



# PEOPLE'S WAR

*Special Issue*

September 2014



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

# **PEOPLE'S WAR *Special Issue***

## **September 2014**

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## Homage to Martyrs

The decade since the emergence of CPI(Maoist) on 21 September 2004 as the united proletarian vanguard of India's oppressed masses has been a decade of glorious achievements and great sacrifices. The revolutionary movement of the country has reached unprecedented heights and achieved great successes during this period. The decade started with the historic unity of the country's two foremost streams of revolutionary movement that sprang from the great Naxalbari armed agrarian revolutionary uprising. The path towards this much-anticipated unity was paved with death-defying sacrifices. Ever since the first shots in the fields of Naxalbari were fired in the spring of 1967 and the earth became crimson with the blood of eleven revolutionary peasants, tens of thousands of martyrs have advanced the protracted people's war by staking their lives. In CPI(Maoist), the dream of the martyrs to establish a single guiding centre for advancing the country's New Democratic Revolution to victory was realised.

Martyrs do not die, they are sown. No matter in whatever circumstances and in whatever manner they die, each of their deaths plant the seeds of newer crops of revolutionaries. They willingly embrace death to destroy the old society which makes life cheaper than death. Their death is for the birth of the new society. They lived to serve the people; they gave their lives in the service of the people. As communist revolutionaries who fought until their death for the cause of the world proletariat, they imbibed the best of human qualities. They become the harbingers of the new women and new men that a revolutionary society promises to bring forth. The great communist qualities – firm determination, unflinching commitment, death-defying courage, self-sacrificing nature and similar proletarian values they personified are ideals to be emulated by every revolutionary. They enjoin and inspire us to follow their footsteps on the arduous path of struggle and sacrifice. Revolution is unthinkable without their lifework and sacrifice.

As we celebrate the tenth anniversary of the formation of CPI(Maoist), on this solemn occasion we humbly pay red homage to the founding leaders of our party comrades Charu Mazumdar and Kanhai Chatterji, and over ten thousand martyrs who have laid down their invaluable lives since Naxalbari in advancing the New Democratic Revolution. In the decade since the formation of our united party, 2332 comrades have become martyrs, of whom more than 400 are women. 10 foremost leaders of Indian revolution

and Central Committee members have been martyred in the period. They include Politburo members comrades Shamsher Singh Sheri, Cherukuri Rajkumar, Koteswarlu and Sushil Roy; CC comrades Chandramouli, Anuradha Ghandy, Parimal Sen, Sande Rajamouli, Patel Sudhakar and former Secretary of CPI(ML)NAXALBARI and veteran personality of our party comrade Rawoof; 34 State level comrades, 9 Regional level, 132 District level, 246 Sub-Zone & Area level party committee members and hundreds of primary party members and many more members of the PLGA and the UF. The revolutionary masses in their hundreds have been martyred as well. In the last one year alone, over 120 rank and file of the Party, PLGA, UF and the revolutionary masses have given the supreme sacrifice.

CPI(Maoist) is a detachment of the international proletariat, and its martyrs are also the martyrs of world socialist revolution (WSR). They died not only to liberate the country from the yoke of feudalism and imperialism, but aspired to win freedom from the exploitation and oppression engendered by a class-divided society. On this occasion, the CC pays humble red homage to all the martyrs of the WSR, the martyrs of the Maoist parties of the Philippines, Nepal, Turkey, Bangladesh, Peru and other countries, the martyrs of national liberation wars and those who sacrificed their lives in the anti-imperialist movements the world over. With clinched fists and redoubled determination, we once again take pledge to steadfastly march forward on the path illuminated by our glorious martyrs towards the final victory of the proletariat. \*

**“How do we explain the encouragement of heroic sacrifice in war? Does it not contradict “self-preservation”? No, it does not; to put it more correctly, sacrifice and self-preservation are both opposite and complementary to each other. War is politics with bloodshed and exacts a price. Some times an extremely high price. Partial and temporary sacrifice (non-preservation) is incurred for the sake of general and permanent preservation. This is precisely why we say that attack, which is basically a means of destroying the enemy, also has the function of self-preservation. It is also the reason why defense must be accompanied by attack and should not be defense pure and simple.”**

**- Mao (On Protracted War)**

## **Love for Our People, Hatred for the Class Enemies, Victory for the Revolution!**

This year we are celebrating the Tenth Anniversary of the formation of our new, united CPI (Maoist) and the PW EB is sending its warmest greetings to all the party ranks, PLGA commanders and soldiers, revolutionary leaders and activists of mass organizations and RPCs and the entire revolutionary camp in our country and the world, on this festive occasion.

Since the formation of the Communist Party of India in 1925, the history of the revolutionary movement in our country has witnessed some momentous periods. Of all these, the period covering the past decade is not only unique and marked by some of the most significant developments in our PPW waged for the victory of the new democratic revolution (NDR) since Naxalbari, but is also witness to something unprecedented and new in the entire history of class struggle in our country.

The significance of this decade, in a nutshell, is –

Ushering in a single guiding centre for the New Democratic Revolution (NDR) of India;

The Party, Army and UF, i.e., the three magic weapons of the revolution becoming stronger than before;

Enrichment of the political line and policies in the form of united party documents - Unity Congress documents, policy papers, important resolutions, summing-ups, articles, etc.;

Further development of the military line and significant advances in waging guerilla warfare, the participation of the vast masses, as never before, in the PPW giving it a true mass nature and rich and new experiences in defeating the most brutal counter-revolutionary suppression campaigns of the enemy

Rich and new experiences in building mass movements against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism by mobilizing broad

masses of the people, particularly the peasantry around *Jal, Jungle, Zameen, Izzat and Adhikar* issues;

Rich and new experiences in building strategic UF in the form of establishment of RPCs at a primary level and a few better and new experiences in building tactical UFs, recognition as an alternative model of development that could be applied successfully in contrast to the anti-people development model of the ruling classes;

Considerable support for the fighting revolutionary masses from the most diverse sections of the Indian society, both against OGH and in support of the PW;

PW in India serving as one of the important focal points around which international unity of Maoist forces and an international solidarity and support movement could be built, and

Indian Revolution withstanding, in spite of being in a very difficult situation at present, a brutal unprecedented countrywide repression campaign waged by the fascist Indian regime with the support of the imperialists keeping alive the hope for revolution among the people of India and the world along with the Philippines Revolution led by the CPP, in the same decade when LTTE was brutally crushed in Sri Lanka and Nepal Revolution was betrayed by the opportunist Prachanda-Bhattacharai clique who took the modern revisionist line, two major setbacks in the struggle of the oppressed nations and the peoples against the imperialists and domestic reactionaries.

These new and significant developments of the past decade were achieved on the basis of the new ideology, new politics, new line, new party, new army and new people's front ushered in by the glorious Naxalbari armed peasant rebellion – in the international backdrop of the Great Debate, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, both led by the CPC under Mao and also the turbulent years of the late '60s that witnessed the dawn of people's wars in some third world countries and workers' and students' upsurges in several capitalist countries.

During the 35 years long revolutionary practice and bitter class struggle as part of the agrarian revolution that went on relentlessly in the period between the formation of the CPI (ML) and the MCC in 1969 by our great leaders comrades Charu Mazumdar and Kanhai Chatterji and the formation

of the united CPI(Maoist) in 2004, the PPW line was defended, tested and enriched all the while resisting uninterrupted brutal enemy suppression campaigns. This is what culminated in the formation of the CPI(Maoist) and laid the foundation for the new and significant achievements of the past decade.

Just as the new line emerged only by drawing the defining demarcating line with revisionism/neo-revisionism and achieving a breakthrough, the development of the revolutionary party in the past 45 years was also possible only through bitter inner party struggles one after another against the right and left opportunisms that raised their head inside the party at various crucial junctures of the movement.

Several sacrifices have been made (and are still being made) by the communist revolutionaries and the masses during the class struggle against their class enemies. One of the most significant features of the Indian revolutionary movement is the glorious sacrifices made both by the communists and the masses for the liberation of our country ever since communist ideology took its roots in our country. If not for the glorious sacrifices made by the innumerable martyrs of the Indian revolution in the past 45 years including the past decade, none of the above significant and new successes of the past decade could have been achieved.

Though NDRs that broke out in the end 60s in several semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries and national liberation struggles in colonies had the advantage of favorable objective and subjective world situation, since the death of Mao in 1976 and after the world people lost their last socialist base, the development of the Indian revolution, till date, has been taking place in an unfavorable subjective world situation. The realization of the significance of the PPW in India has increased in the past decade in the entire world because of this very situation in which our revolution is continuing. But very importantly, it should be noted that the objectively favorable world situation was not only present constantly but is increasing by the day.

The anti-people and country-selling measures orchestrated by the imperialists, particularly US imperialists that are aggressively pushed by the ruling classes in our country and elsewhere are increasing their 'victims' so rapidly that it is opening up unprecedented opportunities for the

revolutionaries to mobilise them to smash this system.

We are bidding adieu to a most significant decade of our revolution and our party is standing on the threshold of these enormous, new and diverse opportunities which are just a hand's distance of seizing, from the hard and difficult situation that we are standing on, at present.

And we have the best weapon with which we could reach out to them. We have MLM, the most scientific ideology that has the power to win the entire world, to guide us. We also have rich experiences, including negative ones, gained through decades of successful concrete application of the PPW line to the concrete conditions of our country. We also have the positive and negative experiences of the world revolution right from Paris Commune to the other revolutions and movements in the contemporary world to help us.

So bridging the hand-long distance to seize the opportunities should not take much time, if we -

Deeply grasp, imbibe and correctly and creatively apply the theory of dialectical materialism and this scientific method taught by our Great Marxist Teachers to our concrete practice and successfully complete our campaign to Bolshevise the entire party;

Identify correctly and exactly all the shortcomings and at all levels that led to our present difficult situation to come out of it at any cost by rectifying them;

Adopt a communist work style taught by Mao that overcomes the hardest hurdles and harshest difficulties and does not rest or stop till the goal is achieved;

Motivate every unit and every member of our party– from the village level to the higher ranks – to take up concrete study of the concrete situation as the foremost task and work only according to it and never on the past conditions that had already changed to various degrees;

Integrate deeply with the masses and strengthen the mass base, increase their active role in the PPW;

Take up suitable tactics of either resisting the enemy or self-defense according to the concrete situation;



Never forget the lessons gained through the synthesis of experiences that could only be gleaned because so many martyrs have spilled their blood and because of the countless sacrifices the revolutionary masses are making by the day.

**Comrades,**

Celebrate the glorious and momentous ten years of our new, united and true vanguard of the Indian masses – the CPI (Maoist). For there is no revolution without a revolutionary party and we have fulfilled the first and foremost pre-condition for the revolution to be successful in our country. But it would advance only if we strengthen it further to take up the challenge.

Utilise this occasion to make every member of our party and person belonging to the oppressed classes aware/conscious of the foremost task/need to defend their vanguard organization, staking their lives and everything, for there is no revolution without a revolutionary party and there can never be true liberation without a revolution.

On this glorious and joyous occasion let us once again vow to carry forward the dreams of our beloved martyrs – of the Indian revolution and the World Socialist Revolution;

By wholeheartedly loving our people and land and as Lenin so succinctly put it, by “making it a habit to work for the common good” and only for the common good;

By wholeheartedly hating the people’s enemies who are hell-bent on destroying our people, our land, our world, our ecology and the future of our children by destroying our party and revolutionary war.

To March towards Victory for Revolution.

**Long live the CPI(Maoist)!**

**Long live the New Democratic Revolution!**

**Long live the World Socialist Revolution!**

**Down with imperialism and all reaction!**

**Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!**

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# Lessons and Challenges of the Indian Revolution

- Ganapathy

**General Secretary, CPI (Maoist)**

The Message of the Central Committee of our party, issued on the occasion of its 10th anniversary, has given an overall evaluation of the past 10 years. Along with pointing out the gains and advances we have made, it has also drawn attention to the weaknesses and mistakes which hinder us and the favourable and unfavourable aspects of the objective situation. This article is an elaboration of some of the issues the CC Message has placed before the whole party, focussing on a few of the important lessons we must take and the challenges we must surmount.

With the formation of the CPI (Maoist) on September 21, 2004, a single centre of guidance was formed for the revolutionary movement. This was a qualitative leap in the Indian revolutionary movement. There was considerable development in the party, particularly leadership, armed strength-PLGA, movement areas and mass base. This unity had positive impact among the people of our country and in the world revolutionary camp. The new party's Central Committee (CC) assessed its own strength and the objective situation in the world and formulated new tasks and plans for advancing the movement.

The main success since the merger is the successful completion of the Unity Congress-9th Congress of our party. This Congress was an expression of the unity of the two parties, a continuation of the Eighth Congress and a true inheritor of all the positive aspects of the Indian revolutionary movement. We successfully held it by defeating the conspiracies of the enemy to destroy the Indian revolutionary movement by using this opportunity to attack the Congress venue and wipe out the entire leadership at a time. The Congress synthesised the experiences of the four decade long protracted people's war (PPW) in the backdrop of the major political, economic and cultural changes in the world and our country and took lessons. By conducting deep and wide-ranging debates democratically abiding by democratic centralism, the ideological, political and military positions of the party were improved and consolidated. The Congress

rejected some of the left sectarian arguments that came to the fore there. The leadership was strengthened through the Congress and the unity, determination and fighting spirit of the party strengthened further.

The unity of the new party achieved by the unification of the two parties was strengthened in the course of practice. We proved in our practice that the comments of some Maoist forces about the unity of our party were subjective and prejudiced. The conspiracies of the enemy to create doubts among our ranks and the people about our unity were defeated. We stood firmly amidst severe countrywide repression, fought back the enemy and won successes through enormous sacrifices. In difficult situations too we stuck to our party line firmly. In spite of losses, the party committees/ leadership comrades are courageously leading the movement. We earned positive experience by leading and coordinating the army and the UF even amid losses. Our revolutionary movement impacted crores of people in our country. Credibility was created for the revolutionary movement among them. Party stood as a beacon of hope to the oppressed masses.

As an integral part of world socialist revolution (WSR) in the past decade our party creatively applied MLM to the conditions of our country, defended it and propagated it; it fought against revisionism, right and left opportunisms and non-proletarian trends both in our country and in the world. It learnt from its own experiences and from the revolutions of other countries, built up solidarity with other fighting people of the world and participated in international revolutionary activities. Thus our party kept aloft the banner of the international proletariat and strove with determination to fulfil its share of responsibility in the WSR. More than 2,332 of our party, PLGA comrades and the people laid down their invaluable lives for this lofty cause.

The PLGA that was unified under the new party's leadership, put efforts to develop, consolidate and expand guerrilla warfare in the vast rural swathes, particularly in Central and Eastern India for achieving the goal of new democratic revolution (NDR). The party formed various levels of commissions, commands and departments and guided them. It guided the formation of higher level formations such as platoons, companies and battalions. As part of advancing towards the fulfilment of the central task set by the Unity Congress, PLGA waged agrarian revolutionary guerrilla warfare in eight States. It expanded the guerrilla warfare to newer areas

in some of these States. It took its first steps in its efforts towards developing guerrilla warfare into mobile warfare. PLGA gained rich experiences in centralising and decentralising forces according to the conditions and in taking up various manoeuvres at all levels. The PLGA conducted several tactical counter attacks and tactical counter offensive campaigns (TCOC). It conducted attacks with section, platoon, company and battalion level forces, wiping out the enemy's forces in general at the platoon level, and in particular, at the company level in the Mukaram battle. It seized modern weapons and gained strength by arming itself and the revolutionary masses. It learnt war by waging it. It gained self experience.

In the past decade PLGA led by the party stood as the backbone of the revolutionary movement. For the first time in our country, millions of oppressed masses came to cherish the PLGA and participated in PW along with it. As guerrilla warfare intensified and expanded, the role of people in the political, struggle and organisational spheres increased further. The fighting and organisational capacity of the PLGA increased further due to this and the party strengthened through these. The guerrilla warfare carried on by it was decisive and supportive of every success gained in this period. Throughout this entire decade of severe class struggle in the political sphere in our country, PLGA puts its own indelible mark on it. These successes won by the PLGA are of immense significance for the seizure of political power.

The basic classes and other sections of the people vastly rallied in the agrarian revolutionary program that is the axis of the NDR, in anti-displacement struggles, anti-state repression struggles, various political movements and struggles for partial demands under the leadership of the various revolutionary, democratic organisations led by our party and won several successes. The glorious Lalgah and Narayanpatna mass upsurges that won recognition as models of revolutionary and democratic movements were waged during this decade. Several tactical united front forums were formed on various issues and at various levels and experience was gained. We increased the consciousness of the masses and our mass base in this course. To the extent that we consolidated the mass organisations and recruited the advanced, militant forces that came to the fore in these struggles into the party and PLGA, we succeeded in further building them and developing the PW. Led by the party and with the support of the

PLGA, the toiling masses of Dandakaranya (DK), Bihar-Jharkhand (BJ) and Andhra-Odisha Border (AOB) wielded political power by expanding and consolidating the Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs) that are organs of new democratic political power. In this decade our party reiterated its support to the nationality struggles of Kashmir and North East. Our revolutionary movement and the Manipur national liberation struggle stood in support of each other.

Basing ourselves on these achievements, let us look at our weaknesses and mistakes. All of these tasks, all the organisations we built, are directed towards the completion of the new democratic revolution. Our party is leading the PLGA and the people in carrying on PPW against the ruling classes to complete the new democratic revolution. This is a total war that should be fought protractedly in all spheres such as ideological, political, military, cultural, psychological and economic, focussed on the destruction of the Indian state and building a new state, at present concretised in the RPCs. If a small and weaker force is to defeat a big and mighty force, then it does not have any other way than waging such a war. The counter-revolutionary war carried on by the ruling classes to suppress the revolutionary war is also waged in all these spheres. It aims at wiping us out totally. Our party had this general understanding and we did achieve successes in practice by fighting back the counter-revolution. Yet we did not pay sufficient and timely attention to theorising these experiences. The enemy has developed its counter-revolutionary war strategy and tactics (Low Intensity Conflict or LIC) drawing on worldwide experiences. Therefore, in our theorisation, we too should have a broad vision, not staying restricted within our own experiences. The task of summing up and preparing policy to face up to the enemy's LIC strategy and tactics was taken up later. But this lapse resulted in delay in equipping the whole party with a deep understanding about the intensity, expanse and concreteness of the counter-revolutionary war as a total war in a comprehensive manner. This hindered us in tackling the challenges posed by the enemy's new methods and achieving the successes we expected.

Our party lost considerable number of comrades belonging to all levels, right from CC to the village level, in the offensives of the enemy. Though leadership losses began since 2005 May itself, they increased gradually after Unity Congress and the situation took a serious turn by 2011 end. The

leadership failed to a large extent in defending itself and the ranks. These losses weakened the three magic weapons of NDR – the party, PLGA and the UF – quite a lot. This failure is a very serious one.

Sacrifices are inevitable in revolution. However, any revolution can be ultimately victorious only by destroying the enemy's strength and developing its own strength. This is applicable to PPW too. When the people take up arms, rebel and set out to wipe out the rulers, they will counter attack even more brutally. They will attack with utmost ferocity and cruelty to wipe out the revolution. The leadership that prepares to wage an armed revolution must achieve victory by fighting back counter-revolution and ultimately by wiping it out. Defending the party from the offensives of the enemy during the course of war and from left and right deviations and advancing it towards victory would be a decisive factor for victory and a responsibility of the leadership. We should advance in PPW by defeating such attacks, by wiping out the enemy bit by bit and by increasing our strength step by step.

Along with defending subjective forces and developing them, ensuring continuity of leadership is a pre-condition for the victory of the revolution. Our 'Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution' document gave us the same guidance regarding subjective forces, regarding the party. Though our party achieved significant development during its past ten years' practice, we lost considerable number of subjective forces including CCMs. Though our CC discussed this several times in the past and formulated guidelines, we are still to overcome this problem.

During Naxalbari period, the most important reason for the setback of those days was the immense loss of subjective forces including Central leadership. This is applicable to the setback of the AP and Telangana movements too. The Peru revolution suffered a setback as almost the entire top leadership got arrested. These bitter experiences teach us the vital importance of protecting leadership and preserving subjective forces. This is an ideological and political issue. It is an issue which must be addressed at the strategic level. It is an issue pertaining to understanding the enemy's LIC strategy and tactics. It is also an issue pertaining to building and strengthening of party, army and UF. Though our party has a general understanding in all these matters, we suffered losses as we were liberal and lacked concreteness in our practice. The experiences of the past decade point out to our weakness in this regard. Though the objective situation is

very favourable to the revolution, we cannot lead the revolution to victory without creating favourable subjective situation in a planned manner and without continuously preserving and developing our subjective forces during the course of struggle. In the present situation where the enemy offensive is becoming more severe, when its surveillance and infiltration methods are becoming more sophisticated, backed by modern technology, we too must strengthen and upgrade our capacities and underground structures by formulating tactics and secret work methods that would help in preserving our subjective forces and we must implement those tactics with firm determination. Only by doing this, will we be able to develop them step by step. We should keep in mind our own experiences, the teachings of the great Marxist teachers and the experiences imparted by the histories of revolutions of various countries and put efforts in this direction, to develop our party into a strong organisation advancing on the path of the invincible PPW.

