveness of the enemy increased and attacks on PLGA shelters

intensified. But PLGA forces fought back the C-60 Commando forces bravely and wiped out 10 commandos at Kandadi on April 8, Nargonda and Tadgaon on May 19 and at Potegaon on April 20. On the whole, PLGA killed 91 police, injured more than 53 and seized 34 weapons. Some political leaders, vigilante gang members and 53 informers were killed. Some SPOs and Judum leaders were killed or injured.

In the summer TCOC conducted till July 2011 in Bihar and Jharkhand the brave Lohardagga ambush on May 3, very small and medium encounters at Marang Baru (Bada Pahad), Mosonga Pahad, Zilga Pahad of Khunti district, Jhumra Pahad of Bokaro district (September); Rahe, Chatra, Latehar, Gumla, Imamganj, Jamui, Munger Bangalora Jungle, some small raids like Tandwa, Murhu etc., the action on Kreli village under Dharahara PS limits in Munger district which housed anti-people elements and SPOs and some annihilations of informers took place. In the Lohardagga ambush within 500 metres a circle of mines were fitted at 10 feet distance and the ambush was conducted on the CRPF and Jharkhand armed police joint forces that numbered more than a company force. 14 police died in this attack and nearly 60-65 police were injured, of them many were seriously injured. As the enemy forces outside the killing zone resisted and other forces coming with them had also reached the ambush site, though our red fighters had tried hard, they could not seize the weapons. However as the enemy suffered serious damages in these attacks, the initiative of the enemy got reduced. On January 17, 2011 leadership comrades Uttam (Odisha SOC Ex-Secretary), Sandeep and Nirbhay conducted a Jail break from Chaibasa Jail and joined the revolutionary movement. February 28, Lakhrui Mor ambush was conducted in Chatra district of Jharkhand on June 21. Seven child guerillas conducted a jail break from the juvenile home at Panpos near Rourkela and joined the revolutionary movement. Particularly, the attacks conducted by PLGA on counter-revolutionary squads, anti-people elements and police informer net work is worrying the enemy. In the meeting of DGPs of naxal-affected states conducted in Delhi on September 14, they had to announce that PLGA attacks had not come down in Bihar and Jharkhand. Totally in all the PLGA actions 25 police forces were wiped out, 97 were injured and ten weapons seized.

Moreover, several small actions and single actions that happened in AOB, Odisha, North Telangana had a good impact. Particularly, our PLGA guerillas arrested Malkangiri district collector Vineel Krishna and have

exposed how hundreds of adivasis are being put in jails in the name of fascist Green Hunt. The struggle for release of political prisoners became intensified. 90 adivasis were released from Odisha jails. PLGA action teams bravely wiped out the notorious Rayons company deputy manager Ramakrishna in Warangal district of North Telangana and Naurangpur district Umarkot MLA Jagbandhu who was supporting OGH and his guard. The actions done on counter-revolutionary '*Santi Sangam*', anti-people elements, informers and covert agents helped the advancement of the Narayanapatna struggle in AOB. Adivasi peasantry took up traditional weapons to defend their villages from police raids and successfully brought home their harvest. People became more consolidated in People's War under the leadership of the RPCs by fighting back the government reforms. This is a victory of the people.

Thus on the whole, our PLGA forces have successfully wiped out 128 policemen, injured 156 and seized 44 weapons all over the country since last December. Moreover, in the continuous single actions conducted by the PLGA forces, 58 anti-people elements, ruling class political leaders, 77 informers, nine Salwa Judum leaders, goons, Harnad Vahini goons and their CPM leaders were wiped out. The role of people's militia forces is worth mentioning in this.

## **Preparations of the enemy**

The enemy announced that the second phase of the fascist OGH is ongoing. From mid-2009, this unjust war (Green Hunt military offensive) unleashed by the Sonia-Manmohan Singh-Chidambaram clique against the people of this country is nothing but a war to let the Tata, Essar, Reliance, Jindal, Mittal, Vedanta etc to loot the mineral wealth in the adivasi areas to the comprador companies and MNCs is something which everyone knows. In order to brutally continue the 'War on people' the government deployed a brigade level army force in the name of training in May end of this year. In fact, army officials have been guiding the counter-insurgency operations of the paramilitary forces since six years with the aim of wiping out the revolutionary movement which is proving to be a hurdle to corporate loot. The army on its own established counter-terrorism Jungle Warfare schools including the ones at Kanker of Dandakaranya and Ambicapur in North Chhattisgarh and is giving special training to police-paramilitary forces. Army higher officials have conducted Bastar tours several times. During

the days when Salwa Judum was at the height of its cruelty, American consulate officials have visited the Jungle Warfare School in Kanker and had consultations with Raman Singh and police higher officials in Raipur. All these undoubtedly prove that all this is happening under the guidance of the US imperialists.

While launching OGH they had the aim of wiping out the Maoist movement within five years and have formulated the strategy to deploy the army too if necessary. They started an Air Base at Nandini near Bhilai and established Brigade Head Quarters and sub-area command Head Quarters by seizing 1800 acres of land near Bilaspur. The army stepped in for the first time to nip in the bud the Janatana Sarkars being established by the adivasi people under the leadership of the Maoists and to wipe out the most ancient human community and their primitive culture by chasing them away from their ages old abode by violating the laws banning land transfer, PESA act and the acts giving all powers to the Gram Sabhas.

As part of the enemy LIC policy, the enemy is trying to follow the tactics of 'winning the hearts of the people' and is trying to distance us from the people. The Prime Minister held a meeting with the collectors of sixty districts selected under the 'Integrated Action Plan' (IAP) on September 13 in Delhi and later held a meeting with the chief ministers, DGPs and other government officials where he announced that the walls between the government and the people must be pulled down and that it should win back the lost confidence of the people. As part of the 'development activities-police actions' policy, second round funds were released under IAP. Pradhan Mantri Sadak Yojana and MNREGA were combined and a special audit was formed. They have announced that they would not tolerate corruption in development schemes. In the name of development, government is implementing fake reforms through government officials and people's representatives. It is dividing a section of the people, establishing them as a stratum in the villages and is turning them into the main vehicles in oppression. This is the main aspect in the government plan. For this they are giving importance to roads, schools, hospitals and electrification in allotment of funds. Most of the funds are allotted for this.

In support of the joint campaigns of the paramilitary forces deployed in DK, the army is going to establish an engineering battalion in the lines of the army. It is building roads and bridges for the army to penetrate into

remote areas. On the other hand the number of UAVs and army helicopters were increased. They are making preparations for drone attacks.

In the background of the Mukaram, Mamayil, Kongera, Saranda, Lohardagga, Sunbail (Amamora), Jaraghati, Gattam, Metlacheru (Bhadrakali) incidents, the enemy is taking up operations with large forces. The enemy who was successful in damaging the leadership in the urban and plain areas is now targeting the leadership in forest areas. On the other hand they are strengthening the network targeting PLGA camps and camps of the various departments and are trying to damage them through killer gangs. They are trying to hinder our activities and are trying to damage the morale of the people. Police forces are deployed in hundreds and area dominations and road patrolling are being conducted. The number of ROP batches and the number of persons in the batches were increased. There are nearly 150-200 persons in each batch. If they have specific information or if they know about the presence of leadership, nearly 800 to 2000 troops are being deployed. The carpet security in the movement areas is being extended day by day. Dozens of police camps were newly established in remote DK, Bihar, Jharkhand, AOB and Odisha apart from the borders of states. The Andhra Pradesh government decided to take up more security measures in the police stations on the borders. In camps and police stations two to three company level forces are being present. Along with deploying paramilitary battalions thousands of police, home guards and SPOs are being recruited newly. To coordinate these forces and operations dozens of IPS officers are being deployed in the movement areas. An ADG was allotted to Gariyaband district on the borders of Chhattisgarh-Odisha border.

Forming nine new districts in Chhattisgarh is part of the plan to suppress our movement area into very small parts by deploying more forces. The attacks of paramilitary and C-60 commando forces increased in Gadchiroli and Gondia districts. A new commando force was formed with persons selected from C-60 commandos and they were given training through the AP Grey Hounds. 5,000 paramilitary forces were deployed in North Chhattisgarh and North Odisha districts. State and central paramilitary forces are being increased in Bihar and Jharkhand. Operations are being conducted on the lines of the army with large forces in Jharkhand. They are particularly concentrating on Saranda. The enemy is particularly concentrating on the borders of North Chhattisgarh-North Odisha-Jharkhand

and of Jharkhand-BJO-Odisha. The enemy has announced that he would coordinate the ground, air and navy forces. The plan of the enemy is to divide our areas without contiguity and inflict losses on us. The offensive of the enemy increased in Odisha. 25 activists were killed this year. Paramilitary forces were increased. SOG is being increased to 5000. The activities and attacks of Grey Hounds increased on the borders of NT-CG. The enemy is concentrating on the border areas with the aim of vacating us from there.

Training centres have been increased. In Jharkhand the enemy is coordinating with the counter-revolutionary gangs and the police is giving them special training. After the Supreme Court judgment was delivered, they have consolidated the SPO and Koya Commando forces in the name of Chhattisgarh Sasastr Sahayak Bal. This new force would be given training in the army training schools. On the other hand, special trainings to young men and women on the lines of Salwa Judum in the name of saving them from Maoists are continuing.

Attacks on people, murders, sexual atrocities on women, razing down houses, loot, destruction of harvest and looting of hens, pigs and goats have become commonplace. The brutal attacks of counter-revolutionary gangs have intensified. The Chintalnar murders-atrocities-razing of houses-loot, the massacre conducted in Netai village (Lalgarh, PB) by the CPM with the help of central and state Joint Forces and the massacre by PLFI goons in Jamgai village (Gumla district, JH) are living examples for this. The white terror unleashed by the Cobras, Koya Commandos and Salwa Judum goons for six days in Morpalli, Tadimetla, Pulanpad and Timmapur villages in the Chintalnar area (murder of three persons, gang rape of six women, loot of 300 houses including crores of rupees worth property, grain and razing them down later) and cordoning of the area for weeks together by the paramilitary and Koya Commandos so that no relief from outside reaches them shows the intensity of the counter-revolutionary offensive. Ninety nine percent of the persons killed by the reactionary Salwa Judum, Sendra, Nagrik Suraksha Samity, Santi Sangams, government armed forces including several kinds of killer gangs in Bihar and Jharkhand are unarmed people. The armed guerillas dying in encounters and fake encounters will not be more than one percent. This hugely indicates that this is 'War on the people'.

In the guerilla zone area of DK the central government gave all powers

to the army to implement the majority aspects in AFSPA and to do anything in the name of self-defence. In fact, this is the plan for combing of remote forests by two to three thousand troops (who come with their rations) for one week. Operations as to how to conduct combings in huge numbers and how to achieve coordination between forces are conducted as part of training. It is with the support of the army that they are making plans to conduct all future raids with the aim of destroying naxalite camps based on information. The actual aim of these training camps is to 'occupy crucial chunks of land' which are being used as good rear areas and had been serving as our strong areas.

On the other hand police reforms are being carried on a huge scale. In the name of 'civic action programmes' paramilitary forces are giving clothes and utensils to people in the weekly bazaars. By trying to come closer to the people through fake reforms they are trying to form their own intelligence network. As a result enemy intelligence network increased in many places. As part of surrender policy they are implementing rehabilitation programmes and are seriously trying to bring pressure on the village level leadership and on squad members to turn them into coverts. They are trying to turn the people towards themselves through *medavs* and *gaonbandi* programmes in Gadchiroli and Gondia districts in Maharashtra.

After army entered DK, army officials are also conducting civic action programmes in villages, conducting meetings with people and discussing the problems faced by the people, doing voluntary labor, teaching lessons in schools, conducting tournaments and are encouraging students to join the army by preaching patriotism. 10,000 youth attended the army recruitment rally conducted in Kanker district headquarters.

The aim of the enemy offensive is to destroy the party, PLGA, mass organizations, people's alternative political power, reduce their area of operation, bring guerilla activities to a standstill thus stopping recruitment, weakening the support of people for People's War, destroying human and material sources and ultimately wiping out People's War.

Enemy is carrying on bad propaganda on our movement and leadership as part of psychological warfare. Communist party of China (CPC), CPI and CPI (M) parties are attacking our party line and supporting the ruling classes. They put up a foul propaganda campaign that squabbles have started between the leadership comrades in CPI (Maoist) on the lines of



the erstwhile parties (MCCI, People's War). They are carrying on psychological warfare without respite daily in media (TV, radio, print media) that violence is against democracy, that nothing can be achieved with a gun and that Maoists are anti-development and advocates of violence. Thus they are trying to mislead the middle classes and the intellectuals. They are spending crores of rupees for this foul propaganda.

Thus in this backdrop where the enemy is intensifying the multi-pronged offensive with full preparations we must speed up our preparations to fight this back.

## **Our preparations**

In the backdrop of deployment of army on the revolutionary movement for the first time since 45 years after Naxalbari by the Indian ruling classes, it is necessary for our party ranks and PLGA forces to make multi-faceted preparations from top to bottom to defeat the enemy offensive by protecting the revolutionary movement, particularly the leadership as the whole state machinery is entering the arena with all-round preparations to intensify the OGH in a multi-pronged manner. For this we must make propaganda on a large scale inside and outside of our struggle areas. People must be rallied against war on people, united front structures must be formed and rallies must be planned continuously in district and block centres with the slogan 'Go Back Indian Army'. To increase the consciousness of the rural people we must regularly plan concrete programmes. We must unite various adivasi *sangams* and tribal elders, explain how the deployment of army would affect the very existence of adivasis, convince them and bring all kinds of adivasi *sangams* under one banner and take up agitations opposing army.

We must prepare the people and PLGA to fight protracted war with the army. Their psychological preparation must be increased. We have to immediately implement the air defence tactics about which we have been talking since the past.

The task to protect the leadership by fighting back all conspiracies of the enemy to wipe out the leadership assumed importance more than ever. We must deeply understand the dynamism of the theory of People's War. We must correct the serious shortcomings in the implementation of guerilla war principles and secret functioning. We must give importance to committee work methods and discipline and our party and PLGA must stand as an

example to the revolutionary ranks. Remoulding the party as an impregnable, most secret, vanguard structure of the proletariat, concentrating on strengthening the mass base and extending it would be crucial for all successes. The main thing is for the party to efficiently guide PLGA and people for the preservation of the subjective forces-movement and their development. Rallying people militantly and widely in class struggles would remain a guarantee for the development of a strong people's army and formation of strategic united front.

### **Better plan – Better practice**

Each PLGA unit must carefully do a recon of the areas where military actions would be held. Particularly we must investigate the condition of the enemy, his weaknesses and the terrain. We must give attention to protection from helicopters. Our PLGA forces must always be under camouflage. They must actively participate in attacks. We must not give the opportunity as far as possible for the enemy to harass the guerilla base areas. We must actively continue the work of wiping out the reactionaries. We must coordinate the main, secondary and base forces in PLGA in small, medium and big operations. We must develop guerilla warfare widely by intensifying it to trouble, tire, surround, attack and wipe out the enemy. We must strive to develop a better plan by coordinating these tactics.

Due to failure in understanding the Maoist political line and military line serious shortcomings are getting reflected in PLGA practice in adhering firmly to guerilla warfare military principles. In the backdrop of the intensifying enemy offensive we must develop the necessary political-military training to overcome the weaknesses of the PLGA forces. We must intensify the training about class line-mass line. The training of leadership (PPC, CoyPC) must be increased. We must take up the programme of consolidating the main, secondary and base forces. We must increase the quality in PLGA through this. Keeping in view the role of people and people's militia in People's War we must strive to make the people and people's militia part of People's War on a vast scale. PLGA must follow the principle of democratic centralism in its daily practice and behave like a collective leadership and command. PLGA should display the art of war and discipline to fight like one person. We must put special efforts to develop combat skills and military techniques. We must finish recon and preparations in

time. Through this we must develop better practice among the whole PLGA forces.

## **Concentrate on wiping out reactionary killer gangs**

In order to continuously face reactionary attacks in the villages, it is necessary to have politically centralized RPCs (Janatana Sarkars in DK). Revolutionary transformation basically means transformation in class relations. Success of revolution or revolutionary transformation begins with the formation of revolutionary government. When revolutionary transformation begins, class struggle continues more cruelly. Imperialists, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class and feudal class would try to influence the middle class peasantry in the revolutionary camp in every possible way (reforms). So during the course of revolutionary transformation new vacillations, reactionary methods, conspiracies and dividing the people through deception would be present inevitably. Neither the people nor we must nurture any illusions about peaceful revolution. We must follow the proper policy of consolidating proletarian leadership in RPCs at various levels. We must consolidate the alliance of agricultural labor and poor peasantry. We must establish the leadership of agricultural labor and poor peasantry. We must see to it that the influence of rich peasantry and tribal elders do not fall on the middle peasantry and must win over the middle peasantry. Only by following such correct and consistent policy the difficulties in revolutionary transformation would get reduced and the unity of people strengthens. We must never ignore this. We must increase the consciousness of the people as to the fact that total liberation is possible only after revolutionary people's government is established countrywide. For this we must build RPCs as a movement in all villages. Uniting with the people RPCs must severely suppress the activities of the reactionaries. We must severely suppress the conspiracies, deceptions and sabotage activities which damage the aims, interests and unity of the oppressed classes and people (agricultural labor, poor, middle and rich peasantry). The reactionaries are resorting to spreading lies, giving information to police, paramilitary and army (espionage), increasing degradation in party, PLGA and RPCs and killing people by organizing into killer gangs to safeguard the interests of the exploiting classes. It is crucial to rally vast masses as part of class struggle to fight back such sabotage activities. RPCs must repeatedly explain to the people about the need to stay united for the sake

of the class interests of the toiling masses. RPCs must firmly oppose the revenge killings and revenge activities which lead to quarrels among the peasantry. Then they would be able to scatter the influence of land lords, MNCs, imperialists and ruling classes.

## **Dear comrades, beloved people!**

As a consequence of the distorted development of the imperialist LPG policies, the impact of the world economic crisis is severe on our country too. Increase in corruption, unemployment, price rise, poverty and displacement and due to loss of lands, forests and water, the living conditions of the oppressed working class, peasant and middle class people became unbearable and they do not have anywhere to turn except towards revolution. Material conditions are ripening for revolution. Strikes and agitations of all sections of people are increasing. Economic struggles are turning into political struggles. The political agitations of the backward adivasi peasantry are intensifying. Struggles like Singur, Nandigram, Lalgah, Kalinganagar, Narayanapatna, anti-Posco, Niayamagiri, Mali, Deomali, Singareni, open casts, Polavaram, Sompeta, Kakarapalli, Jaitapur and Greater Noida, struggle of people displaced due to urban development in Jharkhand, countrywide anti-SEZ struggles, price rises, anti-corruption struggles, struggles on peasant issues and the struggles of dalit and women indicate the political consciousness of the people. People are rallying militantly for the formation of separate Telangana state. The national liberation struggle of Kashmir is continuing to rage. In order to divert the militant struggles of the people, NGOs run with the guidance of imperialists and those under the leadership of persons like Anna Hazare are bringing forth struggle forms like hunger strikes in the name of non-violence. Fascist repression of the ruling classes is increasing on our Maoist party which is serving as the beacon light of the oppressed masses and also on working class, peasantry, middle class and oppressed masses. The economic and political crisis is intensifying every where and so we must strive to increase the revolutionary spirit among the vast masses and try to awaken them with the slogan that we will have to fight till our last breath. We must rally them on a huge scale on daily issues and political issues. We must take to the people the message that “Political power must be seized through People’s War”. We must declare that it is not possible for the economic interests of the oppressed masses to be fulfilled without decisive political struggles.

## Call of the CMC

Beloved workers, peasants, adivasis, toiling masses, women, students, youth and intellectuals! Everyone is clearly realizing that the OGH is nothing but a 'War on People' conducted by the central and state governments to wipe out CPI (Maoist), PLGA, patriotic, democratic and green activists which are proving a hurdle to the unbridled conspiracy to let the imperialist MNCs, Indian comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and land lords to loot the invaluable mineral wealth. Many agitations are ongoing inside and outside guerilla zones to defeat this unjust war. Thousands of people, particularly adivasi peasantry are rallying into these struggles. Extend support to the fighting revolutionary masses! Rally actively to stop the brutal attacks of the mercenary police who are massacring hundreds of adivasis and looting their properties, dignity and everything dear to them like a pack of wolves attacking a flock of sheep, in the name of fighting terrorism. Maoists are not advocates of violence. In fact, they would be in the forefront among those who wish for peace. Do not believe a word of the vicious propaganda unleashed by the bourgeois media on Maoists! Stand firmly with the revolutionary movement! If we do not defeat this enemy offensive, if we do not defeat the conspiracy to wipe out the revolutionary movement, Maoist party, PLGA, alternate people's power organs and mass organizations, then all the valuable fruits won by the revolutionary movement would be destroyed. So, play your role in isolating and defeating the enemy! Join the PLGA in huge numbers, increase its force manifold and strengthen it! Integrate with the deluge of mass movements rising in several areas in our country with the slogans land-power-democracy-building of people's army and self-reliance! Join hands with them! Stand shoulder to shoulder with the armed resistance struggles of PLGA! There can be no fundamental change without completely destroying the exploiting classes. The reforms thrown by them as bread crumbs are useless and would only destroy the lives of the people further. Let us advance for an alternative new democratic society by declaring that reforms are part of the conspiracy to damage the unity of the people and fight them back! Come! Dare to fight and ultimate victory belongs to the people!

- Let us develop PLGA into PLA and guerilla warfare into mobile warfare with the aim of developing Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand into Liberated Areas!

- Let us oppose the deployment of army by the Indian ruling classes for wiping out Maoist revolutionary movement!
- Let us teach a lesson to the Indian Army through our glorious People's War!
- Let us attack the enemy actively! Let us not give a chance to the enemy to harass the guerilla base areas!
- Let us fully develop the Maoist style of fighting!
- Let us fight tirelessly and bravely on the lines of Nayagarh, Mukaram, Mamayil, Kajara, Kongera and Lohardagga!
- Let us actively continue the task of wiping out reactionaries! Let us stop the activities of reactionary gangs in their tracks!
- Let us annihilate the enemy on a huge scale and seize weapons!
- Let us find out the weaknesses of the enemy in the carpet security system and take initiative to give it a deadly blow! Let us wipe out the Special Commando forces of the enemy!
- Let us not allow even one enemy spy to enter our guerilla base areas! Let us strengthen the people's counter intelligence network and defend the revolutionary leadership, PLGA, people's political power organs and revolutionary movement like the pupil of our eye!
- Let us consolidate people further into political struggles!
- Let us intensify political-military training in PLGA!
- Let us take up campaigns to recruit young men and women on a huge scale into PLGA!
- Let us develop steely discipline in PLGA and develop it into an invincible army!
- Long live CPI (Maoist)!

**With Revolutionary Greetings,  
Central Military Commission  
CPI (Maoist)**

# **Enemy Offensive – Our Counter-Offensive Tactics**

**- CRB, September 2011**

## **The Present Political Situation**

The economic crisis which started in US in 2008 extended to the whole world including Europe and Japan and is still affecting the imperialist countries. Countries like Greece, Spain and Portugal are under heavy loan burden and are not in a position to pay back the loans. As the discussion among the ruling classes about lifting of loan limitation imposed by them in US came to a conclusion, US got the opportunity to get loans. Due to this US which already is the biggest debt-ridden country with a loan burden of 14.3 lakh crores of dollars now got the opportunity to get 2.1 lakh crores of dollars of loan by 2013 and thus temporarily overcame the problem of payments that it is facing. However, it is going to increase tax burden along with cuts in welfare sectors like pension, health and education to transfer this loan burden onto the working class, employees and people. The imperialist governments have spent 15 lakh crores of dollars for bail out packages to protect industries and bankrupt banks on the one hand and to get back that money this whole burden is being transferred to the workers, employees and people in the imperialist countries. Due to this, all over the world the workers, peasantry, employees and other people are taking up militant mass agitations. The imperialists are cruelly suppressing these mass agitations to overcome their crisis. For this they are resorting to fascist policies like suppressing the rights of the people and introducing cruel laws, inciting religious and racist hatred and increasing the divide between the people and attacking the people of backward countries who are migrants in the developed countries.

However, as people's rebellions erupted in Arab world against globalization economic policies, corruption of dictatorial rulers, dynastic rule, unemployment, poverty and violation of human rights and with the slogan of 'food-freedom', the imperialists were aghast. This wild fire which started with 'Jasmine Revolution' of Tunisia extended to Algeria, Egypt,

Yemen, Oman, Jordan, Sudan, Libya, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Syria. On the whole, in the Arab countries people's anger erupted against lackey governments of the imperialists or against persons like Gaddafi in Libya where autocratic rule continued. However with the evil design of occupying oil fields in Libya and with the aim of using the fruits of the people's rebellions, the imperialist countries are using 'deceptive' LIC tactics, took the rebellion into their hands, announced war on that country and are trying to form a puppet government. They are intervening in Syria too and imposing many restrictions. They are trying in unpteen ways to divert the other rebellions too in the Arab world and are trying to resort to fascist offensive where it is not possible. As a result all these are turning into anti-imperialist struggles in practice. However, their biggest weakness is that none of these have revolutionary proletarian leadership. Proletariat is not able to make good use of this excellent situation.

Europe is in turmoil since 2010 with a deluge of working class struggles. Struggles are breaking out with the demand that Berlusconi (Italy), Sarkozy (France), Cameron (Britain), Angela Merkel (Germany) and other governments should resign. In the beginning of 2011, as the economic crisis in Portugal intensified, the Prime Minister there had to resign on March 23, 2011. People of 70 countries who are living under unbearable conditions due to sky rocketing price rises had to resort to hunger riots. In the last months of 2010, all the countries in Europe were in turmoil with working class strikes. The fact that 1/5th of the people in France were striking indicates the gravity of the situation.

The resistance movement of the Afghan people is continuing in a severe form against the NATO forces under US leadership. Now it has extended to the majority areas in Pakistan. The failed war of aggression waged by US since a decade is being opposed by the Afghan, Pak people with one voice and they are agitating in various forms.

In our country too ruling classes are bringing to the fore Land Occupation Act along with bringing repression to suppress the anti-displacement struggles. They are trying to suppress the revolutionary movement and democratic movements with various kinds of fascist laws along with



Operation Green Hunt. Corruption, price rises, unemployment and tax burden are badly affecting the ordinary people and the middle class people.

The UPA government is fully bogged down in scams worth lakhs of crores of rupees. There is not a single government which is not bogged down in some or the other scam including the BJP led governments in the states. The ex-telecom minister Raja who is the main accused in the 2G case made a statement on July 25 as approver which once again made it clear that the then finance minister P. Chidambaram and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh are culprits too. On March 4, Supreme Court had to inevitably annul the appointment of PG Thomas, who is the main accused in the import of palmolein oil scam, as central vigilance commission director. This exposed the Prime Minister and Home Minister who were mainly responsible for this as culprits before the people.