Though the PLGA has gained rich and new experiences in fighting the enemy, much more needs to be done to develop its tactical and fighting capacities. We must become more efficient in making changes in our political and military tactics according to changes in the enemy's tactics, ups and downs in the development of the movement and social changes. The PLGA, particularly military and party leadership inside it, must be trained even more to fully rise up to the needs of the movement and develop it into a guerrilla army that has a clarity about its political aim, implements iron discipline and is well-trained according to the level of war and our tasks.

The relation between the development of people's war and of mass work must be grasped properly. If we had rallied the peasantry, particularly agricultural labourers and poor peasants more widely into the agrarian revolution in other rural areas and not only in the areas where RPCs are present, we could have further developed guerrilla warfare. Similarly, shortcomings in rallying the middle classes newly developing in the rural areas and the oppressed social sections into the revolutionary movement have negatively impacted the development of guerrilla warfare.

In the past ten years, the movements in plain areas and urban centres have weakened. We have also not been able to achieve notable improvement in mobilising vast non-peasant masses inside the guerrilla zones. Both of these have negatively impacted the successful

implementation of our central task. But we also have the experiences where vast masses have rallied in the Nandigram, Lalgarh, Narayanapatna movements, the movement for separate Statehood for Telangana and anti-displacement movements in various parts of our country. These are new experiences we must cherish and learn from. We should deeply probe them to grasp the social dynamics they reveal, new features they contain, as well as new forms of mass mobilisation they brought up and the potential they demonstrated for building broad unity of classes extending beyond rural areas into urban centres.

It is true that we had formulated basic tactical guidelines in our 'Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution' document to build revolutionary movements in various types of plain areas, keeping in view the changes that occurred in our country. We also have a policy document regarding urban work. But it would be worthwhile to examine how much and how deeply the strategic importance of these two areas is grasped and how much effort has been made in taking forward this crucial work. Weaknesses in this regard and failure to work as needed have led to our losing many comrades in these areas that were a soft target for enemy repression. The persisting lack in doing social investigation and study is one major reason for such weaknesses.

The majority of the people who are becoming victims of imperialist, feudal and comprador bureaucratic bourgeois exploitation and oppression live in the vast plain areas and the urban areas. Several movements are raging in the plains and the urban areas. The worldwide economic crisis is devastating the people of these two areas. There is not a single problem that they are not facing. There is no alternative to them other than struggle. And there is a lot of impact of the PW on the people of these areas. The situation in these areas is thus objectively very favourable to the revolution. What is needed is a creative approach addressing the concreteness of the situation existing in such areas and the demands of various classes and sections among the masses.

We already have decades of experience of working in such areas. Similarly, the experiences we gained in the past decade will also help us in working under the new circumstances. Drawing on these experiences, if we creatively work in a planned manner, employing new methods to suit the changed conditions and enemy's tactics, we can certainly create



opportunities to build class struggle by mobilising masses and to wage guerrilla war in these vast areas as part of PPW.

When the enemy is carrying on a severe offensive on us to isolate us from the people and destroy us, we must follow tactics allowing us to protect and preserve our forces. We preserve ourselves to fight even better and destroy the enemy. Therefore, while implementing the methods necessary to defend and preserve our forces, we should fulfil political, organisational and military tasks of the PPW and increase our mass base. The enemy's policy is to isolate us from the people and destroy us. Our policy is to go more deeply into the people, integrate more closely with them and destroy the enemy. The favourable objective condition gives us good opportunities to do this. We should utilise them and politically rally the peasantry and various sections of people who are becoming victims of intensifying feudal and imperialist exploitation and oppression and mobilise them on various political, economic, social, cultural, environmental and other issues. The advanced elements that come to the fore in these struggles should be consolidated after raising their ideological and political consciousness. We must thus increase our mass base and subjective forces. We must take political initiative to utilise the contradictions among the enemies to serve this purpose by isolating the main enemy and hastening its end. The enemy is wiping out the leadership forces of mass organisations and UF forums from village level to top level in all the guerrilla zones and is making the movement leaderless. We should guide these forces to work in the appropriate secret methods in order to preserve them. Shortcomings in controlling the feudal and bad gentry, in carrying on class struggle more sharply and in consolidating the RPCs in villages where RPCs were present and in guerrilla bases need to be rectified.

We still lag in consolidating the mass movements to the extent we built them. Apart from this, there is the persisting problem of not maintaining continuity in mass struggles. So the organisations' leadership is not developing sufficiently enough. This weakness is putting limitations to the efforts of rallying people into political movements. We need to be more adept in establishing our leadership in tactical UFs. Due to this weakness we are not able to recruit more and more members into the party and the guerrilla army. We must also improve the ideological, political, organisational and tactical training given to the party ranks working in UF according to

the needs of the movement and newly changing conditions.

According to the conditions in various areas, the government is implementing reforms for developing illusions among the masses and to isolate us from them and destroy us. We should formulate tactical programs based on the policy already formulated by us and on our experiences and implement them to fight back and defeat the enemy's LIC tactics. Similarly, the party, PLGA and the mass organisations should fight back the relentless psychological operations carried on by the enemy. We should widely propagate MLM, the politics of NDR and the successes of our movement among the people.

The underlying aspect in all of these shortcomings is that of insufficient ideological, political study, social investigation, summarising of experiences and rectification of non-proletarian trends. Though rectification campaign was taken up, we did not get the expected results. Non-proletarian trends continued in the party and caused damage. They caused damage by hampering the strengthening of the party by increasing its ideological and political level according to the level of the PW and in firm implementation of decisions. Similarly, they caused damage to the efforts in educating the party, army, UF and the people and making them play a further conscious role in the revolutionary movement.

Shortcomings persist in following iron discipline, in implementing democratic centralism, secret structure and secret work methods in the party and in leadership work methods and style. These cause damage to unity of thought and action inside the party. They were also one of the reasons for losing subjective forces in large numbers including top level leadership.

### **Comrades,**

By the time of the merger, the Indian revolutionary movement was uneven in various areas. At that time we had started our efforts to revive the AP movement (present day AP and Telangana) that went into setback. We worked with higher level tasks by mainly keeping DK and BJ at the core. We concentrated on developing class struggle in some areas in Bengal and Odisha. In majority of the rest of the States, our movement was at a primary level. Our activities were going on in various towns. We formulated tactics after merger keeping this concrete subjective situation in view. Unity

Congress formulated tasks keeping in view the development after the merger. Till 2010, other movements continued, mainly centring on the advancement of the DK, BJ movements. The development of those movements too helped the development of the DK, BJ movements. Since 2011, though we achieved successes in various spheres, the situation was not at all like it was in the first six years after merger. By 2011, the movement started facing a difficult situation.

We have briefly seen above the positive and negative aspects that we experienced in the course of the PW. Among these, the positive aspects that indicate our successes are principal and the negative aspects that indicate our failures are secondary. The principal aspects are the basis for winning successes and development of the movement. The secondary aspects are the basis for our failures and the difficult condition. Our successes and development are a result of the correct, arduous struggles full of sacrifices that were waged courageously with steely determination against the enemies by the party, PLGA and the people. Likewise, the errors and shortcomings we committed and the limitations we had in building these struggles led to our failures and difficult situation. The question of attitude is very important in facing up and tackling this situation. Let us look back at our own experiences of overcoming setback situations in the past.

Before the merger too, we achieved advances and successes in a situation where our movement was uneven in various areas. Even today, we should advance amid such unevenness in our movement by overcoming the unfavourable conditions. Our party history is proving that when the revolutionary movement faced unfavourable conditions, we could advance by fighting back the mighty enemy by utilising the favourable objective conditions and by putting subjective efforts according to such new conditions.

Our party's ideological, political and military line is correct. The ultimate victory of the PPW is decided by these factors. Though the mistakes and shortcomings that occur in practice lead to temporary failures and immense hardship, we can rectify these by sticking firmly to our line and by doing correct political, organisational and military work in the light of MLM. We can once again advance in the path towards victory. Our party took this

attitude during the countrywide setback period during the beginning of 1970s and developed the movement step by step. All those who took a different attitude during that period soon disappeared from the Indian revolutionary canvas or were left with a formal presence. The experiences of revolutions of several countries that were successful, that were defeated and those that are continuing to this day are proving that this is the correct attitude.

In the present conditions, the key task regarding party building is that of moulding the party in such a way that it is capable of tackling and surmounting the very difficult situation we face and advancing the movement again. For this we should take our past experiences and lessons learnt from them and discuss about them at all levels. At every level our comrades must discuss their own experiences, realise their mistakes and take steps to rectify them.

We should study the teachings of great Marxist teachers. If we look only at successes and advances and ignore failures and difficult situations or if we look only at these and ignore successes and advances, we would not be able to prevent past mistakes and would become victims of pessimism.

We must take the reviews made by the CC along with various Regional Bureaus and State Committees on the movement situation to the entire party till the lowest levels in the form of a campaign. We should see to it that this already ongoing campaign is completed successfully. We can overcome the present difficult situation by developing and reinforcing the ideological, political, organisational, military and cultural level of the party. We should carry on the education on these reviews by linking it with the Bolshevisation campaign that was taken up with this aim. On this occasion party history, history of Russian and Chinese revolutions and also histories of Peru, Philippines, Nepal and other countries should be studied by the Central and State Committees. Every comrade and every unit should study party history. The leadership should guide every unit from top to bottom to study our party history. They should impart training on the history of our revolution and world revolutions.

Another important task regarding party building is increasing the quality of the party. While giving party membership to new recruits, while developing them as professional revolutionaries and while giving promotions we should

definitely give importance to quality. We should select active members from the mass organisations and from the non-party members of the PLGA and give them membership and training according to our constitution. To the extent we succeed in recruiting new members in the party, it would not only expand but would also be infused with young blood and new experience. To improve the quality of the party we should carry on study and training of MLM like a campaign. We should make study of concrete conditions and discussion on creative application of theory a part of this ideological and political effort. We should improve the work methods and work style of the party committees and implement democratic centralism properly. Criticism – self-criticism should be carried on concentrating on ideological and political trends, and other important mistakes and shortcomings in issues such as tactics. The party committees should place politics in command in every work. Mass line and class line should be implemented. Clarity regarding aim, the revolutionary motivation to swim against the tide, alertness towards enemy and non-proletarian trends, working by conforming to the policy laid down, fighting courageously and with determination for achieving our goal, selflessness and imbibing a work style that strives for ‘greater, better, faster and more economical’ results should be taken up as a task by every committee and every committee member. To correct the change that occurred in the composition of committees due to losses and to develop the strengths and abilities of the committees, we should put special efforts to train up and develop secondary level comrades at each and every level into leadership. All this effort regarding party building should be done as part of Bolshevisation campaign. By making this program successful, we would be able to increase the ideological, political level and organisational solidity of the party, and thus vastly build up its capability in developing mass base and enhancing its efficiency in leading the PLGA and the people to advance the people’s war.

For the development of the movement, along with favourable objective conditions it is also necessary to have sufficient subjective strength. However, even when we are lacking in this strength, if we put in correct political and organisational efforts with determination, then the favourable objective conditions will allow us to build up subjective forces in a fairly quick manner. Our past experiences stand testimony to this. If we do not

take this into consideration, think with a metaphysical outlook and become passive thinking that our subjective forces are weak, we will never be able to overcome the hurdles we face today. The PPW path is one with an orientation which teaches us that a weak force can turn into a strong force and weak movements can develop into strong ones.

Before the success of the Russian revolution, revisionism dominated the ICM and the genuine revolutionaries, like the Bolsheviks led by Lenin, were a minority. The victory of the October Revolution smashed the revisionism of the 2nd International and unleashed a huge growth in communist parties and revolutions. When Khrushchev revisionism emerged, only a few parties stood with the CPC led by Mao Tsetung. But the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution brought forth a powerful wave of new parties and revolutions. Our party and a number of other Maoist parties are continuators of that wave. Once again, only a few parties stood up against the revisionists led by Teng who seized power in China. But that struggle gave birth to the Peruvian and Nepali revolutions. While the former has suffered a setback the latter was betrayed by neo-revisionism. But the lesson still remains. It is by making revolution that we can draw out the full potential of a favourable situation and defeat imperialism, reaction and its tool revisionism. It is by standing firm on MLM, the ideology of the proletariat, and sticking to the path of revolution that we can surmount hurdles and tackle all challenges successfully.

The global crisis of the imperialist system that broke out in 2008 is continuing. The masses in both the oppressed countries and imperialist ones are time and again coming out in struggle. PPWs are continuing. The people's war led by our party has gained widespread support all over the world. The unity of Maoist forces is increasing, facing up to the betrayal of the Prachanda-Bhattarai clique and liquidationism of Avakianism. The world situation shows great potential for a powerful new wave of revolution. But here too our subjective forces seriously lag behind the objective situation. Thus we see the contradiction, the glaring gap between the potential of the objective situation and the subjective capacities of the Maoist forces. The history of the world revolution teaches us that the principal way to overcome this is by waging revolution and advancing to victory. We have a great responsibility in this regard.

Various opinions combat each other in the party as a reflection of the class struggle going on in society. We should keep in mind that, generally, when movements are facing a difficult situation, the possibility of right and left opportunist trends coming to the fore inside the party would be more. If we are not alert to this and do not take up struggle against them in time we will suffer losses. If we over assess the strength of the revolutionary forces and look down upon the enemy, our party would suffer losses due to left mistakes. If we over assess the strength of the enemy and look down upon the strength of the revolutionary forces, again the party would suffer losses due to right mistakes. Today the latter is the main danger. We should carry on internal struggle by following correct party methods against both right and left trends. However we should not treat every difference of opinion as a basic difference on our line or enter into endless debates. Such matters should be clearly discussed in the concerned committees following proper methods according to our party constitution. This is the correct party policy followed by us towards differences of opinion and differing views that arise in the party. Some people have lost preparedness to continue along the arduous path of PPW and the will to sacrifice. They assess the might of the enemy as permanent and the people's strength as always being weak. They are making bankrupt arguments joining hands with the enemy. We should strongly fight back against such betrayers.

Recently, in our country some persons have once again brought forth views that capitalist relations have replaced semi-feudal relations in Indian society and that PPW line is not suitable for our country. Some among them are arguing vaguely about insurrection line. The Communist League of India (CLI) formulated its line with this understanding three decades back. It is well known that it has not succeeded even a little bit despite long years of trying to practice it. We should completely reject this trend. After Second World War, led by the US imperialists, many changes have occurred in oppressed countries according to the interests of the neo-colonialists and their lackeys. Despite this, all the national liberation struggles or new democratic revolutions that were waged in these countries till date followed the protracted path or PPW line respectively. In some countries revolutions are continuing on the path of PPW. This is possible because of the basic semi-colonial, semi-feudal nature of these societies and the basic

contradictions in them. The NDR is continuing since decades in our country for similar reasons. It is due to these social relations that people are joining in making this revolution. After 1947 considerable changes occurred in our country's economic, political, cultural and other spheres. However they did not bring any qualitative change in the nature of our society. The history of NDR in our country is proving this very historical truth. So we should reject wrong views that deny this reality and expose the arguments brought forth by them.

In every country and society, where class contradictions and class struggles are continuously sharpening, changes continue to occur. In our country too, not only in the economic, political and cultural spheres but also in other factors that seriously impact the revolutionary war, such as transport, communication, media, technology, art of war, topography, proportion of rural and urban population and in legislature, administration and judiciary many changes have taken place. Even during the LPG period, these took place unevenly in our country where uneven development is present. We should stick on firmly to our political and military line and study these changes deeply, keeping in view the dialectical relation between them and our strategy and tactics. These changes are impacting some aspects of our strategy. That is why we should implement our strategy creatively and develop our tactics. We should make necessary changes in slogans, struggle and organisational forms and priorities that do not help in mobilising the people vastly and actively into PW. This was necessary in the past and it is even more so at present when changes are taking place relatively rapidly. When class struggle is continuing fiercely, study and investigation of conditions and formulating tactics according to them has a lot of significance.

So far as our country is concerned we should study these changes from another point of view too. It is necessary to understand that the changes that occurred in various spheres in our country have occurred due to the unprecedented level of neo-colonial exploitation, oppression and control of the imperialists. It is necessary to decide the direction of our tactics keeping this in view.

Our 'Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution' document has stated clearly that constantly studying the phenomena in the world and the country, investigating and analysing them in the light of MLM, educating the party



based on the summarisations, actively and widely rallying the people into the arena of struggles and developing the necessary struggle and organisational forms are of utmost necessity. When we continue to implement tactics that are no longer suited to the conditions, to that extent the movement too would be damaged. We had already reviewed that one of the reasons for the setback of the AP movement was such a mistake. We have also realised that some such mistakes have been committed in the past decade too.

The party must retain initiative where we are strong, regain it where we have weakened and develop the movement by rectifying mistakes in time. As long as we firmly grasp the ideological weapon of MLM, and develop the political and military line through its creative application, we can overcome our weaknesses by improving political, organisational and military efforts. Such a correct practice will once again regenerate favourable subjective conditions in all our areas of work for achieving victory in the NDR by overcoming the present situation we face.

Analysing the post-election scene, our CC has pointed out that the formation of the RSS dominated NDA government and the threat of Brahmanical Hindu fascism has brought forward the urgent and important task of building broad-based and powerful mass movements by uniting all the revolutionary and democratic organisations, forces and individuals and the vast masses. Attacks on religious minorities and atrocities against Dalits will increase. Progressive intellectuals and movements will be targeted. Contradictions among the ruling classes will also sharpen as a fall out of the drive to impose Hindu fascism and the concentration of government power in the hands of a small coterie close to Modi. The stealthy attempt to impose 'Hindi-Hindu-Hindustan' on all the nationalities will bring up more opposition. All of this will provide new and diverse opportunities to unite a broad array of forces in struggle.

The Modi regime is aggressively pushing the LPG agenda and the neocolonial grip is tightening. It seeks to cover this up with false talk of nationalism. This nationalist posture of the Sangh Parivar must be challenged by facts about the wholesale sell-out of the country by the Modi government.

Wide and concrete propaganda must be carried out to expose the real pro-imperialist, pro-feudal nature of Modi's agenda.

The Third phase of Operation Green Hunt has started. The Modi regime will also be stepping up attacks on national liberation movements and people's movements. This attack on the people will be accompanied by more draconian laws, blatant violation of even formal justice, and more brutal persecution of political prisoners and suppression of activists who take up such issues. We must energetically intervene in such issues. There is good potential for building and strengthening civil rights/human rights movements in a broad manner. We must try to unite them with the ongoing activities against Operation Green Hunt and the defence of political prisoners' rights.

The aggressive promotion of Modi's 'development' agenda will see an unprecedented level of displacement. The very existence of the adivasis will be severely threatened. This will bring forward mass struggles. We should actively intervene in these, either directly through suitable forms or by playing a supportive role. We must keep in mind that it has the potential to give rise to a massive mass movement.

The aggressive neo-liberal policies of the Modi government will intensify the hardships faced by the peasantry, workers, government employees, and various sections like women, student, and youth. We must pay attention to intervene in such issues and organise the people in struggles.

To overcome the situation we are facing today, we must protect our subjective forces, consolidate them, strengthen our mass base and thus advance the protracted people's war more powerfully. The new situation emerging after the coming of the Modi regime must be utilised in this direction. It no doubt brings up serious challenges, but it also brings even more opportunities. We must boldly go more deeply and broadly among the different oppressed classes and sections of the people, mobilise them politically and unite them in struggle. We must respond to each and every anti-people, anti-country policy and measure of the Modi government, persistently expose them, mobilise all the people in struggles against it, and strive to link them up with the ongoing protracted people's war. We must go all out and seize these opportunities. \*

“The attitude of a political party towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it *in practice* fulfils its obligations towards its *class* and the toiling *masses*. Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analysing the circumstances which gave rise to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it — that is the earmark of a serious party; that is the way it should perform its duties, that is the way it should educate and train the class, and then the masses.”

- *Lenin (Left-Wing Communism an Infantile Disorder)*

Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again... till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people’s cause, and they will never go against this logic... Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again ... till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic.

- *Mao (Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle, Mao Selected Works, Vol. IV)*

We should rid our ranks of all impotent thinking. All views that overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the strength of the people are wrong.

- *Mao (The Present Situation and Our Tasks, Mao Selected Works, Vol. IV)*

We must first raise the political consciousness of the vanguard so that, resolute and unafraid of sacrifice, they will surmount every difficulty to win victory.

- *Mao (The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains, Mao Selected Works, Vol. III)*

We must thoroughly clear away all ideas among our cadres of winning easy victories through good luck, without hard and bitter struggle, without sweat and blood.

- *Mao (Build Stable Areas in the Northeast, Mao Selected Works, Vol. IV)*

We should carry on constant propaganda among the people on the facts of world progress and the bright future ahead so that they will build their confidence in victory. At the same time, we must tell the people and tell our comrades that there will be twists and turns in our road. There are still many obstacles and difficulties along the road of revolution... Some comrades do not like to think much about difficulties. But difficulties are facts; we must recognize as many difficulties as there are and should not adopt a “policy of non-recognition”. We must recognize difficulties, analyse them and combat them. There are no straight roads in the world; we must be prepared to follow a road which twists and turns and not try to get things on the cheap. It must not

be imagined that one fine morning all the reactionaries will go down on their knees of their own accord. In a word, while the prospects are bright, the road has twists and turns. There are still many difficulties ahead which we must not overlook. By uniting with the entire people in a common effort, we can certainly overcome all difficulties and win victory.

- *Mao (On the Chungking Negotiations, Mao Selected Works, Vol. IV)*

Anyone who sees only the bright side but not the difficulties cannot fight effectively for the accomplishment of the Party's tasks.

- *Mao (On Coalition Government, Mao Selected Works, Vol. III)*

New things always have to experience difficulties and setbacks as they grow. It is sheer fantasy to imagine that the cause of socialism is all plain sailing and easy success, without difficulties and setbacks or the exertion of tremendous efforts.

- *Mao (On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, Mao Selected Works, Vol. V)*

In times of difficulty we must not lose sight of our achievements, must see the bright future and must pluck up our courage.

- *Mao (Serve the People, Mao Selected Works, Vol. III)*

The reactionary forces and we both have difficulties. But the difficulties of the reactionary forces are insurmountable because they are forces on the verge of death and have no future. Our difficulties can be overcome because we are new and rising forces and have a bright future.

- *Mao (Greet the New High Tide of the Chinese Revolution, Mao Selected Works, Vol. IV)*

At certain times in the revolutionary struggle, the difficulties outweigh the favourable conditions and so constitute the principal aspect of the contradiction and the favourable conditions constitute the secondary aspect. But through their efforts the revolutionaries can overcome the difficulties step by step and open up a favourable new situation; thus a difficult situation yields place to a favourable one.

- *Mao (On Contradiction, Mao Selected Works, Vol. I)*

Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless; we hope that all our fellow fighters will courageously shoulder their responsibilities and overcome all difficulties, fearing no setbacks or gibes, nor hesitating to criticize us Communists and give us their suggestions. "He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor" — this is the dauntless spirit needed in our struggle to build socialism and communism.

- *Mao (Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work, Mao Selected Works, Vol. V)*

# **Let us Base Ourselves on the Development of the PLGA! Let us Overcome the Shortcomings! Let us Face the Challenges!**

**– Basavaraj**

*[This is an article written on behalf of the Central Military Commission of CPI(Maoist) on the occasion of the 10th anniversary celebration of the party about the progress achieved by the PLGA in the past decade]*

The Naxalbari armed peasant revolutionary upsurge of 1967 was a great turn in the history of Indian democratic revolution. It is a matter of pride for the CPI(Maoist) to inherit the heroic armed peasant struggles such as Telangana, Punapra-Vayalar and Tebhaga and launch armed agrarian revolution and continue it. The Naxalbari struggle was a leap since the Telangana armed peasants struggle. This leap was possible due to intense ideological struggle and revolts led by our party founder leaders Comrades Charu Mazumdar and Kanhai Chatterji against the revisionist and neo-revisionist leadership.

The spark of Naxalbari spread to several areas in India such as Srikakulam, Sonarpur, Kanksa, Mushahari, Debra-Gopiballabhpur, Terai, Lakhimpur-Kheri, Birbhum and to other areas in the states of Paschim Banga, Andhra Pradesh (AP), Bihar, Uttar Pradesh (UP) and Punjab and to Tamil Nadu, Keralam, Jammu-Kashmir and Maharashtra. A strong foundation was laid for the revolutionary movement in West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Bihar states. The Naxalbari armed peasant revolution immensely inspired a generation in our country while it equally worried the ruling classes.

Guerilla formations began to be formed as an embryonic form of the people's army after arms were seized from the enemy forces and the landlords for the first time during Naxalbari and other movements. With the formation of revolutionary peasant committees where the authority of

the landlords was crushed, the revolutionary power of the peasantry was established though at a primary level for the first time in our country. This was clearly seen particularly in Srikakulam and Birbhum. It was the immediate goal of the various peasant revolutionary movements and Sonarpur and Kanska revolutionary peasant movements that erupted in our country following the Naxalbari path in those days.

The people's guerilla forces that emerged with the advancement of the revolutionary movement gradually developed and later led to the formation of Peoples' Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA) on December 2 2000 for the first time in the history of Indian revolution. The PLGA led by the party played a glorious role in the revolutionary movement's history by advancing the armed agrarian revolution for a long period against the reactionary state armed forces with the aim of establishing base areas. Thus, the protracted people's war (PPW) line emerged not only in the form of a theory but also through the concrete practice of the above struggles. Our party consolidated in the course of the protracted people's war. The army (PLGA) developed. Mass base developed.

After the setback of the Naxalbari upsurge, the two main streams (erstwhile PW-PU and MCC) reviewed the past, took lessons, took up correct revolutionary line and put efforts to advance the armed agrarian revolutionary movement in AP-Telangana, Bihar-Jharkhand (BJ), Paschim Banga and Dandakaranya (DK).

They utilised the post-Emergency period effectively. They created an upsurge of struggles by the working class, peasant, student and youth in several areas of the country. They took up vast revolutionary propaganda campaigns through literary and mass propaganda campaigns. Before the Emergency and immediately after its lifting, the civil rights movement too gained momentum. The tactics taken up by these two revolutionary streams in this period helped a lot in making preparations for armed struggle by consolidating and expanding the revolutionary mass base among various sections of people. They effectively linked the open and secret struggle and organisational forms. The MOs fought back enemy tactics aimed at crushing the revolutionary movement, carried on their activities and consolidated themselves. They carefully preserved the secret nature of the party.

They put efforts to arm the people who participated in the anti-feudal anti-imperialist class struggles. Initially they developed armed guerrilla units by arming themselves by seizing weapons from the enemy and by leading the people's militia and people's guerrilla forces. The armed structures gradually strengthened. They fought back the enemy offensive. Thus they could continue the armed struggle in this entire period. In this course, the agrarian revolution spread to AP-Telangana, BJ, DK (Chhattisgarh-Maharashtra-Madhya Pradesh), Odisha, Paschim Banga, Karnataka, Keralam, Punjab, Haryana, UP, Uttarakhand and Asom states. In some of these states, the anti-feudal peasant armed struggle brought about a new turn. The mass base of these two streams developed considerably. They influenced the students, youth, workers, women, Dalits and intellectuals. They developed an anti-imperialist movement in our country through propaganda, agitation and class struggles. They mobilised the peasantry, particularly the poor and landless peasantry and by basing on them gained several considerable victories in continuing and developing PPW by developing armed agrarian revolutionary guerrilla warfare against feudalism in the rural areas. They advanced the PPW by resisting and defeating severe repression and several suppression campaigns relentlessly unleashed by the reactionary ruling classes with the support of the imperialists. By basing on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) and keeping in view the changes that occurred in the world, our country and the movement, these parties made changes in their tactics. They developed the Indian revolutionary line by synthesizing the positive and negative experiences of the revolutionary movement. They advanced the revolutionary movement in our country as part of the World Socialist Revolution. They achieved several considerable successes in continuing PPW and developing it through developing armed agrarian revolutionary guerrilla warfare against feudalism in the rural areas by rallying the peasant masses, particularly the poor and landless peasantry and depending on them. They advanced the PPW by resisting and defeating severe repression and several repressive campaigns implemented relentlessly by the reactionary ruling classes with the help of the imperialists. As a result the PGA led by the erstwhile PW and the PLGA led by the erstwhile MCCI and village level people's political power

organs in embryonic forms were established in the strategic areas. Along with the emergence of CPI(Maoist) as a relatively strong party through the merger of two revolutionary streams on September 21 2004, a strong and united PLGA was formed through the merger of their two guerrilla armies and united mass organisations were established through the merger of various mass organisations. The merger of CPI(Maoist) and CPI(ML)NAXALBARI was another turn in the efforts to unite the genuine Maoist parties. This unity would help in developing the ability of CPI(Maoist) to fulfil its role as the vanguard of the Indian revolution in a better manner.

Our new party was successful in developing a guerilla army (PLGA) that works towards establishing base areas in the vast rural tracts of AP-Telangana, Jharkhand, Bihar, DK, Chhattisgarh-Maharashtra, Odisha and Paschim Banga in the direction of building a full-fledged people's liberation army (PLA) and in developing guerilla zones. Our party is leading the PPW to complete the NDR with agrarian revolution as its axis through a strategy of surrounding the cities from the rural areas.

Let us look at the development achieved in our efforts towards building PLA and establishing base areas and in waging guerrilla warfare by the PLGA led by our new party in the past decade.

### **The development achieved by PLGA in ideological, political, organisational, military and cultural spheres**

Whenever a new situation arose in the course of our revolutionary practice in the past decade, our party formulated new tactics. By successfully holding our party's Unity Congress-9th Congress and by reviewing the practice from time to time later in the CC, PB, CMC, RB meetings, the respective plenums in the states and in committee meetings, our party summarised its experience.

Our party's CC (Central Committee) and the CMC (Central Military Commission) imparted ideological, political, organisational, military and cultural training to party ranks, PLGA forces, revolutionary mass organisations and RPCs basing on – the rich basic documents of Unity Congress - 9th Congress; the policy documents formulated by these, the Political-Military Line, mobile warfare, PLGA operational principles, policy



against enemy LIC, circulars and letters. It released – political-military policy circular on the tasks and functioning of commissions-commands, fire and movement, raid, ambush notes, landmines, booby-traps, platoon handbook, company formation drills, sniper training, pistol training, night movement, guerilla air defence, artillery, improvised explosives 1 and 2, improvised grenades, battalion formation drills, PLGA Handbook, and released very valuable military books such as tactics to resist enemy infiltration into strategic areas. Necessary literature to understand the enemy counterinsurgency strategy was released. To build and develop political and military intelligence, the CC released the book ‘Sixth Sense’ and other literature. The CMC formed an instructor team at the central level. It is publishing the military organ ‘Awami Jung’, Study Series and other military literature in Telugu and Hindi. The Central and State Military Commissions, the State, Region, District and Area Commands held political, military training camps, ideological and political classes to develop the political and military level of the PLGA. They held some special political and military training camps for women. It held training camps for the militia at the lower levels. The CMC introduced the concept of mobile military school to impart training according to the needs from the state level to the lower levels and formed them in some areas. It took up studies to some extent on destroying the enemy forces through raids and ambushes and destroying mine-proof vehicles.

We established at various levels technical, supply, intelligence, communication, press, education, medical and other departments at the central level and in various guerilla zones as part of PLGA so that it can work effectively.

The PLGA along with playing the main role in annihilating the enemy forces and seizing weapons, also play an active role in fulfilling strategic tasks of preserving party, military and UF activities such as party Congress, conferences, plenums, study camps, training camps, meetings, technical, education and medical camps and defended the party leadership and the political power organs from the enemy offensives. We could conduct all these activities successfully only because the PLGA heroically resisted the enemy forces and was alert. The PLGA mobilised the people into

production activities and also participated in agricultural production.

The PLGA is also fulfilling the cultural tasks of uprooting imperialist and feudal culture from the hearts from the people and replacing it with scientific, progressive, democratic and revolutionary culture. Only when revolutionary ideas take root among the people strongly they would turn into a revolutionary force. For this, it is doing cultural work among the people by carrying on ideological and political work against archaic, Brahminical, feudal, patriarchal and imperialist vicious culture and through its own practice and through meetings, song, dance and other art forms.

The PLGA took up the following slogans. 1) Recruit youth on a large scale to develop PLGA into PLA. 2) Help the people in building people's political power organs. 3) Seize weapons from the enemy to arm the PLGA. 4) Intensify the PW and defeat the multipronged offensive on the people and 5) Integrate with the people and serve the people. The PLGA strengthened politically and militarily by implementing these in the past decade.

The PLGA led by the party intensified guerrilla warfare all over the country and expanded it in the past decade. In this course it helped the people in destroying the enemy authority at the local level in DK and AOB and establishing people's power organs. Especially in DK, the PLGA helped in the establishment and relative strengthening of some area and division level revolutionary people's governments (at a primary level).

We gained rich experiences in struggle and organisational forms during the course of PPW led by our party. Our party's experience in understanding guerilla warfare, people's army, guerilla zones, people's political power organs, guerilla bases and base areas increased. It was once again proven

**“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 turning this possibility into actuality requires both correct policy and subjective effort. It is then that the subjective plays the decisive role.”**

**- Mao (On Protracted War)**

in our practice that the guerilla army and the guerilla warfare would be the principle organisational struggle forms in guerilla zones, that guerilla warfare intensifies as PLGA consolidates and leads to the establishment of revolutionary people's political power.

We concluded by synthesising the great experiences gained during the practice of creative application of the PW theory formulated by Mao to our revolutionary war's concrete conditions that there would be a contention between the enemy and us for political power mainly in the guerilla zones. In such areas, it is putting efforts to destroy the enemy's political power and build people's political power. In such places, destruction is primary and construction is secondary. When the guerilla forces are able to gain an upper hand by putting up a determined struggle against the enemy forces it is possible to establish people's political power. On the other hand, when the guerilla forces are forced to retreat due to severe repression, the enemy is reviving their rule. Our experience has once again proved that there would be severe contention for power in the guerilla zones, to be precise, in the guerilla zones the political power frequently changes hands depending on our strength [strength of the party, PLGA (people's army), people's consolidated power and their role in PW], their support and the enemy's strength and that this would continue for a long period till the people's army completely seizes power from the enemy and establishes base areas.

The party formulated concrete tasks to consolidate, expand and develop the PLGA to build new democratic power organs in the strategic areas to establish guerrilla bases (GBs) as their consolidated form and to take up rectification campaigns and tactical counteroffensives and TCOCs. Our revolutionary movement could reach the present stage through our practice in implementing this task.

Keeping in view the concrete conditions of our PW and its needs, we developed our military line by blending the lessons learnt from practice with the military science developed by Mao.

## **Development in guerilla warfare**

The PLGA led by the party carried on guerilla warfare intensely and on a wide scale to fight back the enemy repression and the new tactics used by the enemy against the countrywide revolutionary movement in the past decade. Our PLGA gave active support to Nandigram, Lalgarh,

Narayanpatna struggles along with several anti-displacement agitations and the separate Telangana movement. The PLGA stunned the enemy by conducting higher-level tactical counteroffensives that count as great models in guerilla warfare in DK, BJ, Odisha, Paschim Banga and Andhra-Odisha Border (AOB). It could win victories in these attacks only by creatively implementing guerilla war principles of secrecy, speed and determination according to the conditions and fighting courageously with determination and a spirit of sacrifice. Where it did not implement these principles properly, it either failed or won partial victories. It put efforts to develop guerilla warfare to a higher level by gaining new experiences in this course. In every instance where the enemy suffered losses in guerilla attacks they used new tactics to suppress the PW. The PLGA fought heroically with sacrificing spirit to defeat these and gave them a fitting reply. It played a crucial role in defending, consolidating and expanding the party, mass movements and people's new political power organs from enemy attacks. The party and PLGA gained great experiences in formulating tactics by progressing in the battle with the enemy. The party took up several timely recruitment campaigns with the aim of transforming guerilla warfare to mobile warfare and PLGA into PLA according to the changes in the development of the war. It built higher-level military formations (companies, guerilla battalions) in some guerilla zones. This led to considerable change in war. Commands were formed at bureau level starting from ERC, CRC commands up to the lower levels. Our PLGA won great victories in annihilating the enemy forces in large numbers and seizing arms and ammunition. In the past decade it wiped out 2067 police and paramilitary forces and injured two thousand of them. It seized more than 2120 arms and more than 92,000 rounds of ammunition from the enemy forces. It successfully conducted some actions with mobile war characteristics while carrying on higher-level guerilla warfare. 165 brave commanders and fighters were martyred during the tactical counteroffensives conducted by the PLGA.

The PLGA gained several new, vast and rich experiences in guerilla warfare by annihilating the enemy forces and seizing arms and ammunition during raids, opportunity/ deliberate/area ambushes, night ambushes, mine warfare, booby traps, special action team actions, money actions, attacks on explosives vehicles, attacks on helicopters, surprise attacks and single

actions. It annihilated several notorious landlords, ruling-class politicians, police officers, police informers and betrayers along with those having armed security. It rallied the people against counterrevolutionary Salwa Judum, Sendra, Nagarik Suraksha Samiti, social-fascist Harmad Bahini and against private armies such as Ranveer Sena that were formed under the leadership of upper caste feudal forces; PLGA heroically resisted, suppressed and defeated them. It is engaged in a fierce battle to suppress counterrevolutionary armed gangs such as state-sponsored TPC, JPC, JLT, PLFI, SPM, Shanti Sena, Shanti Committee and Bhairab Sena.

The central and state governments are implementing LIC strategy by carrying on several counterrevolutionary political-military campaigns and expanding carpet security, fortified camps and stations to wipe out the countrywide revolutionary movement. Our PLGA conducted Rani Bodili, Murkinar, Badgaon, Madhuban, Ara, NMDC, Bokaro, R. Udaygiri, Khas Mahal, Rajpur-Baghela, Sankrail, Nalco, Silda short surprise attacks and raids. These attacks served as great inspiration to guerilla warfare all over the country by wiping out enemy forces on a large scale. These could damage the morale of the enemy forces stationed in fortified camps and stations from time to time.

Attacks were conducted on enemy armouries such as Giridih, Operation Ropeway ‘Nayagarh’, Jhajha (Jamui) to develop new and higher level formations in the PLGA and arm them. Hundreds of weapons and tens of thousands rounds of ammunitions were seized. Nayagarh raid was conducted at a higher level. PLGA displayed its best abilities in this mobile warfare action that was conducted in a most courageous manner in Odisha under the joint command leadership of Eastern and Central regions. It gained expertise in maintaining secrecy, crossing vast plain areas, forests and rivers, in implementing C4 in the best manner possible, in fire and movement and in conducting various military manoeuvres. The ruling classes were shaken to the core with these longstanding manoeuvres in this raid conducted by the PLGA basing on the vast masses.

In actions such as Urpalmetta and Minpa in DK, Jorko-Indipidi, Behradih, Latehar, Kajra and Dhardharia of BJ, the PLGA forces with the support of the people chased the enemy forces that infiltrated into the remote areas in our guerilla zones in large numbers and were conducting mopping up

operations and combings, divided them into parts and annihilated the weaker part in large numbers. The PLGA developed its manoeuvring capability in these actions and it led to a qualitative change in inflicting losses to the enemy forces coming on foot.

In several big and medium type offensives such as Tadimetla-1, Tonguda, Bhattugudem, Bhattum, Minpa, Markanar, Laheri, Kongera, Bhadrakali, Kistaram, Kosalnar, Tedum, Chitram, Manjhipara, Nukanpalli, Chintaguppa of DK; in Pirtand of BJ; and in Kalingbadi of Odisha, the PLGA inflicted losses to the Road Opening Parties (ROPs) and pushed the transfers-deployments of enemy forces and tours of their officials into an uncertain condition from time to time and also damaged their morale.

The PLGA conducted area ambushes in Dulwadih, Phusro-Kondwadih Bidwa and Amuvatikar in BJ and Madanveda in DK, to fight back the enemy mopping-up measures, annihilated the enemy forces in big numbers, seized weapons and stopped the belligerence of the enemy. It gave good experience to the guerilla forces and commanders.

The PLGA defeated the tactics of the enemy of coming on motorcycles to conduct attacks through actions such as Jaraghati, Kuduru and Sangdi in DK and Dekunpani in Odisha. It damaged the confidence of the enemy that they could deploy additional forces wearing bullet-proof jackets on speeding motorcycles.

The enemy expanded carpet security and conducted combings and attacks on the party comrades, PLGA forces and local leadership using 'cordon and search' methods and implemented the tactic of preventing PLGA attacks. The PLGA fought back these tactics of the enemy through ambushes such as Pamulavaya, Banda-1, Darbhagudem, Tadkel, Modugupal-2 and Tahkawada in DK.

The enemy is using mine-proof vehicles (MPVs) and helicopters on a large scale to defend themselves from PLGA forces, for transfer of troops and to conduct attacks on the guerilla forces. It became common for the PLGA to damage the enemy forces travelling in MPVs and vehicles. The PLGA creatively developed mine warfare, produce improvised mines in various sizes, used them successfully on mine-proof/bullet-proof/ordinary vehicles of the enemy, annihilated them in big numbers and seized weapons. Lalgah-1, Burudi Baandh, Piralı Gaadi Mod, Lalgah-2, Ramgarh-Pingboni

of Paschim Banga; Bhim Baandh of BJ; Chandauli of UP, Kiriburu, Pundidhiri, Landup, Goelkera-1, Karmahi, Latehar, Syampur Bhatta, Lakrai Mor, Bargarh, Surangi Tongari, Baldharwa, Avaspit, Barha, Ganti, Chakrabaandh, Majhauri, Goh, Baba Mandir, Farsagaon, Rahe, Bokaro, Samaripet-Balrampur, Phulbasi Nadi on the Jharkhand-Chhattisgarh borders; Gampakonda, Tellarayi, Mantriyamba, Palur, Rallagadda of AOB; Padedda, Karremarka, Vinjaram, Navatola, Kotha Cheruvu, Adejhari, Cheribeda, Mardapal, Mandhagiri, Kokavada, Banjarghati, Asirguda, Ganeshnala, Singavaram, Peda Kodepal, Aasa, Irupgutta of DK and Badarpanga and Chindgarh of Odisha are examples of such guerilla actions.