Demonstrations began intensifying against corrupt scams all over the country. Central government tried to bring the 'Lokpal' bill as eyewash as it was afraid about the turn the increasing agitation among the people would take. 'India against corruption' agitation was taken up for Jan Lokpal Bill under Anna Hazare's leadership. Middle class all over the country declared solidarity to this agitation and this reflects the anger among the people towards corruption. But, corporate bigwigs like Narayana Murthy, big industrial houses and institutions like CII, Assocham and FICCI gave donations to this and supported this. Ex-Chief Minister of Karnataka Yedyurappa, Gali Janardhan Reddy, YS Jagmohan Reddy, Pappu Yadav, Ramoji Rao, Ex-Chief Minister Chandra Babu Naidu, looters like Lalit Modi who was removed from his post due to IPL scam, those who became karodpatis by seizing the lands of the peasantry in the name of SEZs and through real estate and those who occupied lands using media as a cover have all entered this movement and due to this the movement is losing its legitimacy. The anti-corruption agitation must be brought under the leadership of the real people's forces by exposing the real nature of safety valves like Anna Hazare.

As displacement issue intensified with each passing day, people's resistance against this is extending to several areas in the country since the

past five years. People's struggles like Lalgarh, Narayanapatna and Kalinganagar are continuing. People's protests are continuing in various forms against the 'development model' (SEZs, mining, nuclear power reactors, thermal power projects, big dams, express highways, *Abhayaranyas* etc) of the central and state governments, against land grabbing and against corruption in schemes like MNREGA and Gram Suraj. All over the country agitations like those against express highway in the Greater Noida area in Uttar Pradesh, against Posco steel plant, against bauxite mining in Kshipur, Niyamgiri and Mali-Deomali in Odisha, against Polavaram dam, Singareni open cast mines, high tech harbour project in Gangavaram of Visakha district, against Sompeta and Kakrapalli thermal power plants in Srikakulam district, against Surjagarh in Maharashtra, against Lohandiguda, Bodhghat, Pallemadi, Raoghat and other mining projects in Chhattisgarh are ongoing. The Maha SEZ planned to be built by Mukesh Ambani in ten thousand acres near Mumbai has to be stopped due to severe resistance from the peasantry. Agitation by lakhs of people all over Jharkhand who would be losing their shelter due to the High Court judgment and agitations against power crisis in Bihar took place. People are coming to the fore in agitations severely opposing nuclear power plants planned to be built up in Haripur on the banks of Bay of Bengal in West Bengal, in Jaitapur in Maharashtra and in Kovada-Ranasthalam in Srikakulam district of AP, uranium mining in Kadapa and Nalgonda and China clay mining in Visakha. Agitations have also started against thermal power plants in Kanaparty and Nayanipalli of Prakasam district. People are readying themselves to agitate against the 26 new thermal power plants to be built up in Chillakur and Venkatachalam mandals in Nellore district.

The Kashmiri people's struggle and the struggle for separate Telangana are continuing. The *Sakala Janula Samme* which started in the second week of September and is intensifying day by day as the most severe struggle phase demanding separate Telangana state, is perturbing the ruling classes. Muslim people are severely resisting the state offensive on Muslim minorities. People's resistance against discrimination and attacks on Dalit-Bahujans, against increasing oppression-suppression-discrimination on women is intensifying day by day.

These agitations are continuing in the revolutionary movement areas under our party leadership or with its participation and are being developed into political struggles. With their impact such agitations are ongoing under the leadership of well-wishers of the people, people's rights organizations and NGOs too. However as NGOs are mostly imperialist/state sponsored organizations they are trying to prevent them from turning militant, to limit them to legal limitations and finally to divert them. It is the responsibility of revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces to run these movements in the correct direction by exposing them.

On the other hand Indian ruling classes are taking up the carrot and stick policy to suppress these anti-state agitations. The ruling UPA government is losing its prestige while the imperialists and Indian ruling classes are together taking up more fascist policies and are trying to promote persons like Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi who can rule like dictators. They are using ESMA on working class struggles. In this background, as part of suppressing the revolutionary movement, the government deployed army in the name of training at May end this year. Army was deployed in DK as part of the plan to destroy the alternative people's political power developing and expanding in DK and to weaken the guerilla zones in our region and completely decimate the movement.

### **Government Tactics to decimate the Maoist movement**

The enemy has intensified the military offensive by stating that second phase of Green Hunt is continuing. As part of it, stating that Maoist movement is the biggest internal security threat PM held a meeting in Delhi with the collectors of 60 districts in the selected Maoist affected districts under 'Integrated Action Plan' and later a series of meetings were held with Chief Ministers, DGPs and other government officials. US officials are directly leading these meetings. In these meetings, decisions are made according to the 'development activities- police actions' policy along with allotting second round funds under IAP for development schemes. *Pradhan Mantri Sadak Yojana*, MNREGA schemes were combined to form a special audit. Government is spreading fake reforms like an epidemic and is implementing them through government officials and people's representatives. Dividing a section from the people, turning them into a strata in the villages and making them the main vehicles in suppression is

the main aspect in government reforms. For this, roads, schools, hospitals and electrification are given importance and they are allotted the maximum number of funds. However their intensification may be different.

Police reforms are also being carried out along with them. In the name of 'civic action programmes' paramilitary forces are giving clothes and utensils to the people in weekly markets. They are trying to come closer to the people and are trying to form their own intelligence network. The enemy network extended to the remote areas. They are newly going to form an engineering battalion in the lines of army so that the army which was deployed in DK could participate in joint campaigns with the paramilitary forces deployed here. This would build roads and bridges so that army can penetrate into remote areas. Already four MI helicopters in DK and two in Bihar-Jharkhand are present to help the army and paramilitary in operations. AP government asked for such helicopters for patrolling in the borders of Chhattisgarh, Odisha and AP.

Preparations are being intensified to deploy unmanned aerial vehicles and drones in our movement areas. Police forces are trying to attack us by depending on network. The enemy is concentrating all his strength to damage our leadership and coordinate intelligence. The enemy who could damage the leadership in the urban and plain areas is now targeting the leadership in the forest areas. Hundreds of police forces have been deployed targeting our PLGA and area dominations and road patrolling are done. Forces many times over are being deployed for conducting attacks based on concrete information. Carpet security is getting extended day by day in the movement areas. Along with the borders of states, newly nearly 30 police camps were opened in DK and AOB. AP government decided to take up some more security measures in the police stations on the borders. Along with newly deploying paramilitary battalions, thousands of police, home guards and SPOs are being recruited in all states. To coordinate the operations, dozens of IPS officers are employed in the movement areas. In Gadchiroli district alone 24 IPS officers were deployed. A closed door meeting was held with civil and police officers in Gadchiroli and concrete plan was made for suppressive measures.

After Green Hunt was launched, it is very clear before us the changes

which are occurring due to the 'Hold-Control-Build' policies of the enemy. The enemy is severely propagating since some time that he has taken into hold 40 percent area in DK. The army was deployed in DK under such circumstances. Already one batch completed guerilla training. Army training is going on rapidly. Coordination is increasing among forces of all states and all kinds of forces. Thus the enemy is increasing coordination between his forces and is severely trying to sustain their morale.

The enemy is following the tactics of 'winning the hearts of the people' as part of LIC and is trying to isolate us from the people. As part of psychological warfare he is carrying on foul propaganda on our movement and leadership. For this sake, the Communist Party of China, CPI (M) and CPI here are attacking our party line and supporting the ruling classes. Foul propaganda was intensified in bourgeois magazines that quarrels have started between the leadership comrades of erstwhile parties (MCCI, People's War). Psychological warfare is carried on incessantly that violence is against democracy, that nothing can be achieved with violence and gun and that Maoists are anti-development. They are trying to spread lies among the middle class and intellectuals that Maoists are advocates of violence. They are spending crores of rupees for doing foul propaganda about our party.

The conspiracies of bad gentry to damage our revolutionary activities in the villages have increased. Their activities are continuing in a secret manner to fizzle out the activities of the Janatana Sarkars. Particularly they are resorting to various kinds of conspiracies to damage the activities of militia. They intensified superstitious propaganda. After signing knotted agreements with exploitative government machinery forces and under their guidance they are resorting to most heinous methods to damage the unity of the peasantry in the villages. They have stooped to the lowest levels with corruption, bribery and even selling of girls. The need to prepare the vast masses to fight in a united and organized manner by deeply studying all these has increased more than before.

Let us strive to develop DK and BJ into liberated areas which is our central task by utilizing the favorable condition raising due to the intensifying basic contradictions domestically and internationally and by consolidating the revolutionary movement.

## **Our Resistance Tactics**

The present massive military offensive of the enemy would continue in a crueler and higher level in the coming days. Taking into consideration the fact that the enemy has kept a target of three to seven days to decimate our movement, we must prepare the revolutionary camp to defeat this. We must resist the Indian Army which was deployed in DK.

### **A. Give importance to leadership protection**

The loss of CC, SZC members is a strategic loss for the Indian Revolutionary movement. These losses must be prevented. For this we must implement the regulations which have been discussed many times over and formulated till now. Along with this second rank leadership must be trained at all levels. So while preserving the present leadership on the one hand, we must train up second rank leadership at all levels from AC to the higher levels. Conscious efforts must be put to protect the party cadres by cadres checking the work style of leaders and leaders checking the work style of cadres.

### **B. Implement tactics which would isolate the enemy**

1. We must carry on propaganda/psychological warfare and united front efforts in unison to isolate the enemy politically and weaken him. The present multi-pronged attack launched and continued by the enemy is against the toiling masses, Adivasis, dalits and peasantry of our country and favorable to the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the feudal forces. So propaganda/psychological warfare must be carried on by continuously exposing the anti-nation, pro-imperialist, anti dalit-advasi and other toiling communities, anti worker-peasant-toiling masses, anti-democratic, fascist and unjust nature of this war as this is being carried out in the most fascist manner by shamelessly violating even the namesake civil rights present till now. In this propaganda/psychological warfare concrete incidents and phenomena must be mentioned and carried on effectively. Through this we must strive to form united fronts in various forms with revolutionary, democratic, progressive, patriotic forces and Adivasis apart from individuals, organizations and parties who wish for the development of all toiling people.

2. By implementing the extension work taken up with a strategic view, vast areas must be developed into guerilla zone. Through this we must

impose limitations on the deployment of Indian army and bring about a situation where it would not be possible for the Indian army to concentrate anywhere. Thus we must drag the Indian army into a quagmire of uncertainty in central and eastern India.

### **C. Develop guerilla warfare to a higher level**

1. In the backdrop of the deployment of the army in DK we must bring changes/increase in our formations. We must prepare higher level syllabi to fight back the army and bring a change in the training of PLGA, militia and the people. We must bring development in weapons. To fight back the helicopter attacks we must take up active and passive self-defence measures. For this, basing on the book “Guerilla Air-defence” published by APSMC and the Jung Publications booklet named “Let us fight back the air attack tactics of the enemy, let us formulate active and passive tactics”, we must prepare the people, party and the PLGA to fight back the Indian Air Force attacks. People must be rallied on a vast scale to fight back the Indian Army and the Air Force. PLGA recruitment must be increased on a vast scale. We must increase the fighting capacity of the combat forces by consolidating them politically, militarily and organizationally. The people and PLGA must continuously carry on small, medium and big operations in coordination.

2. To fight back the Army, we must attack at the level of battalions by keeping companies at the core. When the army takes up counter-insurgency operations and counter-guerilla operations and when it comes for combing, surprise ambushes must be conducted on the units on the periphery of these operations and combings and on the weaker units. The weaker units and units on the periphery must be separated from the other forces and attacked. Attacks must be conducted with higher level formations by keeping main forces at the core. Mine warfare must be developed creatively. The main, secondary and base forces must unite with the people and must conduct attacks in a manner which would damage the initiative of the enemy.

3. We must develop weaponry and weapon systems as part of fighting back of the Army. In the present conditions where we are facing problems in supplies, we must depend on supplies and gain self-sufficiency by depending on local and improvised sources. We must make good use of the available sources on the targets.

4. The crucial aspect in defeating the enemy is concentration of the forces and annihilating actions. The RCs must guide such that local level unified commands which are now formed during TCOCs are formed and function whenever the need arises. Joint commands must be formed wherever necessary in various forms and levels. Regular commands should be made to work with more initiative.

#### **D. Defend the structures**

We must completely make good use of every opportunity available to inflict losses on the enemy even while preserving our subjective forces. We must increase the consciousness of the guerilla forces so that initiative, presence of mind and sacrificing nature increase among them. We must completely stop surrenders among the guerilla forces. The leadership must continuously motivate all forces to definitely implement the basic principles of guerilla tactics (secrecy, speed, determination) by learning further guerilla military skills and techniques. SZCs and DVCs must concretely assess if single organizers, LOSs with lesser numbers and other weaker units can be functioned amidst the present massive offensives and must immediately take up the necessary organizational changes. We must adhere to the people and keep our movements a secret. All structures must always be alert and see to it that the enemy network doesn't penetrate into them. All structures must conduct meetings within the time period decided, observe keenly the changes occurring in the conditions and the individuals, discuss them and take proper decisions. More than anything, firstly alertness of the people must be increased in all spheres and in all matters. We must see to it that the organized strength of the people does not get damaged. All sections among the people and traditional elders (pro-people elements) must be brought together.

#### **E. Take up Mass movements**

While concentrating on intensifying the guerilla warfare in the multi-pronged counter-offensive that we take up to fight back and defeat the enemy offensive, we must intensify mass struggles. People's War must be carried on by coordinating guerilla warfare and mass struggles. Basing on the experiences gained from Lalgah and Narayanapatna struggles we must conduct the mass struggles militantly.



We must conduct militant struggles on displacement and land issues. These must be conducted in coordination at the zone and regional level.

### **F. Propaganda**

Wide propaganda must be conducted among the vast masses opposing the deployment of Army. After the entry of Army in Bastar, it is seen in the whole of Indian history that AFSPA would come into existence and the army would resort to massacres, razing down of houses and atrocities on women. We must conduct propaganda among the people against this Act. We must build resistance struggle involving Adivasis to reoccupy the lands which were occupied for Army training. We must see to it that the solidarity movements against Green Hunt offensives do not get damaged and our (CC) efforts must be such that they increase further. We must bring into vast usage wall papers/posters to immediately expose and place before the people the murders, atrocities, razing of houses, loot and destruction carried on by the enemy in the villages. Party policies and appeals must be taken into the people through them. We must always remember that direct propaganda conducted by the revolutionary activists among the people is the basic and important thing.

Party units must always strive to increase the resistance of the people everywhere such that all forces and institutions intensify their struggle/protest against the Indian Army in all manners possible. The enemy is trying seriously for conducting air attacks too. We must propagate about them too.

### **G. Deal properly with reforms**

As we had already discussed several times, we must take stand on reforms depending on the strengths of the movement. Reforms brought by the exploiting class must be banned in guerilla bases (except the ones which have been decided to be allowed) and an alternative new people's economy must be developed. The development we achieve in this would be useful in rallying the support of the democratic classes all over the country. So along with collecting the necessary funds and releasing them, we must build and develop the people's economy by organizing the labor power. In the guerilla zones, in areas where the movement is at a basic level and weak, we must deal with the reforms by following mass line. We must correct the shortcomings in the political work to be done by us

regarding reforms in guerilla bases and guerilla zone areas. We must correct the shortcomings happening from Janatana Sarkars in the building of a new people's economy.

By dealing properly with the reforms we must see to it that the government does not build a social base in the movement areas. We must correct the shortcoming of not doing political work regarding reforms properly in the name of mass line and the shortcoming of dealing with sectarianism in opposition to our mass line in the name of political work.

We must carry on our practice in guerilla zones and guerilla bases following the understanding of 'Destruction-Construction'. They must be taken up by rallying people on a large scale with the clarity that such constructive measures would sustain in guerilla bases subordinate to the main aim of defeating the enemy offensive. We must give the understanding to the people that the responsibility of strengthening them lies mainly with the people.

#### **H. Defeat the efforts of the government done through OGH**

The enemy has deployed paramilitary forces, expanded and strengthened the carpet security system apart from intensifying reforms all over DK as part of OGH. Informer system was strengthened. As a result of reforms a section of people is turning in favor of government. The enemy is getting information about the squads and local structures through informers. The attacks of coverts and counter-revolutionary killer gangs must be fought back consciously. Due to carpet security, the movements of party and PLGA are getting affected and hurdles are created for mass work and military work. We must defeat the successes achieved by the enemy.

#### **I. Coordination between states**

Even while trying to revive the movements which are in setback in AOB, NT, AP and Maharashtra, plans must be made to fight back the enemy offensive in coordination with DK. Apart from propaganda, material and logistical help, guerilla operations must be conducted according to our strength in those areas as part of the tactics to divide the enemy.

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# Mass Struggles

- CRB, September 2011

Due to the neo-liberal policies and globalization brought to the fore by the imperialists, the world economy is bogged down in severe economic crisis. Due to these policies, along with economic recession, issues like price rises, unemployment and corruption are rocking the world. The imperialists and their lackey ruling classes of the backward countries are keeping up the din that the only solution for these problems is to intensify the reforms again. The Congress government under Manmohan Singh is coming forward more aggressively in the matter of reforms.

The Manmohan Singh government is already building many projects like mines, SEZs and nuclear power plants in the name of reforms in economic sphere and development and is handing over the wealth of the nation to the imperialists. In the name of this development model, the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the feudal classes under the garb of ruling and opposition parties are filling their coffers. On the one hand the exploiting governments are resorting to fascist repression on the toiling people who are severely opposing their ill effects and on the other hand are down pouring fake welfare schemes to dampen their anger.

Under these conditions, the only correct path is to expose the conspiracies of the imperialists and their lackey CBB, feudal ruling classes and taking up various struggles and leading them in order to mobilize the people into revolution on a massive scale. Only people who have been politically consolidated in these struggles can fight back the state's fascist repression and expose the deception of the fake reforms. However the imperialists and the ruling classes of the various countries are themselves organizing struggles to divert the people. To be more precise, they are mobilizing people's dissatisfaction into struggles which do not cause any inconvenience. The Anna Hazare struggle ongoing against corruption in our country is part of this 'safety valve' policy. We must keep in view this danger too and rally the people into militant type struggles like Lalgarh, Nandigram, Kalinganagar and Narayanapatna. For this, firstly we must

identify the main basic problems faced by the people everywhere. We must mobilize the people around these problems and allot appropriate forces to take up struggles in a planned manner.

Due to the exploiting economic policies followed by the central and state governments, people of our central Region too are facing problems. Displacement issues like the Mali, Deomali, Visakha bauxite, Raoghat, Bodhghat, Singareni and open cast are severely worrying the people. Army deployment in DK, separate Telangana, Narayanapatna land issue and the Visakha coffee plantation issue turned into life and death issues of the people. Moreover, the daily issues of the Cut-off area people, corruption, irrigation facilities and drinking water facilities etc are some of the issues from which the people of the region are suffering. All these issues have become issues of existence for the people now. Keeping in view this condition, concerned committees must take decisions to rally the people into struggles.

- Appropriate forces must be allotted to concentrate on these struggles.
- These struggles must be carried on with dedication, patience and without respite.
- Appropriate struggle forms must be chosen depending on the preparedness of the people. Gradually their consciousness must be raised and these struggles must be turned into anti-state, militant political struggles.
- United forums must be built by uniting with the democratic organizations and forces which would come together. Our forces must take initiative to give leadership to these forums.
- We must not only turn these struggles into anti-state struggles but must also put efforts such that the people actively participating in them are armed and are led in the direction of seizure of political power.

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# **Dandakaranya Plenum held successfully With the call to advance in the direction of establishing Liberated Area By defeating the counter-revolutionary LIC offensive**

After the formation of the glorious new party-CPI (Maoist) as a result of historic unity and as part of the process of conducting the Unity Congress-9th Congress, the fourth conference of Dandakaranya Special Zone was held in September-October 2006. The CC-3 meeting conducted in end 2010 discussed about holding the Party Congress and came to the conclusion that it could not be held and decided that state level plenums must be conducted. As part of implementing this decision, the Special Zonal Committee (SZC) decided to hold a plenum to review the movement of the past five years in DK, take appropriate lessons and formulate new tasks. According to this decision, this program was successfully held without any hurdles from October 11 to 23, 2011. It is noteworthy that this was held in the backdrop of launching of Operation Green Hunt (OGH) all over the country by the Indian ruling classes with the aim of decimating the revolutionary movement and deployment of Army too in Bastar as part of this and the enemy conducting cruel suppression offensives. Hundreds of activists belonging to various levels of Party Committees, PLGA fighters-commanders, mass organizations, revolutionary people's government and people worked very hard for weeks together in a division of DK for the sake of this plenum. They did sentries day and night and conveyed information about the enemy from time to time and played a crucial role in making this program successful.

## **Commune reminds the sacrifices of Martyrs at every step**

The sprawling commune was built in memory of brave commanders who were martyred in the People's War waged in DK in the past five years – Comrades Mohan, Madhu, Tirupati, Badru, Nagesh-Gondia, Bandu, Sankar, Nagesh-North Bastar and Mangesh. This commune was built to

serve as a residence for the delegates, the observers from various states, central leaders and the PLGA fighters who arrived for maintaining security and with appropriate security measures to fight back the enemy forces if they attack. The plenum hall was built in memory of CC members-martyrs – Comrades BK, Prasad, Ajay, Anuradha, Azad and Vikas. An entrance to enter into this hall was built in memory of State Committee level martyrs – Comrades Appa Rao, Ramchander, Mastan Rao, Suryam, Ranadhir and Sasadhar Mahato. In the sprawling ground built in memory of Tadikel, Pullum, Vakulvai martyrs, apart from roll call, military practice and parade, cultural programs were also conducted during the entire period of the plenum.

For the sake of defence teams that were formed for providing security to the plenum, halls were built in memory of Mukuram and Ranibodili martyrs. For the sake of the camp that was divided into various platoons, halls were built in various directions in memory of Battigudem, Modakpal, Nargonda, Kobramenda, Sulangi and Kongera martyrs. For the defence of the commune, various sentry posts were built in memory of Nalco, Battugudem, Dobur, Macchanar, Tirkanar and Gunukuralla martyrs. PLGA fighters did sentry duty in these posts day and night.

A press was also established in this commune in memory of martyrs Kumli and Chaite who were murdered by reactionary killer gangs. The commune kitchen was named after Niyamgiri, Padkipali, Kanchal and Usur martyrs. A library in memory of the brave woman fighter comrade Ranita and a reading room in the name of revolutionary intellectuals Kannabiran, RS Rao, Pattipati and Hemchandra Pandey were established for the commune members to study. A temporary hospital was built in memory of Keskal martyrs Kamala and Parvati to render medical services. The cultural theater was named after Comrades Pramod and Natasha. Thus several structures were built in the entire commune reminding the sacrifices of the martyrs. The whole place turned red with photos of martyrs, red banners and festoons. The plenum hall and ground were decorated with several posters and banners that reminded the tasks of the party and with quotations of the Marxist Great Teachers.

## **Inspiring Inaugural Program**

On October 11, at 9 am the entire commune stood in two rows and the

procession started. The DKSZC secretary Comrade Kosa stood at the head of the procession with the red flag held aloft and the delegates, observers, PLGA commanders and fighters followed him with revolutionary slogans renting the air. The Chetana Natya Manch (CNM) teams stood as a special attraction in this procession with their songs, drums and other instruments. This procession consisting of armed fighters carrying banners and placards advanced through the commune and reached the ground. The Martyrs Column was already built and present there. Comrade Kosa hoisted the flag and the plenum formally began with the singing of the Internationale. Comrade Kosa explained to the parade the backdrop for the plenum and its aim. He explained briefly on how best to utilize the excellent revolutionary conditions inside the country and the world and the challenges faced by the DK movement at present. Later the Martyrs Column was inaugurated. It was an occasion to remember all those comrades who were martyred in the past five years in DK and in various states of our country fighting the enemy forces, in enemy massacres and due to various reasons like ill-health etc. Everybody's heart turned heavy with the memories of the untimely martyrdom of their fellow comrades who had walked along with them and fought shoulder to shoulder till then. Comrade R., a delegate from South Bastar inaugurated the Martyrs Column and spoke briefly holding aloft the sacrifices of the martyrs. Later, the commune observed silence for two minutes in their memory. After breaking the silence, slogans rented the air remembering each and every martyr by name and paying homage to them. Several sentries and patrolling teams around the commune did their defence and patrol duties with utmost alertness so that this entire program is held smoothly.

The programs in the hall began with CNM comrades singing songs inviting everybody. SZC member Comrade R. invited delegates, observers and CC members who were to participate in the plenum. SZC secretary introduced each and every delegate and observer on the stage and handed over badges to them. A total of ... delegates and ... observers participated in this plenum. Some comrades from the CC guided this entire program. The Hall gave its approval to a five-member Presidium. The SZC secretariat played the role of Steering Committee in conducting the plenum. Later the Presidium placed the plenum agenda in front of the hall and the delegates gave their approval after discussing on it.

Politburo member Comrade Sonu gave the inaugural speech. In his one hour long speech he mainly explained the present international and domestic situation. He explained with examples how the imperialist economy is bogged down in crisis and how the conditions in our country are deteriorating due to this. He explained how people in various parts of our country are fighting against the neo-liberal policies implemented by the ruling classes in our country at present and stated that the conditions are conducive for struggles all over the country at present. He appealed that we must not become victims of despair and disappointment due to severe losses at higher leadership level and that we must fight unitedly and courageously against the Indian Army that is coming to wage war on us. He appealed that the plenum must review the DK movement of the past five years deeply and formulate tasks that are appropriate for the present situation. He ended his speech wishing the plenum to be successful.

Later Comrade P introduced the resolution paying homage to martyrs. The essence of this resolution is to pay homage to the party leaders, activists, PLGA commanders, fighters, revolutionary intellectuals, sympathizers and common people who were martyred in the course of revolution in DK and all over the country and pledging ourselves one more time to fulfill their aims. The Hall paid rich tributes to the comrades martyred in the Maoist revolutionary movements going on in Turkey, Philippines, Bangladesh and other countries. The Hall paid homage to all those who were martyred while fighting against imperialism and all kinds of counter-revolution in the present world through this resolution. The Hall passed this resolution amid the slogans 'Red Salutes to the Martyrs' and 'Let us carry forward the aims of the Martyrs' renting the air.

Later Comrade Y introduced the resolution sending greetings to comrades incarcerated in jails. Nearly two thousand comrades and people belonging to DK are incarcerated in various jails in Chhattisgarh, Vidarbha and Andhra Pradesh. Several false cases are being foisted on them and they are not allowed to get released. Several comrades and common people were sentenced to severe punishments including life sentences based on false witnesses. The comrades in jails are suffering from various problems. They are facing a lot of repression. In spite of this, all of them are waging struggles against the State and the jail authorities on various issues with lot of courage. The plenum sent greetings to all the comrades in jails and



expressed deep sadness and grief for not providing even minimum legal and other helps needed by them. This resolution laid stress on the task of providing necessary help to the comrades in jails in all manners possible.

Later the comrades who came from various states as observers gave messages on behalf of their respective committees. Comrade K from North Telangana, Comrade D from AOB and Comrade S from Maharashtra expressed their wish for the plenum to be successful. They stressed on the need for developing the movement in the adjacent guerilla zones if DK is to develop into a liberated area and also on the coordination, help and support that must be present between the different zones.

Later on October 13, Steering Committee introduced the DK Political-Organizational Review (POR). The present international and domestic situation was mentioned separately at the beginning of the review. This POR is in three parts – Party, People’s Army and United Front. The efforts put in these three spheres for the development of the DK movement and the positive and negative results in this were reviewed deeply. The principal successes and the principal weaknesses of the movement in the past five years were mentioned concretely in this. Keeping in view the present situation of the DK movement and the country-wide movement and taking into consideration the international and domestic situation, central task and immediate tasks were formulated.