The PLGA using its fire power effectively fought back the enemy forces travelling in vehicles. It inflicted casualties on the police forces travelling in vehicles through several surprise attacks. The Rushikund, Raniganj Bazar, Badhania, Khunti, Goelkera-2, Toll Plaza raids and Twanda Bazar, Latehar, Vishnupur ambushes and Sono, Chainpur and Mahuliatand attacks – all conducted in BJ; the Tavvetola, Kirandul-1, Mandhagiri, Sanbayil attacks in DK; the Jannuguda raid in Odisha and the raid on Chikmagalur forest checkpost are all examples of such actions.

The PLGA exploited the weaknesses of the enemy and inflicted casualties on the enemy by secretly going very near the police stations/camps. The PLGA inflicted casualties on the enemy forces through frontal attacks and ambushes in actions such as Jara, Bhejji and Madanveda in DK and seized weapons. It wiped out the police in Burkapal and Chintalnar of DK through accurate shooting.

The enemy took up tougher measures and changed their tactics to counter the mine warfare successfully used by the PLGA. The PLGA creatively fought back even these tactics taken up by the enemy and gained some more successes. It utilised people's intelligence for this. It seized explosive vehicles of mines in Mahamaya, Tipragarh and Bastar in DK and in Saranda of BJ and seized several tonnes of explosives.

Though the enemy is trying to gain an upper hand by strengthening carpet security, the PLGA Special Action Teams wiped out large numbers of enemy forces by carrying on manoeuvres very secretly in actions conducted in Dodraj, Pusutola, Kamanar and Murmuri of DK and Bokaro, Vanso, Mohabbatpur and Pakud of BJ. and imparted lessons.

The PLGA gave a major blow to the head-strong AP Grey Hounds commando forces in the Balimela (Malkangiri) reservoir by studying the weaknesses of the enemy travelling on water. Thirty eight Grey Hounds commandos died a dog's death here.

The PLGA conducted attacks by identifying the weaknesses of the railway police forces in Kureru of AOB, Narganjo Biramdih, Goghi-Bariyapur of Paschim Banga, Bihar and Jharkhand, annihilated the police and seized weapons.

In Odisha PLGA annihilated the leader of Hindu fascists Laxmanananda. This not only exposed saffron terrorism but also helped the development of PW there.

In DK, the ruling class representative, founder of Salwa Judum, mass murderer and die-hard landlord Mahendra Karma was wiped out along with his ten body guards. This sent shivers down the spines of the exploiting ruling classes.

The attacks conducted by the PLGA with initiative and presence of mind on helicopters added a new experience to the guerilla warfare. The PLGA attacks on helicopters at Pidiya, Peda Kedwal, Temelwada, Badiya Bhattum in DK and Porahat, Kolad and Karamdih in BJ stunned the Indian Air Force and the enemy forces.

The exploiting ruling classes are following the four-cut policy (food, money, arms-ammunition supplies and people's support-recruitment) and encircling the PW. The PLGA conducted attacks on the economic sources of the enemy and seized money on a large scale. Seizure of five crore rupees from an attack on ICICI bank vehicle (NH-33, Ranchi), one crore rupees from an attack on the State Bank of India vehicle on the Malkangiri-Chitrakonda road, 49 lakhs rupees from an attack on the SBI vehicle on the Rourkela-Barsava road are examples of this.

The PLGA successfully conducted campaigns to boycott fake parliamentary and assembly elections in the past ten years to the best of its ability. It preserved the revolutionary people's political power emerging in some parts of our country and brought it to the fore as an alternative to the exploiting system. This is gaining the confidence of the people of our country day by day.

The enemy launched another countrywide big political, military offensive



Operation Green Hunt since mid-2009 and intensified the attacks on the revolutionary movement with Special Forces. As part of this the CoBRA (CRPF commando) forces launched their first attack near Singanamadugu (Dantewada) village on our comrades and the people. Our PLGA retaliated and this seriously impacted the morale of the enemy forces. This operation conducted by the CoBRA forces with the support of several Special Police Officers and hundreds of supporting forces failed and the countrywide propaganda of the enemy about the CoBRA forces received a big blow.

The PLGA completely wiped out a company force of CRPF through fire power in the historic Mukaram (Tadimetla-2) ambush on April 6, 2010. Though the enemy came to the ambush site in a MPV to stop the PLGA forces, the PLGA completely destroyed that vehicle and completely defeated their tactics. This action that would be etched in the history of the Indian PW as a most important incident seriously worried the enemy classes all over the country. This not only increased the prestige of our PW in our country and abroad but also helped in further attracting all the oppressed masses towards Maoist PW and in making them think.

The enemy planned large scale mopping-up operations during the second phase of the political and military offensive – OGH. Near Mamayil (West Singbhum), our guerilla camp was surrounded by 7,000 enemy forces and attacked. The PLGA fought continuously for thirty hours, annihilated five policemen, injured nine and foiled the enemy encirclement. In Saranda the enemy attacked our forces with a 10,000 strong force. The PLGA resisted this encirclement operation under a Centralised Command. It fought for 72 hours and wiped out five policemen in different incidents, injured twelve of them and foiled the operation. Hundreds of CoBRA and Koya commandos razed down Timpuram, Morpalli, Tadimetla villages in Chintalnar (Dantewada) area, murdered and raped and were destroying everything. The PLGA forces fought for hours together near Timpuram, wiped out three CoBRA commandos, injured nine of them and chased them away. The people also participated in this attack in huge numbers. These won their place as big military operations and battles in guerilla warfare. C4 was implemented in a better manner in these.

As the enemy tactics implemented in daytime continued to face failure one after another in the hands of the people's guerrillas, they changed tactics and increased night movements like guerillas. So PLGA concentrated on

night ambushes. The PLGA wiped out enemy forces in considerable numbers in tactical counter-offensives such as Borguda, Gattam, Kirandul - 1, 2, Bade Jhaliya night opportunity raid in DK, the action of MP Indrajit Namdhari's convoy in BJ and seized arms.

During bandhs, protest days and economic blockades conducted in protest against fake encounters of revolutionaries, massacres of innocent people, atrocities and suppression campaigns all over the country and in various states, thousands of people and the people's militia mobilised under the leadership of PLGA and conducted sabotage actions. They destroyed properties worth crores of rupees belonging to the MNCs, CBB and landlord classes, central and state governments. Hundreds of actions were conducted to harass the enemy. Enemy supplies were seized in several actions.

Small PLGA and people's militia teams conducted several actions where they attacked the policemen who visit the weekly markets in small numbers (one, two or as teams), annihilated or injured them with traditional or modern weapons and seized weapons.

In Makadchuvva (Gadchiroli) hundreds of central and state commando forces surrounded the Chatgaon Area Janatana Sarkar President comrade Ranita in several encirclements and indiscriminately attacked her with modern weapons. But she heroically fought till her last breath, wiped out three commandos and injured five. Ranita became a model for Janatana Sarkars, party and the PLGA forces. Similarly in Bihar, Jharkhand, DK and other movement areas PLGA commanders and fighters like comrade David (Mamayil) heroically fought with the enemy forces for hours together, defending the leadership with their lives, defeated the enemy and stood as role models.

Cruel police officers like SP Surendra Babu and SP Amarjit Balihar in BJ, SP Vivek Chowbey, CRPF Commandant, STF Company Commander Lavkumar Bhagat, C-60 commando leader Chinna Venta, Company Commanders of Koya Commandos in DK, ASP Rajesh Pawar (Sunbayil, Gariaband) and BSF Commandants in AOB, anti-people bourgeois party leaders who stood as backbones of the SJ, SJ goons, SPOs, Koya Commandos in DK and leaders and die-hard members of armed reactionary organisations like TPC in BJ and several cruel bad gentry were annihilated in various states by the PLGA.

Several landlords, their agents and counter-revolutionary forces who

stood against the movement were wiped out by the PLGA through single actions.

The PLGA concentrated on weeding out informers and coverters who as part of the enemy network, served as their eyes and ears and attacked the revolutionary movement. In the past ten years it annihilated hundreds of such enemy agents.

As we conducted jail breaks with initiative like Jehanabad, Dantewada, Lakhisarai, Giridih, Chaibasa, Rourkela, Saraikela-Karsawan (from inside and outside) by identifying the enemy weaknesses, tens of our party leadership, cadres and hundreds of oppressed masses who were incarcerated for years together could attain liberation from the enemy camps. The PLGA conducted raids on SJ camps in DK and released several people who were incarcerated for years together in those camps and sent them to their villages.

The people and the people's militia forces mobilised on a huge scale and put up armed and unarmed resistance in the past ten years and forced the closure of several enemy camps. Recently two newly established big camps were forced to close down. With the active support of the people the guerillas and the people's militia put up armed resistance at Minpa (Sukma) CRPF camp and the people, particularly women put up extensive collective and unarmed resistance at Harrakoder (East Bastar) CRPF camp and forced their closure.

One of the main reasons for all these successes won by the PLGA is the great sacrifices of the people and their active participation in war. The party leadership, members, PLGA fighters and commanders sacrificed their valuable lives displaying utmost courage and spirit of sacrifice in every battle action to bring a crucial turn in warfare and we cannot imagine these successes without their sacrifices.

PLGA initially developed to the level of conducting attacks by keeping platoons and companies at the centre and later at the level of battalions. The centralised guerilla forces conducted big offensives while the decentralised units conducted small and medium level offensives. Gradually the mobilisation capacity of the PLGA increased and it is gaining several experiences by fighting for hours together with the enemy forces. PLGA is conducting fire and movement, CQB (close quarter battle) skills, flank, rear, frontal manoeuvres, fighting as teams and groups and developing expertise in

annihilating the enemy. It is encircling the enemy and annihilating the forces. It extensively developed various types of booby traps and traditional troops and utilising them. It is gradually gaining grip in achieving C4 in tactical counter-offensives. The PLGA is trying to achieve development in guerilla warfare by assessing the positive and negative aspects in failed (short surprise raids) and partially successful tactical counter-offensives (raids, various kinds of ambushes, harassment actions), learning from mistakes and taking appropriate lessons.

## **The failures and challenges faced by the PLGA in developing guerilla warfare**

The CC-4 meeting held in 2013 assessed that our countrywide movement is facing a difficult situation. One of the main reasons that led to the present situation is the relentless multi-pronged offensives carried on by the central and state governments as part of LIC strategy on the countrywide revolutionary movement since the formation of CPI(Maoist) in 2004. They deployed tens of thousands of central and state government forces in every state for this. By May 2010, they had deployed 3 to 3.5 lakh paramilitary forces and now this reached 5 lakhs.

Five central committee, politbureau members were martyred in fake encounters and four were martyred due to ill health in the past decade. Along with sixteen CC and PB members, dozens of state committee level comrades are incarcerated to this day. Between 2009 and 2012 the enemy inflicted severe loss to our central departments. This had a negative impact on the development of our party, army and UF. This led to limitations in fighting capacity of the PLGA, battle resources and in the development of tactics.

The central and state governments have allotted thousands of crores of rupees every year for carrying out reforms in revolutionary movement areas (especially in the 82 districts marked by it). As a result, a division occurred in the people's camp and a small section turned into the social base for the exploiting ruling classes. Due to this, several negative aspects affecting the revolutionary movement are coming to the fore. One of the reasons for this situation to arise is the weaknesses at different levels in carrying on class struggle based on agrarian revolutionary programme in all the movement areas. In formulating appropriate tactics keeping in view

the changing domestic and international social, economic and political conditions, in mobilising the party and the people to implement the tactics formulated and in putting determined efforts to fulfill our aim, in correcting the long term non-proletarian trends in our party, PLGA and revolutionary movement, in vastly rallying PLGA and the people in an effective manner into armed resistance and counter-attacks, in implementing secret functioning and guerilla war principles, in the legal-illegal link mechanism, in training the party, PLGA, RPCs and mass organisations ideologically, politically, organisationally and militarily in accordance with the situation, in consolidating and developing the urban movements, in rallying the non-peasant vast masses inside the movement areas and outside; limitations in rallying the vast masses into the revolutionary movement by carrying on political and organisational work in accordance with our line and policies at all levels weaknesses occurred. As our mass base, recruitment and fighting ability have decreased and due to the change in our subjective situation we are facing limitations in utilising the excellent revolutionary objective situation that is turning favourable to the revolution in our country and the world.

On the whole, our revolutionary movement at present is seriously facing six main challenges. 1) Transforming the party, PLGA, mass organisations and UF forums into a strong fighting force by rectifying the shortcomings occurring in carrying on proper ideological, political and organisational work. 2) Overcoming the weaknesses in formulating appropriate tactics to fight back, in time, the multi-pronged offensives of the enemy, their reform and welfare activities and implementing them creatively. 3) Taking up concrete study to deeply understand the ground realities. 4) Effectively linking people's war and mass struggles. 5) Overcoming the shortcomings in work methods in urban and plains work. 6) Reducing the losses of leadership and cadres from top to bottom in various forms, preventing surrenders and betrayals.

## **Conclusion**

We must clearly understand that though we have inflicted several losses on the enemy till date and won several victories, the enemy is still very powerful and we too still have several weaknesses and that the struggle will be more protracted and ruthless. We will definitely be able to win only by carrying on our struggle properly and with determination. We should strictly establish this understanding and confidence in the entire party, PLGA

and the people. We should widely propagate among the party, PLGA and the people – the strategic weaknesses of the enemy, the strategic strength of the revolutionary camp, the manner in which the lives of the people are turning unbearable due to outdated semi-colonial semi-feudal production relations in the country, the manner in which all the major contradictions in our country are intensifying due to implementation of anti-people, anti-country neo-liberal policies in the last more than twenty years, how the people all over the world are building movements in various forms as all the fundamental contradictions in the world are intensifying as a result of the economic crisis in capitalist and imperialist countries, the mass base that we still have, leadership resources, the successes achieved by the people’s army and the people in PW and the rich experiences gained – and increase in confidence on the revolutionary movement. Our revolutionary movement would advance one more step only by defeating the counterrevolutionary multipronged offensive of the enemy.

It is not possible to defeat the countrywide multipronged offensive of the enemy without putting up determined fight against the enemy with the supreme confidence that proletarian revolutionary ideology and politics, our political military line and PPW line are the only way for the liberation of the people and the victory of the NDR. The enemy is resorting to endless conspiracies to damage the determination of our party, PLGA and people’s political power organs. The enemy is trying to inflict losses by infiltrating covertly into the revolutionary forces and also by creating distrust internally among the revolutionary ranks. The central government led by Modi and state governments are spreading white terror through arrests, torture, fake encounters and massacres of innocent people and giving final touches to the Operation Green Hunt 3rd phase offensive. So the present situation is

**“The object of war - namely, the preservation of oneself and the destruction of the enemy - is the essence of war and the basis of all war activities, an essence which pervades all warlike actions, from the technical to the strategic. The object of war is the underlying principle of war, and no tenets or principles of techniques, tactics, campaigns, or strategy can in any way depart from it.”**

**- Mao (On Protracted War)**

calling on our revolutionary ranks and the PLGA to fight back these offensives with utmost firmness, courage and will to sacrifice.

Along with this, we should have a clear understanding about the new party's political strategy and military strategy. Thus, we will be able to properly formulate counteroffensive tactics. In the present conditions, we should study the guerilla warfare principles taught by comrade Mao and prepare our PLGA and people's militia to definitely implement them creatively and firmly.

It is a historic truth that victory belongs to the side that fights with courage and valour. It is also a fact that through this it would be able to inflict more losses and advance towards complete annihilation of the enemy. It has also been repeatedly proved in our PW that it is very much necessary to fight with courage and valour and the will to sacrifice to defend our party, PLGA and people's political power organs from enemy attacks, to win new victories, to advance in big leaps and inflict more losses to the enemy. So our offensive against the enemy should always be filled with class hatred, fearlessness and determination. We should realise that it is not possible to reach our political goal and fulfil the people's interest without sacrifices and stand in the forefront to bravely fight back the enemy forces.

It is a Maoist principle that a people's war is a war waged by the people. Our party, PLGA, people's political power organs and revolutionary mass organisations would advance nearer to the revolutionary goal only by waging the PW by basing on the people.

**Conscious activity is a characteristic of human beings, and especially of human beings at war. Conscious activity is displayed by human beings in all of their actions, but nowhere so strongly as in war. Victory or defeat in war is decided, on the one hand, by the military, political, economic, and geographical conditions on both sides, the nature of the war, and international assistance, but not by these alone; in themselves, these factors provide only the possibility of victory or defeat, but do not decide the issue. To decide the issue, subjective efforts must be added, that is, efforts in directing and waging the war, that is, conscious activity in war.**

*- Mao (On Protracted War)*

At present our main task is to completely integrate with the people, to solve their daily and basic problems, to end their travails and tears and serve them in all spheres, raise their consciousness and arm them depending on their conscious participation. The people's militias built on a wide scale are the main base for fulfilling our aim and for the transformation of PLGA into PLA. We should fight every attempt of the enemy to isolate the revolutionaries from the people, increase our mass base and isolate the enemy depending on that mass base, single out the enemy and defeat it. Under such circumstances, we should carry on an extensive study of MLM and history, correct our mistakes and clearly demarcate between proletarian ideology-outlook and non-proletarian ideology-outlook inside the party and the PLGA as part of the Bolshevisation campaign. We should imbibe proletarian ideology and outlook. We should reject and get rid of everything that is non-proletarian. The PLGA should actively participate in rectifying mistakes and in production activities as part of the Bolshevisation campaign. The PLGA commanders and fighters would be able to integrate wholeheartedly in their practice only when they have a correct ideological outlook that ensures that these two play the most decisive role in material life and ideological sphere, and they work with a clear programme, correct tactics and determination for achieving the goal. When we look at the class composition and background of our comrades in our party and the PLGA, the majority of them are from non-proletarian ranks, particularly the peasant and the petty-bourgeois classes. Though they take part in the struggle to destroy exploitation and oppression in the society to achieve the goal, the party leadership should consciously educate them ideologically and politically and improve their ideological outlook. We should carry on this ideological-political effort as a continuous process and in the form of campaigns. We should fill them with the spirit of iron discipline. We should mould them so that they adhere to the proletarian leadership in the battlefield and the rear and fight for NDR, socialism and communism. The PLGA should be transformed into a strong PLA in the course of PW. Only such a people's army could advance our society towards socialism-communism by completely wiping out exploitation and oppression in the present society. The enemy is attacking us very cruelly and we are facing serious difficulties. It is in such times that we should put conscious efforts with initiative to turn the situation in our favour and against the enemy.



Defeating the enemy offensive is dependent on – coming to correct assessments about the enemy, on following ‘secrecy’ which is the first principle in guerilla warfare and on the death-defying battle we courageously wage till the end in the battlefield to formulate correct tactics in time and to implement them. We should consolidate the PLGA, improve ideological study and reform work methods accordingly. We should develop the commanding so that our forces are always mobile and we can deploy them or withdraw them wherever and whenever we want. We should develop the various levels of commands so that they can independently fulfil tasks such as gaining a grip on the conditions, deciding on concrete goals, properly dividing the forces, imparting political-military training, supplies, ensuring the proper condition of the weapons and properly utilising people’s cooperation. Lack of proper commanding prevents the mobility of the forces. The command should never allow it. They should properly coordinate secrecy, mobility and self-defence-offensive tactics and fight back the enemy offensive.

If we can mobilise the peasantry on a vast scale and militantly into armed agrarian revolution to completely solve the land issue in our country we will acquire the most essential basic condition and preconditions to defeat all our enemies and complete the NDR. Only by giving primary importance to the interests of the poor peasantry and agricultural labourers while implementing revolutionary land reforms will we be able to mobilise them widely, actively and militantly in agrarian revolution. We should firmly unite with the middle peasant. We should not harm their interests.

The PLGA can become self-reliant to a large extent regarding war resources and also in all matters if it depends on the people and its own efforts and it would be able to take up flexible tactics according to the conditions. Only thus would it be successful in the present condition in carrying its battles non-stop and take them to a higher level.