The practice of the past five years was conducted with the aim of fulfilling the central task and other important tasks formulated by the Unity Congress-9th Congress with the aim of transforming DK into a liberated area and the movement achieved several important successes. However, at the same time, the review clearly stated that the DK movement is at present facing several complexities due to the weakening of the mass base in considerable areas mainly due to the failure in fighting back the multi-pronged offensive of the enemy. All the delegates studied this review in batches before the plenum started. After the Steering Committee introduced each part to the Hall, deep and wide ranging discussions were held on the respective parts.

### **The main aspects identified in the plenum review**

The party structures strengthened in various areas in the past five

years. All committees from the village level to the top increased in numbers. Area committees expanded and divisional committees (DVCs) developed in the newly extended areas. A new layer of Regional Committees was formed between the SZC and the DVC. However, it was identified that there is a need to further consolidate the party in quality in accordance with the level and spread of the movement and for the fulfillment of the movement tasks and that there is a need to improve the functioning of the committees. The weakness that a gap is present between the committees from top to bottom and between the entire party and the people was identified. As a result mass base is weakening. It was realized that they failed in identifying deeply and correcting the non-proletarian trends inside them. There is a need to fight continuously against these trends that are proving to be a hurdle to the development of the movement. Considerable development was achieved in extending the movement areas. There is progress in the efforts put in women and cultural spheres. However it was identified that they could not develop women as efficient commanders, organizers and leadership cadres at various levels to the necessary extent. The efforts in propaganda sphere are considerable. However, there is a need for it to increase to formidably fight back the psychological warfare carried on by the enemy. Our efforts have developed in publishing magazines too in the past five years. However, there is a need for magazines to develop in quality than in quantity. The enemy is trying severely to stop the publication of our magazines and books. This should be taken as a challenge and fought back.

In the past five years, it was identified that considerable progress was achieved in the sphere of PW and in the development of People's Army. The various suppression campaigns of the enemy including the Salwa Judum were defeated and guerilla warfare was intensified and expanded. The weaknesses that were present in the past in wiping out the enemy forces and in seizing arms were overcome to a large extent. At present the combat skill increased to the level of wiping out enemy forces numbering a platoon. Commands were built from bottom to top and Area/Panchayat level militia commands were built. However they are to develop further so as to lead actions independently in accordance with the situation. There is a need to arm the people and the PLGA much more. Due to this shortcoming the

**“The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.” - Mao** [“On Coalition Government” (April 24, 1945), Selected Works, Vol. III, p. 257]

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**“The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge.” - Mao** [“Preface and Postscript to Rural Surveys” (March and April 1941), Selected Works, Vol. III, p. 12]

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**“In all the practical work of our Party, all correct leadership is necessarily “from the masses, to the masses”. This means: take the ideas of the masses (scattered and unsystematic ideas) and concentrate them (through study turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas), then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in such action. Then once again concentrate ideas from the masses and once again go to the masses so that the ideas are persevered in and carried through. And so on, over and over again in an endless spiral, with the ideas becoming more correct, more vital and richer each time. Such is the Marxist theory of knowledge.” - Mao** [“Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership” (June 1, 1943), Selected Works, Vol. III, Vol. III, p. 119]

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**“Wherever our comrades go, they must build good relations with the masses, be concerned for them and help them overcome their difficulties. We must unite with the masses; the more of the masses we unite with, the better.” - Mao** [“On the Chungking Negotiations” (October 17, 1945), Selected Works, Vol. IV, p. 59]

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**“The army must become one with the people so that they see it as their own army. Such an army will be invincible. . . ”- Mao**

[“On Protracted War” (May 1938), Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 186]

people's militia weakened in some areas. Due to damage to mass base, the recruitment into PLGA in some areas decreased. There is a need to get rid of weaknesses continuing in the PLGA forces, to develop discipline and improve training. The POR deeply reviewed the incidents where people's properties and lives were lost due to the mistakes committed during resistance actions. Though there is development to some extent in understanding and damaging the increased enemy intelligence network in the villages, lot of efforts is to be put in strengthening the people's intelligence system according to the needs of the war. Though there is development at a primary level in the auxiliary departments needed for the People's Army, these must be further strengthened and expanded according to the present level of war. On the whole, it was realized that it was necessary to immediately strengthen and expand our PLGA to fight back the Indian Army.

The review of the past five years in the sphere of United Front (UF) identified that considerable progress was made in strengthening the guerilla bases by damaging the political power of the enemy and building Revolutionary Janatana Sarkars at panchayat, area and division levels. United front activities were taken up on several issues on different occasions. However, they are lagging behind in holding them continuously and on a wide scale. They are not able to bring forth the necessary leadership for these activities. The efforts among educated, plain areas, urban areas, big villages that are centres for the enemy and the non-peasant vast masses in our areas have not progressed much yet. Though there is progress in building mass organizations than before, they are lagging behind in taking up mass struggles and rallying people on a large scale in accordance with the increase. It was realized that necessary changes must be made in the structures of mass organizations and Revolutionary Janatana Sarkars and their functioning keeping in view the increased offensive of the enemy. We suffered severe damages in the urban sphere at the end of 2007. This caused heavy damage to the DK movement. On the whole there is a need to build UF, one of the magic weapons that guarantee the victory of the revolution, on a broad basis and strengthen it.

Delegates participated very enthusiastically and responsibly in the discussions on the POR, mainly held centred around the above aspects.

Discussions were conducted deeply and seriously on several issues. The Steering Committee strengthened the POR by giving answers to several aspects raised by the delegates and accepting amendments. The discussion on the POR was held for six days and was completed on 18<sup>th</sup>. Finally this POR was passed by the delegates unanimously.

At the end, Steering Committee placed for discussion the central task and the immediate tasks that were formulated in the light of this review. They were given a final shape after some amendments. They are as following.

The principal and central task – Let us defeat the LIC offensive of the enemy. Let us develop guerilla warfare into mobile warfare and PLGA into PLA with the aim of transforming Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand into liberated areas which is the principal and central task formulated by the Unity Congress.

Tasks were taken up – to strengthen party committees at all levels by preserving the party, particularly the leadership from the enemy offensive, to improve the functioning of party committees by fighting against non-proletarian trends and to develop committees so that they can work with initiative and creativity by overcoming routine functioning, to develop deep understanding about political-organizational-military line and class line-mass line by taking up special education campaigns to develop leadership from top to bottom, to involve part-time party members developing at village level and to develop GPC and cells as the genuine proletarian leadership at village level and to develop the party membership qualitatively, to develop women as efficient organizers and brave commanders and women leadership at all levels and to start efforts to rebuild the party in plains and urban areas with a long term plan.

Tasks were taken up – to apply the Maoist People's War theory to the concrete conditions in DK and fight back with formidable tactics the planned massive offensive of the enemy by deploying Army, to improve the functioning of SMC and commands at all levels, to enhance the fighting skill of combat forces and develop military leadership by putting special efforts, to develop iron discipline in PLGA, to develop the attitude of serving the people by respecting the people, to destroy enemy intelligence system

and strengthen the people's intelligence system, to mobilize the people on a massive scale into militia and to increase their active role in PW by arming them, to increase recruitment all over DK, to strengthen military formations basing on recruitment campaigns and expand the companies with the aim of building battalions and to strengthen auxiliary departments.

Tasks were taken up – to allot appropriate forces for work among vast masses giving it first priority and expand the party work in all sections of people, to expand by further consolidating the Revolutionary Janatana Sarkars that are developing as strategic united front, to develop the participation of people in PW, to mobilize people on day to day issues, against displacement, for release of political prisoners etc and built broad and militant struggles, to develop anti-state struggles, to rally Adivasi, Dalit and other oppressed castes and religious minorities against Hindu fascism, to link struggles for caste annihilation with NDR, to further expand the membership of all mass organizations, to develop all levels of executive committees and ordinary members so that they can work actively, to revolutionize people's cultural forms and develop the consciousness of the people to fight back the enemy's multi-pronged offensive in the cultural sphere and to prepare the people to fight for building new democratic revolutionary culture.

It was decided that the entire party in DK must strive to fulfill the above immediate tasks.

Later discussion was held on Enemy Tactics-Counter-Tactics. Firstly, the delegates placed their opinions on this issue. As the delegates had discussed separately batch-wise on this issue beforehand, they placed the opinions in the Hall batch-wise. Some placed their individual opinions too. CC member Comrade T summarized all these opinions and spoke on counter-tactics on behalf of the Steering Committee. Finally, the Hall made a resolution that a circular must be written and released in the SZC meeting that would be held after this.

Later the criticism – self-criticism session was held. Firstly, all SZC members placed their self-criticism taking responsibility for the failures and shortcomings the movement faced in the past five years. All of them spoke about the good and bad in the areas and spheres they were responsible

for and also deeply realizing about the non-proletarian trends present in them. The CC members placed their self-criticism about the shortcomings as a committee and as individuals in giving guidance to the DK movement. Later delegates placed their criticism on SZC and the CC. The respective comrades responded positively to them and did self-criticism on some aspects and gave explanations on some others. All the comrades participated with dignity and higher consciousness in this session that went on for two and half days between 19th and 21st. This session was concluded in a comradely atmosphere. This helped in developing unity at a much higher level among the comrades.

Later resolutions were placed before the Hall on various issues. Support to the mass struggles going on all over the country; Solidarity to the national liberation struggles going on in Kashmir and North-East; Support to the mass struggles on the displacement issue; Condemn imperialist culture; Oppose the deployment of Army in Bastar; Condemn state violence on women; Solidarity to the struggle of the Sri Lanka Tamils; On people's upsurges in Arab countries; Condemn state offensive on the revolutionary movement and mass movements; Oppose Hindu fascism; Solidarity to the movement for Separate Telangana state are the important resolutions made. The Hall passed these resolutions unanimously with the necessary amendments.

Later Comrades A and B were newly elected to the SZC. As Comrade Kosa who was the SZC secretary till then was getting relieved due to CC responsibilities, Comrade X was elected as the new secretary by the committee. This decision was welcomed with applause when it was announced in the Hall.

All the observers who attended the plenum came on stage and gave their opinions on the plenum. All of them expressed happiness that the plenum was completed successfully and stated that the discussions on the POR were useful for them to understand the movement. The comrades also said the manner in which women comrades participated in the discussions in the plenum was inspiring to them. Some observers also felt that it would have been better if the plenum had been completed in less number of days keeping in view the enemy repression. All the comrades

expressed the hope that the DK movement would advance with new tasks.

Comrade Anand, Politburo member and CRB secretary gave the ending speech. He theoretically explained the main successes achieved by this plenum. He explained the inter-relation between Unity-Struggle-Unity and said that there was struggle on several issues in this plenum, but that this struggle had also created a basis for a new unity. Comrade Anand ended his speech stating that this plenum was a success and appealed that the comrades must go into practice with renewed enthusiasm with the aim of building liberated area and expressed the aspiration that they must be successful in this venture.

Lastly, led by Comrade J from the Steering Committee all the delegates took the pledge. The program inside the Hall ended with vote of thanks by the Steering Committee on 22nd night.

The ending ceremony of the plenum was held the next day. All the members in the commune in their battle fatigues stood in rows and the SZC members including the newly elected members and the CC members stood opposite to them. Comrade Kosa introduced the newly elected members and the new secretary to all. He also announced the names of those comrades who were getting relieved from the committee due to various responsibilities. All the comrades welcomed the decisions with applause. Comrade Kosa declared that the plenum was a success and gave revolutionary greetings to each and every comrade who had strived to make this a success. Later, the newly elected comrades to the committee A and B spoke. Then the new secretary spoke about the challenges the DK movement is facing and stressed on the need to fight courageously to fight them back. He said that we must concentrate our efforts to increase mass base and that we must valiantly fight back the Indian Army that is coming to suppress the DK revolutionary movement. He appealed that the SZC must efficiently lead the entire DK party in accordance. SZC member Comrade N explained the tasks taken up by the plenum. This ending ceremony went on for nearly one and half hours amid revolutionary slogans. The program came to an end with the singing of the Internationale and all the comrades who attended it went back to their respective areas with new enthusiasm and renewed self-confidence.

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# NTSZ 3rd Conference – First Plenum Report

The 3rd conference of North Telangana Special Zone (NTSZ) was conducted in September 2007. The present NT plenum was held in August 2011 in the commune named after martyr comrades Rajkumar, Anuradha Ghandy, Patel Sudhakar and Sakhamuri Appa Rao and in the hall named after martyr comrades Sagar, Daya and Punnam. A total of ... comrades attended the plenum of which ... were delegates and others were CC members and observers. The Presidium consisting of two delegate comrades and one SZC comrade successfully conducted the plenum for five days.

Before this, the Area Committee (AC) and District Committee (DC) plenums were completed successfully. The ACs and DCs wrote the reviews, placed them in the plenums and discussed them. The NT POR was also discussed in the lower level plenums and the necessary amendments were sent to the NT plenum. The NT plenum discussed the following topics - 1) Present condition, tactics of the third conference - a short introduction of our practice 2) People's War – Party 3) People's War – PLGA and 4) People's War – United Front - as part of plenum POR.

At the beginning of the plenum, all the delegates, observers and protection comrades gathered at the Kanchal Martyrs' Ground and took a procession through the entire commune. The NTSZC secretary inaugurated the party flag with revolutionary slogans and Jana Natya Mandali (JNM) songs renting the air as part of the inaugural. Later comrade P inaugurated the martyrs' column and spoke about the sacrifices of the martyrs. 34 comrades lost their lives in enemy attacks since the NT 3rd conference. Red homage was paid to the martyrs with everybody pledging to fulfill their aims and dreams.

NTSZC Secretary introduced the delegates to the hall. Three comrades were elected to the Presidium by the hall. SZC took up the responsibility of Steering Committee. The Presidium placed the agenda before the hall and it was approved. Comrade L introduced the resolutions on martyrs and then the jail comrades and they were passed by the hall.

In his inaugural speech, CC comrade spoke on the domestic and

international situation. He said, “The changes occurring in AP society must be observed deeply. The coordination between NT and DK is important and they are interrelated. Mass movement must be built in AP and coordinated with guerilla warfare. UF must be built from below and developed to higher level and we gained this experience one more time as part of the movement for separate Telangana. We must correct the non-proletarian trends inside us. We have centralized our forces when necessary and preserved them”. He appealed to the delegates to sustain the NT movement that faced temporary setback. He requested the delegates to deeply discuss the political and organizational problems, to realize the shortcomings and weaknesses in our practice and to take the necessary decisions to overcome them.

The observer comrade from DKSZC read out his message to the plenum. NTPOR was presented before the hall by the NTSZC Secretary. Discussion was held on each of the POR parts in the same order.

The Unity Congress-9th Congress and the NTSZ third state conference gave the call to revive the NT movement that is suffering temporary setback. For this, the conference mainly gave the task of educating the party committees ideologically, politically and organizationally with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It gave the guidelines to preserve the subjective forces by following proper tactics along with expanding the party and leading mass movements. It gave the task of advancing the People’s War by resisting the enemy to the extent of our strength. The party committees worked by concentrating on this main task. Though there are successes to some extent in preserving subjective forces and leading mass movements, we could not damage the enemy to the extent of our strength. Though we were successful to some extent in consolidating the leadership, there is no progress in increasing party and PLGA forces. In this period the party members working under various covers and in mass organizations and the various kinds of party forces that did not have regular contacts with the party in the rural areas participated actively in struggles and as a result new forces are coming forth from these mass movements. These forces are helping in the development of mass movements. Though the NT movement is in setback and though new forces are coming into contact with the party we are not able to consolidate all of them. Thus on the whole, party is leading the mass movements, consolidating and developing

to some extent.

If we can advance this trend with Bolshevik spirit, hopeful conditions would be created for the revolutionary movement. For this, the main task before us is to consolidate the party. The task of reviving the movement in NT is still in front of us.

## **The backdrop of NT party plenum**

Our practice continued in this entire period by concretely applying the tactics taken up by the NT third conference. We had decided in this conference to develop our mass base by rallying the vast masses into wide ranging militant class struggles, to preserve our ranks and leadership from the enemy's multi-pronged offensive and to consolidate the party ideologically, politically and organizationally to fight back the enemy offensive with armed counter-offensive.

We decided that our military tactics must intensify the guerilla warfare basing on the concrete conditions in NT and that we must develop active resistance even while preserving our forces in the face of the multi-pronged offensive of the enemy.

Apart from these, we formulated tactics to utilize the contradictions arising between the ruling classes. We decided to form tactical united fronts in various forms among various sections and classes of people, put efforts to systematically building strategic UF, conduct political propaganda continuously, expose state repression and anti-people policies of the government and increase the political consciousness of the people apart from propagating the experiences of the revolutionary movement, struggles and aims of the martyrs and increase the active role of the middle classes in the revolutionary movement by bringing them out of their illusions towards the ruling classes. We followed appropriate tactics for this sake.

We formulated the slogans necessary for building tactical UF. We rallied the people on political and their day to day issues and led the struggles. We formulated the slogan – “Let us unite the vast masses and agitate against the fascist Congress government's World Bank dictated policies” as the central political tactical slogan at the Special Zone level and worked.

We explained that the main stress in our tactics would however be preserving our subjective forces, strengthening the mass base that we had

lost and annihilating the enemy by increasing our strength. We explained that this means actively rallying the people into resistance war. We had been all along been working with this understanding.

We had written the principle task in NT in the light of the central task as follows. “Let us once again develop the mass base that is getting damaged. Let us fight back the multi-pronged offensive of the enemy according to our strength and preserve our subjective forces. Let us develop guerilla warfare in accordance with the concrete conditions in NT. Let us work with the aim of turning NT into a liberated area.” We had intensified our efforts to revive the NT movement in this light.

Our efforts after the third conference can be divided into the following periods.

1. The period of overcoming the organizational problems in the 3<sup>rd</sup> conference (October 2007 to October 2008)
2. The period when we got reactivated by correcting our shortcomings by taking up the rectification campaign (November 2008 to October 2009)
3. The period when we consolidated by leading the mass movements (November 2009 to August 2011)

## **First Period**

In this entire period, we had to inevitably concentrate on solving the problems that came up in the SZC conference and the organizational problems in the districts and the SZC solved these problems one by one with the help of Central Committee (CC). While trying to implement the tactics taken up by the party in the conference, we assessed the subjective conditions in NT, particularly at a time when our subjective forces are weak and the enemy is trying to wipe us out and tried to preserve our leadership forces and increase their abilities and strength. We sent some comrades in this period to other states for the sake of higher military structures.

Apart from taking up a campaign against patriarchy according to the decision of the conference, we held special women meetings at the Special Zone and district level successfully. Apart from the circular (1/2008) titled ‘Let us protect the subjective forces – Let us develop our mass base’ to

educate the cadres on the favorable situation, a letter was also released explaining our policy on the movement for Separate Telangana. These enhanced the understanding of our party and gave guidance to carry on activity in an united manner.

## **Second Period**

After the political, organizational problems in the first period were almost solved the various party units including SZC and DC concentrated on building the movement. They rallied people on various issues in Khammam and built party cells, Sangams, RPCs and militia. Apart from this, they conducted actions on police informers. They took up propaganda on the daily issues of the people. They rallied people actively in observing bandhs. As a result, some comrades could be recruited in Khammam.

Serious efforts were put build relations secretly with the people in KKW. Efforts were put to build some party cells and mass organizations. However we are not able to function them regularly due to frequent seasonal retreats that we are forced to make. We rallied people on some Adivasi issues. We got some breathing room in the NT-Chhattisgarh border as we had destroyed the enemy intelligence network in the villages. Recruitment of one or two persons continues from this district. However the scarcity of members in our PLGA units is severe. The positive aspect of this period is preservation of subjective forces while maintaining relations with the people even amidst severe repression.

As part of the call given by the Unity Congress, rectification campaign was launched in NT from top to bottom from May 2009 and was successfully completed by January 2010. The education given in this period to all NT comrades on rectification, classes on policy papers and the classes on basic subjects conducted by the RePoS for the DC members were very useful in educating the party.

As the special military training given by the CMC was imparted to all members starting from 2008 October, it gave good results.

As part of the tactics formulated by the NT conference, with the aim of concentrating on mass movements NTSZC gave a bandh call against open-cast mines, Polavaram dam and Babli project on September 1 and 2, 2009. These issues got focused on a huge scale in the state and workers,

peasants, women and democratic forces began coming forward to participate in movements. Active participation of our party forces in mass movements began. Later these struggles helped a lot in intensifying the movement for Separate Telangana.

The letter released by NTSZC on the movement for Separate Telangana in September 2008 educated and united the party members. It completed the review of the movement and gave new tasks to advance it. It was in the light of these tasks that our party participated actively in the movement for Separate Telangana that burst forth at end-2009.

Thus in this period, NT party intensified efforts to develop the movement in various spheres apart from making the rectification movement a success (excepting in the fractions in mass organizations).

### **Third Period**

In this period, the Congress government amassed lot of government funds on a huge scale in the name of schemes like Jal Yagnam and Rajiv Arogyasri. YSR came to power saying he was committed to the formation of Separate Telangana state but tried to suppress the movement for Separate Telangana. Congress gave permission to highest number of SEZs in the country. The Seemandhra (Andhra and Rayalaseema) capitalists indiscriminately occupied lands around Hyderabad. Congress government continued its fascist rule in order to carry on all this exploitation without hurdles. It announced several kinds of schemes as a veil to this exploitation and propagated them on a huge scale. After our movement suffered setback in Telangana, in the rural areas the exploitation of land lords, bad gentry, capitalists and the imperialists intensified again. Hatred simmered again among the people who had fought against and stopped such exploitation to an extent since two decades. After the death of YSR, all these contradictions came to the fore severely.

The dissatisfaction simmering among the people again came to the fore in the form of militant mass movements. The opinion that our party should lead these struggles is increasing among the people. Militant mass struggles for a Separate Telangana state and those opposing SEZs, open-cast mines of Singareni, bauxite mining, Polavaram dam construction, Coastal Corridor and power plants in Sompeta and Kakarlapalli are shaking

the entire state. On the other hand, teachers and government employees took up a united agitation for their rights and won their demands by bending the government. Peasants attacked markets and power stations several times for fair prices and against power cuts. Dalits and Adivasis are taking militant rallies for their rights. Militant mass struggles are developing with each passing day.

Thus as material conditions for the revolutionary movement increased further in the state, our party is leading the mass movements in the state by formulating political slogans and agitation programs in accordance with the aspirations of the people. Due to this, particularly in Telangana, again our party activists and sympathizers are participating in these mass movements actively. New forces began emerging out of these movements. The great task of consolidating these forces is a challenge in front of us. We are trying to fulfill this task as much as we can.

In this course, the efforts to build a vast and strong UF to lead the Telangana movement were also successful to some extent.

Due to the efforts put in military sphere since the conference such as imparting political, military training to our forces, centralization of forces when necessary and wiping out police informers, we could form Zone Military Command and Khammam Platoon.

The Kranti and Erra Jenda magazines run by CRB as part of our political work in this entire period helped enhance political and ideological understanding inside the party. Along with them, the circulars released by SZC and other publications helped in education. DK movement and this movement area served as a support and helped in preserving the subjective forces and to some extent in conducting the activities of the SZC.

## **Positives and Negatives in SZC functioning**

In this period, the SZC put efforts to educate the party in ideological, political and military spheres. There are positive results in this. It solved the problems that arose in the conference with the help of CC. It strove hard to revive the NT movement basing on the tactics formulated by the conference. It solved the difficult problems one by one immediately after the completion of the conference, established unity inside the party and is leading the movement. It is guiding the mass movements. It is trying to

fight back the enemy by achieving coordination between NT and DK and by giving help and support mutually.

Apart from these positive aspects, some serious weaknesses and shortcomings are also continuing inside the SZC functioning. These are proving a hurdle to the development of the movement. Due to shortcomings in mustering the resources in NT for the revolutionary movement, due to spontaneity in making preparations with foresight for resistance and due to shortcomings in implementing secret functioning, we are not only getting much results but have also faced serious losses in enemy attacks. These losses proved a serious hurdle in reviving the NT movement. At a time when our movement is confined to smaller areas, due to these shortcomings we could not get the expected results in extending it to the areas decided and consolidating it.

### **Later the plenum formulated the following tasks.**

The Principal and Central task of the party would be transforming guerilla warfare into a qualitatively higher stage of mobile warfare and PLGA into PLA with the aim of establishing liberating areas in the strategic areas of Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand. Moreover guerilla warfare must be intensified in other guerilla zones. Red resistance areas must be developed in perspective areas. Preparations must be completed in these areas and other areas to build guerilla zones.

The principal task in NT is – to lead militant mass movements and develop the damaged mass base once again, to develop the guerilla warfare in a manner appropriate to the concrete conditions in NT by fighting back the enemy’s multi-pronged offensive and to work with the aim of establishing liberated area.

#### **The immediate tasks were –**

To develop party committees ideologically, politically and militarily, to practice improved methods of functioning in party committees, to develop our strengths and abilities according to the changed conditions and develop the committees into collective leadership committees, to strengthen party at the village level and develop the party to effectively lead widespread mass movements, to take up impregnable secret functioning and strengthen the party, to fight against non-proletarian trends, to pay special attention to



recruit party cadres from the basic classes and to promote cadres from working class, landless poor peasants and oppressed social sections and to expand the revolutionary activities as part of reviving the NT movement.

To study from time to time and fight back the enemy's multi-pronged offensive with multi-pronged tactics and to train the PLGA forces to fight back the counter-insurgency warfare mainly, to develop creatively tactics to intensify war basing on the concrete conditions in NT and make success small and medium type attacks, to fight back the offensive of the Army on DK and intensify guerilla warfare in various forms in NT, to take up joint operations and resist the enemy in a planned manner, to increase the active role of people in PW, to build the militia – the base force, consolidate and arm it by involving it in practice, to increase area to be sufficient for PLGA maneuvers and to wipe out state sponsored black gangs, Salwa Judum and secret gangs.

To wage struggles on political and economic issues of the vast masses and increase mass base, to take up tactical UF activities to unite the vast masses and to mainly concentrate on SEZ, land, displacement issues and Separate Telangana movement, to concentrate on and lead class struggles on the daily issues of the people in villages, to mobilize vast masses against the imperialist dictated LPG policies, to improve contacts in plains and urban areas in support of the rural movement and to carry on work among the working class in a planned manner, to consolidate Dalits against caste discrimination, to build a vast UF by mobilizing all minorities against Hindu fascism and to mobilize Adivasis with the slogan – Jal, Jungle, Zameen and Forest belongs to the Adivasis!

The plenum felt that these tasks must be implemented creatively and firmly keeping in view the changing conditions. Finally the Political and Organizational Review was passed unanimously by the plenum with some amendments.

Later, the accounts of four years were introduced in the plenum and reviewed. Plenum reviewed that there were shortcomings in implementing quota system, in depending on the people, in preventing wastefulness etc. Along with deciding to correct these shortcomings, the plenum passed the accounts. The plenum felt that comrades must be educated with the slogan – 'Lead a simple life, integrate with the masses and prevent wastefulness!'

The session of Criticism-Self Criticism of the SZC was conducted deeply with the spirit of rectification. Finally two comrades were elected newly into the SZC by the plenum.

Later resolutions were passed by the hall - on deployment of Army in Dandakaranya, against Nuclear Reactors, on mass upsurges in Arab countries, on building movements against life sentences and death sentences, on the historic Lalgarh and Narayanapatna struggles, on movement for Separate Telangana, on North-East nationality movements and on movement for self-determination in Kashmir, on solidarity to the Tamil nationality movement in Sri Lanka, on state violence on women, on building a strong revolutionary movement for land, self-reliance and People's Power and on issue of displacement from land such as Polavaram, Greater Noida etc.

At the end, the observer comrade from DK gave his opinions on the plenum. He said that political and organizational unity was achieved further in the party and suggested that more efforts must be put to increase mass base in the backdrop of the present favorable conditions for the revival of the NT movement. He opined that further unity was achieved between NT and DK.

All the plenum delegates took the pledge to work for the success of the New Democratic Revolution and for the establishment of socialism and communism ultimately and to fight till the last drop of their blood to preserve and strengthen the Maoist party in NT. JNM conducted cultural programs during the plenum days filling the commune comrades with revolutionary enthusiasm. During the ending ceremony the SZC secretary explained to the party ranks the central, principal and immediate tasks and slogans formulated by the plenum. The plenum came to an end with the singing of the Internationale. ✱

**“To be good at translating the Party’s policy into action of the masses, to be good at getting not only the leading cadres but also the broad masses to understand and master every movement and every struggle we launch — this is an art of Marxist-Leninist leadership. It is also the dividing line that determines whether or not we make mistakes in our work.” - Mao** [“A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the *Shansi-Suiyuan Daily*” (April 2, 1948), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, pp. 242-43]

**Advance with resolute determination  
in the path of People's War to fulfill  
the aims of our Great Martyrs !**

**Let us comprehend and pound the deceitful  
LIC policy of the enemy and Preserve the  
Leadership and our Subjective forces !**

**Let us strengthen the Party and  
Advance the People's War !**



***Call of the CC, CPI (Maoist) to party ranks,  
PLGA commanders-fighters and revolutionary masses  
to observe Martyrs' Memorial Week with revolutionary spirit  
from July 28 to August 3, 2012***

**Dear comrades,**

In the course of striving with utmost dedication for the success of the New Democratic Revolution in India in the path of Protracted People's War as shown by the founders of our party, great leaders and martyrs Comrade Charu Mazumdar and Comrade Kanhai Chatterji, for the establishment of socialism and ultimately communism nearly more than 150 worthy daughters and sons of the proletariat and ordinary people have laid down their most invaluable lives. Many among them have lost their lives in fake encounters carried on by the government armed forces. Our party Central Committee pays humble red homage to all our beloved martyrs and dedicates itself one more time to the fulfillment of their aims. It calls upon the party, PLGA, Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs), mass organizations and revolutionary masses to observe with revolutionary spirit the Martyrs' Memorial Week in memory of our beloved martyrs from 2012 July 28 to August 3 holding aloft their sacrifices and pledging ourselves one more time to fulfill their aims. We observe these revolutionary memorial days to pay homage to the martyrs while bearing in mind their memories, to rededicate ourselves to fulfill their dreams and advance forward for fulfilling our aims by filling our hearts with their inspiration. These days simultaneously fill us with infinite grief, boundless inspiration and paramount responsibility. Let us surmount all kinds of difficulties and hurdles created by the enemy classes to stop us from observing the Martyrs' Memorial Week as a revolutionary occasion in order to learn from their inspirational lives and practice and to pledge to carry forward their lofty aims even while overcoming our grief. Let us hold high the red flag left to us by those valiant fighters who laid down their lives in battle and aim our guns at the enemies in People's War and advance forward with great determination !

The most reactionary Indian ruling classes with the complete support, guidance and all kinds of help from the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists are carrying on the countrywide, multi-pronged Operation Green Hunt and it is increasingly becoming more dreadful, horrible and most oppressive to the masses in its second phase. Our beloved martyrs have laid down their lives while valiantly fighting this back. Majority of them have lost their lives while defending the successes of the People's War, the people, the party, and the people's army, while defending and expanding the newly emerging and sustaining new democratic power organs in the

guerilla zones and the guerilla bases. They fought back the enemy valiantly and laid down their lives thus adding new chapters in sacrifice to the history of People's War. Some comrades have died in accidents and due to illness and they were primarily martyred due to lack of medical facilities in enemy repression. Some died due to the tortures of the enemy and in jails. Whatever may have been the manner in which they died the aspiration, selfless practice and sacrifices of all these martyrs are aimed at liberating the people of our country and the oppressed masses of this world from all kinds of exploitation and oppression. That is why their martyrdom is loftier than the Himalayas and worth remembering.

The Martyrs' Memorial Week of this year particularly brings us unbearable grief and supreme inspiration of a great martyr. The leader of the Indian Revolution, general of People's War, our Politburo member and the beloved leader of the oppressed masses Comrade Mallojula Koteswara Rao alias Kishenji was martyred in a fake encounter on November 24, 2011 caught in a dragnet of the central and Bengal state governments and the Bengal state and central intelligence agencies. This cruel murder by Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram-Pranab Mukherji-Jairam Ramesh fascist ruling class clique in connivance with the Chief Minister of West Bengal Mamta Banerji caused immense loss to the Indian revolutionary movement.

Comrade Koteswarlu was born into a middle class family in 1954 in Peddapally town of Karimnagar district, Andhra Pradesh. In his 38 year long revolutionary life he developed from an organizer to a Politburo member and won a permanent place in the hearts of the masses as a hugely popular leader. He carried on his revolutionary activities in Andhra Pradesh, Dandakaranya, Bengal and other North Indian states. As a crucial member of the higher committees (state and central) that take decisions which could turn the movement and advance it, he took up important responsibilities and played a great role. It was creative and full of revolutionary commitment. He played a laudatory role in standing firmly with the party line and conducting two-line struggle in the party against opportunism that raised its head in the party and in strengthening the party by imparting ideological and political education through Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. He played an exceptional and inspirational role in developing North Telangana and Dandakaranya into guerilla zones with the aim of building base areas, in building the people's army of PLGA, in expanding and developing the

revolutionary movement in North and East India, in building New Democratic power that emerged in an embryonic form and is developing, in strengthening the party by uniting the revolutionary forces, in maintaining solidarity relations with foreign revolutionary organizations and in creating the deluge of Lalgarh people's rebellion. As a party leader he worked day and night to develop the People's War in all the areas he worked. He paid special attention to revolutionary propaganda and publication of revolutionary literature and magazines and inspired the Indian people to enter revolutionary practice by imparting them revolutionary politics. He dedicated his pen to the liberation of the oppressed masses and wrote articles, poems and did translations. The unprecedented level of responses from revolutionary masses, parties, intellectuals, various sections of people, from several areas in our country and internationally have severely condemned the conspiracy of the Indian ruling classes in murdering him and paid homage to him befitting a great leader. The hatred of our party, PLGA and the revolutionary masses towards the ruling classes that have murdered our beloved leader by torturing him in the most inhuman and cruel manner has doubled. Though his loss for the Indian revolutionary movement is irreparable, the movement, party and PLGA that developed due to the sacrifices of our thousands of martyrs including that of Comrade Kishenji, the invaluable experiences they imparted and the revolutionary ideals they established are an assurance for the fact that many more leaders like Comrade Kishenji would come forward. Let us hold aloft the high ideals and values established by Comrade Kishenji in his life, long revolutionary practice and even in death. Let us make them a part of our practice at every step and advance forward.

In the past one year we have lost two state level leaders one each in DK and NT and a Regional Committee level leading comrade in Asom. Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee (DKSZC) member Comrade Harak (Srikanth) died at the age of 48 on February 26, 2012 due to severe illness relating to heart disease. North Telangana SZC member Comrade Gundeti Sankar (Seshanna) died an untimely death at the age of 47 due to snake bite on March 18, 2012. Comrade Srikanth worked in the Red Flag party and later joined our party in 1993. He worked in the urban and plain areas of Chhattisgarh among workers, youth, and students and in the cultural field. He worked in the Gadchiroli division of DK since 1998 and was elected into the DKSZC in 2005. He led the Gadchiroli division movement

till the end and became the beloved leader of the people there. Though he had severe heart related illness he was always smiling and spread cheer and won the love of the cadres. He was an editorial board member of the Prabhat magazine (DK zone political organ) and contributed to the magazine and propaganda work. The untimely death of Comrade Seshanna due to snake bite while he was tirelessly working to revive the North Telangana movement is an irremediable loss to the party and particularly to the NT movement. Seshanna had 30 years of long experience in the movement and developed from a squad member to a state level leader. He was a brave fighter who never left the people even amidst several repressive campaigns of the enemy. He wrote many literary pieces especially about martyrs. He worked in the political, military and propaganda spheres and led the cadre and the people. Though this is a severe loss to the NT movement it has been proven in history that this land of struggles would give birth to many more leaders like Seshanna.

Nearly 30 comrades were martyred in the Bihar-Jharkhand-North Chhattisgarh Special Area during battles with the enemy forces. Some comrades were martyred in the hands of counter-revolutionary armed gangs like PLFI and Jharkhand Jan Mukti Parishad. Like in other revolutionary movement areas, in this Special Area too the Indian ruling classes are intensifying the military offensive in an unprecedented manner and are also implementing reforms and conducting psychological warfare, thus intensifying their effort to pave the way for the loot of immense mineral, forest, water and land resources. The most reactionary 'Saranda Action Plan' is also part of this. The Adivasi and other oppressed masses are advancing forward in the revolutionary path under the leadership of the party and the PLGA by valiantly fighting back such repressive policies of the government. All the comrades who were martyred in B-J such as comrades Yogendra Oraon, Pancham Paswan, Gulach Munda, Bhagabat Marandi, Sri Krishna Mahato, Tapeswar Ganju, Anil Ram etc laid down their lives in battles with the enemy while preserving the natural riches that rightfully belonged only to the local people and while defending the emerging people's political power there.

Repression intensified in Bengal, Odisha and North-East states all of which fall under East Regional Bureau of our party. Apart from murdering Comrade Kishenji in Bengal, three more comrades were killed in the name

of encounters in Lalgah. In Asom where the revolutionary movement spread and is strengthening, the army, paramilitary and the police conducted a fake encounter in May 2012 and killed four of our comrades in cold-blood. P. Chidambaram who was shouting at the top of his voice about the expansion of Maoist movement in Asom and its borders finally quenched his thirst for blood with this fake encounter. One of the martyred comrades is the Asom leading committee comrade Siddharth Burgohain. The other three comrades were Comrades Rajiv Gogoi, Arup Chetia and Kamla Gogoi. Earlier Comrade Pavel, a commander was martyred in Asom during a military action. These losses are severe for us due to the strategic significance of the movements of oppressed nationalities and the revolutionary movement of the North-East not only for the Indian revolutionary movement but also for South Asia. However, there is no doubt that more people's leaders would emerge from among the people of North-East who are increasingly mobilizing vastly on their day to day issues, against big dams and displacement as part of their national liberation aspirations. Under the Odisha State Organizing Committee area, Comrade Mitu (ACM) was martyred in an encounter with the police in January 2012. Central Regional Company Comrade Ungal was martyred in an accidental mine blast on January 4, 2012 and Comrade Ravi was martyred due to illness in December 2011 when this company went to Odisha to conduct military actions there.

In Dandakaranya, Kangerghati LGS commander comrade Mahesh died a hero's death during an ambush conducted on the enemy forces on October 11, 2011 near Netanar. On August 16 2011, comrades Badru, Gopi, Akash and Ramsai valiantly resisted the police forces that surrounded them and were martyred after killing a STF jawan. The brutal police hurled grenades on a huge scale and finally torched the house they were in. Comrades Paklu and Mangli were martyred while fighting the enemy forces valiantly in an ambush conducted by the PLGA near Bhejji on March 26, 2012. West Bastar Action Team commander Comrade Pramod was martyred in the hands of a body guard while trying to annihilate people's enemy Rajkumar Tamo.

Comrade Mangu Paddam (Sukku), a DVC member working for expansion of the revolutionary movement in central India as part of Chhattisgarh-Odisha Border State area was martyred while fighting the



enemy forces in Raigarh district of Chhattisgarh on January 27, 2012. He worked in North Bastar area of DK and PLGA for a long time and worked in the extension area since mid-2010. This is a big loss for the extension area movement.

In North Telangana, comrades Sukkal (ACM) and Somal (Militia) were killed in a fake encounter in Charla of Khammam district. Comrade Sutari Papa Rao (LGS commander) was martyred in Sayannapalli encounter in Khammam district.

We have lost some very valuable women comrades in the past one year. Comrade Swaroop (Sunita) who served in the technical field under the AP state committee and the CC since 28 years and as a tailor in DK in her last years died due to breast cancer in March 2012. A secret, selfless activist who served the people, she protected the higher level leadership of the party like the pupil of her eyes during her long tenure in the technical field. In her entire revolutionary life she faced several problems like illness, losing her life partners, patriarchy, loneliness etc but she overcame them with the inspiration of the martyrs and with Bolshevik spirit and set an ideal. On August 20 2011, Comrade Ramko Hichami (Ranita) was surrounded by the enemy forces in Makadchuvva village in Gadchiroli of DK. But she did not waver even for one second and with great valiance and bravery wiped out three CoBRA/C-60 commandos and injured four more jawans with her .303 rifle and died a hero's death. A battalion level of armed forces, thousands of bullets, dozens of hand bombs and mortar shells were deployed against her but with great determination she faced all these and stopped the enemy forces in their tracks for hours together and inflicted losses on them. Comrade Ranita is the President of the Chadgaon Area Janatana Sarkar, a brave fighter and the beloved daughter of the oppressed masses who registered a valiant chapter in her name with red letters in the history of People's War and emergence of New Democratic Society. On 31-5-2012 Comrades Sameera, Ameela and Aruna were martyred in an encounter with the enemy forces in Mainpur division belonging to the Chhattisgarh-Odisha Border movement. Comrade Sameera was born in Nalgonda district of AP. She worked in the protection platoon of the AP State Committee and was a brave fighter who defended the state leadership by putting her life at stake in those years. She became part of DK movement since 2009 and worked among the women in East Bastar. Later she worked

in the Gobra LOS area in Mainpur division and developed into AC secretary and won a place in the hearts of the oppressed masses there as their most beloved leader. Comrade Aruna was born in DK and learnt her lessons in revolution there. She is a senior ACM who won the confidence of the party and people in Mainpur. Comrade Ameela was a great cultural artiste even while she was in DK and held many a promise as an active ACM. Mainpur division that is playing a crucial role in expanding the revolutionary movement in central India faced irreparable loss with this. These most reliable and beloved young women martyrs to the party and the people would live on forever in our memories. Their martyrdom would be written in red letters. Comrade Sombari of Darbha division died in a heartrending manner due to burns during a military action. This young women fighter was paid great homage by the people and her fellow PLGA fighters.

Comrade BSA Satyanarayana was a leader of the working class movement, editor of the workers' magazine 'Sramajeevi', a people's lawyer and a leader working tirelessly for the release of political prisoners. He breathed his last on June 22, 2012. In his nearly four decade long revolutionary practice the services he rendered for the rights of workers, civil rights and political prisoners are invaluable and an ideal to be emulated by all those who stand on the side of the oppressed people. Our CC is paying humble and red homage to his great memory.

In the past one year several incidents of ordinary people, activists of mass organizations and revolutionary people's governments dying in police firings, due to tortures in police custody and dying in fake encounters after being abducted from their homes and killed in cold-blood have occurred. Particularly, in an indiscriminate police firing that reminded one of the Jallianwalah massacre in the Basaguda area of Bijapur district in DK on 28-6-2012, the notorious CoBRA and police forces surrounded the people from all sides and killed 17 unarmed people including women, children and school children belonging to Sarkinguda, Raju Penta and Kothaguda villages. Tens of them were injured. Two more villagers were killed in nearby Implipenta taking the toll to 19. This would remain another example for the increasing fascist nature and cruelty of the enemy. Comrades Sodi Nani (Militia platoon deputy commander), Venjam Kelu (Militia member), village patel Madkami Maasa of Chikpal in South Bastar, Podiyami Maasa, senior mass organization activist Comrade Negi Yadav of Innar village in East

Bastar division and some more persons were either killed in fake encounters or in police lock ups in various areas in DK. As part of Operation Haka carried on by the enemy paramilitary and police forces numbering about 3000 in Maad area, Dunga Dhurva of Toke village was beaten to death. Akali Devi and her son were killed in a contractor's firing in Tirra village of Gumla district in Jharkhand.

In the past one year, while advancing the People's War in the course of New Democratic Revolution in Philippines several comrades were martyred fighting bravely with the enemy forces. In the course of New Democratic Revolution in Turkey, in anti-imperialist struggles in several countries, in struggles for democracy, for national liberation, for liberation from class exploitation and oppression and in struggles against all kinds of reactionaries hundreds of Maoists, workers, peasants, students, youth, intellectuals, democrats, employees, women and people belonging to oppressed nations were martyred. Let us bow our heads and pay humble homage to them on this occasion. Let us pledge to fulfill their aspirations.

### **Comrades,**

The increasingly intensifying imperialist economic crisis is seriously impacting the Indian economy too. The imperialists, particularly the US imperialists and the comprador rulers of semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries are trying to cruelly crush any kinds of forces that prove a hurdle to their investments, loot of resources and markets in order to come out of their crisis. The occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan, direct intervention in Libya and still continuing intervention in Pakistan and Syria, threats to Iran and North Korea, launching of country-wide, multi-pronged, most reactionary operations like Oplan Bayanihan and Operation Green Hunt respectively in Philippines and India to cruelly suppress the revolutionary movements are all aimed at fulfilling their economic and political interests. Central, East and North-East states which are home to immense mineral, forest and water resources have been specially targeted by them. Even while brutally suppressing all kinds of revolutionary, democratic and patriotic forces that are opposing the indiscriminate country-wide loot of resources, exploitation and oppression, the ruling classes are carrying on a massive military offensive targeting our party that is arming the people, the PLGA and the revolutionary people's power organs.

Though we have faced severe losses in terms of leadership and subjective forces in this offensive, in our strong areas the revolutionary movement sustained itself and is posing a challenge to the enemy. It is causing losses to the enemy forces during various tactical counter-offensive campaigns. Revolutionary movement is expanding to new areas and in some places it is expanding internally inside guerilla zones. We are striving hard to Bolshevize the party. Apart from this, particularly our party is ideologically and politically exposing the fake development model of the ruling classes. It has built an alternative develop model though in an embryonic form in DK, B-J, Bengal and AOB. Division level Janatana Sarkars have been formed and are working in DK. Our party is striving to fight unitedly with the nationality liberation movements in our country and other movements of the oppressed masses and communities and standing in support of them. Since the days of Naxalbari and Srikakulam movements to this day, any acts, laws pertaining to the rights of poor peasants and Adivasis or reforms had all been promulgated by the ruling classes in the name of reducing the influence of the Maoist movements. To this day any debate about development cannot take place without discussing about the Maoist alternative development model and the political and economic alternative posed by the Maoists. The reason behind is the significance of the political line of our party and its People's War practice. As our party with its unparalleled sacrifices and correct political alternative is considered a ray of hope by the oppressed masses of our country, the state is trying to crush our party and its leadership as soon as possible. That is why it is resorting to a massive military offensive on us.

The political successes achieved, the advances in People's War, the expansion of guerilla warfare and revolutionary movement, establishment and development of people's political power, the support and solidarity that our New Democratic Revolution (NDR) is getting in our country and abroad cannot be imagined without the sacrifices of martyrs and the ideals and values that they imparted to the society and established inside the party. It is with the inspiration of the great practice of comrades Charu Mazumdar, Kanhai Chatterji and our thousands of martyrs and with the spirit of their sacrifices that our party is able to overcome all kinds of unfavorable conditions and advance forward for the success of NDR.

## **Comrades,**

The material conditions in our country and the world are increasingly turning favorable to the revolution. All kinds of social contradictions are sharpening and are making the people to join movements and increasingly making them choose the revolutionary path. If we have to advance the revolution in our country towards victory by utilizing this excellent revolutionary condition, then we must fulfill the following immediate tasks with the aim of fulfilling the central task given by our 9<sup>th</sup> Congress-Unity Congress i.e., developing guerilla warfare into mobile warfare and developing PLGA into PLA to turn Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand into liberated areas.

If we are to advance the revolution towards victory by utilizing the excellent material conditions, then we will have to improve our subjective conditions too as rapidly. Preventing losses to our subjective forces, particularly preventing losses to top leadership is one of the most important tasks faced by our party. It is true that people give birth to revolutionary leaders in the course of revolution. But it is equally true that once we lose such leaders, leaders who had gained decades of vast experience and have been guiding the party with unwavering confidence on the people and the revolution, it is not so easy to give birth to such leaders again. It is a general principle that our aim in war is to preserve our forces as far as possible and inflict losses on the enemy forces as far as possible. We must take the preservation of our leadership, reduction of losses to our subjective forces and prevention of unnecessary losses seriously and strive to achieve the same subordinate to the above general principle.

Our failures and shortcomings in studying the deceptive LIC strategy of the enemy and taking up counter-tactics by understanding the tactics taken by the enemy to wipe our leadership and subjective forces as part of that strategy are the reason behind the serious losses we are facing. For this, a change must occur in our work methods in accordance with the material conditions, level of the movement and our tasks. Our work methods must be improved such that the three magic weapons for the victory of revolution – party, people's army and united front get consolidated and

strengthened. This would create a basis for us to reduce our losses. Likewise, we must bolshevize the party ideologically, politically, militarily and organizationally in order to preserve our subjective forces and strengthen them.

Increasing our mass base is crucial in solving all the problems we are facing at present. A strong mass base would also be a fundamental precondition for fulfilling the losses that occurred. So we must strive to sustain a strong mass base and to build it. For this sake, we must politically mobilize the people and consolidate them. We must mobilize the masses in various movements and struggles and particularly we must mobilize the peasantry vastly and militantly in agrarian revolutionary movement. On the whole we must mobilize the revolutionary masses actively in People's War. We must display lot of skill so that we can defeat the civic action programmes, fake reforms, attacks of killer gangs and deceptive war that are being carried on as part of LIC policy and mobilize the middle class people and the intellectuals basing ourselves on workers and peasants.

We must further intensify the guerilla warfare in those zones in our country where it is raging intensely. We must expand it to a vaster area. The enemy would employ every kind of counter-revolutionary method to limit our guerilla zones and movement areas to smaller areas and to end the war in as little time as possible (by wiping us out or by qualitatively weakening our fighting power). We must defeat their efforts by vastly mobilizing the masses, intensifying and expanding the guerilla warfare, consolidating and expanding the people's power organs and guerilla bases, expanding the guerilla areas, developing the movement step by step by sustaining the successes of People's War and by extending the war so that it continues in a protracted manner.

Arming the people further to strengthen people's political power and guerilla bases where we have built them and expanding them to more areas is one of the most important tasks facing us. We must develop all kinds of mass agitations and class struggles, particularly land struggles and anti-displacement struggles, arm the people who get consolidated in those struggles and inspire the people to build people's political power by rejecting the state rule of the ruling classes and to establish liberated areas by building

a strong people's army. Mobilizing people actively in People's War would be crucial for this.

Deployment of army in Bastar, opening army training schools, giving special training to a Brigade of forces, building new battalions every year, huge increases in military budget, building of the necessary infrastructure for deployment of Air Force, buying-hiring and usage of helicopters and UAVs are all part of the multi-pronged massive military offensive Operation Green Hunt (OGH). The deployment of army in Bastar is not just for wiping out the movement there but also to damage the movements in Andhra Pradesh, Odisha and Maharashtra that border Bastar and also the movements in Jharkhand, Bihar, other North and East Indian states and the movements in South and Western India, thus aiming to wipe us out in the whole country. That is why we must put special efforts to build a vast and militant mass movement in our movement areas, in our country and abroad opposing the deployment of army in movement areas and concretely in Bastar.

In the massive special operations carried on by the enemy forces at a Brigade level recently in DK, Jharkhand, Bihar, Odisha, COB and AOB, UAVs were used. They are completing all preparations for deploying them on a vast scale (for gathering information, bombing and firing). We must mobilize on a big scale people of all sections against the usage of UAVs-drones. We must link this with the movements that are arising against the usage of drones internationally, particularly in countries such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Yemen, Iraq, Palestine etc. We must strive to mobilize international support opposing the deployment of army and usage of drones in our movement areas. In fact, the lakhs of armed forces, paramilitary, police forces and the number of helicopters deployed in our movement areas is more than the number of armed forces or Air Force planes or helicopters of the majority of countries in the world. We must place this fact in front of the people of our country and the world and mobilize them.

The colonial rulers before the transfer of power in 1947 and later their stooges brought forth brutal laws such as AFSPA, UAPA, MCOCA, CSPA apart from other draconian laws such as PD Act, NSA, Prevention of

Arms Act etc and are crushing the right to live and other fundamental rights of the people. Preparations have been intensified to establish the NCTC (National Counter-Terrorism Centre) that would become the most notorious of all such oppressive institutions. This is modeled on the NCTC of US and would be formed and run under the guidance of the US imperialists. This is aimed at completely suppressing the fighting people with no control whatsoever. The ruling classes are going to use this as an instrument to establish military, dictatorial and emergency type of rule. If this institution is formed, then civil rights would lose all meaning. This is going to turn dangerous not only to the Indian people but to the entire people of South Asia. The aim of the ruling classes is not only to wipe out the revolutionary movement but also to brutally crush the people who are fighting for their just demands, the nationality liberation movements of Kashmir and North-East people, all kinds of democratic movements and anti-displacement movements. That is why they are bringing in draconian laws and are turning the judiciary more authoritarian and intensifying the 'War on People'. At present one of the important aspects of the enemy repression is to arrest our comrades (right from CC to party members and ordinary people), foist false cases on them and incarcerate them in jails for years together. They are being meted out death sentences or life sentences, their bails are rejected or even if they get bails they are arrested at the jail gates again and new cases are being foisted on them. The political prisoners are not given even basic facilities, especially medical facilities and are being tortured in various manners. On the other hand the rights of the people are being crushed on a daily basis in innumerable instances and massacres are perpetrated on them reminding one of Hitler's rule. That is why building a mighty and united civil rights movement that could fight back all this powerfully and strengthening it is one of the most important tasks in front of us.

### **Comrades,**

Observe Martyrs' Memorial Week with revolutionary spirit in every nook and corner of our country. In order to defeat the country-wide offensive OGH that is being carried on as part of the LIC deceptive war of the enemy, hold aloft both in our daily lives and also during this occasion the



values, ideals, sacrifices, bravery, valiance, dedication towards the people and commitment that we learnt from the lives and practice of our beloved martyrs. Propagate them among the people on a vast scale and creatively in various forms. Publish the selfless life histories of the martyrs, build martyrs columns and pay great homage to them. Paint red the previously built martyr columns and beautify their surroundings so that people can pay homage to the martyrs in front of these columns not only on this occasion but also during all revolutionary occasions year long. Publish and release various kinds of propaganda material in the form of pamphlets, posters, banners, folders, calendars, booklets etc on martyrs and propagate them hugely among the masses.