The entire PLGA should firmly unite as one person so that all the PLGA commanders and fighters led by the party should not step back from making sacrifices, overcome the difficulties, hardships and hurdles they face in practice, utilise their knowledge, capacities and abilities creatively in the battlefield. The PLGA should transform into an invincible red army that dares to destroy the enemy by displaying great valour. The people’s war waged by such a red army led by the party is invincible. \*

# People's War in India as Strategic Anchor

-Ajith

The present world situation shows great potential for a powerful new wave of world revolution. In country after country, in the oppressed countries and imperialist ones, the masses are coming out in the lakhs to struggle. Quite often this rapidly takes a militant turn, leading to violent clashes with the repressive forces of the ruling classes. These struggles are introducing a whole new generation to the battle against the exploiters. Compared to the past, the increased presence of young women and social sections suffering from specific forms of oppression is notable. This augurs well for the cause of the world revolution. Yet it remains a hard fact that the organised forces of revolution, the communist vanguard, are severely lagging in linking up with and unleashing the revolutionary potential existing in the world. The international communist movement (ICM) is yet to overcome the setback it has suffered following the coup of the Teng-Hua clique of 1976 that destroyed socialism in China. The situation is, of course, not totally negative. Though a turn around is yet to be won, several Maoist parties stood firm against Teng revisionism and Hoxha's dogmato-revisionism, and continued to develop revolutionary practice. Overcoming the problems caused by the lack of a socialist country that could play a central role, they built relations among themselves and succeeded in the formation of international organisations such as the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, the Co-ordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organisations of South Asia, and others. The wide adoption of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the new stage of proletarian ideology, the formation of new Maoist parties, formation of single parties through the unification of Maoist forces in a country and the continuation and advance of people's wars have all kept the revolutionary project of communism alive and gained it new adherents.

History teaches us that great advances of the communist movement have more often come with major victories in revolutionary struggle through the creative application of Marxism. This is well captured in Mao Tsetung's words "The cannon salvos of the October revolution brought Marxism-Leninism to China." This remains true even today. Advances in revolutionary

practice demonstrate the correctness and viability of the communist project, as a material reality. Thus they take the message of communism to the broad masses in a vastly powerful manner and on a very large scale. The people's wars that have sustained, overcoming setbacks and disruption, and the new ones that were launched after the setback in China, have precisely played this role. Their very existence refuted imperialist propaganda on the total defeat of communism, their sermons on the 'end of history' and the lies of revisionism about the 'impossibility of armed revolution' in the present world. They have, by way of example, attracted, enthused and inspired new generations to rally around the red flag, plunge into battle against imperialism and reaction and sacrifice their lives for the cause of the people.

These successes by the Maoists in facing up to the loss of all socialist countries and building towards overcoming the setback in the ICM was met with fierce attacks and heavy suppression by the imperialists and the comprador ruling classes. They were aided in this by the attacks of new hues of revisionism, such as the Right opportunist line in Peru, betrayal of the Nepalese revolution by the Prachanda-Bhattarai clique and liquidationism of Avakian, that have come up within the Maoist movement. These combined attacks have taken their toll.

The people's war in Nepal has for all practical purposes been liquidated. The revolutionary consciousness it generated still lives on. But the successful advance of the Nepalese revolution cannot simply pick up from where it was stopped in 2006. It demands a relaunch of people's war. And this will be possible only if, like in 1996, a resolute struggle is waged against revisionism and centrism, in particular the wrong line that emerged from that party's leadership, consecrated as 'Prachanda Path' and concretised in a series of deviations that led to the overturning of the party's strategic orientation and ended up in the liquidation of the people's war.

Though the Maoists in Peru have succeeded in defeating the plans of the Right opportunists and keep the Red Flag flying, the setback caused by their disruption is painfully apparent. Much hinges on the further success of the Maoists in their plans to reorganise the party and push forward along the path of protracted people's war, upholding the revolutionary line formulated under the leadership of comrade Gonzalo and taking lessons

from the bitter experience of the setback.

In Turkey and Bangladesh, ruthless attacks by the enemy have caused severe losses to the Maoist movement and the people's wars. The Maoist parties in these countries are striving hard to overcome this situation. By persevering on the path of revolution, guided by MLM, they will surely succeed in this. However, in the present situation, there is still much to be done before these people's wars, also initiated in the 1960s, retake the heights they had earlier achieved.

All of these people's wars, having emerged and developed in the post-2 world war period, have given rich experiences and valuable lessons. for the international proletariat. The continued efforts of Maoist parties in these countries to sum up their experiences and advance will surely give results, eventually. But, for the present, the setbacks they have suffered have once again seriously weakened the ICM. In this context, the strong presence of people's wars in the Philippines and India stand out. Both of them were initiated under the direct influence of the great revolt against revisionism of the 1960s led by Mao Tsetung. They drew inspiration from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that took Marxism to the higher stage of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The Philippines people's war has spread out all over the archipelago and is now advancing to the stage of strategic stalemate. This country is of great strategic importance for US imperialism. It has stationed a large naval force there. It trains and arms the Philippines army and directly takes part in the planning of the counter-revolutionary war directed against the new democratic revolution of that country, led by the Communist Party of Philippines. The people's war of the Philippines gives rich experiences and valuable lessons, particularly in the matter of confronting and defeating the Low Intensity Conflict (LIC) strategy promoted by the US. Its further advance will inevitably open up an important phase of direct confrontation of US imperialism with a revolutionary war led by Maoists. This will have great repercussions throughout the world.

The people's war in India is still in the stage of strategic defensive. It is at present being waged in the Central and Eastern regions of the country, while efforts are on to open up a new war front in the South Western part of the Indian peninsula, centring on the southern part of the Sahyadri mountain range. The area falling within the ambit of the people's war in

the Central and Eastern regions is quite large. The Bastar area in the Dandakaranya region is itself larger than the State of Kerala. The whole area falling within the war zones would be greater than that of Tamilnadu and Kerala. The area over which Revolutionary People's Committees, the organs of new political power created through the people's war, exercise authority is also quite substantial. Yet, given the size of the country, its huge population, and diversity of nationalities and geographical characteristics, this is still quite small. The population in the war zones is predominantly tribal and the economies are backward. The People's Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA) with its three forces, including the people's militia as its base force, has carried out some daring and powerful attacks in District centres itself. It has proved capable of attacking and annihilating company level formations of the enemy and breaking out of its 'encirclement and suppression' campaigns. But, compared to the strength and capacities of the Indian state's forces, that include the three wings of its armed forces, the various para-military forces and police forces of the States, the PLGA is still a small and weak force.

In sharp contrast to these relative weaknesses and limitations, the political impact of this people's war, within the country and internationally, far outstrips them. The political resonance of this people's war was seen in the widespread support it gained in face of the brutal suppression campaign, Operation Green Hunt, launched by the Indian government. It galvanised broad sections to come out in solidarity. The formation of an international forum against the Indian state's 'war on people' focussing on the violation of human rights and the international solidarity committee which sees its relevance in the need to defend and support the people's war, precisely because of its Maoist orientation, are two outstanding world-level manifestations.

The reasons for this development are directly related to the position of India in the present world. It is the second most populous country in the world, on the way to becoming the first well before the middle of this century. Its size and largeness of economy puts it in a league different from most Third World countries. Its geo-political role as the pillar of imperialist domination in South Asia, again one of the most populated regions of the world, and its own expansionist nature makes it extremely crucial

for the imperialist system. Above all it is a powder keg, a tangle of all sorts of contradictions. The emergence, sustenance and steady growth of a people's war in this country has great importance. That is why the Communist Party of China led by Mao Tsetung immediately acclaimed the armed peasant rebellion of Naxalbari, in 1967. This rebellion was in itself quite small in scale, compared to say the Telangana armed struggle or the Tebhaga revolt. But what counted was its immense political significance, the rebirth of a revolutionary road in India led by Maoists.

The victorious conclusion of the new democratic revolution of India will have world-historic significance, not because of some intrinsic additional quality it enjoys compared to others, but because of all the reasons outlined above. It could powerfully propel forward or set off a chain of revolutions in South Asian countries, equally ripe for revolution and historically a region where the Maoist movement, including people's wars, has been widely present. This is the international significance of the people's war in India. This is why it is seen as a 'strategic anchor' (along with other people's wars) in the present world situation by Maoist forces in the world. That is also why the solidarity movement that has come up in its support has brought together a number of Maoist forces, who have the orientation of making revolution in their own country as the best form of solidarity they can give to the people's war in India. At a time when millions are out in the streets and seek a reliable path to realise their aspirations for a different world, a world free of exploitation and oppression, the people's wars stand out as material examples of what is needed and what can be done. They thus give direction through their live, revolutionary, presence. This becomes even more significant in the present context of setbacks suffered by the ICM.

The great support enjoyed by the people's war in India is also an indication of high expectations of the people of the world. The Maoists in India are duty bound to meet and fulfil them. Though this is foremost a matter of further advance in revolutionary practice, it is not limited to that alone. The growth and victorious advance of the people's war in India has generated a wealth of rich experiences — in building a proletarian vanguard from within a swelter of castes, tribes and nationalities each with their own identities and cultures; in mobilising the masses in the lakhs and leading

them on the path of revolution; in uniting with a host of non-proletarian forces well articulated in their distinct political positions; in building up a revolutionary army starting from zero, through an armed struggle that had to, from the very beginning, face a highly equipped state with decades of experience in suppressing revolutionary parties and armed movements; in developing the people's war overcoming setbacks and critical conditions and facing vastly superior forces; in building new political power among masses divided by numerous contradictions ranging from gender to ethnicity; in correctly handling all these contradictions among the people (each of which could be used by the enemy), to consolidate this power and further advance the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist new democratic revolution. This vast reservoir of experience also makes it incumbent on the Maoists in India to theorise them.

Some of this has been surely done. But much, much more, is called for. This is evidently vital for raising the qualitative level of the revolutionary forces, of the people's war, and for ensuring the victory of the Indian revolution. Above that, it is an important internationalist task to be taken up conscientiously by the Maoist vanguard in India. It is a contribution it can and must make to the cause of the world socialist revolution and the ideology guiding it. The complexities of contradictions propelling a revolution forward, which it must resolve to succeed, invariably bring up the necessity of developing conceptual understanding on the theoretical positions of Marxism. The greater the tangle of contradictions, the more this is called for. The Indian revolution is uniquely placed in this matter in that it draws sustenance from a rich diversity of contradictions. A number of them form the bases of specific identities. Imperialists and reactionaries persistently try to turn the awakening of oppressed social sections into 'identity walls'. Thus they seek to fence them off from the cause of total social revolution, necessary for their liberation. Therefore, the successful handling of these identities and the revolutionary resolution of the contradictions underlying them under the guidance of Maoism and the development of theory through the synthesis of that experience will be certainly of much relevance in the contemporary world. Similarly, theoretical synthesis of the experiences in building the proletarian vanguard amidst these complex social conditions and its success in uniting all the streams of protest, struggle and rebellion –

including those fiercely adhering to their specific identities – into a mighty, yet variegated, torrent of revolution will also be of great service; more so in these times where ‘rainbow coalitions’ pretend at replacing the Leninist vanguard concept.

Furthermore, as the leader of a people’s war, successfully sustaining and developing it, the CPI (Maoist) enjoys a position where it can contribute much in furthering the cause of building of an international organisation of the proletariat, suitable to the present situation of the ICM. This can play the role of a catalyst for the formation of a broad, worldwide, anti-imperialist forum and act as its core. Both of them are urgently called for by the favourable objective situation existing in the world. Both of them will be of immense help in overcoming the subjective lag thus further unleashing the potential new wave of revolution. On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the formation of the CPI (Maoist), we must further our efforts to reciprocate the warm gestures of solidarity extended to the people’s war in both ways by better carrying out our revolutionary tasks within the country and also internationally. Only thus can the potentials of this people’s war as a strategic anchor in the present world situation be given full play.

Finally, it would do well to remind ourselves of the advice Engel gave to the German proletariat, **“...for the present moment the German workers form the vanguard of the proletarian struggle. How long events will allow them to occupy this post of honour cannot be foreseen. But as long as they are placed in it, let us hope that they will discharge their duties in the proper manner...In the first place, however, it is necessary to retain a real international spirit which permits of no chauvinism, which joyfully greets each new step of the proletarian movement, no matter in which nation it is made. If the German workers proceed in this way, they may not march exactly at the head of the movement – it is not in the interest of the movement that the workers of one country should march at the head of all – but they will occupy an honourable place on the battle line, and they will stand armed for battle when other unexpected grave trials or momentous events will demand heightened courage, heightened determination, and the will to act.”**

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# **United Front: One of the Three Magic Weapons Guaranteeing the Victory of the Revolutionary Movement**

**- Sonu**

Comrade Mao said, “The UF and armed struggle are the two basic weapons for defeating the enemy. The UF is a UF for carrying on armed struggle, and Party is the heroic warrior wielding the two weapons, the UF and the armed struggle to storm and shatter the enemy’s positions.”

Mao excellently explained the prominence of United Front (UF) in the above quote. Moreover, he also explained the real purpose of the UF. The fact that its purpose is to conduct armed struggle for seizure of political power is an aspect having strategic prominence and should be always remembered. We should understand and practice UF in this light.

UF is an organization that is dedicated to achieve a common goal where two or more classes of people unite against the common enemy. Whatever may be the nature of the various UFs and at whatever level they may be formed, the proletarian party should see to it that all these prove useful to the UF that is formed for establishing new democracy by armed overthrow of the enemy State. This indicates the prominence of political power in the revolution. Similarly we should also know on which principle the UF policy is to be based upon. Mao says that it is based on the principle of “Utilising the contradictions among the enemies, turning the majority towards us, opposing a few and destroying the enemies one by one.”

In fact, any UF, on any issue, of any kind and at any level, is not formed according to the wishes of only one side. It depends on the preparedness of the various classes whose interests are linked to that issue. The communist party should continuously take initiative to fight by uniting with all allies through long-standing efforts and patience. Thus the opportunities to build a UF improve. During the entire course of building a UF, i.e., right from building a UF on concrete issues at any level up to the building of a strategic UF for political power, we should compulsorily implement the party’s political line.

We mainly achieved our successes in the past three and half decades or more, concretely in the past decade because we worked with the above

Leninist understanding, whatever may have been our flaws in its implementation. We should definitely remember our beloved martyrs on this occasion. It is the ideals of these martyrs that steeled us to realise their dreams for communism by treading the path drenched with their blood. The sacrifices of all those great martyrs improved further our party, PLGA, UF and the entire revolutionary work going on under the leadership of our party.

It is our understanding that UF is built in the course of armed struggle waged for seizure of power and that the armed struggle would turn powerful only when an effective UF is formed. We can carry on our practice in a better manner only when we understand that UF serves the people's war (PW) and complements it.

Our party has been, right from the beginning, building united activity forums as part of tactical UF on people's issues by uniting with all the allies that would come together keeping in view the then political and movement situation and built struggles by rallying the masses. On the other hand, we strove hard to build strategic UF and gained positive results. This is the main, stable and dependable component of our UF work. Basing on this, we are building a tactical UF. The strategic UF is being built in the rural areas basing on the agrarian revolutionary guerilla warfare and is developing. We are calling this the New Democratic UF. As a concrete form of this UF, new democratic power organs are being formed and developing. We are calling these 'Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs).' These are directly aiding the PW. These are developing as part of the advance of the PW. The PW and the people's political power are advancing as inseparable and interdependent components under the leadership of the party. The tactical UFs being built up at various levels are proving helpful to the PW and strategic UF led by our party, sometimes directly and in many instances indirectly. The tactical UFs are being built up even amid fascist repression with the help of people's army and are working. It is an indisputable fact that the PW waged in our country is serving as oxygen for these tactical UFs that are being formed wherever and whenever on people's issues, and however temporary these may be.

In the four-class strategic UF that is being formed under the leadership of our party (the proletariat, peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie), the first three classes are the motive forces for the revolution while national bourgeoisie is a vacillating ally. This UF is striving hard to

carry forward the armed struggle. The enemy is launching offensives without respite to destroy the revolutionary movement led by our party and the alternative system of political power that is at a primary level at present as part of it. These alternative political power organs are functioning with the help and support of the people amid these fascist offensives and are striving to the best of their ability for the PW to continue and advance. Led by the revolutionary UF, the people are coming to the fore actively in creative forms such that PLGA can fight back and inflict losses to the enemy forces, wipe out their forces wherever possible, seize their arms and ammunition, to stop their supplies, to slow down their speedy movements and to stop the expansion of their new camps. In several revolutionary areas of our country, particularly in the guerilla zones, we can observe the excellent role the masses are playing in the successes won by the people's guerillas in their death defying battles with the enemy forces. In Giridih of Jharkhand and Mukuram, Kongera, Laheri, Jeeramghati ambushes of Dandakaranya (DK) and the Silda raid in Paschim Banga, the organised strength of the people and their active role could be seen. To quote some recent instances, a new camp with a thousand-strong paramilitary forces in Minpa village of Sukma district and another new camp of paramilitary forces in Harrakoder village of East Bastar were forced to be shut down by the people's guerillas and the people through new struggle forms, successfully. In fact, we cannot really imagine these successes without the active role of the people, organised strength, revolutionary mass organizations (MOs) and RPCs.

The role of the RPCs is not confined just to the military successes achieved by the people's guerillas. They are working towards solving the daily, basic issues of the vast masses. These are exercising new democratic power and are able to build a self-reliant economy to the extent they could fight back the police and paramilitary forces of the exploitative ruling classes. These are giving first priority to improve the local agrarian production system. These are improving the agrarian cultivating methods. These are working to build irrigation systems. Since the past four years, various sections of the peasantry are participating voluntarily and with revolutionary consciousness in their thousands in the campaigns for land leveling and making agricultural plots for poor peasantry in DK. This campaign goes on for 15 to 20 days every year. As part of making available nutritious food for the people as part of improving their food situation, they are taking up fish rearing and planting fruit orchards. They are continuously striving to impart education to the people amid several hurdles created by the enemy.

They are taking measures, to the best of their ability, to fulfill the minimum health care needs of the people, to prevent such common ailments like malaria, diarrhea and cholera and to prevent the spread of contaminating diseases. In the areas where RPCs are functioning, the peasantry is strengthening the cooperative movement, mainly in agriculture and also in other spheres. What else would immediately come to the mind of any person who thinks about providing basic amenities to the oppressed masses in our country? However, the exploitative governments that fulfill the interests of the imperialists, big landlords and the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie (CBB) are mortgaging our country in the name of providing basic amenities and selling the riches of our country to them. They are building express highways, ring roads, fly overs, air ports, communication towers etc with the huge funds thus gathered. The RPCs are taking up pro-people measures in all spheres with a clear aim in complete contrast to the policies of the exploitative ruling classes. Though mainly the interests of the basic classes are being fulfilled by the pro-people policies followed by the RPCs, they are also seeing to it that the interests of the upper-middle and rich peasants are not adversely affected. The confidence that the revolutionary movement is showing a solution to their problems too is increasing among these classes.

We are mainly concentrating on destroying the enemy power as part of the process of transforming the guerilla zones into base areas. The RPCs are paying utmost attention to organization in order to completely utilise the successes and opportunities gained through PW. Likewise, they are standing in support of revolutionary MOs that are fighting for solving the problems and are coordinating all their activities with these. Thus they are creating the conditions necessary for the people to participate more creatively and extensively in the PW, for the RPCs to consolidate and expand.

Due to the anti-people and pro-imperialist bankrupt economic policies taken up by the exploitative ruling classes and the intensifying economic crisis, the people of our country are suffering beyond words. Their hardships are increasing manifold. Displacement issue is the main issue among these. Though the displacement issue is mainly a land issue it is also an existence issue and an ecological issue.

Under such circumstances, the very existence and the future of our country are at stake. This is the material reality at present. The people

have no choice but to put up a death defying fight on the path of several struggles such as Kalingnagar, Singur, Nandigram, Lalgarh, Niyamgiri, Raoghat, Pallemadi, Bodhghat, Korchi etc. Though the giant corporations companies of our country and abroad have signed several MoUs with the central and state governments since the past several years, they are unable to implement these in areas where revolutionary MOs and RPCs have been formed at various levels and are functioning. (According to one estimate, the central and state governments have allotted more than five lakh acres of land for 8000 projects just between 2007 and 2012). That is why the Modis-Rajnath Singhs-Jaitleys-Venkaiah Naidus-Raman Singhs-Naveen Patnaiks and Chandrababu Naidus are filling up the revolutionary movement areas with communication towers and *khaki* forces in great haste and are giving final touches to the Operation Green Hunt (OGH) – third phase, the huge campaign to wipe out the revolutionary movement. The Adivasi-peasantry who fought for '*Jal-Jungle-Zameen-Izzat-Adhikar*' all these years and the peasantry-vast masses that are fighting for the 'Land to the tiller-All powers to the RPCs' should hereafter fight with more unity, courage, determination and firmness. The conditions are demanding this. The present conditions are making it inevitable for the people to carry on more militant and armed resistance than in the past, with the support of the people's armed forces. Our 'Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution' document have given us the following guidelines : "Neither the work of organisation of the people nor the work of building mass struggles can go on successfully without the support of the people's armed forces. The party can consolidate the achievements of mass struggles only by expanding and developing the guerrilla war, and will thus be able to lay the foundation for the alternative people's political power.."

The Adivasi peasantry led by our party waged a great land struggle in Narayanpatna. The people freed themselves from the shackles of the decades-long rotten politics followed by the modern revisionist clique led by K.N. Ramachandran and created a deluge of struggle, thus establishing firm foundations for alternative political power. The heroic Nandigram peasantry chased away the foreign corporation (chemical hub of Salim belonging to Indonesia) and protected their cultivated lands by putting up a united armed resistance to the armed attacks of the social-fascist CPM government's Harnad Bahini. We are all aware that the Nandigram struggle was led by the tactical UF formed with various struggling forces and that our party played a key role in this.

The heroic people of Lalgarh created a historic great upsurge of struggle with state repression as the immediate issue and keeping it at the core. The struggle was started with the unleashing of the people's anger against the social-fascist state repression. It broke the back of well-entrenched neo-revisionism and it touched each and every aspect of Lalgarh's social life and shook them. It went on for more than two years with new struggle and organisational forms. This people's upsurge was possible because this area has been in the influence of Maoist revolutionary politics since the 1970s, the majority of the people in Bengal were frustrated under three decades of social-fascist rule and were severely dissatisfied and angry, the political situation was very favourable as the contradiction between the ruling classes [CPI(M) and TMC] were very severe, particularly after the formation of the new party, the development in our subjective force, our efforts, the initiative of the party committees and the leadership, the influence of the successes of the Indian revolutionary movement, the influence of Singur, Nandigram and other anti-displacement movements' successes and the long-standing struggle experience of the people. One more fact is these great successes were possible because the Lalgarh people's movement could creatively bring forth organisational and struggle forms, both armed and unarmed, and slogans in the course of the struggle by building proper United Front (UF) under the leadership of the party. The vast masses of Lalgarh rallied widely and militantly against the repression of the Joint Forces and also built great struggles on their daily issues and other basic issues including land issues. All these struggles were led by the broad-based UF which was formed under the leadership of the party. Due to intensified repression, the shortcomings that occurred during the course of the movement and the losses of the subjective forces including the leadership, the Lalgarh revolutionary upsurge suffered damages. But the Lalgarh revolutionary masses are continuing along the people's war path under the leadership of the party. When this UF was turning into a genuine democratic alternative system against the social-fascists in Lalgarh, the central and state joint forces carried on most cruel suppression. The heroic people of Lalgarh, the Sidhu-Kanu militia which stood in their support and the PLGA forces made immense sacrifices in the course of fighting back the Joint Forces with utmost courage and valour. A section in the UF that was not prepared for this, a section of the liberal intellectuals either left the movement or distanced themselves. The lessons, particularly in the UF sphere, imparted by the Bengal comrades, Bengal revolutionary masses,

particularly Lalgarth comrades and Lalgarth revolutionary masses to the Indian revolutionary movement are very valuable.

Revolutionary MOs and the RPCs are actively leading the mass struggle and mass resistance against state repression where they are functioning. When the state police and paramilitary forces makes indiscriminate arrests of the peasantry, the people are resisting. When the village level revolutionary movement leadership is killed in fake encounters and their dead bodies are also not handed over, the people are condemning the cruel acts of the police and fighting for possession of the dead bodies. When they are resorting to atrocities on women, mass resistance is being put up. The people are rallying actively for the release of political prisoners. The students are questioning the officials on their issues. However, during several mass rallies and protest demonstrations, the local leadership of the bourgeois and revisionist parties who had joined the UF have occupied the stage, gained recognition among the people and maintained themselves. Due to repression the leadership of the revolutionary mass organisation could not openly lead several such united demonstrations and meetings. Due to our shortcomings in building forums and forces that could lead such activities even during repression, they got this opportunity. Only by solving this problem will we be able to give effective leadership to the UF. Mao formulated the basic tactical principles to be followed by the proletariat regarding UF. These are – we should maintain proletarian authority on the UF; in all circumstances the proletariat should depend on its own efforts; it should keep initiative and independence in its hand and this UF should serve the armed struggle. We should strengthen the revolutionary UF in the light of these principles so that we can overcome the present difficult conditions.

We are facing resistance in various forms from the classes that lost/ are losing their authority locally to disrupt the RPCs where they are working at a primary level as well as where they are strong. As Lenin put it, they are accumulating ten times more power than before and are attacking us. They are joining hands directly and indirectly with the bourgeois state machinery and the political parties and resorting to several conspiracies and scheming. The local leadership of the bourgeois and revisionist parties are surreptitiously trying to divert the people from the revolutionary path and push them into the reformist mire. The utterly selfish forces are working as compradors to the huge investments of the capitalists in our country and abroad and are clandestinely trying in vain to damage the mass struggles.



The party should always be alert against such anti-people forces, towards the LIC strategy and tactics implemented by the Indian ruling classes who are bringing such forces to the fore in a planned manner and raise the consciousness of the RPCs and the people. We should teach about the ebb and flow of the revolutionary movement, about the PPW line that achieves final victory passing through victories and defeats and raise the political consciousness of the people, with a strategic view.

The people of various states where our revolutionary movement is present are fighting on several issues under the leadership of our party. The people are fighting spontaneously to some extent on their issues all over the country under the leadership of various bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and revisionist organisations. The bourgeois and revisionist leadership is forever diverting the people and seeing to it that the mass movements do not develop into militant movements. Our MOs should participate in the struggles that are waged spontaneously and under the leadership of various forces and try to lead them with initiative. Our organisations and forces should decide in which UFs they should participate keeping in view the interests of the revolutionary movement. It is a mistake to work spontaneously; it is equally a mistake to remain isolated from them thinking only about our subjective strength. We should take political initiative and support the mass struggles and put efforts to participate in them to lead them by standing in their forefront and try to develop them into strong movements. Only thus can we lead the people along the correct path; win the confidence of the allies; isolate the opportunist forces; establish our leadership and develop our subjective forces.

There is struggle and unity among the various classes that come together in a UF. As all of these have a common goal there is unity in the UF. As they have different class interests, struggle is also present among them. These are the two characteristics of the UF. Our experience is showing that forgetting any one of these aspects would cause damage to the UF. Likewise, our orientation in the UF activities should aid the mobilisation of different forces based on the new democratic programme. All these programmes should help in further intensifying and expanding our armed struggle. Joint activities or joint forums that do not help the cause of people's war either directly or indirectly are not useful to our movement.

Anti-displacement mass struggles mainly with the issue of land at the core are being waged in the states and Special Zones of the Central Region.



The people are fighting the exploiting governments on their issues like mining, building of huge dams, displacement of people from the forest in the name of wildlife sanctuaries, against seizure of forest lands, for implementation of government laws like PESA, for autonomy of the Adivasi people, for their self respect, for minimum support price for forest produce and agricultural produce, etc. Protests and agitations against increasing attacks on religious minorities and struggle for their security and rights are being waged all over the country. Struggles are ongoing inside and outside the jails for the release of political prisoners and their rights. The workers in the unorganised sector are organising themselves and taking up struggles for their just demands. The people are placing their just demands in the economic and political as well as social and cultural spheres. On the other hand, the recently successful Telangana movement for statehood gave new enthusiasm and inspiration to separate statehood movements that were being waged since decades in our country. The people of Telangana fought for nearly six decades and finally achieved a separate state. The glorious task of people achieving a genuine democratic Telangana as part of NDR is yet to be fulfilled. We gained good experience regarding UF in this movement.

Our revolutionary and democratic organisations are forming UF forums at various levels along with allied organisations and forces and fighting on various issues mentioned above. While our organisations are leading these with imitative in some places, in others they are participating actively and dynamically. These MOs are working wherever they are placed depending on their strengths. Among the struggles mentioned above, except separate Telangana state movement, anti-state repression movement, struggles for release of political prisoners and against displacement – several of the other struggles are being carried on by forming UF forums at the lower levels. In fact, the condition for immediately building UFs from above does not exist as in the past in the present difficult conditions, in the backdrop of our subjective conditions. This does not in any way mean that we cannot put efforts to build UFs from above on any issue. The conditions for the development of UF are objectively favourable than in the past and are developing.

Our long-standing practice has beyond doubt proven that there is an inseparable link between the advance of the revolutionary movement and the preparedness of various forces to form UF forums from above.

Similarly, in the backdrop of the discussions among the intellectuals and various democratic forces due to the successes of the PW and the recognition gained by the new democratic power organs (RPCs) that have been formed and functioning at a primary level in some areas in our country as a revolutionary alternative, the opportunity for more forces and organisations to join UFs from above and work with us are improving. We should put planned efforts to utilise this favourable situation.

The revolutionary forces should display utmost alertness regarding the UF, especially tactical UF and should not deal with them in haste. Several Indian and foreign voluntary organisations (NGOs) are working on the issues of the urban poor, Dalits, Adivasis, women and religious minorities. Their number is in lakhs in our country. These are mostly concentrating their work in our revolutionary movement areas. These NGOs filled to the brim with reformism are preventing the people from fighting militantly in a united manner on various issues and weakening and diverting them. These are deliberately resorting to anti-revolutionary propaganda directly and indirectly. We should concretely examine the aims and the character of each and every NGO in our areas. We should develop a clear understanding in the party and among the people towards the NGOs and about our stand in dealing with them. Some NGOs are taking up people's issues and working for them due to various reasons. Even while working with such NGOs on concrete issues, we should put efforts to maintain our leadership, independence and initiative in the UF and be alert. Similarly, we should keep in mind that if we take antagonistic stand towards all NGOs as a whole without concretely examining the various NGOs, there is a danger of us getting isolated from the people. If we display a sectarian or a liberal attitude in dealing with forces that have different political stands and different interests and join the UF, the movement would suffer losses. Even while fighting with the forces that do not adhere to the jointly formulated programme with the aim of uniting with them, we should expose the forces that damage the UF among the allies and the people and isolate them. We should definitely be very careful from the very beginning and prevent the infiltration of anti-people forces like well-known ruling class party representatives into UF activities.

Maintaining initiative and independence in a UF has a lot of significance. Comrade Mao clearly stated that "every party and every group in a UF should preserve its ideological, political and organisational independence"

and that “the independence in a UF is only relative and not absolute is beyond any doubt”. We should strictly follow the stand of firmly opposing surrender in the UF. Just as there are chances for following close door methods and committing sectarian mistakes in the UF, there are also chances of following tailist policies. We are facing these two types of wrong trends in our practice. Either sectarian mistakes committed through impetuosity and resorting to isolated struggles and military actions without proper preparations, or mistakes where we remain spectators to political conspiracies and deceptions of the opposite side with liberalism - none of the two should be committed. In the UF, the revisionists are great experts in using sugar-coated bullets against us. They are present in all the areas where our class struggle is going on intensely. Wherever they work with us on the displacement issue, they are fizzling out those struggles in the name of more compensation and rehabilitation. We should be very alert while dealing with such people in the UF.

In India, which is a prison-house of nationalities, the oppressed nationalities initiated armed struggle for the right to self-determination. Some of these are still carrying on armed struggle. After the CPI (Maoist) was newly formed, we tried to maintain close relations with the organisations of the oppressed nationalities and build UF. Some UF activities continued and filled new enthusiasm in both. This phenomenon created commotion among the exploiting ruling classes. The ruling classes considered the future danger that would emerge due to this UF and intensified repressive measures. So, this process, which was advancing with hope, has temporarily slowed down due to intensified enemy offensive. This strategic task is to be fulfilled by us.

BJP won a majority in the 16th Loksabha elections. Narendra Modi, the leader of fundamentalist RSS and BJP became the prime minister of the NDA government at the centre. Fundamentalist RSS forces were brought into higher leadership positions in BJP in a planned manner. The direct intervention of RSS in the politics of the country has increased as never before. What kind of disastrous outcome can there be from Modi becoming the prime minister - an old hand at fundamentalist, religious, conservative and obscurantist politics - has been proven within a few days of his rule. The Hindu-communal attacks on religious minorities intensified in the country. Several instances of belittling the religious minorities are

coming to light. Article 370 (special status for Kashmir) which had been gradually undermined since Nehru's rule is sought to be completely done away with now. RSS and dozens of its associate organisations have spread their tentacles in a planned manner all over the country in the economic, political, military, social and cultural spheres and are intensifying their Brahminical Hindu-fascist acts.

The Sangh Parivar clique forces who shouted from the rooftops about great patriotism, nationalism and Swadeshi policies till yesterday are shamelessly kowtowing before the imperialist globalisation policies today. Narendra Modi is taking measures very aggressively as a most reliable agent of the international capital. All sectors which have not been privatised till now along with defence, railways and insurance are being privatised very rapidly. International capital was invited to transform hundred cities into Smart Cities in our country. The labour laws are being amended accordingly and their rights are also being curbed. He is trying to veil his anti-people and anti-country policies by using slogans like 'Digital India' and 'Make in India' and announcing that he would develop our country into a world power. The preparations of the central and state governments are clearly indicating how intensive the offensive on the revolutionary movement would be. Only when we understand the intensity of this danger, would we be able to deeply grasp the need for strategic and tactical UFs. We would be able to put serious efforts to utilise all the opportunities for building these.

The objective conditions for the revolution are turning more favourable than in the past all over the world. In our country today, people are waging several struggles against feudal and imperialist exploitation. People are putting their lives at stake in the revolutionary movement areas. Though the struggles of the oppressed nationalities have temporarily weakened recently, the people there are articulating their just aspirations in various forms.

The opportunities for intensifying anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggles in our country to form and expand UF structures have improved as never before. Secular, democratic and progressive forces and organisations including religious minorities are coming to the fore against Brahminical Hindu-fascist policies. Likewise, democratic, progressive and

patriotic forces are coming to the fore against imperialist exploitation. ‘The revolutionary UF is the real bastion that defends the revolutionary movement from the fascist, repressive and annihilation campaigns carried on by the country-revolutionary ruling classes’. This UF would gain strength and stability only in the course of advancing the armed struggle. Only when an effective UF is formed the armed struggle would become strengthened. The entire experience of the Indian revolutionary movement, particularly the experiences of the RPCs is proving exactly this. At present, there are ample opportunities to build a strong UF, for the development of mass movements and for the development of the PW. \*

**In leading the masses, participating in the united front, and waging a struggle against the enemy, Communists must not ignore the spirit of considering the situation as a whole, thinking in terms of the majority, and working together with their allies. They should grasp the necessity of subordinating the needs of the part to the needs of the whole. If a proposal appears feasible for a partial situation but not for the situation as a whole, then the part must give way to the whole. Conversely, if the proposal is not feasible for the part but is feasible in the light of the situation as a whole, again the part must give way to the whole. This is what is meant by considering the situation as a whole. Communists must never detach themselves from the majority of the masses or neglect them by leading only a few progressive contingents in an isolated and rash advance. This cannot succeed. Instead, they must at all times forge close links between the progressive elements and the broad masses. This is what is meant by thinking in terms of the majority. Wherever there are allies, in handling matters, they should cooperate with the allies. It is wrong to indulge in arbitrary decisions and peremptory actions and to ignore our allies. All these are things that cannot be ignored in the art of leadership and the spirit of work of the Communist Party member. A good Communist should be good at considering the situation as a whole, good at thinking in terms of the majority, and good at working with his allies. He who violates these points is not a good Party member.”**

*- Mao (Report to the Enlarged Sixth Plenum of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party, October, 1938)*

# The Role of Guerilla Bases in Building Liberated Areas

- Devji

How are we applying the theoretical principles and aspects propounded by Mao about the significance of liberated areas in revolutions that are waged following the protracted people's war (PPW) line to successfully complete the New Democratic Revolution (NDR) in India? Let us examine our efforts to build GBs-liberated areas and our experiences and problems we faced in this course.

When the revolution was defeated due to the reactionary white terror in the towns in China in 1927, forces under Mao retreated to the rural areas and established a liberated area in the Ching kang Mountains. Basing on the experiences of establishing the Ching kang liberated area, Mao wrote two articles "*Why is it that Red Political Power can exist in China?*" and "*The Struggle in the Ching kang Mountains*" in October and November of 1928 proposing PPW line as the path to be followed by the China revolution. Till then there was present only the insurrection line followed by the Russian revolution in front of the communist revolutionaries all over the world. Even in China they followed this line since 1925 and faced failures continuously. As peasantry was the overwhelming majority in China, a colonial, semi-colonial, semi-feudal country, Mao proposed that the insurrection line would not be suitable to their country and propounded the PPW line. However the rightist line of Chen-Tu-Shi (till 1927), the leftist line of Li Lisan (in 1930) and the leftist line of Wang Ming (1931-35) dominated the party. As a result, the Red Army had to take up strategic retreat (Long March) as it had lost its liberated areas in the South by 1934. It was during this strategic retreat that the Politburo extended meeting was held in Tsunyi in January 1935. This meeting rejected the leftist line of Wang Ming and acknowledged Mao's line. Since then, the Chinese revolution advanced by following the PPW line.

Mao wrote the article "Correcting Wrong Ideas in the Party" criticizing the wrong ideas existing in the party that were proving to be a hurdle in consolidating the Ching kang Mountain liberated area. In that article Mao criticized these wrong ideas saying, "*The political ideology of roving*

*rebel bands has emerged in the Red Army. Some people want to increase our political influence only by means of roving guerrilla actions, but are unwilling to increase it by undertaking the arduous task of building up base areas and establishing the people's political power.”* and said that revolutions would not be successful through such a theory.

Mao explained the importance of liberated areas/base areas whether it was during the period when revolutionary war/PW was carried on in the form of civil war (from 1927 to 1937 up to the second revolutionary civil war) or during the period when it was carried on as resistance war against Japan during the national liberation (from 1937 to 1945). He explained the need for establishing revolutionary bases in Japanese occupied areas to carry on the resistance war against Japan properly.

*“History knows many peasant wars of the “roving rebel” type, but none of them ever succeeded. In the present age of advanced communications and technology, it would be all the more groundless to imagine that one can win victory by fighting in the manner of roving rebels. However, this roving-rebel idea still exists among impoverished peasants, and in the minds of guerrilla commanders it becomes the view that base areas are neither necessary nor important. Therefore ridding the minds of guerrilla commanders of this idea is a prerequisite for deciding on a policy of establishing base areas.”* Thus Mao explained the need for establishing revolutionary bases during the resistance war against Japan.

*“Guerrilla warfare could not last long or grow without base areas. The base areas, indeed, are its rear.”* Thus Mao explained that the revolutionary bases were strategic bases on which the guerilla armies depend for fulfilling their strategic tasks.

Mao said that in the anti-Japanese guerilla warfare, when seen from the point of view of terrain, stable revolutionary bases could be established in the mountain areas; though stable bases like the revolutionary bases in the mountain areas cannot be established in the river and lake areas, relatively stable bases can be established in such areas and that temporary and unstable revolutionary bases can be established in the plain areas. He also said that big guerilla armies that fight in the plain areas cannot sustain and fight for a longer period there and that they should shift to the mountain

areas gradually according to the conditions. He said that the revolutionary base should be established in a vast area and that it would be possible to establish a long-standing revolutionary base only in the mountain areas when the enemy is present on all the sides. However, the guerillas should have a vast area to maneuver.

Mao also referred the revolutionary bases established by the people's guerilla forces in the Japan occupied territory/enemy rear as the Guerilla Bases (GBs).

Mao said that a strong communist party, a strong people's army and a strong united front (strong mass base), favorable terrain/vast area and a self-sufficient economy are necessary for building liberated areas and GBs. Among these, the first three are important.

Mao also mentioned about properly solving the problem of consolidating and expanding these GBs after they were established.

Mao said that consolidating the GBs means building people's political power organs on a vast scale, consolidating them, building mass organisations and consolidating them, giving political and military training to guerilla forces; expanding GBs means expanding guerilla zones (GZ) areas, enjoining new GBs in the already established GB areas; consolidating revolutionary bases and expanding them is the correct principle and that expansion should be done based on consolidated power. Even while saying this, he said that we should however decide whether to concentrate on consolidation of the GBs or on their expansion depending on the concrete conditions. The GBs should be developed in waves and the policy of developing them through impetuous methods should be opposed.

During the resistance war against Japan, as a result of the guerilla war and the war between the enemy forces and the revolutionary forces, the area occupied by the enemy could be divided into three types. One: the anti-Japanese centre that is under the control of the political power organs of the guerilla forces; Two: the area under the control of the Japan imperialists or the puppet governments; Three: the middle area where contention for its control is on, meaning the guerilla warfare area (GZ-Tr). The guerilla commanders should try to expand the first and third type of areas as far as possible and try to reduce the second type of areas as far as possible. Mao said that this was the strategic task of the guerilla warfare.



Though Mao said this in the context of the resistance war against Japan, this is applicable to civil wars and national liberation wars. From this we can understand that building GBs-liberated area to properly conduct civil war or national liberation war and annihilating and defeating the enemy in areas selected as GB-liberated area and establishing people's political power through this are the two strategic tasks of guerilla warfare.

Mao said on various occasions that though building the liberated area is a tough task, all the people should be vastly mobilised into the PW; for this, the people should be rallied into struggles for reduction of rent, increase in wages, increase in production and land struggles to occupy the land of landlords in the GZs and the GBs.

Mao taught us that we should not blame the people in the areas that we select as strategic areas as backward by looking at their backward consciousness, we should keep faith in the Marxist fundamental principle that people are the makers of history and mobilise them vastly into the PW; he taught us that the PW waged in semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries is a peasant war led by the proletarian vanguard communist parties.