In the movement areas all over the country people are continuing the revolutionary tradition of building martyrs' memorial columns in hundreds of villages. However, in several places the police and paramilitary forces are destroying these columns either completely or partially and forcing the people to destroy them. People are resisting this in several places. They are rebuilding the destroyed columns with renewed determination. We must further increase the consciousness of the people to condemn the destruction of martyrs' memorials, to intensify resistance in various forms to preserve them, to build and rebuild them, to inaugurate martyrs' columns in each village and to fight bravely and valiantly for fulfilling the aims of martyrs. Meet the families, relatives and friends of martyrs on this occasion and make them a part of the meetings and programmes conducted in this week. Let them inaugurate the martyrs' columns and give speeches on the inspiring lives of the martyrs in the meetings. Inspire them to carry on the aims of the martyrs. Enquire about the problems faced by the martyrs' families, try to solve them and give them the assurance that the revolutionary movement would always stand in their support. On the whole, observe these solemn and inspiring days as occasions to rededicate ourselves to the fulfillment of the aims of the martyrs.

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

*July 5, 2012*

# **Deployment of Indian Army in Dandakaranya - Our Tactics**

## **The repressive measures of the army on revolutionary and national liberation movements – experiences**

In the second half of 18th century the British colonialists occupied India. Capitalism already started developing from the feudal society in our country. British colonialists stopped the independent development of that capitalism. The reactionary, anti-people and counter-revolutionary British imperialism began oppressing the just people's revolts. The British mercenary soldiers razed to ground many villages and massacred the people. They hanged the revolutionaries openly to terrorize the people. Many were publicly hacked to death without any trial. Finally the leadership of the feudal classes betrayed the First War of Indian independence in 1857. Oppressed people were greatly enthused with the October Bolshevik revolution in 1917 while the exploiting classes were greatly worried. As the people became conscious and resorted to militant struggles, the comprador big bourgeoisie (CBB) leadership betrayed the people's revolt and compromised with the British imperialist and feudal classes. During the Second World War the revolutionary upsurge which arose all over the world intensified in India too and the oppressed classes and sections of people like the workers and peasants started agitating militantly. The Indian comprador bourgeois, feudal classes who were terrified with the struggle consciousness of the people betrayed the Indian revolution and compromised with the British imperialists. As a result, political power changed hands and the country turned into a semi-colony. Though Communist Party of India participated in the mass struggles, as it was bogged down in right opportunism, it could not lead them.

From being a colonial, semi-feudal society with the occupation of the British, India turned into a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country with the sham independence of August 15, 1947. Since then like in many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, in India too the imperialists began indirect exploitation, control and rule in the place of direct colonial exploitation. For

this, the imperialists depended on the 'Indian' feudal compradors whom they have nurtured since the beginning of their colonial rule. The concrete class analysis of the Indian society and the state indicates that India is a semi-colonial, semi-feudal state which is under indirect rule, exploitation and control and known by the names of Indian 'Republic' and 'Parliamentary Democracy'.

Actually it is the state machinery comprised of armed forces (army, paramilitary, special and police forces), judiciary, jails and administrative machinery that runs all the activities of the state. The military armed forces are the main component of this state machinery. That is why army belongs to the state. There is not a single army which does not belong to the state in this world. But what kind of a state is it? Is it the tyrannical state of the imperialists, big land lords and the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie? Or is it the New Democratic state of the vast masses under the leadership of the proletariat? The present Indian state machinery is an instrument for the class rule, class oppression and class exploitation of the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class and the big land lord class that serve imperialism. That is why this state machinery preserves the interests of the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the feudal forces. This severely exploits the working class, peasantry, middle class people and the national bourgeoisie and oppresses them. The Indian state is a joint dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and big land lord classes that serve the imperialists. India is a vast country with 120 crores of population. It is rich in natural resources. Imperialism is looting its natural resources such as land, forest, water and raw materials. It is totally taking into its control the economy, political system, military and the culture of our country. By oppressing the majority of the Indian people, feudalism is proving a hurdle to the development of the productive forces.

The army and the police force have imbibed the counter-revolutionary nature of the British imperialists and the Indian exploiting ruling classes have strengthened them from time to time. At present, Indian Army is the fourth largest army in the world after the armies of US, Russia and China. The active personnel out of the total Indian armed forces (Army, Navy and Air Force) is thirteen lakhs. If we count the reserves it would be 20 lakhs. According to the Indian constitution armed forces must not work independently and must work under the control of the civilian government.

The Indian President is the Supreme Commander of all the armed forces and runs them through the central cabinet's defence ministry.

According to the Indian constitution the main task of the Indian armed forces is to defend the borders of the country from the occupation of other countries and serving the people during natural disasters. There would be change in training and weapons according to this aim. The army must have patriotic motivation to fight with the enemy to defend the borders of their country.

But we can observe that the six decade practice of the Indian Army is different from this. Indian ruling classes threw the constitution written by them into the dust bin and have deployed the Indian Army and the armed forces several times inside the country by utilizing the clause that the Indian government can use the armed forces for internal security if necessary. This was actually written as something secondary. But if we see from the day of sham independence – 15th August 1947 – till now in 2011, the number of days the Indian Army participated in combat in the borders of our country is just 143. In the name of internal security it was deployed to fight with the Telangana people on the pretext of 'liberation from Nizam' for the first time between 1948 September and 1951 October. Later it occupied the North-East states and Kashmir. In July 1971 it carried on a suppressive offensive on the struggle of the revolutionary masses of Birbhum. Similarly in 1990, Indian Army was completely utilized on the pretext of 'training' in Punjab against the aspirations of the people. At present with the aim of wiping out the Maoist movement, a Brigade of Indian Army was deployed in Dandakaranya (DK) at end May 2011 in the name of training. Two batches have completed training till now.

The Army, paramilitary and the special police forces have been implementing counter-insurgency (LIC) strategy on the national liberation movements that are going on since decades in India. In these cruel suppression campaigns lakhs of women and men have been massacred by the security forces which include 30,000 in North-East, 80,000 in Kashmir, 10,000 in Punjab, 5,000 in Telangana Armed Struggle (1946-51), 200 people and activists in Birbhum and the 13,000 who lost their lives in the massacres carried on by the paramilitary, police and special commando forces since Naxalbari and Srikakulam to suppress the Maoist movement. Lakhs were tortured and put in jails. Crores of rupees of people's properties were

looted or burnt. Thousands of young women and men went missing. What do all these atrocities indicate? Is it not being proved that the army, paramilitary and the police forces do not hesitate even a bit to massacre the people for the interests of these exploiting ruling classes (CBB and big land lord classes) who have no other job than selling this country for the super profits of the imperialists? Are they not themselves proving that they are the running dogs of the imperialists? Are they not implementing the cruel, violent and murderous policies of the exploiting government? These forces would never abandon these policies.

Though there are some differences between nationality struggles and revolutionary struggles, there are similarities in several matters. The LIC strategy and tactics implemented on the nationality movement is being implemented on the revolutionary movement more cruelly by the enemy. We must come to an assessment about the impact of these on the revolutionary movement by deeply studying them.

## **The Counter-Insurgency methods followed by the Army in North-East, Punjab and Kashmir**

### **i) Special Commando Forces :**

To suppress the Northeast insurgents and effectively implement the mopping up operations, Indian ruling classes established a jungle warfare school in Mizoram at Vierengte village in 1970 to specially train up and build special forces in counterinsurgency. These special commando forces are built according to the principle of “small forces and high fire power”. In Kashmir, to conduct counterinsurgency operations more intensively, the fire power of the Indian army infantry was greatly improved to ten times.

### **ii) Unified Command:**

By developing intelligence coordination, Indian army, paramilitary (CRPF, Assam Rifles), police forces are drawn under a single command and established a unified command. In 1993, according to Indian home ministry ruling ‘Northeast regional security coordination cell’ was established. General Secretaries, DGPs, of the Northeast states, higher rank military officials are members of this cell. The objective of the cell is totally coordinating the counterinsurgency operations in the Northeast states. Designing and implementing the ‘multi pronged strategy’ is done by this cell.

### **iii) Joint Operations in International borders:**

Utilising the areas within the neighbouring countries as bases by the North East insurgents had both a positive and negative aspect. As long as the relations between India and the concerned country remained strained guerrillas could utilise the contradictions to set up base camps, train their forces and carry out raids on Indian territory. But when the relations improved the governments of the neighbouring countries obliged the requests of the Indian government and either attacked the guerrilla camps by itself, or in joint operations along with the Indian armed forces. The destruction of camps in Bhutan led to severe losses to ULFA. By bringing intense pressure on the governments of Bhutan, Myanmar, Bangladesh and Pakistan, the Indian government seeks to destroy all the base camps of the guerrillas of North East and Kashmir as well as to capture the leadership.

### **iv) Strategic Hamlets:**

In Naga and Mizo areas 'strategic village plan' was implemented. That means, concentration camps were built and programme of isolating the insurgents from the people was implemented. entire villages were razed to the ground, mass murders and rapes were resorted to in order to drive the people to the concentration camps. To impose surveillance on the Kashmir people, especially on the Muslim population, identity cards were issued to every individual.

### **v) Vigilante Gangs and SPOs:**

Village guards, Village voluntary force, People's militia of Nagaland, Assam SULFA, Anti people and reactionary vigilante gangs are built by counterinsurgency forces to terrorise the people. Lumpen youth are lured with money and are appointed as Special Police Officers (SPOs). In Punjab, in 1991, surrendered insurgents were used under cover as secret agents to police and army. Known as the 'Cat system', these agents or Cats were used for searching and murdering the leadership of the movement. Punjab police administration built several vigilante gangs by mobilizing the goondas and lumpens. By providing jeeps and AK-47 rifles to these gangs, and through intensive patrolling, people were terrorized in villages and towns.

### **vi) Large-scale deployment of troops and genocide:**

Never in the history of India was such a massive force deployed as in

Kashmir and North East. In Kashmir, the strength of Indian Army troops deployed was over 2 lakhs, at times even reaching a peak of 5 lakhs besides the central and state's forces. In the North East too, it touched 2 lakhs at one time. Genocide of the Muslim population in Kashmir Valley resulted in over 80,000 deaths. An entire generation of youth was decimated. Abductions, cold-blooded murders, mass rapes, cruel tortures was a general method used by the state's armed forces in all the states of North East. The tactic was to overwhelm the armed fighters and terrorise the civilian population through such massive troop deployment.

### **vii) Enforcing the fraud of parliamentary elections to legitimise the rule of the Indian state:**

Besides brutally suppressing the national movements in these states, the reactionary Indian rulers sought to legitimise their rule by resorting to the fraud of elections in the name of so-called parliamentary democracy. Nagas boycotted the elections several times since 1957. In Punjab hardly 5 % voted in the sham election to the state assembly in 1989. In Kashmir people boycotted the polls several times. Yet, the rulers enforced the elections at gun-point, and governments were formed even though none of the contesting parties obtained any mandate from the people even in the bogus elections.

By utilizing the farce of elections, a small clique servile to the Indian state came to power and tried to divert the masses from the path of struggle by luring a small section through material incentives. Thus elections have become a new weapon in the hands of the oppressors to divide and rule the people and to suppress people's aspirations.

### **viii) Using peace talks as a weapon to divert and suppress the nationality struggles:**

1. Another method used by the exploiting classes as part of the LIC strategy and tactics is to bring the fighters to the negotiating table when they find that such a move can weaken the movements. The rulers resort to this method of talks and cease-fire even as they step up their military offensive to brutally crush the movements. The most important agreements were those reached with the insurgent leaderships in Mizoram in 1986 and Nagaland in 1975 and 1997. The former led to laying down of arms and

buying over the leadership of the Mizo national movement while the latter led to virtual paralysis of the Naga movement between 1975 to 1980 and from 1997 onwards.

With these experiences, at present the Indian ruling classes are trying to implement their evil strategy of wiping out the revolutionary movement by using the Army as their last weapon. In this background it is necessary that we study both the strengths and weaknesses of the Indian Army. For this sake, let us take a look at some of the important wars and operations it conducted.

**Indo-Pak War :** The imperialists are inciting expansionism among the Indian ruling classes for their interests in South Asia. They have been making the small neighboring countries to surrender using force or lure and are even resorting to occupation if necessary and have already merged independently ruled countries like Kashmir and Sikkim into India. The mercenary Indian Army has been serving as a weapon in their hands right from the beginning for such purposes. At first, in the name of Indo-Pak War during the years 1947 and 1948, the Indian ruling classes have occupied Kashmir and suppressed the right to self-determination of the Kashmir people. Due to this, right from the beginning the Kashmir people nurture lot of hatred towards the Indian Army. Similarly it occupied Sikkim in 1973. As a result, it has gained notoriety as an army which suppresses the rights of the nationalities.

**The offensive of the so-called socialist Nehru army on the Telangana Armed Struggle :** The Indian ruling classes have implemented counter-insurgency operations using Indian Army along with other armed forces for the first time internally inside the country with the aim of suppressing the Telangana armed peasant struggle in the name of ‘liberation of Nizam’. People and People’s Guerilla Squads valiantly resisted these murderous attacks and repression under the leadership of the communist party. In this six year long guerilla war they conducted at least 400 armed actions against the Razakars and the army and wiped out several soldiers. As the lands seized by them were again returned back to the land lords and due to the atrocities committed on people, particularly on women, people clearly understood its class nature. It carried on massacres like an army



which attacks another country. People did not accept defeat. They did not consider Indian Army as their liberating army. Nehru's army which entered Telangana boasting that they would wipe out the revolutionaries within a week got bogged down in the resistance actions of the guerillas for three years. However, the CPI leadership which was completely bogged down in bankrupt ideological and political policies withdrew the glorious Telangana revolutionary struggle and resorted to severe betrayal.

**Indo-China War** : Conflict arose between China and India regarding an area of 60,000 sq. kms. This area is spread in Assam and Ladakh. China tried to convince India several times that this area belongs to them by presenting clear evidences. China built a highway in 1957 connecting Tibet and Sinkiang areas. But Indian ruling classes went to war in a planned manner to occupy the area belonging to China in 1962 with the encouragement of the US imperialists. The People's Liberation Army (PLA) fought back this offensive and chased away the Indian Army. Chinese forces came till the lower part of Himalayas which they had claimed as their area and stopped there. This war was fought between October 20 and November 21, 1962. On November 21, 1962 Beijing announced unilateral cease-fire and agreed to have a non-military zone for a length of 20 miles on the borders. 2,500 Indian soldiers died in this war. It could not withstand the tactics and fighting capacity of the China PLA. They allowed the Indian Army to enter into China and gave a death blow to it with frontal and rear attacks. The weaknesses of the Indian Army were exposed clearly.

They took up the task of rebuilding and modernizing the Indian Army as a lesson taken from this war and completed this process with special budgets. Particularly, Soviet tanks, airplanes, helicopters, heavy artillery, engineering equipment, naval missile boats, submarines and training were received. With this, they could heavily modernize the Indian Army and increase the firing capacity of the infantry ten times.

**Another war in the name of liberation of Bangladesh** : As part of Indian expansionism and for the sake of its market interests, Indian Army attacked Pakistan in the name of 'Liberation of Bangladesh' in 1971 with the encouragement of Soviet social imperialists. It gave training in guerilla warfare to Mukti Bahini in Bangladesh from March 1971. India utilized the

fact that Pakistan was divided into two separate parts in the sub-continent, deployed its armed power heavily on the Pakistan Army in East Pakistan in December 1971 and won the war. The offensive was completed in 14 days. It boasted that it liberated Bangladesh.

**LTTE war that taught a lesson to the Indian Armies :** With expansionist ambitions more than a lakh of Indian Army soldiers in the name of Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) started an offensive against the Tamil people and against the LTTE in 1987-88 in Sri Lanka to preserve the interests of the Sri Lankan feudal and comprador bureaucratic ruling classes. Tamil people fought valiantly for the right to self-determination including the right to secede. LTTE correctly utilized the people's support, favorable terrain and guerilla tactics and bashed the Indian Army. It used the mine warfare creatively with presence of mind. The just struggle of the Tamil Eelam people got the recognition of the people in our country and the world. On the other hand the Indian Army got exposed as an occupation army. Tamil people fought valiantly making many sacrifices. They chased the Indian Army away and taught it a fitting lesson. Indian Army had to leave Sri Lanka in inevitable conditions with severe losses. (1700 Indian soldiers died and three to four times more soldiers got injured – IPKF Commander Lieutenant General Dipender Singh). The Indian exploiting ruling classes and the Indian Army officers analyzed the reasons for the defeat of Indian Army in Sri Lanka as follows: 1. They did not have a comprehensive understanding about the IEDs used by the LTTE and so could not deal properly with them 2. There was lack of comprehensive understanding about the guerilla warfare tactics followed by the LTTE and lack of a comprehensive plan and training to counter it 3. Indian Army did not have its own independent intelligence network in Sri Lanka.

It is a historic fact that when exploiting armies resort to wars of aggression on other people and other lands they are bound to face this fate. Japan in China, US in Vietnam, US and its allies in Iraq, previously Russia and now the NATO armies in Afghanistan faced and are facing the same fate now.

**Kargil War :** The Indian Army boasts a lot about its role in Kargil War. Army officers are saying that the Pakistan Army could seize Kargil

because Indian army were withdrawn from the Kargil sector as they had to be concentrated directly and indirectly on the struggles of the Kashmir, North-East nationalities, Punjab people, on the Tamil national liberation struggles and on the revolutionary struggles that are being waged by the workers, peasants and middle class people for political, economic and social change. They are saying that Pakistan attacked the Indian Army when it was decentralized so. So we can understand where the Army is concentrating. Thus the weaknesses of the Indian Army once again got exposed during the Kargil War. Though the Indian Army ultimately won in this war, the Indian Army officers themselves had published analyses that the Army is concentrating on internal issues and is facing limitations.

On the whole, the higher officials of the Indian Army took the following lessons by reviewing the experiences gained in practice since decades by the Indian Army :

1. Local people must be recruited into Army (Army and Air Force) from the respective areas, in whichever area wars are to be waged. They must be given appropriate training on counter insurgency/LIC/counter guerilla operations by imparting understanding about them.
2. Indian Army must have coordination with all kinds of paramilitary, special police, commando and local police forces. 'People's representatives' like Chief Ministers and ministers must become part of the Unified Commands being formed for this sake.
3. There must be coordination between all levels of intelligence agencies (from the central level to the village level).
4. They must have complete understanding about the usage of modern weapons and all kinds of weapons.
5. There must be coordination between air and ground forces.
6. Basic infrastructure must be present. Roads, communications and supplies must be developed. Engineering battalions must be established by the police in the lines of the Army.
7. Special training must be given in mine warfare. Special battalions must be formed to diffuse the mines.

## **Weaknesses of the Indian Army :**

1. All the wars conducted by the Indian Army are without any exception for preserving the Indian ruling class interests of exploitation, oppression and suppression. Its anti-people nature has already been exposed among the people through this. This Army which was born and brought up in the hands of the British imperialists has now turned into the Army of the feudal and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie ruling classes and is mainly fulfilling the interests of the imperialists. Due to the mercenary exploiting class nature it is preserving the interests of a handful of exploiting classes like a running dog in opposition to the interests of the oppressed sections of people like the workers, peasant and middle classes. So it would not have the support of the people. This is its main political weakness.

2. Though all the soldiers in the Indian Army were recruited from the oppressed classes, it is a big contradiction that they work for the interests of the exploiting classes instead of the interests of their own class. This means that they are serving a class which is not their own. Due to this contradiction, their nature would be to work for wages instead of with dedication. This is the reason for suicides and running away. Similarly they are continuously being impacted by the various revolutionary and national liberation struggles. When they realize about the exploitation, oppression and suppression on their oppressed classes, it would lead to revolts in the Army as it happened in revolutionary movements such as Russia and China and there is always the possibility of their joining the revolutionary people's army and the national liberation armies. This is the biggest weakness of the Indian Army which the Indian ruling classes claim is a strong army.

3. Due to the mercenary nature of the Indian Army, strategically it does not have the characteristic of fighting valiantly. It cannot win a strategic victory over the People's Army that fights for the interests of the people.

4. Due to the opposition among the people towards the Indian Army it would have political limitation in increasing recruitment into it. It is realizing through several experiences that it is not possible to fight with the revolutionaries and national liberation fighters without local recruitment. Actually people would hate an army that works for the interests of the

exploiting classes and would not like to join it wholeheartedly. Without them it would not have grip over the local terrain in the counter-insurgency operations. So, it is inciting sham patriotism using the pretext of terrorism and extremism and luring them with several promises in order to join them in the army. This is another political-military weakness.

5. Indian Army does not have much experience in guerilla warfare that goes on protractedly. In suppressing the nationality struggles and Punjab people's struggles and as part of the war of aggression it waged on the LTTE, the experience it gained in guerilla warfare is very less. We know how it was dealt a death blow in the war on LTTE. As a result, in the backdrop of entering Dandakaranya it is working with a long term perspective as it has this weakness.

6. The Indian Army itself had reviewed that it has faced defeat in the war on LTTE as there was no strong intelligence. But, this is inevitable for an army which makes war on people. As part of this, it is also difficult for an anti-people army to have a strong human intelligence. This is another severe weakness.

7. As part of conflicts between the exploiting ruling classes, there are many contradictions between the Indian Army and the various central and state armed forces. They further intensify as the economic and political crisis intensifies. Possibilities for revolts in them would also be present. For example, when military action was done on the Punjab guerilla struggle, there was a revolt in the Sikh Regiment.

Occupying nations, people and countries for looting the resources and earning more profits as part of the liberalization, privatization and globalization (LPG) policies implemented by the imperialists since 1991 has become a common phenomena. In the past two decades NATO forces under the leadership of US have massacred people on a huge scale in the cruel attacks on several countries. Particularly, the war of aggression on Iraq by US, the attacks done in the name of War on Terrorism on Afghanistan by the US and NATO forces which occupied it, the recent aggression on Libya and the aggressive attacks on West Pakistan have once again exposed the brutality of the imperialists. There is no value for the lives of the people.

Civil rights disappeared. The comprador ruling classes of the backward countries who colluded with the imperialists have been implementing from the beginning the economic, political and military policies dictated by their masters and have been fulfilling their interests to exploit the masses. They are suppressing the people who aspire for liberation, freedom and revolution with an iron heel using their mercenary armed forces like their masters and are soaking the mass movements in streams of blood. From where did the imperialists and their compradors get the 'special right' to indiscriminately massacre the people by suppressing their rights? It is very clear that they got this 'special right' which is not present in any 'democratic' country or in any law only through their armed forces. If not for them, they cannot continue in power even for one second. Their cruel exploitation and oppression would definitely end and the imperialist clay-foot monster would collapse.

That is why Mao said the following about war : "War is a continuation of politics. When politics develop to a level and when they cannot advance forward in general terms, then war starts to get rid of the hurdles on its path". (On Protracted War)

The Indian ruling classes are implementing counter-insurgency operations on the nationality movements and the revolutionary movements since six decades as a continuation of their class exploitation politics. However these movements are still continuing with some ups and downs. Though lakhs of army, paramilitary, special police forces and state-sponsored secret killer gangs have been deployed and they have been resorting to endless atrocities and massacres on the fighters, people and particularly on the women, they have not been able to suppress the national liberation aspirations. Though the army has been indirectly helping with training, weapons and technology, this counter-revolutionary war could not wipe out the revolutionary movement anywhere completely till now. On the contrary, people under the leadership of the proletarian party have formed the PLGA and are participating actively in the revolutionary movement and this is increasing with each day.

The need for oppressed masses like the workers, peasantry and the

middle class people, democrats and mass organizations to express their stand on the deployment of army in DK by the Indian government has come to the fore. The class enemies would not get wiped out on their own. Neither the Indian reactionaries nor the US imperialist occupation forces would quit the historic stage on their own voluntarily. It is necessary to build and develop a strong Red Army that is bound to the interests of the oppressed masses under the leadership of the proletarian party to throw them into the dustbin of history. Only the Maoist People's War that is carried on under its leadership would dig the grave for all kinds of exploiting forces.

## **Let us chase away the Indian Army by building People's Resistance Struggles**

At present, the Indian Army was deployed as part of the unjust war (Green Hunt military offensive) launched against the people of this country since mid-2009 by the Sonia-Manmohan Singh-Chidambaram clique with the aim of handing over the mineral wealth in the adivasi areas to the comprador companies and MNCs like Tatas, Essar, Reliance, Jindal, Mittal, Vedanta etc. Since six years, the Army officers are guiding the counter-insurgency operations conducted by the police-paramilitary forces to completely wipe out the revolutionary movement that is proving a hurdle to the corporate exploitation. The Army on its own is establishing counter-terrorism Jungle Warfare schools in various states including the ones at Kanker in Chhattisgarh and Ambicapur in North Chhattisgarh and is giving training to the police-paramilitary forces. Several times higher officials of the Army have toured Bastar. In the days when Salwa Judum was going on in the most cruel manner, US consulate officials toured the Jungle Warfare school at Kanker several times and conducted meetings with Raman Singh and police higher officials in Raipur. This undoubtedly proves that this is being carried on with the guidance of the US imperialists.

In the 45 years after Naxalbari and in the backdrop of deployment of Army on the revolutionary movement by the Indian ruling classes, it is clear that this is being carried on as part of the multi-pronged LIC (Low-Intensity Conflict) offensive conducted by mobilizing the entire state

machinery. Keeping in view the fact that the enemy has kept a target of three to seven years to completely wipe out our movement our party, PLGA, Revolutionary Janatana Sarkars and revolutionary mass organizations must prepare themselves to fight back this offensive unitedly with the strategy of Protracted People's War. We must intensify the guerilla warfare all over the country through expansion of revolutionary movement by strengthening the revolutionary forces, intensification of struggle in all spheres and through building several guerilla zones with the aim of establishing liberated areas. We must utterly defeat the aim of the enemy to completely wipe out our party, revolutionary movement and the budding people's political power.

### **Let us develop people's resistance struggles through vast mobilization of people into economic and political struggles**

At present, displacement is one of the main life and death problems faced by the people. People are fighting against the displacement policies of the Indian exploiting ruling classes. Our party, PLGA, revolutionary mass organizations, Revolutionary Janatana Sarkars and people's militia must integrate with these people. They must completely mingle with them like fish in water. They must be molded into militant struggles right from the beginning in order to strongly fight back the army and police forces that would be deployed to suppress these struggles.

The entire history of Army is full of increase in mopping up actions like fake encounter murders, destruction, looting of people's properties, razing down of villages, atrocities on women, arrests, missings and massacres of ordinary people as a result of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) after the entry of the Army. That is why, we must rally the people on a huge scale against the AFSPA. We must form a broad united front with all the forces that would come together with the slogan 'Go Back the exploiting army' and isolate the enemy politically. Similarly, people must be rallied vastly against established camps and those that would be established in future as part of carpet security, against turning schools into military/police camps, against the formation of 'Chhattisgarh Sasastra Bal' under another garb (though the Supreme Court has given the judgment



that appointment of SPOs and Koya Commandos is against the constitution), against the reactionary secret killer gangs and for custody of the dead bodies (of people killed by the security forces). People's resistance struggles must be taken up. People's movements must be carried on for civil rights. Only when we develop mass movements into militant resistance struggles we can bring drastic change in People's War.

## **Political struggles must be conducted on a huge scale against Reformism**

The enemy is implementing on a war footing 'Integrated Action Plan' (IAP) as part of the 'Development activities – Police actions' policy by following the tactics of 'Winning the hearts of the People' as part of the LIC plan. The meeting in Delhi in September 13, 2011, the whirlwind tours of Home Minister Chidambaram and Rural Development minister Jairam Ramesh in Naxal-affected states and the 'Saranda Action Plan' in Jharkhand brought forth by them as a model are all part of this. They are giving priority to roads, electricity and communications and the like instead of paying attention to basic issues like agricultural lands, displacement, drinking water, irrigation etc. Brutal suppression, atrocities and massacres by the government-police forces on the people are being intensified. The officials of paramilitary forces and the army officials who arrived recently too are conducting civic action programmes in the villages. They are conducting meetings with the people and are discussing about the problems faced by the people. Army is doing free labour as never before to deceive the people. In the name of giving patriotic lessons to the students in the schools they are filling them with poisonous propaganda about Maoist revolutionaries.

The aim of these reforms is to isolate a section from the people, turn them into a strata in the village and use them as the main vehicles in suppression. The sham of these reforms must be exposed among the people. We must make them understand that the basic problems of the people would not be solved with these reforms and that all problems can be solved only through overthrow of this exploiting system and establishing New Democratic political power.

## **Enemy must be wiped out in PW by strengthening the mass base**

Comrade Mao repeatedly taught us that ‘Only a PW that is conducted with mass base would achieve victory’. The people who could no longer bear the exploitation, oppression and suppression of the ruling classes and their mercenary armed forces have joined the resistance wars on a huge scale with the inspiration of the revolutionary party and people’s army in Russia, China and Vietnam revolutionary movements and in several national liberation struggles. This is a prominent feature in them. Strong enemy forces have also been wiped out by this people’s resistance. This people’s resistance is like an eternal spring for the strengthening of the people’s army. If people’s army is to expand with thousands and lakhs of soldiers within a short period, then we must develop on a huge scale such people’s resistance struggles. Struggles like Lalgargh and Narayanapatna have already put forth an ideal model for us to follow.

**We must fight back the enemy at every step with traditional trap warfare :** We must arm the people’s militia everywhere with traditional weapons. Militia actions must be increased in scope and intensified. With the spirit that defeated the brutal Salwa Judum and using the local resources, we must use traditional traps along with using traps in newer methods and stop the attacks of the enemy. The enemy must be harassed continuously. People must be made to participate in all actions. People’s army must be strengthened by basing on armed people and people’s militia units.

**Enemy must be chased away with mine warfare :** We know how the mine warfare of the LTTE in Sri Lanka had pushed the strong Indian Army into defence. Mine warfare was used very creatively in the China and Vietnam revolutionary movements. In DK, our PLGA and people’s militia forces have several experiences in this. Any revolutionary people’s army that is weak in terms of weapons can fight back strong enemy military forces too if it can use explosives efficiently. It would be able to chase them away.

**We must target the supply convoys and communications of the enemy :** We must stop enemy supplies and either seize them or destroy them. All kinds of communication systems must be destroyed or cut off.

## **We can achieve our aim only by conducting a war of enemy annihilation**

The aim of our war is not to seize areas or cities but to mainly wipe out the enemy forces. PLGA forces must achieve utmost mobility by withdrawing our forces before the enemy advance, chasing the enemy when they are withdrawing and centralizing and decentralizing of our own forces flexibly and on a vast scale in the battlefield. We must concentrate our forces on a large scale on the weak areas of the enemy (on the enemy forces which are decentralized and are separated); only when our forces are two to six times more than the enemy forces the PLGA forces can win a quick success in any particular action. Any operation on the enemy must be aggressive. Wiping out the enemy is its primary feature. For this sake, the enemy must be surrounded and attacked from at least two directions. We must try to completely wipe the enemy forces. Even one fish must not be allowed to get out of the dragnet. Strategically, attack must be conducted from only one main direction at a time; tactically there should be only one target. Tactics must be clever and flexible and must be in accordance with the time, space and condition. Our PLGA forces must converge very secretly for conducting an operation. The attack must be conducted in a place and time not imagined by the enemy. Initiative must be in our hands always. We must conduct the operation freely (without any pressure). We must push the enemy to retreat. If we are to achieve success, then Unified Command is compulsory. Particularly, coordination between party, PLGA, RPCs and mass organizations is necessary. We must avoid going for operations when we do not have the confidence/guarantee that we would win. For this, it is compulsory that we make definite preparations for battle. Success is ensured by the dedication the commanders and forces have towards their invincible aim.

We must intensify the propaganda to increase the class consciousness among the mercenary military, paramilitary and police forces, we must intensify the propaganda among young men and women not to join these forces

The real reasons for the contradictions between the lower level jawans

and the officers; between various forces, between the army and the police must be explained to the police, paramilitary and military forces. At every chance we get we must make them understand that they must not work like mercenary killers for the sake of exploiting classes. We must give a call to young women and men that they must not join the armed forces of the exploiting government forces, that they must boycott the enemy recruitment campaigns and that they must agitate for the right to live with dignity. This call must be propagated widely.

### **Let us defeat the conspiracies of the enemy by preserving the leadership and by developing new forces on a large scale from the movement and the people**

The enemy who had achieved success in inflicting losses on our party leadership which is outside the guerilla zones is now trying to do intelligence based attacks in the movement areas to damage the leadership forces from the higher level to the village level. They have even deployed UAVs (drones) and waiting for a chance. So preserving leadership has come to the fore as a very important task. Our party and PLGA forces must pay attention to continuously applying in practice all kinds of ground and air-defence tactics. We must strengthen people's intelligence from people's resistance struggles. The enemy must not get information about leadership of the revolutionary movement but the party, PLGA, various mass organizations, RPCs and people must always get information about the enemy. Efforts must be put to such an end. We must spread rumors by giving some or the other wrong information daily to the enemy. We must increase the active participation of the people in this. We must fight back the informer network being established by the enemy by carrying on continuous political work so that understanding about class line and mass line increased.

Comrades ! The victory of the Indian New Democratic Revolution is tied with the defeat of the Indian Army. Let us chase away the Indian Army by taking up the people's basic/daily issues and building a strong people's resistance war for the right of the people to live.

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**“All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.” - Mao [“Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong” (August 1946), Selected Works, Vol. IV, p. 100.]**

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**“I have said that all allegedly powerful reactionaries are merely paper tigers. The reason is that they are divorced from the people. Look! Was not Hitler a paper tiger? Was Hitler not overthrown? I have also said that the tsar of Russia, the emperor of China and Japanese imperialism were all paper tigers. As we know, they were all overthrown. U.S. imperialism has not yet been overthrown and it has the atom bomb. I believe it too will be overthrown. It, too, is a paper tiger.” - Mao [Speech at the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers’ Parties (November 18, 1957)]**

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**“Over a long period we have developed this concept for the struggle against the enemy: strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously. This also means that we must despise the enemy with respect to the whole, but that we must take him seriously with respect to each and every concrete question. If we do not despise the enemy with respect to the whole, we shall be committing the error of opportunism. Marx and Engels were only two individuals, and yet in those early days they already declared that capitalism would be overthrown throughout the world. But in dealing with concrete problems and particular enemies we shall be committing the error of adventurism unless we take them seriously. In war, battles can only be fought one by one and the enemy forces can only be destroyed one by one. Factories can only be built one by one. The peasants can only plough the land plot by plot. The same is even true of eating a meal. Strategically, we take the eating of a meal lightly—we know we can finish it. But actually we eat it mouthful by mouthful. It is impossible to swallow an entire banquet in one gulp. This is known as**

**a piecemeal solution. In military parlance, it is called wiping out the enemy forces one by one.” - Mao [Speech at the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers’ Parties (November 18, 1957)]**

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**“Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces, and some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inner weakness, failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves are approaching victory.” - Mao [“The Turning Point in World War II” (October 12, 1942), Selected Works, Vol. III, p. 103]**

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**“The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them.” - Mao [“Be Concerned with the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work” (January 27, 1934), Selected Works, Vol. I, p. 147. ]**

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**“The People’s Liberation Army has developed its vigorous revolutionary political work, which is an important factor in winning victory over the enemy, on the basis of a people’s war and of the principles of unity between army and people, of unity between commanders and fighters and of disintegrating the enemy troops.”**

**- Mao [“The Present Situation and Our Tasks” (December 25, 1947), Selected Military Writings, 2nd ed., p. 350]**

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**“This army has built up a system of political work which is essential for the people’s war and is aimed at promoting unity in its own ranks, unity with the friendly armies and unity with the people, and at disintegrating the enemy forces and ensuring victory in battle.” - Mao [“On Coalition Government” (April 24, 1945), Selected Works, Vol. III, p. 265]**

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## **Class Analysis**

# **Social relations in Nakkitipaya, Urlikota and Lavumada villages – An analysis**

Nakkitipaya, Urlikota and Lavumada villages are border villages belonging to the Podabadra panchayat, Narayanapatna block, Koraput district in Odisha. Like other Adivasi villages in our country, the people of these villages too depend on collection of forest produce. Their main source of income is shifting cultivation. Though they have some dry and wet lands, they get very less produce from them. Kui tribe people reside in these three villages. The number of families in these three villages is 116 and their population is 539. If we are to understand the social relations of these villages, then we must definitely understand Adivasi peasant struggle going on in Narayanapatna since a decade and the changes that are occurring in social relations as a result. For this sake, 2004 must be taken as the dividing year and the period before it and after it must be studied. Only then can we understand some of the changes that occurred in the social relations.

Before 2004, the writ of the non-adviasl landlords and sahuikars who came from the plain areas ran large on most of the villages in the Narayanapatna block. Only in some villages, the Kui tribe elders transformed into bad gentry and carried on their authority. Among the non-adviasl exploiting classes there are mainly Sundi caste people apart from the sahuikars. Except for the shifting cultivation on the hills, most of the dry and wet lands were under their control to a large extent. All these lands were seized from the Adivasi peasantry forcefully. Their exploitation and oppression on the people used to be very cruel. Discrimination, bonded labor, physical punishments and atrocities on women were commonplace. The primary system of the state namely the panchayat system was also in their hands. Though the Kui tribe people were elected as ward members and sarpanches, they used to be under their control. In these villages, dalits belonging to the *Domba* caste too resided apart from the non-adviasl sahuikars and the land lords. The majority among them have distanced themselves from physical labor and used to do some small businesses. Some of them used to steal from the peasants' homes and their fields. Some of them used to commit outrages on the peasants and their women.

Apart from these problems, the atrocities and harassments of the Bihar liquor goons and the forest officials were intolerable for the peasantry of these villages. These conditions led them to a ruthlessly pitiable situation. To be more concrete, the contradictions that have reached a severe level between the peasantry and the exploiting classes of these villages have created the conditions for a glorious armed peasant struggle.

We have mentioned above the important aspects in the conditions before 2004. However before May 2004, the Adivasi Chasi Mulia Sangham was formed in this area and increased the consciousness of the peasantry against exploitation and oppression. The efforts of the Sangham transformed into physical force by 2004 and land struggle was launched. Under the leadership of the Sangham the people of Podabadra, Baliaput, Dekkapara and Basanaput villages chased away cruel land lords like Chitrabidika, Mahankali Bidika and Kontaporida from the villages and seized 118 acres of land. This struggle which started in 2004 withstood many ups and downs and advanced by wiping out the exploiting class forces. Though some important leaders including Adivasi peasant leader Nachika Linga were arrested by the police in 2005, the peasantry continued their struggle with the consciousness imparted by the Sangham. Particularly, the peaceful and legal struggle they carried on till 2008 exposed the government. The peasantry understood that the government sided with the exploiting classes and is not letting them own their lands. It was under such conditions that the peasants came to the firm conclusion that they must take their future into their hands. The militant peasant struggle that started from 2009 brought rapid changes in the conditions. In January 2009, thousands of peasantry rallied and destroyed the Bihar liquor dens and the government liquor shops. They chased the owners and goons of these dens and shops. Since then till now, ban on liquor is being implemented in the majority of villages. The non-advansi land lords, political leaders and the liquor mafia who were afraid of the increasing consciousness among the people colluded and established the 'Santi Sangham' on May 5, 2009 and began attacking the villages with the support of the police. Peasantry built the Ghenua Bahini militia and armed themselves to face this attack. In several villages, they fought with the goons of the Santi Sangham and chased them away. In this course, June 12 was declared as the Day of Land Occupation and thousands of peasantry in the seven panchayats occupied 2500 acres of land with



new ploughs and ropes and planted red flags. This time, they occupied 700 acres of land adjacent to Narayanapatna belonging to big land lords like Kosaraju and Kunjopadi. This whole land was distributed to 159 villages in the seven panchayats. Gradually, this struggle got interwoven with the People's War politics and is taking some important turns towards advancement. The process of peasants getting armed is gradually increasing. In the past three years comrades Singanna, Andru, Mangli, Sandip, Suryam and Jagdish were martyred while valiantly fighting the government armed forces. Comrades Gangulu and Sirika Ratno lost their lives to the cruelty of the jail authorities. On the other hand, nine government armed jawans were killed and several of them were injured by them and they are participating directly and indirectly in support of PLGA. The authority of the Sangham was established in the villages. Some Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs) were formed. Alternate people's development programmes have started. People are participating in collective activities. Particularly, thousands of peasantry are participating collectively and militantly in all the agricultural works from transplanting to harvesting in the lands seized. They are facing the police repression that is unleashed on such occasions bravely. The peasantry seized half the harvest in 2009 whereas they seized the entire harvest in 2010. This success further increased their self-confidence. However a wrong thing happened in this struggle. This shortcoming happened regarding *Domba* people. When the local Adivasi peasant upsurge attacked the enemy, some ordinary *Domba* people also became victims of this attack. Government utilized these incidents and made the entire *Domba* people evacuate the villages in a planned manner and tried to stand them in opposition to the Adivasis. Sangham realized the shortcoming and started the process of calling back the *Domba* people to the villages, excepting the anti-people elements.

The class struggle that intensified after 2004 shook to the core the old social relations in the rural areas of Narayanapatna. The non-advansi sahkars, land lords and a few Kui tribe bad gentry having grip over land and power left the villages and went into government protection. At present, land has not only gone into the hands of the people but people's power has also been established in the form of Sangham and RPCs in the villages. However, the exploiting class forces that suffered damages are trying severely internally and externally to seize back the lands and power they

have lost. The material conditions are also favorable at present in the rural areas for their efforts. Let us look in what forms those opportunities are present.

1. Mainly some among the Sabhapatis (Sangham leaders) in the villages were tribal elders in the past and had been getting facilities due to customs and rituals and had maintained their authority on the people. However they came into struggles due to their contradiction with the land lords. They wish for the authority of an individual instead of people's democracy. So we must be alert regarding them.

2. Though there are Sanghams at the village level, it is the Sabhapatis who are making the decisions. The functioning is not such that the political participation of the people increases. This weakness would gradually create the opportunity for the Sabhapatis to turn into new forces of authority.

3. The customs, rituals, rites and norms of the Adivasis that were present before the class struggle are still continuing strongly. If we do not take up cultural struggle on them, the forces of authority would try to come power again using these customs, rituals, rites and norms. In some villages people are joining Christianity as they are unable to bear the expenditure required by various traditions and festivals. This phenomena is distancing the people further from the revolutionary movement. Particularly, Christianity is pulling the people into the quagmire of reforms against the revolutionary movement in a planned manner. Realizing this danger, we must make the people understand the nature of Christian religion politically and put efforts to make them come out of it. We must see to it that the religion does not extend.

4. As part of suppressing the revolutionary movement, the central and state governments launched the multi-pronged attack of Operation Green Hunt since August-September 2009. Though military attack is primary in this operation, reforms are rained on a large scale and serious efforts are being made to distance the people from the revolutionary movement. This offensive has a political aim. It is nothing but bringing their favorable dominant classes that are suffering damages into power again in the rural areas where the revolutionary movement is strong. By doing so they would continue their economic exploitation indiscriminately and fulfill their financial targets too.

The above analysis would apply to the three villages where class analysis was done. In these villages too, there are many opportunities for the old forces of authority to come to power again. The people of these three villages too have fought firmly against the non-advansi land lords, liquor mafia, forest officials and state that have been directly exploiting them and oppressing them in the past. They won some successes and established the authority of the people in the form of Sangham. However when we keep in view the four dangers mentioned above, in these villages too the class struggle has further taken a complex form. At present the danger of the exploiting classes is lurking in our structures, in customs and rituals, in religion, in the form of reforms and in the psychology of private property. That is why class struggle turned complex further. Keeping this condition in view, we must formulate proper functioning methods and tactics to intensify the class struggle. In this course social relations must be further revolutionized. While this is one aspect in the class struggle that we conduct, the main aspect would be to make the people understand the nature of the state and its danger, preparing them psychologically and arming them.

We have arrived at the above analysis after concretely studying Nakkitipaya, Urlikota and Lavumada villages along with studying the rural area of Narayanapatna. We have given the social conditions of these villages in the form of a table. We have written in a generalized form the social aspects of these villages too.

### **The common social aspects in the three villages**

The three villages of our study are situated among high mountains. As forest depleted, the income they get from forest produce became less. As there are high mountains around these villages, levelled land is less. That is why they have mainly depended on shifting cultivation. However several perennial streams flow down these mountains. Utilizing this water, they are leveling the land in some places and cultivating crops. But in comparison with the water sources available, the land leveled must be considered to be very less. At present, under the leadership of the Sangham they have taken up the programme of leveling the land while digging canals from the mountains. Hundreds of peasantry participated in this programme. In Nakkitipaya they worked for two months and dug a one kilometer long canal. Hundreds of people and militia from the neighboring villages participated in this work. There is a possibility of 30 acres of land to be

cultivated under this canal. Similarly they dug a canal in Urlikota.

Before going into other aspects, we must know about the Sanghams in these three villages that are leading the class struggle and are engaged in revolutionizing the social aspects. The first one is the Adivasi Revolutionary Chasi Mulia Sangham. The second one is the Revolutionary Women's Organization. The third one is the Ghenua Bahini militia. These three organizations are functioning in these three villages. At present they are representing the concept of people's political power. Let us examine one aspect at a time.

## **Land**

People in these three villages have some shifting cultivation. Several people have dry land. But very few people have wet land. Even if we combine all kinds of land, there is none who has more than five acres of land in these three villages.

In Urlikota, out of forty-four families, forty families have wet land. Out of them, only one has one acre and five cents of land, while others have only some cents of land. Thirty-eight families have dry land. Out of them only two of them have one acre each. Others have only some cents of land. However all of them have shifting cultivation. This would be one or two acres each.

In Nakkitipaya, out of 52 families only nine have wet land. Out of them too there is only one that has half an acre. All others have land in cents. Except for twelve of them, all have dry land. That too they have only half an acre or one acre each. There are only two or three who have more than one acre. All of them have shifting cultivation. But that too does not exceed one acre.

Out of the 44 families in Lavumada, 37 families have wet land. Majority of them have less than half an acre while only one or two of them have half an acre or one acre of land. All of them have dry land. Majority of them have less than half an acre. Only some of them have one to three acres of land. Except for two of them, all have shifting cultivation, even that is just one or two acres.

From the above statistics we can deduce that in all these three villages the number of poor peasant households is more. Only some of them belong to the lower middle class if we include the incomes from other sources

such as forest produce and rearing cattle etc. Their utter poverty and their love for the land sustained them firmly in the land struggle. The land seized as part of land struggles is being cultivated collectively by the villagers of the three villages on village basis.

Urlikota village got two acres of wet land. In 2010, 78 *puttis* of paddy was harvested in this land. Nakkitipaya got three acres and they harvested 75 *puttis* of paddy. Lavumada got two acres and they harvested 88 *puttis* of paddy. Out of the harvested paddy, some paddy was kept aside for seeds and the rest was distributed equally.

## Crops

In this area paddy is measured in *kunchams* and *puttis*. They sow a *putti* of seeds per acre. *Kuncham* = 4 Kgs, *Putti* = 20 *kunchams*.

The main crops are cereals *ragi* and *sama*. These are mainly grown in shifting cultivation. In wet lands and soil lands they grow paddy. Among the *dals*, *rahar dal* is the main crop. This is also grown in shifting cultivation.

Everybody harvests *ragi* and *sama* Only some people grow paddy. There are some families in the villages who got only one *putti* of crop produce including all kinds of grains. There are one or two families who could produce a total of fifteen *puttis*. Majority of them produced just one or two *puttis*. There are one or two families who could produce only a few *kunchams*.

*Rahar dal* is the main crop among the commercial crops grown here. Almost everybody harvests *rahar dal*. Each family gets 10 *kunchams* to 2, 3 *puttis* of this *dal*. Majority of the people sell the *rahar dal*. Whatever may be the rate in the market, the sahumars buy from them at the rate of 30 to 35 rupees per *kuncham*. Growing vegetables is very less. They grow them only to eat.

## Fertilizers and pesticides

Only a few of them are using fertilizers in Urlikota and Lavumada villages, that too only in kilograms. There is no usage of fertilizers in Nakkitipaya. They do not use hybrid seeds too. They use their own seeds.

## Irrigation facility

Peasants mainly depend upon rains. The villagers of Urlikota get water from Peddavagu. In other villages they cultivate land using water from

small springs.

## **Rearing cattle**

As this entire area is full of high mountains, the usage of cattle for cultivation is less. However, as they have some dry and wet lands too, they use cattle to some extent. Now, in the backdrop of the land struggle, the demand for cattle is increasing from the peasants.

The people of these three villages have very few domestic animals or cattle. As there is no forest, they do not have goats in the form of herds. If we go into details, in Urlikota each family has only one or two cows, goats, hens and pigs. Some families have only few varieties of these.

In Nakkitipaya out of 52 families only 17 of them have cows. That too each family has less than five cows. Only 31 families have pigs and that too each family has only one.

In Lavumada, out of 44 families, 35 of them have cows. Those who have cows have less than five. 28 families have goats. That too each family has three to four of them. Except for four families, all have hens. Majority of them have 3 to 4 hens. There are only one or two families that have 10 or 15 hens. Almost none have pigs. Goats and hens with most of the families would have been brought on hire. This means that they get the hens and goats from the owners and rear them. When they give birth to chicks or kids, those who rear them would get a share in them. The mother hen or the she-goat would belong to the owners. People use cows for ploughing and winnowing. At present there is dire need of cattle if there agriculture is to be developed.

## **Collection of Forest Produce**

The other economic source that brings income to the people is forest produce. When the agricultural crops do not grow, people fill their stomachs with forest produce. People in this area collect tamarind, bamboo, broomcorn and timber and sell them. As the government is not responsibly opening buying centers for the forest produce collected by the people, the sahuks who come from outside to buy are resorting to horrible exploitation.

In Urlikota each family has only one or two tamarind trees. In this village they get more than 4,000 rupees of income on total forest produce.

In Nakkitipaya 42 families have tamarind trees. Some of them own

them collectively. Each family does not have more one tree. They get an income of 1000 rupees to 2000 rupees on each tree. 17 families have broomcorn. They get 1,000 rupees to 4,000 rupees of income from them.

In Lavumada 28 families have tamarind trees. Each family has one or two trees. Excepting six families all of them have broomcorn. Each family would get nearly three to four thousand rupees of income from them. One or two of them get nearly 10,000 rupees.

In the past, non-adviasi land lords, sahuikars and *Domba* traders use to buy bamboo and timber from the peasants. As struggles broke out in this area, they all ran away from the villages. At present there is nobody to buy bamboo and timber and so income from these stopped. In this area, each family earns 4000 rupees to 10,000 rupees every year from forest produce. Those who have own broomcorn fields earn more than 10,000 rupees. (If there is broomcorn in the area where someone does shifting cultivation from the beginning, then they feel that they belong to them, they do not allow others to come near).

## **Selling and buying**

All the produce cultivated by the people is sold for money. Barter system is very less. Fish, mats and pots are got through barter. During the tamarind season, salt, onions, dried fish and eatables are exchanged for tamarind. This is done with retail traders. All the main crops are sold to the sahuikars in Narayanapatna and Podabadra. During weekly markets, people go there and sell their produce. Sahuikars too come to the villages to buy and take back the loads. On such instances, sahuikars buy at rates cheaper than the market rate. The rate of tamarind in the market is 35 to 40 rupees per kg but the sahuikars buy for less than 10 rupees. They buy *rahar dal* at just 30 rupees per kg. The sahuikars buy broom sticks, bamboo and timber etc at very exploiting rates. The deception in weighing is too much. If people ask the sahuikars to weigh properly, they retort by saying that you yourself weigh and give. The mouths of the people are shut thus.

## **Loans and Exploiting methods**

Most of the loans are taken from the sahuikars. Particularly the peasants of these three villages take loans from sahuikars and Sundi caste people from Podabadra. If they take a loan of thousand rupees, they would have to add another 500 rupees and pay back 1500 rupees. If they have to pay

in the form of paddy, then the price is put at 20 rupees per *kuncham* of paddy. (Though the rate in the market is more, they put the price at 20 rupees). Exploiting the innocence of the Adivasis, some times they collect two to three times the amount they give as loans. In one incident, a peasant who took 1500 rupees as loan paid 5 *puttis* of *rahar dal* but still his loan remained unpaid and so he gave another two *puttis*. In some instances, some money is given and the sahumars make an agreement to take all the tamarind that is produced that year by a tree. In this manner, the sahumars get back two to three times the amount they give.

People do not have enjoy loan facilities from the banks. In Urlikota and Nakkitipaya villages, none got loans from the banks. In Lavumada some peasants said that they got bank loans two times. As they had repaid the 7000 rupees of agricultural loan that they had taken, they were once again given 7,000 rupees.

After struggles broke out in this area, the horrible loan systems of the sahumars were annulled. At present as part of government reforms, peasants are given loans through banks as part of efforts to isolate them from the revolutionary movement. In order to save the peasantry from this trap, we must encourage collective cooperative methods.

## **Political conditions**

People of these three villages used to be in Congress party since the beginning. At present the authority of the Sangham is continuing in the three villages. The people of these three villages completely boycotted the elections to assembly and parliament held in 2009. After the peasant struggle, the panchayat system stopped functioning. The sarpanches and ward members who were against the Sangham left the villages. Those who were with the Sangham remained in the villages.

**“The only way to know conditions is to make social investigations, to investigate the conditions of each social class in real life. For those charged with directing work, the basic method for knowing conditions is to concentrate on a few cities and villages according to a plan, use the fundamental viewpoint of Marxism, i.e., the method of class analysis, and make a number of thorough investigations.” - Mao** [“Preface and Postscript to *Rural Surveys*” (March and April 1941), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 11.]



## **Government Reforms**

Everybody was given BPL cards. Anganwadis and ANMs are present. But they do not come and perform their duties. In Nakkitipaya and Urlikota villages there are school buildings. But in Lavumada foundations were laid for the school buildings and that was the end. At present a teacher is coming only to Nakkitipaya. People were given tiles and asbestos sheets for building homes. Only a few people made use of them. In Nakkitipaya seven houses were given under the Indira Awas Yojana. They are giving old age pensions. Though there are many eligible persons in each village, they are giving just to seven or eight persons. Roads that were laid in the past are present. Though the Odisha government did not pay attention to other ‘development programmes’, it looks like it has paid more attention to roads. Canals were built to bring water from the streams for irrigation. However all these arrangements were provided for the non-advansi bad gentry and the sahuks in the past. At present, they came into people’s hands. Some people have lost their BPL cards. Some were forcefully seized by the Sundis. People are talking about the problems regarding cards.