By 1969 itself, the revolutionary forces led by comrades Charu Mazumdar and Kanhai Chatterjee took up the PPW line of area wise seizure of political power by demarcating themselves from the revisionism and neo-revisionism of CPI and CPI(M), their parliamentary path and these parties to make the revolution in India successful. Starting from end '60s, the MCC gradually developed the peasant movement in the 1970s in the light of the 'Strategy and Tactics' document. The political-military strategies that we formulated in those days were correct. However, due to severe repression and the leftist tactics followed by the CPI(ML), the Srikakulam, Birbhum and other revolutionary peasant struggles that rose to great heights in those days suffered damages. Due to severe repression and shortcomings, the Kanksa and Sonarpur peasant movements led by the MCC suffered damages. The Indian revolution suffered temporary setback. In such conditions, the genuine revolutionary forces reviewed the reasons for the defeat, formulated new tactics and went into practice. As part of this the MCC built peasant movements in Hazaribagh, Gaya, Giridih and other districts in Bihar during 1969-70. The AP State Committee formulated the 'Tactical Line' document with new tactics and started building the peasant movement in Karimnagar and Adilabad districts in AP since 1978. Our

understanding about building liberated areas in India attained more clarity and became enriched in the course of developing these movements to the level of GZ with the aim of establishing liberated areas.

In the document ‘Strategy and Tactics’ formulated by the 9th Congress of the PW party in 2001, we wrote clearly about the building of new political power organs in the GZs and about the transformation of GZ into liberated area. The same was written more clearly and comprehensively in the ‘Strategy and Tactics of the Indian Revolution’ document formulated by the Unity Congress-9th Congress. We also gave clarity in this document about developing the ‘Krantikari Kisan Committees’ (KKC) that the MCCI party had been building from the very beginning into Revolutionary People’s Committees (RPCs).

“We must develop the strategic areas having a good mass base and favourable terrain within the guerilla zones into guerilla bases for the establishment of people’s political power, for military and political training of our own forces and for the preservation of our own forces, for advancing the revolution and for bringing about a change in the balance of forces by dealing heavy blows on the enemy. The people’s militia, the party units, the organs of people’s political power and various mass organisations will be relatively stronger in the guerilla bases. We will have to further intensify the guerilla war by concentrating on wiping out the enemy in the vulnerable areas, driving him out of that area and consolidating the revolutionary forces. There will be contention between these two forces, with each trying to eliminate the other and to stabilise its own power. In guerilla bases like these, the people should be aroused politically, the people’s guerrilla army and the people’s political power should be consolidated and strengthened and the political power should be extended to the rest of the guerrilla zone areas.

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The PW party started building people's political power organs in the form of Gram Committees/Gram Rajya Committees in Telangana, Dandakaranya (DK) and Andhra-Odisha Border (AOB) Special Zones based on our Tactical Line formulated by 1978-80 and the guidance given in the 'Gram Committees' circular released by the CC in July 1994. On the other hand based on the 'Strategy-Tactics' document the MCCI continued building the KKC as the peasantry's political power organ until 2004.

Along with synthesizing the experiences of the Gram Committees/Gram Rajya Committees, we studied the China, Vietnam, Malaya, Thailand, the Philippines and Peru experiences and the experiences of the 'Gram Committees' during the Telangana armed peasant struggle (1946-51) for developing the GZs into liberated areas more clearly. Thus we formulated a circular on RPCs in April 2001. (In the later period we studied the experiences of Nepal too). We improved our understanding regarding the relation between the building of RPCs and the building of people's army and GZs as the transitional stage of establishing liberated areas and building RPCs in GZs present in the 'Gram Committees' circular released by the CC in 1994 and formulated this circular. Basing on the guidance given in this circular we attained clarity that it would be correct to name the people's political power organs as 'Revolutionary People's Committees' than Gram Committees and from 2001 we are building them in that name. We formulated a RPC Policy Program under CC guidance on the occasion of forming Area level RPC in DK in 2004, and since then worked according to it. To take the concept of RPCs into the people on a vast scale we decided to name them as 'Janatana Sarkars' (JS-People's Governments) in DK. We synthesized the understanding and experiences of CPI (ML) [PW] and MCCI regarding RPCs and wrote it down in the 'Strategy and

Tactics of Indian Revolution' document of the Unity Congress-9th Congress. We also formulated the RPC Policy Program in the CC meeting held in November 2007 after the Congress.

As part of the process of developing GZs into liberated areas our understanding about the tactics to be taken up in the political, organizational and military spheres went on improving further from 2001 to 2007 Congress and till the November 2007 CC meeting. We also wrote a document in November 2007 about developing People's Liberation Guerilla Army (guerilla Army) into People's Liberation Army (regular army) and guerilla warfare into mobile warfare with the aim of developing GZs into liberated areas.

From 1967 to 2014 our movement has seen great successes, heavy offensives of the enemy and some severe losses. But all through we have firmly adhered to the line of area-wise seizure of power of PPW and practicing it. In this course, our practice is going on with a higher level understanding following the method of – practice-study-synthesis of experience-higher level development in understanding, again – application-practice-study-synthesis of experiences. It is through this course of practice that our military line is getting enriched. In this course, the decision taken in 2001 to launch efforts to build liberated areas through the process of developing GZs into GBs in the concrete conditions of India is a leap in our theoretical understanding. Since then we have formed the People's Liberation Guerilla Army, intensified and expanded guerilla warfare and are building people's political power organs at village level by destroying the enemy power in the GZs of DK, Bihar-Jharkhand (BJ), Telangana, AOB, West Bengal and Odisha. Before 2001 and since then they are putting efforts to build new democratic economic, political and cultural systems. In this course, the RPCs that were formed in North Telangana and Nallamala (AP) became defunct as we could not fight back the enemy offensive by 2002-2003. The first Area RPC/Area Janatana Sarkar (ARPC/AJS) was formed in the Kistaram area of South Bastar Division (SBT) in DK. Later till 2010 AJSs were formed in six Divisions, including SBT.

Following the CC guidance that Divisional Janatana Sarkar (DJS) should be built where at least three ARPCs were present by basing on them, we formed two DJSs in 2007. We formed the Zone JS Preparatory Committee in 2008, as per the decision of the CC - as a structure of anti-feudal and anti-imperialist fighting forces; as the coordinator/coordinating centre of

Area and Divisional JSs; as the propaganda centre of people's political power at the Special Zone level and as an embryonic form of people's political power that would be built at the Special Zone level in the future.

The Area, Divisional JSs built in DK are functioning as Area and Divisional GBs. They helped the fulfillment of the strategic tasks of guerilla warfare. The People's Liberation Guerilla forces are fighting back the enemy attacks and preserving the people's political power organs. Thus these GBs are serving as the rear for the people's liberation forces. These GBs are serving as recruitment centers for the PLGA. As part of fulfilling the tasks of the GBs, the Area and Divisional JSs are imparting medical care to the injured people's fighters. They are arming the militia. They are supplying intelligence and supplies to the PLGA. These GBs are serving as bases for political-military training of PLGA forces and arms manufacturing units. As these GBs are thus serving as the rear for the guerilla forces, they are basing on them and fighting back the attacks of the enemy forces on these bases and preserving the political power of the masses. In the guerilla warfare areas that are contiguous to these GBs, they are inflicting damages on the enemy forces and expanding the people's power organs. Taking support from the attacks conducted by the PLGA on the enemy the Village, Area and Division JSs are exercising people's political power at their respective levels, functioning as the new democratic economic, political and cultural system at a primary level and working with the aim of consolidating and expanding them.

In the Unity Congress-9th Congress held in January 2007 we took up the task of developing DK and BJ into liberated areas and intensifying guerilla warfare in other GZs to the best of our ability. Accordingly, since 2007 we carried on guerilla warfare in DK, BJ, AOB, West Bengal, Odisha and other areas to the best of our ability. Through this guerilla warfare we destroyed the enemy political power in the strategic areas in BJ and built RPCs at village level in some areas. In some places in AOB we not only built village level RPCs but also formed an ARPC. During the Lalgarh struggle, as a result of the massive upsurge of people's struggle-guerilla warfare, the political power of the exploiting classes in that area became paralyzed for nearly two years. In this condition, led by the party the joint political power of the vast masses was exercised in the form of People's Committee Against Police Atrocities.

As part of our efforts to establish liberated areas through building GBs in GZs, at present the revolutionary masses are electing the RPCs through direct elections in the village meeting at the village level while the councils at the Area and Divisional levels are being elected by the respective levels of RPCs. The representatives of the four classes (workers, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie) are not physically present in these, and mainly only the peasantry is being present in the RPCs built in DK, Jharkhand and AOB due to the social composition there and the representatives of the petty bourgeois class are present in some places. However, led by the proletarian party, the CPI(Maoist), these are implementing the economic, political and cultural program that represent the aspirations of those classes to achieve the liberation of the four classes. Depending on the destruction of the enemy power, PW is developing and in the course of their consolidation it is possible to join the worker, petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie in these RPCs.

At present in DK, the people's militia at the local level that is part of the PLGA; the Area level Local Guerilla Squads (LGS), and platoons; companies at the Division level and companies and battalions at the Special Zone level are providing the armed support to the village, Area and Divisional Sarkars. Basing on the strength of the mass base and the armed support of the PLGA the political power of the JSs led by the party is being exercised from the local level to the Divisional level.

The process of formation of Area and Divisional GBs in DK as a result of our practice that applied our line creatively to our concrete conditions regarding how it would be possible to establish a liberated area can in strategic areas (where forests, mountains and hills are present) is one step forward in this course. This is proving the correctness of our line. We understood practically that we can develop the said GZ into a liberated area - if we can increase our subjective forces and expand our revolutionary movement/guerilla warfare to newer areas, if we can further place PW as the alternative path before the people of our country and mould their opinion favorably towards this, if we can preserve our subjective forces to a large extent while intensifying and expanding the guerilla warfare and establishing GBs in the strategic areas, consolidating the movements at various levels in our country and politically rallying the people on a vaster scale; when we can develop our military strength following the process of developing PLGA

into PLA by increasing the subjective forces and by basing on them defeat/chase away the enemy armed forces on a huge scale and develop guerilla warfare into mobile warfare, when more favorable political conditions emerge in the country and when we can form the RPC/Council that could execute people's political power even at the GZ level. **This means, we can now state more firmly and clearly that the formation of GBs is one step forward in the direction of establishing liberated areas.**

As the GBs came into existence as a step forward in the direction of developing DK and BJ as liberated areas and as the active role of the oppressed masses in the PW increased leading to successes and expansion of the PW, the Indian ruling classes were seriously worried. These GBs not only served as the rear for the PLGA but the new political power organs present in these also stood as a model in front of the people of our country as a political alternative to the bourgeois parliamentary system. They stood as a model for independent and self-reliant economy as an alternative to the World Bank/imperialist dictated economic development. So the Indian ruling classes are carrying on a countrywide counter-revolutionary offensive since 2009 in the name of OGH to wipe them out. This offensive is being carried on with the aim of decimating the revolutionary party and wipe out the guiding centre for the Indian revolution, wiping out GBs and depriving the PLGA of a rear and defeating the guerilla war, destroying the RPCs and wiping out the alternative to the bourgeois parliamentary system and with the reactionary aim of not allowing these from strengthening or arising elsewhere in our country. The Indian revolutionary movement is facing a very difficult situation due to this offensive.

In the history of the democratic revolution of India that is going on since 1857, in the past 157 years several peasant and Adivasi rebellions arose. All of these could not withstand the attacks of the armed forces of the imperialist and feudal exploiting classes and so were defeated after being in existence for short periods. In contrast, the Indian democratic revolutionary struggle led by our party since 1969 is still continuing while passing through ebb and flow. Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Birbhumi, Kanksa and other struggles of the 1970s were defeated and the North Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, AOB and North Chhattisgarh struggles suffered temporary setback by 2006 and the countrywide movement started facing



a very difficult situation since 2011. All these indicate a temporary defeat and a very difficult situation in the course of NDR. Though the above struggles had suffered setback temporarily, the reason for the NDR continuing under our party's leadership is because the strategy and tactics that we are following are correct. This means - waging anti-feudal struggles in the rural areas; waging anti-imperialist struggle in the rural and urban areas; putting efforts in this course to turn the rural plain areas into GZs; building main GZs-GBs in the strategic areas; putting efforts to develop the main GZs into GBs-liberated areas basing on the plain area GZs; sustaining and expanding the plain areas, red resistance areas and GZ areas basing on the main GZs and GBs in the strategic areas and following a comprehensive struggle line that is interdependent. However, at present the countrywide very difficult situation is bringing forth severe problems in developing GBs. The crucial task in the present situation is to put efforts to surmount them.

### **The problems faced at present in sustaining-consolidating-expanding GBs and the solutions**

Following the uneven development of the Indian revolution, at present in our country, some revolutionary movement areas are present as propaganda centres of revolutionary politics, some as areas where the revolutionary movement is being built secretly, some as red resistance areas, some as GZs and some others as main GZs-GBs. It is by taking into consideration this uneven development of the Indian revolutionary movement that the enemy is attacking our revolutionary movement in the name of OGH using Low-Intensity Conflict (LIC) strategy and counter-guerilla warfare. As part of this they are attacking the revolutionary masses, party and the people's army. Counter-guerilla warfare means using the guerilla warfare principles on the opponent/enemy guerilla forces in a reactionary manner. It is by following this strategy that the enemy started the phase-wise operations (clear, hold, build and develop phases) from areas where our mass base and level and strength of our formations are less. The enemy is taking into their control the areas one after the other and is at present conducting operations that bring the GBs into their 'hold.' In the areas under their 'hold,' they are rebuilding the weakened and destroyed state machinery and establishing the most reactionary political, military, social and cultural structures and machinery on a permanent basis so that the



revolutionary movement does not develop into a strong force. They are building basic facilities like road, transport, communication, electricity and water facilities that would help them in looting the resources. This is the OGH third phase. In such conditions, defeating OGH is the main problem faced by us. We can defeat OGH by mobilizing the people of our country on a vast scale, intensifying and expanding guerilla warfare, taking up appropriate tactics according to the conditions and by the entire party, PLGA and the struggling masses fighting bravely as a single entity. **Only by defeating OGH can we sustain-consolidate-expand the GBs and preserve, consolidate and expand the revolutionary movement.**

Though the crucial part in the OGH offensive is the armed offensive, it is not just an armed/military offensive. It is a multi-pronged offensive carried on in the political, military, psychological, economic, social and cultural spheres. This is carried from the central to the local level. So to defeat the OGH, as part of creatively implementing our political-military line we should also, according to the strengths and weaknesses of the movement, counter-attack and fight from the local level to the central level in all spheres with multi-pronged counter-tactics. Especially the Central and State Committees should give importance to the political attack to be carried on in the various spheres. As the OGH is aimed at fulfilling the economic and political interests of the imperialist, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and big landlord classes, the worker, peasant, petty bourgeois and national bourgeois classes that are facing losses and damages politically, economically, socially and culturally due to this should be politically mobilised and fight should be put up against OGH in legal-illegal, open-secret and armed-unarmed methods. We should sustain on our side the vast masses to isolate the central and state government that are carrying on this offensive. We should follow political tactics that would help in utilizing the contradictions between the enemies.

We should take into the people the facts about how the legislative, executive, judiciary that are part of the bourgeois parliamentary system are reeking of corruption and nepotism, how the governments are ruling with anti-people and treacherous laws and how the RPCs that came to the fore as an alternative to all these and the revolutionary movement should be defended from the OGH offensive and how only thus this can advance

in the path of liberation. We should politically rally all the people of our country and make them stand in support of the RPCs. We should pool the energies of those who stand in support of RPCs to contribute their services in the education, medical care and agricultural spheres and morally, politically, economically, militarily, culturally and legally (law-related). The revolutionary, democratic organisations and fronts that are outside the movement areas should contribute their share in this.

As guerilla warfare cannot withstand for a long period without revolutionary bases we should try to build GBs and try to sustain them as far as possible as the rear. When a situation arises where we are not able to sustain the GBs due to superiority of the enemy's strength, we should take up tactics of centralisation-decentralisation of forces and of advance-retreat that would help in destroying the enemy strength and preserving the subjective force as far as possible. In this course the GBs may change hands into the enemy's and it may even turn into red resistance areas/white areas. New areas may develop into GBs newly. So keeping in view the entire situation at present, a general plan and as part of it self-defence tactics basing on the conditions that are forming in the direction of retreat and advance tactics keeping in view the opportunities still present for the advance of the movement should be formulated; in the main movement areas, basing on the concrete conditions, the concerned Regional Bureaus and State Committees should make changes in their advance and retreat tactics; the people should be politically mobilised in the new areas where opportunities for the development of the movement are present, consolidated strength should be developed and tactics that help in advancing in the direction of developing class struggle and guerilla warfare should be taken up; in all the weaker areas, even while giving utmost importance to preservation of subjective forces, the people should be politically mobilised in creative methods and consolidated and tactics that help in developing class struggles and subjective forces should be taken up. While firmly implementing the tactics formulated in all types of areas, the leadership should work with the aim of surmounting the present very difficult situation keeping in view the changes that are occurring rapidly in the conditions. Through such tactics, we can surmount the unfavorable situations arising in war without losing initiative, without getting defeated or with lesser losses.

Mao suggested that the oppressed masses should be vastly mobilised for building revolutionary bases through occupation of landlords' lands during the civil war period and through reduction in rent, increase of laborer's wages and campaigns for increasing production during the period of resistance war against imperialists. Taking these as the guiding principles for vastly mobilizing the masses in the building of revolutionary bases means waging guerilla warfare by linking it with the fulfillment of the aspirations of the oppressed masses. In the present conditions, only by carrying on anti-feudal, anti-imperialist class struggle and anti-state struggle in the GZs and the GBs for solving the daily and basic problems of the masses, it would be possible to mobilise them on a vast scale for building GBs and consolidating them. Along with this, land leveling to increase production and campaigns to build lakes and tanks for irrigation should be taken up to help increase the living standards of the people in the GBs. Apart from this, education and medical services should be imparted on a vaster scale. Thus in the GZs and GBs, new forces should be continuously brought into the party, PLGA and the UF organisations on a vast scale by intensifying the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist class struggle and anti-state struggles, taking up campaigns for increasing production and expanding the welfare measures. Such mobilisation creates the basis for our success. So we should put efforts to overcome our shortcomings, weaknesses and limitations in waging anti-imperialist, anti-feudal class struggles and running production and welfare activities.

In the present conditions, the plains, forest and urban movements should be built with the realization that they are complementary to each other. Even while preserving the present forces and working in plains and the urban areas with new tactics and secret methods, we should gradually build up new cadres from those areas who could run the party, military and UF spheres in the GZs and GBs.

We should train up the party and the PLGA in the tactics that can wage the class struggle and guerilla warfare in unfavorable, very difficult conditions and during defeats. Through this training the party leadership should turn the party ranks and the PLGA commanders into 'sailors who can navigate the boat towards the destination even during storms' such that they can withstand any unfavorable situation that the Indian revolutionary movement may face in the coming days and stand firm.

The revolutionary changes occurring in the information and communication fields are impacting both the revolutionary war and the counter-revolutionary war, favorably and unfavorably. Naturally the exploiting classes in power are utilizing them in their favor by keeping them under their control to suppress revolutions and rebellions. Though there are great variations, revolutionaries and rebels the world over are also using them in their favor. So we should study the changes occurring in the information and communication fields and by basing on them put efforts to utilise them in favor of the revolutionary war and to fight back the counter-revolutionary offensive of the enemy.

Due to the changes occurring almost every day in the roads, transport and communication systems and their expansion into the rural and forest areas, we are facing some unfavorable conditions in waging guerilla warfare. We should develop struggle and organizational forms that would help surmount these and help in waging guerilla warfare. The non-peasant masses that are increasing due to urbanisation should be mobilised into anti-imperialist and anti-feudal class struggles according to their aspirations.

In the past 47 years' history of the Indian democratic revolutionary movement, building GBs in the direction of establishing liberated areas in India, is one step forward. The intensification of the class contradictions in the present objective situation; the experiences gained by the party and PLGA in waging guerilla warfare, the steeling of people in the 34-35 years of class struggle since 1977-80 are the favorable conditions present for consolidating and expanding these GBs. However our revolutionary movement is facing severe unfavorable conditions at present due to weaknesses such as – a section in the party, PLGA and the UF losing self-confidence and courage due to subjectivity in assessing the enemy's strength as stronger and our subjective strength (party, PLGA, UF and the people) as lesser, continuation of non-proletarian trends in the party, PLGA, UF, weakening of the mass base and reduction in the resisting power of the PLGA. In such conditions, let us intensify class struggle and increase our mass base by basing on the tactics decided by the CC in 2013. Let us mould the party and the PLGA into a brave and invincible force through Bolshevisation. In this course, let us advance towards the establishment of liberated areas by defeating the OGH offensive and consolidating and expanding GBs. \*

# LENIN

- Stalin

*(A Speech Delivered at a Memorial Meeting of the Kremlin Military School, January 28, 1924)*

Comrades, I am told that you have arranged a Lenin memorial meeting here this evening and that I have been invited as one of the speakers. I do not think there is any need for me to deliver a set speech on Lenin's activities. It would be better, I think, to confine myself to a few facts to bring out certain of Lenin's characteristics as a man and a leader. There may, perhaps, be no inherent connection between these facts, but that is not of vital importance as far as gaining a general idea of Lenin is concerned. At any rate, I am unable on this occasion to do more than what I have just promised.