## **DWCRA groups**

In the past there were two or three groups in Lavumada and Nakkitipaya villages. They have been cancelled now. In Nakkitipaya there was a voluntary organization named ‘Ankurano’ in the past. This organization gave to people things such as TV, generator, tape, radio, bureau etc. This organization is not there at present.

## **Culture, social life**

Kui tribe is one of the most backward tribes among the Adivasis in India. The people belonging to this tribe are mainly concentrated in Koraput, Kandhamal and Rayagarh districts in South Odisha. They have also extended to Malkangiri, Kalahandi, Navarangpur, Ganjam, Gajapati in Odisha and to Visakha district in Andhra Pradesh (AP). Their language belongs to the most ancient type of Dravidian languages. There is no script for Kui. Women tie a towel round their waist and wear a lungi over it like a saree from top to bottom. This kind of clothing is found at present in the older generation. The newer generation is getting attracted towards the clothing and decoration coming from outside. They did not wear blouses in the past. At present all are wearing blouses. Hair is tied in a particular kind of

knot. They keep pins on the front side of the head. If they are economically better, then they use silver pins. Within a month of being born, the girl child's nose and ears are pierced. In the Kui tribe if a girl child is given gold, even after the girl is married, the mother's side gets the gold in inheritance. Neither those on the husband's side nor her children have any right over it. Men used to wear dhotis in the past. Some wore shirts. Now nobody is wearing them. They are wearing the various kinds of clothes of the outside world that are being sold in the weekly bazaars.

The most important ingredient in their diet is *ambali* (*ragi* gruel). They soak the *ragi* flour at night and cook it in the morning. This flour ferments and so the gruel is a bit sour. People drink it fondly. In the morning and evening they eat cooked food (made of rice, jowar and cereals like *sama* or *sajja*) or ruti (cooked with *ragi*). *Ambali* is available 24 hours. They drink this instead of water.

The houses are constructed as portions. Majority of them have tiled roofs. Very few of them have tin roofs. There are only one or two houses with thatched roofs. People build them on their own. In Nakkitipaya, the government granted seven houses under Indira Awas Yojana. Some were given tin for roofs.

### **Tribal state machinery in the village**

1. Havuta – He is the village elder. If there are any disputes he conducts panchayats (village court) and he presides over marriages. These are his duties. When an ox is killed in the village for eating, he gets a little bit more meat in his share. He is specially given the meat of the ears.
2. Dheesari – He fixes the auspicious time for marriages and for sowing. He performs *pujas* (worship of gods). He must be given a bottle of toddy for fixing the auspicious timings.
3. Pejjini (woman), Pejju (man) – When people get fever or fall ill, they perform *puja*. To cure the illness they usually ask to sacrifice some of the other animal - cow, goat, sheep, hen or pig. Apart from this, they make them expend some more money (1000 or 1500 rupees). Further, when children are born, when they die and when girls attain puberty, the Pejjini performs *pujas*. On this occasion, they compulsorily kill a hen, pig or a goat. The Pejjini/

- Pejju gives a name to the new born during the *puja*.
4. Sisa – Killing of animals such as hen, sheep and cow on the occasion of *pujas*, distributing the shares and cooking are his duties. He would get two shares of the meat.
  5. Gumburia – He beats the drum during *pujas*. He is given cooked rice and meat.
  6. Barika – This work was done by Pydi (*Domba*) caste people in the past. They used to convey information to other villages. All the peasants used to give him a share in the harvested crops.

## Festivals

The saying among the people is – Barah Lenj ku Terah parabu (meaning thirteen festivals for twelve months). But the people here are celebrating about eleven festivals.

1. Ganga Penu : This is celebrated in January. This is known as Pusu Parabu. They perform *puja* with hen and sheep. This festival is celebrated for one week.
2. Magha Lenju : This is celebrated in February. After performing *puja* they start cutting *rahar*, broomcorn and grass. The whole village performs *puja* after killing hen and pig. There used to be liquor in the past. Now it is absent.
3. Heere Lenju : This is celebrated in March, April. Every family celebrates this festival separately. According to their financial status they perform the *puja* with a hen and sheep. This festival goes on for one month. On this occasion, the men do not perform any duties and go for hunting.
4. Heere Dagda : This festival is celebrated in March, April. The whole village celebrates this with an ox and hen. They celebrate this festival to prevent them from any evil or illnesses.
5. Taku *Puja* : This *puja* is performed in July (Ratta Lenju). Each family celebrates this separately. After performing this *puja*, they grind the seeds of mango and eat.
6. Bahali Jatara : This is celebrated by the whole village. They celebrate it with ox and hen. They mix sand in a pot and plant jowar seeds in it. People believe that good crops can be harvested without any

pests if they do so. This is celebrated in May.

7. Jamba *puja* : This is performed in Bandapana (August) lenju. They perform the *puja* with ox and hen. The blood of the ox and the hen is scattered in the jowar, *rugi* and *sama* fields. They do so to prevent pests from attacking the crops.
8. Marka *puja* : This too is performed in August. Every household performs this. This is known as mixing the new. Any crop is eaten only after this *puja* is performed. This is performed with hen.
9. Hirba : This *puja* is performed in Divada lenju (November) with hen. Garada (broomcorn/grass) are cut. People say that if they do not perform this *puja* the tiger eats the cattle, snakes bite and ghosts catch people. The entire village together performs this *puja*.
10. Gumma *puja* : This is performed once in three years. This is performed in November and December. The entire village performs this with pig and hen. This is performed for the well-being of the whole village.
11. Piyyu *puja* : This *puja* is performed when floods arrive. The entire village performs this *puja* with ox.

Apart from these festivals, there used to be some more festivals in the past. In the course of time, they were abandoned. Every family incurs an expenditure of about 50 rupees to 1000 rupees for these festivals. In some villages people are embracing Christianity as this economic burden became unbearable. In Lavumada the whole population embraced Christianity while seven families became Christians in Nakkitipaya. Keeping in view this danger, the Sangham talked with the village elders and is trying to reduce the number of *pujas* and the expenditure for them.

## **Marriages :**

In this area, the parents of the boy go to the parents of the girl to ask her hand in marriage. They take some toddy with them when they go. If the parents of the girl drink toddy, then the marriage is fixed. If they do not like the match, they do not take the toddy. If the marriage is fixed, they perform the marriage on this Heere (festival) or during the next Heere at the groom's residence. Marriages are performed in two methods here. 'Hokkali Pada marriage' means that the groom comes and takes the bride

with him holding her hand. 'Angeni marriage' is performed grandly at the groom's residence. The choice of the type of marriage depends on the financial status of those families. For the first type of marriage, expenditure is very less. In the Angeni marriage, the groom's family spends about 20 or 30 thousands of rupees while the bride's family spends about 7 to 8 thousands of rupees. Here the marriage is performed by the Pejjini. The bride and groom are taken to the stream and the bride is made to stand behind the groom. A hen is killed between their feet and it is left into the stream. The palm of the bride is placed on the palm of the groom and they pour rice on them. They are made to eat the rice. Later the hen is taken by the Pejjini. In villages where there are no streams, a small canal is dug and the groom and bride are made to stand there. Water is brought in pitchers and poured between their feet.

**Birth** : If a child is born they perform Mahinijarna (birth of a ghost) to ward off the evils. If they have money they perform immediately. Otherwise they perform it within two years. They take to the stream and perform *puja* with pig and hen.

**Deaths** : If elders die, they are cremated. Small children and pregnant women are buried. After they are buried in the burial ground, they perform *puja* on the same day if they have money. If they do not have money, they borrow money and perform the *puja* on the next day. *Puja* must be performed with two pigs and two hens. They must feed the people. The *puja* must at least be performed with a chick. When liquor was in vogue they used to give liquor too. They believe that ghost would catch the entire village if this *puja* is not performed. (The dead would turn into ghosts).

**Medical care** : People are still depending on traditional medicine. Each family spends about Rs. 1500 to Rs. 3000 per annum for medical care. The expenditure on *pujas* is the major expenditure in this. Usage of modern medicine is very less. Infantrty mortality rate and maternal mortality rate is very high here. Though an ANM activist is present, the help from her is nominal. There are no proper health care facilities in Narayanapatna too. It is very rare for the villagers to go to Narayanapatna for health care. Some families said that they do not spend any money for medicine. This does not mean that they are healthy. They left the question of health to time. As people of Lavumada joined Christianity, they are using medicines along with prayers.

**Usage of commodities** : Usage of market commodities is less here. Cycles are present only in two villages. Radio is present only in one village. Three to four tape recorders are present in each village. TV is present in Lavumada. Mobile phones are not there in Urlikota. The other two villages have two mobile phones each. Expenditure for cosmetics increased a bit. In the past, usage of oils and soaps used to be less. At present, they are buying various kinds of cosmetics. They are spending about 700 to 1000 rupees per annum. Usage of torches and watches has become commonplace. Young men and women own them individually. Usage of tobacco and smoking cigars is common. Those who do not use them would be less than 20 percent. Since market has expanded with globalization, usage of commodities increased here too.

**Cooperative methods** : The whole village helps in building houses mainly. They bring the necessary bamboo and timber for building the house from the forest. The owners of the house feed them. They give an ox to the whole village. If anybody wants to come to the village newly and reside, they would have to ask the Havuta first. If they have the permission of the Havuta, then all the villagers go to the neighboring village and bring his family and belongings from there. They must be fed. Place for constructing the new house is given free of cost. On the occasion of completion of the house, they perform *puja* with goat or hen. When the family separates after marriage too, the same procedure is followed. At present, cooperative methods are being developed by the Sanghams and the RPCs. They took up the programme of digging canals from the water sources at the top of the mountains for irrigation. Hundreds of people from neighboring villages and the militia are participating in this programme. There is possibility for a lot of land to be irrigated with the water from these canals.

**Labor system** : People work as laborers in cutting vegetation for shifting cultivation, transplantation and harvesting. They are given meals for the day and given 20 rupees. As the lands have now come into the hands of the people, cultivating them collectively is the main trend now. Going for labor work is less. In this area, people are not migrating. There used to be *Gutta* system in the past. Under this system they either take money or an ox beforehand according to the kind of work and distribute it equally after the completion of the work.

**Common property of the village :** In Nakkitipaya they have two tamarind trees as common property. They get an income of 4 to 5 thousand rupees per annum from these trees. They buy an ox with this money and eat it collectively. They buy some commodity every year. They bought a solar plate, battery, mike, stereo etc one each year.

Lavumada and Urlikota villages have seven tamarind trees as common property. They have been the collective property from the past. But as these are on the borders of Lavumada village, they are saying that they would take them. Sangham is to solve this controversy.

The social relations, the economic, political and cultural conditions in these three villages and that of other villages in the block are similar. That is why, the following tactics must be taken up to further advance the revolutionary movement by intensifying the class struggle in this area.

1. We must prepare the peasantry for militant struggle so that they completely get rights over the land occupied by them. The 'half land' proposal brought forth by the government must be rejected. Christianity, voluntary organizations and the government are creating confusion and fear among a section of the people and trying to distance them from the struggle. We must put patient efforts to make the people who participated in the struggle from the beginning to continue in it by fighting back the conspiracies of these organizations. We must extend the land struggle to Bandugaon block in support of the struggle here.
2. We must continuously rally the people into struggles on issues like land, release of political prisoners, increase in fair prices, proper pricing of forest produce, education, health care, corruption etc
3. We must further widen the programme of digging canals from the water sources on the top of mountains for irrigation. We must take up programme of land leveling so that they can use this water. The land that is brought into cultivation with this must be distributed to the poor peasantry. The participation of people in this whole programme must be increased vastly.
4. The functioning of the RPCs and the Sanghams must be improved in a manner that develops democracy with people's participation.

Otherwise a new dominant class develops from among the Sabhapatis and it becomes a hurdle to the class struggle.

5. We must work patiently to make the people overcome their backwardness by taking up cultural struggle on the rites, rituals, customs and norms. Otherwise they would become a hurdle in the struggle that is waged on the dominant forces.
6. We must make the people understand the political nature of the reforms that is coming forth as part of the two-pronged strategy of the government. We must raise their consciousness such that they reject these reforms. In Masanimanda village, BSF and the police razed down the houses of some villagers. The Sangham and people stood in their support. Later the BSF and the police took a whole van full of household goods to distribute among the people. But people rejected them and displayed higher level of consciousness. In Kambipaya village, BDO offered to sanction money to the canals dug by the people on their own. But the people rejected the offer. On March 24, thousands of people from the block rallied and piled up all the shawls and utensils given to them by the government in Jan Sampark Sibirs in front of the BSF camp. Then they gave slogans for land and for the release of political prisoners. They conducted a 'Karya Bandh' all over Narayanapatna block for one month demanding that their land issue must be solved and that they would not allow any programme of the government to be conducted till this is solved. We must take up propaganda among the people that they must reject the reforms of the government by taking these incidents as a model.
7. Our main aim must be to arm the people whose consciousness is increasing in class struggle and in revolutionary structures and to intensify the guerilla warfare against the government armed forces.

**Note** – The study of social relations in these three villages was done in March – April 2010. We have added the phenomena that happened later too in this.

Regarding tactics, the ones formulated by the CC, CRB, SZC and DVC must be mainly implemented and the above things must be kept in mind. \*



# Offence within Defence, Quick Decisions within a Protracted war, Exterior lines within Interior lines

- Mao (On Protracted War)

72. Now let us examine the specific strategy of the War of Resistance Against Japan. We have already said that our strategy for resisting Japan is that of protracted war, and indeed this is perfectly right. But this strategy is general, not specific. Specifically, how should the protracted war be conducted? We shall now discuss this question. Our answer is as follows. In the first and second stages of the war, *i.e.*, in the stages of the enemy's offensive and preservation of his gains, we should conduct tactical offensives within the strategic defensive, campaigns and battles of quick decision within the strategically protracted war, and campaigns and battles on exterior lines within strategically interior lines. In the third stage, we should launch the strategic counter-offensive.

73. Since Japan is a strong imperialist power and we are a weak semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, she has adopted the policy of the strategic offensive while we are on the strategic defensive. Japan is trying to execute the strategy of a war of quick decision; we should consciously execute the strategy of protracted war. Japan is using dozens of army divisions of fairly high combat effectiveness (now numbering thirty) and part of her navy to encircle and blockade China from both land and sea, and is using her air force to bomb China. Her army has already established a long front stretching from Paotow to Hangchow and her navy has reached Fukien and Kwangtung; thus exterior-line operations have taken shape on a vast scale. On the other hand, we are in the position of operating on interior lines. All this is due to the fact that the enemy is strong while we are weak. This is one aspect of the situation.

74. But there is another and exactly opposite aspect. Japan, though strong, does not have enough soldiers. China, though weak, has a vast territory, a large population and plenty of soldiers. Two important consequences follow. First, the enemy, employing his small forces against a vast country, can only occupy some big cities and main lines of

communication and part of the plains. Thus there are extensive areas in the territory under his occupation which he has had to leave ungarrisoned, and which provide a vast arena for our guerrilla warfare. Taking China as a whole, even if the enemy manages to occupy the line connecting Canton, Wuhan and Lanchow and its adjacent areas, he can hardly seize the regions beyond, and this gives China a general rear and vital bases from which to carry on the protracted war to final victory. Secondly, in pitting his small forces against large forces, the enemy is encircled by our large forces. The enemy is attacking us along several routes, strategically he is on exterior lines while we are on interior lines, strategically he is on the offensive while we are on the defensive; all this looks very much to our disadvantage. However, we can make use of our two advantages, namely, our vast territory and large forces, and, instead of stubborn positional warfare, carry on flexible mobile warfare, employing several divisions against one enemy division, several tens of thousands of our men against ten thousand of his, several columns against one of his columns, and suddenly encircling and attacking a single column from the exterior lines of the battlefield. In this way, while the enemy is on exterior lines and on the offensive in strategic operations, he will be forced to fight on interior lines and on the defensive in campaigns and battles. And for us, interior lines and the defensive in strategic operations will be transformed into exterior lines and the offensive in campaigns and battles. This is the way to deal with one or indeed with any advancing enemy column. Both the consequences discussed above follow from the fact that the enemy is small while we are big. Moreover, the enemy forces, though small, are strong (in arms and in training) while our forces, though large, are weak (in arms and in training but not in morale), and in campaigns and battles, therefore, we should not only employ large forces against small and operate from exterior against interior lines, but also follow the policy of seeking quick decisions. In general, to achieve quick decision, we should attack a moving and not a stationary enemy. We should concentrate a big force under cover beforehand alongside the route which the enemy is sure to take, and while he is on the move, advance suddenly to encircle and attack him before he knows what is happening, and thus quickly conclude the battle. If we fight well, we may destroy the entire enemy force or the greater part or some part of it, and even if we do not fight so well, we may still inflict heavy casualties. This applies to any

and every one of our battles. If each month we could win one sizable victory like that at Pinghsingkuan or Taierhchuang, not to speak of more, it would greatly demoralize the enemy, stimulate the morale of our own forces and evoke international support. Thus our strategically protracted war is translated in the field into battles of quick decision. The enemy's war of strategic quick decision is bound to change into protracted war after he is defeated in many campaigns and battles.

75. In a word, the above operational principle for fighting campaigns and battles is one of "quick-decision offensive warfare on exterior lines". It is the opposite of our strategic principle of "protracted defensive warfare on interior lines", and yet it is the indispensable principle for carrying out this strategy. If we should use "protracted defensive warfare on interior lines" as the principle for campaigns and battles too, as we did at the beginning of the War of Resistance, it would be totally unsuited to the circumstances in which the enemy is small while we are big and the enemy is strong while we are weak; in that case we could never achieve our strategic objective of a protracted war and we would be defeated by the enemy. That is why we have always advocated the organization of the forces of the entire country into a number of large field armies, each counterposed to one of the enemy's field armies but having two, three or four times its strength, and so keeping the enemy engaged in extensive theatres of war in accordance with the principle outlined above. This principle of "quick-decision offensive warfare on exterior lines" can and must be applied in guerrilla as well as in regular warfare. It is applicable not only to any one stage of the war but to its entire course. In the stage of strategic counter-offensive, when we are better equipped technically and are no longer in the position of the weak fighting the strong, we shall be able to capture prisoners and booty on a large scale all the more effectively if we continue to employ superior numbers in quick-decision offensive battles from exterior lines. For instance, if we employ two, three or four mechanized divisions against one mechanized enemy division, we can be all the more certain of destroying it. It is common sense that several hefty fellows can easily beat one.

76. If we resolutely apply "quick-decision offensive warfare on exterior lines" on a battlefield, we shall not only change the balance of forces on

that battlefield, but also gradually change the general situation. On the battlefield we shall be on the offensive and the enemy on the defensive, we shall be employing superior numbers on exterior lines and the enemy inferior numbers on interior lines, and we shall seek quick decisions, while the enemy, try as he may, will not be able to protract the fighting in the expectation of reinforcements; for all these reasons, the enemy's position will change from strong to weak, from superior to inferior, while that of our forces will change from weak to strong, from inferior to superior. After many such battles have been victoriously fought, the general situation between us and the enemy will change. That is to say, through the accumulation of victories on many battlefields by quick-decision offensive warfare on exterior lines, we shall gradually strengthen ourselves and weaken the enemy, which will necessarily affect the general balance of forces and bring about changes in it. When that happens, these changes, together with other factors on our side and together with the changes inside the enemy camp and a favourable international situation, will turn the over-all situation between us and the enemy first into one of parity and then into one of superiority for us. That will be the time for us to launch the counter-offensive and drive the enemy out of the country.

77. War is a contest of strength, but the original pattern of strength changes in the course of war. Here the decisive factor is subjective effort—winning more victories and committing fewer errors. The objective factors provide the possibility for such change, but in order to turn this possibility into actuality both correct policy and subjective effort are essential. It is then that the subjective plays the decisive role.

## **Initiative, Flexibility and Planning**

78. In quick-decision offensive campaigns and battles on exterior lines, as discussed above, the crucial point is the “offensive”; “exterior lines” refers to the sphere of the offensive and “quick-decision” to its duration. Hence the name “quick-decision offensive warfare on exterior lines”. It is the best principle for waging a protracted war and it is also the principle for what is known as mobile warfare. But it cannot be put into effect without initiative, flexibility and planning. Let us now study these three questions.

79. We have already discussed man's conscious dynamic role, so why do we talk about the initiative again? By conscious dynamic role we mean conscious action and effort, a characteristic distinguishing man from other beings, and this human characteristic manifests itself most strongly in war; all this has been discussed already. The initiative here means an army's freedom of action as distinguished from an enforced loss of freedom. Freedom of action is the very life of an army and, once it is lost, the army is close to defeat or destruction. The disarming of a soldier is the result of his losing freedom of action through being forced into a passive position. The same is true of the defeat of an army. For this reason both sides in war do all they can to gain the initiative and avoid passivity. It may be said that the quick-decision offensive warfare on exterior lines which we advocate and the flexibility and planning necessary for its execution are designed to gain the initiative and thus force the enemy into a passive position and achieve the object of preserving ourselves and destroying the enemy. But initiative or passivity is inseparable from superiority or inferiority in the capacity to wage war. Consequently it is also inseparable from the correctness or incorrectness of the subjective direction of war. In addition, there is the question of exploiting the enemy's misconceptions and unpreparedness in order to gain the initiative and force the enemy into passivity. These points are analysed below.

80. Initiative is inseparable from superiority in capacity to wage war, while passivity is inseparable from inferiority in capacity to wage war. Such superiority or inferiority is the objective basis of initiative or passivity. It is natural that the strategic initiative can be better maintained and exercised through a strategic offensive, but to maintain the initiative always and everywhere, that is, to have the absolute initiative, is possible only when there is absolute superiority matched against absolute inferiority. When a strong, healthy man wrestles with an invalid, he has the absolute initiative. If Japan were not riddled with insoluble contradictions, if, for instance, she could throw in a huge force of several million or ten million men all at once, if her financial resources were several times what they are, if she had no opposition from her own people or from other countries, and if she did not pursue the barbarous policies which arouse the desperate

resistance of the Chinese people, then she would be able to maintain absolute superiority and have the absolute initiative always and everywhere. In history, such absolute superiority rarely appears in the early stages of a war or a campaign but is to be found towards its end. For instance, on the eve of Germany's capitulation in World War I, the Entente countries became absolutely superior and Germany absolutely inferior, so that Germany was defeated and the Entente countries were victorious; this is an example of absolute superiority and inferiority towards the end of a war. Again, on the eve of the Chinese victory at Taierhchuang, the isolated Japanese forces there were reduced after bitter fighting to absolute inferiority while our forces achieved absolute superiority, so that the enemy was defeated and we were victorious; this is an example of absolute superiority and inferiority towards the end of a campaign. A war or campaign may also end in a situation of relative superiority or of parity, in which case there is compromise in the war or stalemate in the campaign. But in most cases it is absolute superiority and inferiority that decide victory and defeat. All this holds for the end of a war or a campaign, and not for the beginning. The outcome of the Sino-Japanese war, it can be predicted, will be that Japan will become absolutely inferior and be defeated and that China will become absolutely superior and gain victory. But at present superiority or inferiority is not absolute on either side, but is relative. With the advantages of her military, economic and political-organizational power, Japan enjoys superiority over us with our military, economic and political-organizational weakness, which creates the basis for her initiative. But since quantitatively her military and other power is not great and she has many other disadvantages, her superiority is reduced by her own contradictions. Upon her invasion of China, her superiority has been reduced still further because she has come up against our vast territory, large population, great numbers of troops and resolute nation-wide resistance. Hence, Japan's general position has become one of only relative superiority, and her ability to exercise and maintain the initiative, which is thereby restricted, has likewise become relative. As for China, though placed in a somewhat passive position strategically because of her inferior strength, she is nevertheless quantitatively superior in territory, population and troops, and also superior

in the morale of her people and army and their patriotic hatred of the enemy; this superiority, together with other advantages, reduces the extent of her inferiority in military, economic and other power, and changes it into a relative strategic inferiority. This also reduces the degree of China's passivity so that her strategic position is one of only relative passivity. Any passivity, however, is a disadvantage, and one must strive hard to shake it off. Militarily, the way to do so is resolutely to wage quick-decision offensive warfare on exterior lines, to launch guerrilla warfare in the rear of the enemy and so secure overwhelming local superiority and initiative in many campaigns of mobile and guerrilla warfare. Through such local superiority and local initiative in many campaigns, we can gradually create strategic superiority and strategic initiative and extricate ourselves from strategic inferiority and passivity. Such is the interrelation between initiative and passivity, between superiority and inferiority.

81. From this we can also understand the relationship between initiative or passivity and the subjective directing of war. As already explained, it is possible to escape from our position of relative strategic inferiority and passivity, and the method is to create local superiority and initiative in many campaigns, so depriving the enemy of local superiority and initiative and plunging him into inferiority and passivity. These local successes will add up to strategic superiority and initiative for us and strategic inferiority and passivity for the enemy. Such a change depends upon correct subjective direction. Why? Because while we seek superiority and the initiative, so does the enemy; viewed from this angle, war is a contest in subjective ability between the commanders of the opposing armies in their struggle for superiority and for the initiative on the basis of material conditions such as military forces and financial resources. Out of the contest there emerge a victor and a vanquished; leaving aside the contrast in objective material conditions, the victor will necessarily owe his success to correct subjective direction and the vanquished his defeat to wrong subjective direction. We admit that the phenomenon of war is more elusive and is characterized by greater uncertainty than any other social phenomenon, in other words, that it is more a matter of "probability". Yet war is in no way supernatural, but a mundane process governed by necessity. That is why Sun Wu Tzu's

axiom, “Know the enemy and know yourself, and you can fight a hundred battles with no danger of defeat”, remains a scientific truth. Mistakes arise from ignorance about the enemy and about ourselves, and moreover the peculiar nature of war makes it impossible in many cases to have full knowledge about both sides; hence the uncertainty about military conditions and operations, and hence mistakes and defeats. But whatever the situation and the moves in a war, one can know their general aspects and essential points. It is possible for a commander to reduce errors and give generally correct direction, first through all kinds of reconnaissance and then through intelligent inference and judgement. Armed with the weapon of “generally correct direction”, we can win more battles and transform our inferiority into superiority and our passivity into initiative. This is how initiative or passivity is related to the correct or incorrect subjective direction of a war.

82. The thesis that incorrect subjective direction can change superiority and initiative into inferiority and passivity, and that correct subjective direction can effect a reverse change, becomes all the more convincing when we look at the record of defeats suffered by big and powerful armies and of victories won by small and weak armies. There are many such instances in Chinese and foreign history. Examples in China are the Battle of Chengpu between the states of Tsin and Chu<sup>1</sup>, the Battle of Chengkao between the states of Chu and Han<sup>2</sup>, the Battle in which Han Hsin defeated the Chao armies<sup>3</sup>, the Battle of Kunyang between the states of Hsin and Han<sup>4</sup>, the Battle of Kuantu between Yuan Shao and Tsao Tsao<sup>5</sup>, the Battle of Chihpi between the states of Wu and Wei<sup>6</sup>, the Battle of Yiling between the states of Wu and Shu<sup>7</sup>, the Battle of Feishui between the states of Chin and Tsin<sup>8</sup>, etc. Among examples to be found abroad are most of Napoleon’s campaigns and the civil war in the Soviet Union after the October Revolution. In all these instances, victory was won by small forces over big and by inferior over superior forces. In every case, the weaker force, pitting local superiority and initiative against the enemy’s local inferiority and passivity, first inflicted one sharp defeat on the enemy and then turned on the rest of his forces and smashed them one by one, thus transforming the over-all situation into one of superiority and initiative. The reverse was the case with the enemy who originally had superiority and held the initiative; owing to subjective



errors and internal contradictions, it sometimes happened that he completely lost an excellent or fairly good position in which he enjoyed superiority and initiative, and became a general without an army or a king without a kingdom. Thus it can be seen that although superiority or inferiority in the capacity to wage war is the objective basis determining initiative or passivity, it is not in itself actual initiative or passivity; it is only through a struggle, a contest of ability, that actual initiative or passivity can emerge. In the struggle, correct subjective direction can transform inferiority into superiority and passivity into initiative, and incorrect subjective direction can do the opposite. The fact that every ruling dynasty was defeated by revolutionary armies shows that mere superiority in certain respects does not guarantee the initiative, much less the final victory. The inferior side can wrest the initiative and victory from the superior side by securing certain conditions through active subjective endeavour in accordance with the actual circumstances.

83. To have misconceptions and to be caught unawares may mean to lose superiority and initiative. Hence, deliberately creating misconceptions for the enemy and then springing surprise attacks upon him are two ways—indeed two important means—of achieving superiority and seizing the initiative. What are misconceptions? “To see every bush and tree on Mount Pakung as an enemy soldier”<sup>9</sup> is an example of misconception. And “making a feint to the east but attacking in the west” is a way of creating misconceptions among the enemy. When the mass support is sufficiently good to block the leakage of news, it is often possible by various ruses to succeed in leading the enemy into a morass of wrong judgements and actions so that he loses his superiority and the initiative. The saying, “There can never be too much deception in war”, means precisely this. What does “being caught unawares” mean? It means being unprepared. Without preparedness superiority is not real superiority and there can be no initiative either. Having grasped this point, a force which is inferior but prepared can often defeat a superior enemy by surprise attack. We say an enemy on the move is easy to attack precisely because he is then off guard, that is, unprepared. These two points—creating misconceptions among the enemy and springing surprise attacks on him—mean transferring the uncertainties of war to the enemy while securing the greatest possible certainty for

ourselves and thereby gaining superiority, the initiative and victory. Excellent organization of the masses is the prerequisite for attaining all this. Therefore it is extremely important to arouse all the people who are opposed to the enemy, to arm themselves to the last man, make widespread raids on the enemy and also prevent the leakage of news and provide a screen for our own forces; in this way the enemy will be kept in the dark about where and when our forces will attack, and an objective basis will be created for misconceptions and unpreparedness on his part. It was largely owing to the organized, armed masses of the people that the weak and small force of the Chinese Red Army was able to win many battles in the period of the Agrarian Revolutionary War. Logically, a national war should win broader mass support than an agrarian revolutionary war; however, as a result of past mistakes<sup>10</sup> the people are in an unorganized state, cannot be promptly drawn in to serve the cause and are sometimes even made use of by the enemy. The resolute rallying of the people on a broad scale is the only way to secure inexhaustible resources to meet all the requirements of the war. Moreover, it will definitely play a big part in carrying out our tactics of defeating the enemy by misleading him and catching him unawares. We are not Duke Hsiang of Sung and have no use for his asinine ethics.<sup>11</sup> In order to achieve victory we must as far as possible make the enemy blind and deaf by sealing his eyes and ears and drive his commanders to distraction by creating confusion in their minds. The above concerns the way in which the initiative or passivity is related to the subjective direction of the war. Such subjective direction is indispensable for defeating Japan.

84. By and large, Japan has held the initiative in the stage of her offensive by reason of her military power and her exploitation of our subjective errors, past and present. But her initiative is beginning to wane to some extent because of her many inherent disadvantages and of the subjective errors she too has committed in the course of the war (of which more later) and also because of our many advantages. The enemy's defeat at Taierhchuang<sup>12</sup> and his predicament in Shansi prove this clearly. The widespread development of guerrilla warfare in the enemy's rear has placed his garrisons in the occupied areas in a completely passive position. Although he is still on the offensive strategically and still holds the initiative, his initiative

will end when his strategic offensive ends. The first reason why the enemy will not be able to maintain the initiative is that his shortage of troops renders it impossible for him to carry on the offensive indefinitely. Our offensive warfare in campaigns and our guerrilla warfare behind the enemy lines, together with other factors, constitute the second reason why he will have to cease his offensive at a certain limit and will not be able to keep his initiative. The existence of the Soviet Union and changes in the international situation constitute the third reason. Thus it can be seen that the enemy's initiative is limited and can be shattered. If, in military operations, China can keep up offensive warfare by her main forces in campaigns and battles, vigorously develop guerrilla warfare in the enemy's rear and mobilize the people on a broad scale politically, we can gradually build up a position of strategic initiative.

85. Let us now discuss flexibility. What is flexibility? It is the concrete realization of the initiative in military operations; it is the flexible employment of armed forces. The flexible employment of armed forces is the central task in directing a war, a task most difficult to perform well. In addition to organizing and educating the army and the people, the business of war consists in the employment of troops in combat, and all these things are done to win the fight. Of course it is difficult to organize an army, etc., but it is even more difficult to employ it, particularly when the weak are fighting the strong. To do so requires subjective ability of a very high order and requires the overcoming of the confusion, obscurity and uncertainty peculiar to war and the discovery of order, clarity and certainty in it; only thus can flexibility in command be realized.

86. The basic principle of field operations for the War of Resistance Against Japan is quick-decision offensive warfare on exterior lines. There are various tactics or methods for giving effect to this principle, such as dispersion and concentration of forces, diverging advance and converging attack, the offensive and the defensive, assault and containment, encirclement and outflanking, advance and retreat. It is easy to understand these tactics, but not at all easy to employ and vary them flexibly. Here the three crucial links are the time, the place and the troops. No victory can be won unless the time, the place and the troops are well chosen. For example,

in attacking an enemy force on the move, if we strike too early, we expose ourselves and give the enemy a chance to prepare, and if we strike too late, the enemy may have encamped and concentrated his forces, presenting us with a hard nut to crack. This is the question of the time. If we select a point of assault on the left flank which actually turns out to be the enemy's weak point, victory will be easy; but if we select the right flank and hit a snag, nothing will be achieved. This is the question of the place. If a particular unit of our forces is employed for a particular task, victory may be easy; but if another unit is employed for the same task, it may be hard to achieve results. This is the question of the troops. We should know not only how to employ tactics but how to vary them. For flexibility of command the important task is to make changes such as from the offensive to the defensive or from the defensive to the offensive, from advance to retreat or from retreat to advance, from containment to assault or from assault to containment, from encirclement to outflanking or from outflanking to encirclement, and to make such changes properly and in good time according to the circumstances of the troops and terrain on both sides. This is true of command in campaigns and strategic command as well as of command in battles.

87. The ancients said: "Ingenuity in varying tactics depends on mother wit"; this "ingenuity", which is what we mean by flexibility, is the contribution of the intelligent commander. Flexibility does not mean recklessness; recklessness must be rejected. Flexibility consists in the intelligent commander's ability to take timely and appropriate measures on the basis of objective conditions after "judging the hour and sizing up the situation" (the "situation" includes the enemy's situation, our situation and the terrain), and this flexibility is "ingenuity in varying tactics". On the basis of this ingenuity, we can win more victories in quick-decision offensive warfare on exterior lines, change the balance of forces in our favour, gain the initiative over the enemy, and overwhelm and crush him so that the final victory will be ours.

88. Let us now discuss the question of planning. Because of the uncertainty peculiar to war, it is much more difficult to prosecute war according to plan than is the case with other activities. Yet, since

“preparedness ensures success and unpreparedness spells failure”, there can be no victory in war without advance planning and preparations. There is no absolute certainty in war, and yet it is not without some degree of relative certainty. We are comparatively certain about our own situation. We are very uncertain about the enemy’s, but here too there are signs for us to read, clues to follow and sequences of phenomena to ponder. These form what we call a degree of relative certainty, which provides an objective basis for planning in war. Modern technical developments (telegraphy, radio, airplanes, motor vehicles, railways, steamships, etc.) have added to the possibilities of planning in war. However, complete or stable planning is difficult because there is only very limited and transient certainty in war; such planning must change with the movement (flow or change) of the war and vary in degree according to the scale of the war. Tactical plans, such as plans for attack or defence by small formations or units, often have to be changed several times a day. A plan of campaign, that is, of action by large formations, can generally stand till the conclusion of the campaign, in the course of which, however, it is often changed partially or sometimes even wholly. A strategic plan based on the over-all situation of both belligerents is still more stable, but it too is applicable only in a given strategic stage and has to be changed when the war moves towards a new stage. The making and changing of tactical, campaign and strategic plans in accordance with scope and circumstance is a key factor in directing a war; it is the concrete expression of flexibility in war, in other words, it is also ingenuity in varying one’s tactics. Commanders at all levels in the anti-Japanese war should take note.

89. Because of the fluidity of war, some people categorically deny that war plans or policies can be relatively stable, describing such plans or policies as “mechanical”. This view is wrong. In the preceding section we fully recognized that, because the circumstances of war are only relatively certain and the flow (movement or change) of war is rapid, war plans or policies can be only relatively stable and have to be changed or revised in good time in accordance with changing circumstances and the flow of the war; otherwise we would become mechanists. But one must not deny the need for war plans or policies that are relatively stable over given periods;

to negate this is to negate everything, including the war itself as well as the negator himself. As both military conditions and operations are relatively stable, we must grant the relative stability of the war plans and policies resulting from them. For example, since both the circumstances of the war in northern China and the dispersed nature of the Eighth Route Army's operations are relatively stable for a particular stage, it is absolutely necessary during this stage to acknowledge the relative stability of the Eighth Route Army's strategic principle of operation, namely "Guerrilla warfare is basic, but lose no chance for mobile warfare under favourable conditions." The period of validity of a plan for a campaign is shorter than that of a strategic plan, and for a tactical plan it is shorter still, but each is stable over a given period. Anyone denying this point would have no way of handling warfare and would become a relativist in war with no settled views, for whom one course is just as wrong or just as right as another. No one denies that even a plan valid for a given period is fluid; otherwise, one plan would never be abandoned in favour of another. But it is fluid within limits, fluid within the bounds of the various war operations undertaken for carrying it out, but not fluid as to its essence; in other words it is quantitatively but not qualitatively fluid. Within such a given period of time, this essence is definitely not fluid, which is what we mean by relative stability within a given period. In the great river of absolute fluidity throughout the war there is relative stability at each particular stretch—such is our fundamental view regarding war plans or policies.

90. Having dealt with protracted defensive warfare on interior lines in strategy and with quick-decision offensive warfare on exterior lines in campaigns and battles, and also with the initiative, flexibility and planning, we can now sum up briefly. The anti-Japanese war must have a plan. War plans, which are the concrete application of strategy and tactics, must be flexible so that they can be adapted to the circumstances of the war. We should always seek to transform our inferiority into superiority and our passivity into the initiative so as to change the situation as between the enemy and ourselves. All these find expression in quick-decision offensive warfare on exterior lines in campaigns and battles and protracted defensive warfare on interior lines in strategy.

## Notes

1. Chengpu, situated in the southwest of the present Chuancheng County in Shantung Province, was the scene of a great battle between the states of Tsin and Chu in 632 BC. At the beginning of the battle the Chu troops got the upper hand. The Tsin troops, after making a retreat of 90 *li*, chose the right and left flanks of the Chu troops, their weak spots, and inflicted heavy defeats on them.
2. The ancient town of Chengkeo, in the northwest of the present Chengkiao County, Honan Province, was of great military importance. It was the scene of battles fought in 203 B.C. between Liu Pang, King of Han, and Hsiang Yu, King of Chu. At first Hsiang Yu captured Hsingyang and Chengkiao and Liu Pang's troops were almost routed. Liu Pang waited until the opportune moment when Hsiang Yu's troops were in midstream crossing the Szeshui River, and then crushed them and recaptured Chengkiao.
3. In 204 B.C., Han Hsin, a general of the state of Han, led his men in a big battle with Chao Hsieh at Chinghsing. Chao Hsieh's army, said to be 200,000 strong, was several times that of Han. Deploying his troops with their backs to a river, Han Hsin led them in valiant combat, and at the same time dispatched some units to attack and occupy the enemy's weakly garrisoned rear. Caught in a pincer, Chao Hsieh's troops were utterly defeated.
4. The ancient town of Kunyang, in the north of the present Yehhsien County, Honan Province, was the place where Liu Hsiu, founder of the Eastern Han Dynasty, defeated the troops of Wang Mang, Emperor of the Hsin Dynasty, in A.D. 23. There was a huge numerical disparity between the two sides, Liu Hsiu's forces totalling 8,000 to 9,000 men as against Wang Mang's 400,000. But taking advantage of the negligence of Wang Mang's generals, Wang Hsun and Wang Yi, who underestimated the enemy, Liu Hsiu with only three thousand picked troops put Wang Mang's main forces to rout. He followed up this victory by crushing the rest of the enemy troops.
5. Kuantu was in the northeast of the present Chungmou County, Honan

Province, and the scene of the battle between the armies of Tsao Tsao and Yuan Shao in A D 200. Yuan Shao had an army of 100,000, while Tsao Tsao had only a meagre force and was short of supplies. Taking advantage of the lack of vigilance on the part of Yuan Shao's troops, who belittled the enemy, Tsao Tsao dispatched his light-footed soldiers to spring a surprise attack on them and set their supplies on fire. Yuan Shao's army was thrown into confusion and its main force wiped out.

6. The state of Wu was ruled by Sun Chuan, and the state of Wei by Tsao Tsao. Chihpi is situated on the south bank of the Yangtse River, to the northeast of Chisyu, Hupeh Province. In A.D. 208 Tsao Tsao led an army of over 500,000 men, which he proclaimed to be 800,000 strong, to launch an attack on Sun Chuan. The latter, in alliance with Tsao Tsao's antagonist Liu Pei, mustered a force of 30,000. Knowing that Tsao Tsao's army was plagued by epidemics and was unaccustomed to action afloat, the allied forces of Sun Chuan and Liu Pei set fire to Tsao Tsao's fleet and crushed his army.
7. Yiling, to the east of the present Ichang, Hupeh Province, was the place where Lu Sun, a general of the state of Wu, defeated the army of Liu Pei, ruler of Shu, in A.D. 222. Liu Pei's troops scored successive victories at the beginning of the war and penetrated five or six hundred *li* into the territory of Wu as far as Yiling. Lu Sun, who was defending Yiling, avoided battle for over seven months until Liu Pei "was at his wits' end and his troops were exhausted and demoralized". Then he crushed Liu Pei's troops by taking advantage of a favourable wind to set fire to their tents.
8. Hsieh Hsuan, a general of Eastern Tsin Dynasty, defeated Fu Chien, ruler of the state of Chin, in AD 383 at the Feishui River in Anhwei Province. Fu Chien had an infantry force of more than 600,000, a cavalry force of 270,000 and a guards corps of more than 30,000, while the land and river forces of Eastern Tsin numbered only 80,000. When the armies lined up on opposite banks of the Feishui River, Hsieh Hsuan, taking advantage of the overconfidence and conceit of the enemy troops, requested Fu Chien to move his troops back so as to leave room for the Eastern Tsin troops to cross the river and fight it out. Fu Chien complied,



but when he ordered withdrawal, his troops got into a panic and could not be stopped. Seizing the opportunity, the Eastern Tsin troops crossed the river, launched an offensive and crushed the enemy.

9. In A.D. 383, Fu Chien, the ruler of the state of Chin, belittled the forces of Tsin and attacked them. The Tsin troops defeated the enemy's advance units at Lochien, Shouyang County, Anhwei Province, and pushed forward by land and water. Ascending the city wall of Shonyang, Fu Chien observed the excellent alignment of the Tsin troops and, mistaking the woods and bushes on Mount Pakung for enemy soldiers, was frightened by the enemy's apparent strength.
10. Comrade Mao Tse-tung is here referring to the fact that Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei, having betrayed the first national democratic united front of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party in 1927, launched a ten-year war against the people, and thus made it impossible for the Chinese people to be organized on a large scale. For this the Kuomintang reactionaries headed by Chiang Kai-shek must be held responsible.
11. Duke Hsiang of Sung ruled in the Spring and Autumn Era. In 638 BC, the state of Sung fought with the powerful state of Chu. The Sung forces were already deployed in battle positions when the Chu troops were crossing the river. One of the Sung officers suggested that, as the Chu troops were numerically stronger, this was the moment for attack. But the Duke said, "No, a gentleman should never attack one who is unprepared." When the Chu troops had crossed the river but had not yet completed their battle alignment, the officer again proposed an immediate attack, and once again the Duke said, "No, a gentleman should never attack an army which has not yet completed its battle alignment." The Duke gave the order for attack only after the Chu troops were fully prepared. As a result, the Sung troops met with disastrous defeat and the Duke himself was wounded.
12. Taierhchuang is a town in southern Shantung where the Chinese army fought a battle in March 1938 against the Japanese invaders. By pitting 400,000 men against Japan's 70,000 to 80,000, the Chinese army defeated the Japanese.

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# Political Knowledge

*[This report is based on the discussions held with two important comrades in the Phuphan revolutionary base. As the essence of their views is the same we wrote them as a single report. Where clarity and concreteness is needed we mentioned the comrade who gave that information as x (Regional Political School Director) and X (Deputy Secretary of the Regional Committee of Thailand Communist Party (CPT))]*

## **A) Introductory Remarks**

Let us look at the policy of enhancing political knowledge in North and North-East Thailand in its course of historical evolution. Political knowledge is much needed for stirring communist inspiration. If we do not work properly in this sphere, we are bound to take a step back during times of crisis. (For example, when revisionism conducts attacks in ideological and theoretical spheres).

Every person participating in revolutionary struggle very much needs political consciousness. Its aim is of three types. 1) To firmly follow the political line 2) To increase flexibility in strategy and tactics 3) For all comrades to fulfill their tasks actively ( a style of participating with determination in difficult struggles (x)

At first raising political knowledge was not done regularly in the Thailand People's Army. Just like other programmes aimed at increasing the knowledge on various matters, this too had no clear programme and it developed gradually with experience. Though a group was formed during the first phase of the People's War to coordinate political education and though theoretical study was intensified in some instances, on the whole we can say that only limited attention was paid to political knowledge. This was due to many more other tasks that were to be fulfilled. Even after establishing political power, importance was to be given to consolidating the political power.

In those days (since 1969), political study was done in two ways. The knowledge gained on a daily basis by the units was at one level, collective knowledge where members of many units participated was at another. In this second method, sessions like seminars were held. After these were

completed, the participants must go back to their original positions. Higher level cadres with the sufficient practical experience were sent to Vietnam, China and Laos for intensive training in political, military and educational spheres.

In the first phase, particularly before the launch of struggle in 1965, several comrades went to Vietnam for study. Even Central Committee members used to go there for study. Only those with higher consciousness were sent to China. This was because the study there was composed of higher level ideological lessons. Those who went to China did not return till six years. Of these, five years were allotted for ideological study in schools.

In 1975, after Laos was liberated, CPT could establish three schools in that country.\* (\* After differences cropped up between CPT and Laos, they had at one time brought pressure on CPT that they themselves would run these schools). Till relations with the Laos government were cut (in 1969), nearly a thousand Thailand cadres continued their study in medical, political and military sciences there.

All the students in the military school were commanders of the People's Army and all those in the political school were party members. These CPT members had a six month long course. They used to study for ten hours. (The lessons were about Political Line of the Party, mass mobilization in various areas, i.e., in white, rose and red areas). The country where these schools were established used to fulfill the material needs of the schools. But the syllabus and the suggestions given were the responsibility of Thailand. The technical suggestions in the military schools used to be given by the above country.

Recently, political schools were established in forests. After a conference had approved of the syllabi and the study course to be taught in the North and North-East Thailand area, they were established officially. There are some advantages in having schools in the struggle areas. Time would not be wasted and the members would not get confused due to revisionist ideas. Now we can say that the political knowledge of the Thailand People's Army had been regularized to some extent.

## **B) Coordination of Organization**

Before we take a look at the study forms and study courses, let us look at the organizational structure of political knowledge. At first, the study

and propaganda tasks were mingled together to some extent at a lower level in the structure. At the regional level, different persons and committees were carrying on study and propaganda. But at a lower level in the administrative machinery the same persons and committees carry on both. The consultative conferences that are higher level organizations formulate education and propaganda policies. These are held once in two years.

Various kinds of education activists attend the consultative conference on education. Among those present are state and national level coordinators of political knowledge, regional political school teachers, political knowledge members selected from various districts and party members who fulfill this same task in People's Army and state machinery. Fifty persons attended the last meeting of this consultative council that formulated education policies.

Education committees are present from the village level to the regional level. The first of these was formed in North and North-East area. Later lower level organizations have also been formed. The responsibilities of these committees have extended to all party and military administrative machinery cadres. The division of these responsibilities would also be according to the regional level. The regional education committee would be responsible for political structure at the state and district level.

Now when we look at the **coordination methods**, there is difference between 'party line' and 'academic line'. The party committee has the right to take decisions but the political teachers at various levels, for example the regional and district political school teachers, can give suggestions to each other freely.

**Political schools** are present up to district level. At still lower levels, education is not imparted in the form of schools. These political schools are run by the respective level of party committees. For example, the regional school is under the control of the CPT regional committee. But these schools have their own institutions that take decisions. These are formed on the basis of democratic centralism like the consultative conferences. The teaching team of that school, the regional CPT members and representatives of state schools are present in the regional school committee.

### C) Four Basic Forms

We have seen above the various education forms that were present

before political schools were established in Phuphan. They were not annulled. They are still trying very hard to educate the people in the Phuphan revolutionary base.

Of the four basic forms of education, only the fourth (political school) would be limited to those persons who are to attend it.

- **Daily study** is compulsory for each and every person in the units in the revolutionary base area. Every group that is in existence as a camp unit in the decentralized base carries on political study for at least one hour every day. Due to this regularization, political education would definitely continue constantly.
- **Short period study** : Units study a document for two, three days and grasp its essence. This method is given this name. This is more intense than the previous method. But even this is limited to the ‘individual’ units.
- **General Methods** : In these big meetings, members of many units in the base come together and hear speeches, table discussions, reports etc. These are held only sometimes like a socialist party forum. They were held during the occasion of completing three years of armed struggle by the CPT. On that occasion, five socialist party members\* (Tanya Chunchadathavo (ex-student leader), Lachaddapan Lakvanit (ex-university professor), Visakantus (writer, poet), Udan Tangno (youngest person in the parliament), Somkit Singsan (the person who started the famous villages programme) are these five members) discussed about the historical role of this relatively new political party and its present role in front of hundreds of residents of Phuphan revolutionary base area.

Another example of this general study is ‘Hyde Park’ gatherings. They were introduced by urban intellectuals after October 1976. It was decided to conduct five such political gatherings in Phuphan in 1980. The first of it was held on March 20, 1980. Political speeches, songs, dances, puppet shows etc were held in this programme. All of them had political content.

- **Political Schools** are at the regional, state and district levels. Though the district level schools have a teachers’ team, they do not have a specific place. Those who participate in them do so in a **rotation**

method. All party members, commanders of People's Army and members of administrative machinery are eligible to participate in them. They take training in them for 10 or 20 days or for one month once in a year.

The students who participate in this school are divided at regional, state and district levels. For example, ordinary party members, youth league members and village members go to district levels while municipality and district level party members go to state schools. State level CPT members go to regional political school.

(Military schools were also run for districts and states. In these schools study is conducted regarding strategy and tactical guidance. There is no technical training in military schools).

## **D) The Curriculum**

Under this heading, let us learn briefly about the essence of political knowledge and teaching method. There are some general guiding principles in imparting political education.

After dividing study courses, the teachers must grasp the essence of the lessons and decide how to teach it to the students. They must make the students realize the aim of those lessons. A group must be formed with those who have realized the significance of political study.

Teachers must grasp the knowledge level of their students by knowing the 'problem of thinking'. They must understand the problems faced by them in their activities. Apart from that, maps of countries, pictures etc are shown between lessons in order to establish proper atmosphere. At the end of each lesson, it is summarized briefly, clearly and meaningfully. The curriculum has been divided into eight levels for those mentioned below.

- a. For ordinary masses living in forests and villages
- b. Ordinary members of Youth League
- c. Party members in Youth League
- d. Ordinary members of Communist Party
- e. Party members and cadre at municipal level
- f. Party cadre at district level
- g. Party cadre at state level

Text books are different for every level. Starting from classes, nature of Thai society and Communist Party programme, they teach up to methods of mass mobilization, building of revolutionary bases and building of People's Army. Ordinary people study lessons such as class struggle and party programme. But state level cadre study dialectical materialism and political economy.

The documents that are used as text books are written by the Regional Party Committee. Otherwise they take them from International Communist Movement or national archives (CPT centre). When they used the international document regarding Marxism-Leninism, they used to study it in the light of the conditions of their country instead of mechanically studying it.

The documents published by the regional committees touched problems such as '**Basic Principles of Mass Activities**', '**Youth Question**' and '**Woman Question**'. It took a lot of time to write a document such as Basic Principles of Mass Activities. It is their present programme to write new documents, improve the old ones and translate the works of Marx, Lenin and Mao.

## **E) Some problems**

Phuphan revolutionary base is still facing limitations in creating skilled teachers and writers of theoretical documents. For example, if one has to make use of basic writings of Marx in political knowledge, then they would have to be modified into a language that is understood by the peasantry that form the overwhelming majority of the population in the Phuphan forests. Apart from that, intellectuals who could extract ideological decisions from practice and experience are needed.

There are some problems regarding teaching team and those who write too. There are both strong and weak points among the intellectuals and peasantry who are to fulfill the study tasks. Intellectuals have vast general knowledge but their practical experience is less. They do not have knowledge about the local conditions too. They have theoretical knowledge to some extent but they do not have 'heartly' relations with the people. As the peasants belong to that area they would have practical experience. But their theoretical and general knowledge is limited.

*9-4-1980*

**“Ideological education is the key link to be grasped in uniting the whole Party for great political struggles. Unless this is done, the Party cannot accomplish any of its political tasks.” - Mao**

[“On Coalition Government” (April 24, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 315]

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**“After receiving political education, the Red Army soldiers have become class-conscious and learned the essentials of distributing land, setting up political power, arming the workers and peasants, etc., and they all know they are fighting for themselves, for the working class and the peasantry. Hence they can endure the hardships of the bitter struggle without complaint. Each company, battalion or regiment has its soldiers’ committee which represents the interests of the soldiers and carries on political and mass work.” - Mao** [“The Struggle in the Ching kang Mountains” (November 25, 1928), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 81]

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**“Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture.” - Mao** [*On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* (February 27, 1957), 1st pocket ed., p. 44]

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**“As for education for cadres whether at work or in schools for cadres, a policy should be established of focusing such education on the study of the practical problems of the Chinese revolution and using the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism as the guide, and the method of studying Marxism-Leninism statically and in isolation should be discarded.” - Mao** [“Reform Our Study” (May 1941), *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 24]

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**“As for the training courses, the main objective should still be to raise the level of technique in marksmanship, bayoneting, grenade-throwing and the like and the secondary objective should be to raise the level of tactics, while special emphasis should be laid on night operations.” - Mao** [“Policy for Work in the Liberated Areas for 1946” (December 31, 1945), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 76.]