## **The Mountain Eagle**

I first became acquainted with Lenin in 1903. True, it was not a personal acquaintance, but was by correspondence. But it made an indelible impression upon me, one which has never left me throughout all my work in the Party. I was in exile in Siberia at the time. My knowledge of Lenin's revolutionary activities since the end of the nineties, and especially after 1901, after the appearance of *Iskra*, had convinced me that in Lenin we had a man of extraordinary calibre. At that time I did not regard him merely as a leader of the Party, but as its actual founder, for he alone understood the inner essence and urgent needs of our Party. When I compared him with the other leaders of our Party, it always seemed to me that he was head and shoulders above his colleagues—Plekhanov, Martov, Axelrod and the others; that, compared with them, Lenin was not just one of the leaders, but a leader of the highest rank, a mountain eagle, who knew no fear in the struggle, and who boldly led the Party forward along the unexplored paths of the Russian revolutionary movement. This impression took such a deep hold of me that I felt impelled to write about it to a close friend of mine who was living as a political exile abroad, requesting him to give me his opinion. Some time later, when I was already in exile in Siberia—this was at the end of 1903—I received an enthusiastic reply from my friend and a simple, but profoundly expressive letter from Lenin, to whom, it turned out, my friend had shown my letter. Lenin's note was comparatively short, but it contained a bold and fearless criticism of the practical work of our

Party, and a remarkably clear and concise account of the entire plan of work of the Party in the immediate future. Only Lenin could write of the most intricate things so simply and clearly, so concisely and boldly, that every sentence did not so much speak as ring out like a rifle shot. This simple and bold letter still further strengthened me in my opinion that Lenin was the mountain eagle of our Party. I cannot forgive myself for having, from the habit of an old underground worker, consigned this letter of Lenin's, like many other letters, to the flames.

My acquaintance with Lenin dates from that time.

### **Modesty**

I first met Lenin in December 1905 at the Bolshevik conference in Tammerfors (Finland). I was hoping to see the mountain eagle of our Party, the great man, great not only politically, but, if you will, physically, because in my imagination I had pictured Lenin as a giant, stately and imposing. What, then, was my disappointment to see a most ordinary-looking man, below average height, in no way, literally in no way, distinguishable from ordinary mortals. . . .

It is accepted as the usual thing for a "great man" to come late to meetings so that the assembly may await his appearance with bated breath; and then, just before the "great man" enters, the warning whisper goes up:

"Hush! . . . Silence! He's coming." This ritual did not seem to me superfluous, because it creates an impression, inspires respect. What, then, was my disappointment to learn that Lenin had arrived at the conference before the delegates, had settled himself some where in a corner, and was unassumingly carrying on a conversation, a most ordinary conversation with the most ordinary delegates at the conference. I will not conceal from you that at that time this seemed to me to be something of a violation of certain essential rules.

Only later did I realise that this simplicity and modesty, this striving to remain unobserved, or, at least, not to make himself conspicuous and not to emphasise his high position, this feature was one of Lenin's strongest points as the new leader of the new masses, of the simple and ordinary masses of the "rank and file" of humanity.

### **Force of Logic**

The two speeches Lenin delivered at this conference were remarkable: one was on the current situation and the other on the agrarian question. Unfortunately, they have not been preserved. They were inspired, and they

roused the whole conference to a pitch of stormy enthusiasm. The extraordinary power of conviction, the simplicity and clarity of argument, the brief and easily understood sentences, the absence of affectation, of dizzying gestures and theatrical phrases aiming at effect—all this made Lenin's speeches a favourable contrast to the speeches of the usual "parliamentary" orators.

But what captivated me at the time was not this aspect of Lenin's speeches. I was captivated by that irresistible force of logic in them which, although some what terse, gained a firm hold on his audience, gradually electrified it, and then, as one might say, completely overpowered it. I remember that many of the delegates said: "The logic of Lenin's speeches is like a mighty tentacle which twines all round you and holds you as in a vice and from whose grip you are powerless to tear yourself away: you must either surrender or resign yourself to utter defeat."

I think that this characteristic of Lenin's speeches was the strongest feature of his art as an orator.

### **No Whining**

The second time I met Lenin was in 1906 at the Stock-holm Congress of our Party. You know that the Bolsheviki were in the minority at this congress and suffered defeat. This was the first time I saw Lenin in the role of the vanquished. But he was not in the least like those leaders who whine and lose heart after a defeat. On the contrary, defeat transformed Lenin into a spring of compressed energy which inspired his supporters for new battles and for future victory. I said that Lenin was defeated. But what sort of defeat was it? You had only to look at his opponents, the victors at the Stockholm Congress—Plekhanov, Axelrod, Martov and the rest. They had little of the appearance of real victors, for Lenin's merciless criticism of Menshevism had not left one whole bone in their body, so to speak. I remember that we, the Bolshevik delegates, huddled together in a group, gazing at Lenin and asking his advice. The speeches of some of the delegates betrayed a note of weariness and dejection. I recall that to these speeches Lenin bitingly replied through clenched teeth: "Don't whine, comrades, we are bound to win, for we are right." Hatred of the whining intellectual, faith in our own strength, confidence in victory—that is what Lenin impressed upon us. It was felt that the Bolsheviki's defeat was temporary, that they were bound to win in the very near future. "No whining

over defeat”—this was the feature of Lenin’s activities that helped him to rally around him- self an army faithful to the end and confident in its strength.

### **No Boasting**

At the next congress, held in 1907 in London, the Bolsheviks proved victorious. This was the first time I saw Lenin in the role of victor. Victory turns the heads of some leaders and makes them haughty and boastful. They begin in most cases to be triumphant, to rest on their laurels. But Lenin did not in the least resemble such leaders. On the contrary, it was precisely after a victory that he became especially vigilant and cautious. I recall that Lenin insistently impressed on the delegates: “The first thing is not to become intoxicated by victory and not to boast; the second thing is to consolidate the victory; the third is to give the enemy the finishing stroke, for he has been beaten, but by no means crushed.” He poured withering scorn on those delegates who frivolously asserted: “It is all over with the Mensheviks now.” He had no difficulty in showing that the Mensheviks still had roots in the working-class movement, that they had to be fought with skill, and that all overestimation of one’s own strength and, especially, all underestimation of the strength of the enemy had to be avoided.

“No boasting in victory”—this was the feature of Lenin’s character that helped him soberly to weigh the strength of the enemy and to insure the Party against possible surprises.

### **Fidelity to Principle**

Party leaders cannot but prize the opinion of the majority of their party. A majority is a power with which a leader cannot but reckon. Lenin understood this no less than any other party leader. But Lenin never became a captive of the majority, especially when that majority had no basis of principle. There have been times in the history of our Party when the opinion of the majority or the momentary interests of the Party conflicted with the fundamental interests of the proletariat. On such occasions Lenin would never hesitate and resolutely took his stand in support of principle as against the majority of the Party. Moreover, he did not fear on such occasions literally to stand alone against all, considering—as he would often say—that “a policy based on principle is the only correct policy.”

Particularly characteristic in this respect are the two following facts.

*First fact.* It was in the period 1909-11, when the Party, smashed by the



counter-revolution, was in process of complete disintegration. It was a period of disbelief in the Party, of wholesale desertion from the Party, not only by the intellectuals, but partly even by the workers; a period when the necessity for illegal organisation was being denied, a period of Liquidationism and collapse. Not only the Mensheviks, but even the Bolsheviks then consisted of a number of factions and trends, for the most part severed from the working-class movement. You know that it was just at that period that the idea arose of completely liquidating the illegal organisation and organising the workers into a legal, liberal Stolypin party. Lenin at that time was the only one not to succumb to the widespread epidemic and to hold high the banner of Party principle, assembling the scattered and shattered forces of the Party with astonishing patience and extraordinary persistence, combating each and every anti-Party trend within the working-class movement and defending the Party principle with unusual courage and unparalleled perseverance.

We know that in this fight for the Party principle, Lenin later proved the victor.

*Second fact.* It was in the period 1914-17, when the imperialist war was in full swing, and when all, or nearly all, the Social-Democratic and Socialist parties had succumbed to the general patriotic frenzy and had placed themselves at the service of the imperialism of their respective countries. It was a period when the Second International had hauled down its colours to capitalism, when even people like Plekhanov, Kautsky, Guesde and the rest were unable to withstand the tide of chauvinism. Lenin at that time was the only one, or almost the only one, to wage a determined struggle against social-chauvinism and social-pacifism, to denounce the treachery of the Guesdes and Kautskys, and to stigmatise the half-heartedness of the betwixt and between “revolutionaries.” Lenin knew that he was backed by only an insignificant minority, but to him this was not of decisive moment, for he knew that the only correct policy with a future before it was the policy of consistent internationalism, that a policy based on principle is the only correct policy.

We know that in this fight for a new International, too, Lenin proved the victor.

“A policy based on principle is the only correct policy”—this was the formula by means of which Lenin took new “impregnable” positions by assault and won over the best elements of the proletariat to revolutionary Marxism.

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## Certain Fundamental Conditions to Achieve Bolshevisation

- Stalin

To achieve Bolshevisation it is necessary to bring about at least certain fundamental conditions, without which no Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties will be possible.

1) The Party must regard itself not as an appendage of the parliamentary electoral machinery, as the Social-Democratic Party in fact does, and not as a gratuitous supplement to the trade unions, as certain Anarcho-Syndicalist elements sometimes claim it should be, but as the *highest* form of class association of the proletariat, the function of which is to *lead* all the other forms of proletarian organisations, from the trade unions to the Party's group in parliament.

2) The Party, and especially its leading elements, must thoroughly master the revolutionary theory of Marxism, which is inseparably connected with revolutionary practice.

3) The Party must draw up slogans and directives not on the basis of stock formulas and historical analogies, but as the result of a careful analysis of the concrete internal and international conditions of the revolutionary movement, and it must, without fail, take into account the experience of revolutions in all countries.

4) The Party must test the correctness of these slogans and directives in the crucible of the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

5) The entire work of the Party, particularly if Social-Democratic traditions have not yet been eradicated in it, must be reorganised on new, revolutionary lines, so that every step, every action, taken by the Party should naturally serve to revolutionise the masses, to train and educate the broad masses of the working class in the revolutionary spirit.

6) In its work the Party must be able to combine the strictest adherence to principle (not to be confused with sectarianism!) with the maximum of ties and contacts with the masses (not to be confused with

khvostism!); without this, the Party will be unable not only to teach the masses but also to learn from them, it will be unable not only to lead the masses and raise them to its own level but also to heed their voice and anticipate their urgent needs.

7) In its work the Party must be able to combine an uncompromising revolutionary spirit (not to be confused with revolutionary adventurism!) with the maximum of flexibility and manoeuvring ability (not to be confused with opportunism!); without this, the Party will be unable to master all the forms of struggle and organisation, will be unable to link the daily interests of the proletariat with the fundamental interests of the proletarian revolution, and to combine in its work the legal with the illegal struggle.

8) The Party must not cover up its mistakes, it must not fear criticism; it must improve and educate its cadres by learning from its own mistakes.

9) The Party must be able to recruit for its main leading group the best elements of the advanced fighters who are sufficiently devoted to the cause to be genuine spokesmen of the aspirations of the revolutionary proletariat, and who are sufficiently experienced to become real leaders of the proletarian revolution, capable of applying the tactics and strategy of Leninism.

10) The Party must systematically improve the social composition of its organisations and rid itself of corrupting opportunist elements with a view to achieving the utmost solidarity.

11) The Party must achieve iron proletarian discipline based on ideological solidarity, clarity concerning the aims of the movement, unity of practical action and an understanding of the Party's tasks by the mass of the Party membership.

12) The Party must systematically verify the execution of its decisions and directives; without this, these decisions and directives are in danger of becoming empty promises, which can only rob the Party of the confidence of the broad proletarian masses.

*(From Stalin's Interview to Herzog, Member of the German Communist Party)*

# Krantikari Janatana Sarkars: Building New Democratic Economy through Revolutionary Land Reforms

- Myna

The reason for 75-77 percent of the people suffering from poverty, illnesses, cultural backwardness and hardship is the continuing exploitation and oppression of the imperialists and the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie. Due to the rule of the exploiting classes, since August 15, 1947 till date in the past six and half decades the Congress, BJP and the revisionist parties or the alliances – whichever may have come to power in the centre and the states, whatever may be the number of schemes implemented by them in the name of ‘development’, all of these were aimed at preserving the economic, political and cultural interests of the Indian ruling classes and the imperialists. So none of the problems of the poor were solved. Due to this the people of our country are suffering from poverty, illness, illiteracy etc. Of all these problems the crucial issue is the land issue. That is why, the Maoist party is striving to complete the New Democratic Revolution (NDR) successfully by mobilising the people of our country into class struggles and people’s war (PW) based on the agrarian revolution that is waged with slogans like ‘Land to the tiller’, ‘Rights on *Jal-Jungle-Zameen* to Adivasis and oppressed masses’, ‘*Izzat aur Adhikar Chahiye.*’

The DK movement began in 1980. From 1980 till the mid-1995 to 1996, thousands of Adivasi men and women in the Gadchiroli and Bastar areas that are part of DK, were politically mobilised against the exploitation and oppression of forest officers, against the social authority and oppression of the tribal elders and landlords, *begar* (bonded labor), feudalism and imperialism and got consolidated into Dandakaranya Adivasi Kisan Mazdoor Sangathan (DAKMS) and Krantikari Adivasi Mahila Sangathan (KAMS). With this consolidated strength, thousands of people mobilised in Gadchiroli and Bastar districts and punished the forest officers, fought against the traditional exploitative norms of the tribal elders and the landlords and seized the lands of the landlords and the forest lands.

The DAKMS (*Sangam*) that is a form of consolidated people led by the party, conducted people's courts against 'begar', a form of labor exploitation and the injustices perpetrated by the landlords, solved their problems and won the confidence and support of the people. Simultaneously, the party explained the politics of class struggle to the *Sangams* and made them implement class line-mass line in economic, political, social and cultural struggles. So it not only won a place in the hearts of the people as an organisation that fights against the exploitation and oppression and one that stands in their support but soon started functioning as the political power organ of the Adivasi peasantry.

Along with the above struggles, the party learnt from some of the good traditions present among the people here, revolutionized these and increased the consciousness of class struggle and the consolidated strength of the *Sangams* and the people. It unleashed their creativity. For example, the people used to have a serious problem of seeds and oxen for cultivating. The party discussed with the people and implemented the following under the leadership of the *Sangams*. Later the people who formed the base for the *Gram Rajya Committees* (GRC) implemented it on their own. Before the party's entry into DK, there were two methods in which the Adivasi landlords and rich peasants gave loans to the poor peasants according to the Adivasi tradition. 1. If a poor peasant took one quintal of seeds from the landlord as loan, after the harvest, he should pay back two quintals of rice to the landlord who loaned him the seeds. 2. If they take one quintal of rice as loan for consumption during famine, after the harvest, they paid back only one quintal. (Meaning there is no need for paying back additionally as he took the loan for consumption). So the party even while encouraging such good practices, took up campaign for lesser rate of interests according to class line-mass line (like 50% and 25% than the previous 100%) for the peasant who brought one quintal of seeds as loan.

In 1987-88 itself the party started the 'Vanji (paddy) Cooperatives' under the leadership of the mass organisations in the respective villages and gradually it was extended to entire DK. Those who could give one kilo of rice (only those who could give) gave it. The landlords and rich peasants who were not anti-people were convinced to give 2-3 kilos of rice. Then this entire rice was kept in the seed banks of the 'Vanji Cooperatives'. Those who took one quintal of the seeds paid back one and half quintal

after harvest. This system supported the people during famines. And every rich peasant having 50 oxen were to give one to the *Sangam*. The oxen thus collected were given to poor people for cultivation by the *Sangams*. Thus a basis was created for the poor and middle peasants for getting liberated from *begar* that they used to do for the landlords and the rich peasants in exchange for the seeds and oxen they got in loan from them. The people responsibly managed these systems and even during severe repression and could preserve the rice and the oxen that were under their control. Later these 'Vanji Cooperatives' were brought under the control of the Agricultural Development Department Committees of the GRCs and stood in support of the people when they needed seeds and also in meeting expenses during marriages, festivals etc.

In 1995-96, the people intensified class struggle and PW and destroyed the authority of the tribal elders, bad gentry, landlords and the exploitative government and established GRCs that are people's political power organs and Krantikari Janatana Sarkars (RPCs) since 2001 under the leadership of the party. These KJSs were formed from the village to the *panchayat* level limit of 3 to 5 villages (not the limits of the 'village *panchayat*' of the government) i.e., within the limit of 500 to 5000 population. In several areas in DK, the *panchayat*, Area Janatana Sarkars and two Division level KJSs were formed and achieved considerable progress in all spheres.

The main issue of the oppressed masses of India is the land issue. As long as the oppressed masses do not get land there would not be any fundamental change or development in their lives. Land used to be in the hands of the tribal elders, Adivasi, non-Adivasi landlords, traders and the exploiting governments in DK. Without the Adivasi and non-Adivasi oppressed people seizing land from them, we cannot eradicate poverty here or develop the lives of the people. That is why the CPI (Maoist) since the initial days of its entry into DK, mobilised the people with the slogans 'Land belongs to the tiller' and 'Right over Jal, Jungle, Zameen to the Adivasis and the oppressed masses'. In DK that consisted of Adilabad, Gadchiroli, Bastar, Koraput, Malkangiri, East Godavari and Visakha districts and some part of Khammam district, by 1995 itself, lakhs of acres of forest lands and thousands of acres of lands of the landlords and the anti-people

tribal elders were occupied by the people led by the party.\*

Under the leadership of KJSs, in the past 18 years too thousands of forest lands and hundreds of acres of lands of landlords, anti-people tribal elders, big contractors and big traders are continuously being occupied by the people of Gadchiroli and undivided Bastar. During the revolutionary land reforms, oppressed masses occupying the lands in the hands of the exploiting classes and the exploiting governments was the first phase. The second step was to increase production in those lands using people's political power. The authority of the local people's enemies and the exploiting classes is being destroyed in these Adivasi areas through PW and a new democratic economic, political and cultural system is being built up. As part of the building of new democratic system the lands occupied by the people is being leveled and irrigation facilities are being provided. Growing fruit orchards, building ponds for fish-rearing and cooperatives for seeds and loans are being formed. As part of this, since 2011, every year land leveling campaigns are going on in the months of January and February. Basing on the surplus that is thus gained, rice mills and oil mills are being established and trading in forest produce is done. In such forms an effort to establish trade and industries at the most primary level has begun. This new democratic economic, political and cultural system that is being built at a primary level is standing in front of the people of our country as an alternative to the semi-colonial, semi-feudal system and the imperialist dictated globalised policies.

Any development should help in developing step by step the productive capacity of the people, help in unleashing their creativity, utilizing the resources, building up abilities in all spheres by giving them the confidence that they can build their future with their own hands and that they are living on their own efforts even while fighting for their liberation from the exploiters

\* These areas in the Adilabad and Khammam districts were made a part of North Telangana Special Zone, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari districts were made a part of East Region initially and from 2001 were made part of the Andhra-Odisha Border Special Zone. At present DK Special Zone area means the erstwhile Madhya Pradesh State's (present Chhattisgarh State) undivided Bastar (divided now into 7 districts), Gadchiroli and Gondia districts of Maharashtra and the Divisions that have borders with Rajnandgaon, Kanker and Balod districts in Chhattisgarh.

there. This would be possible only when they have control over their lives. Led by the party, the Adivasi peasantry in DK are carrying on the PW against the imperialists and the Indian ruling classes with enormous sacrifices with the aim of building liberated areas for the victory of NDR. Let us look at the economic, political and cultural changes that occurred among the DK people one after another in this backdrop.

### **Economic Program**

1. As part of distribution of land on the basis of land to the tiller, the DK KJSs gave preference to distribute land to the landless and the poor peasants and also made the peasants help each other in every kind of work as part of mutual aid teams for labour and seeds. As a result, the agricultural production increased and their living standards improved than before. So cooperative, collective and united thinking developed tremendously among the people.

2. The people rallied in their thousands and completed the following works with voluntary labour collectively. Drinking water ponds – 4762; fish-rearing ponds – 397; water canals – 22; repair of ponds – 1737; cement wells built in areas where there is drinking water problem – 130; ring wells -20 were built and repair works were done.

3. In the land leveling campaign that was initiated since 2011, people participated enthusiastically and leveled 14,357 acres of land (particularly of poor peasants) belonging to 13,667 families in the past three years and guaranteed one harvest in those lands. The lands of PLGA comrades' families, martyrs' families and jailed comrades' families are also included in these leveled lands. The lands, belonging to a few dozens of families, that have been developed to give two harvests exist in some villages. As every family implemented the method of transplanting in 1-2 *dolis* (plots), the living standard of the people improved a bit.

4. The KJSs are encouraging the growing of orchards by planting saplings of mango, guava, custard apple, lemon, pomegranate, jackfruit and banana in each *panchayat*.

5. Growing vegetables and fish-rearing was turned into a common activity, both collective as well as individual, for the villagers by the KJS and this is being implemented in majority of the areas. In some other places they are encouraging this.

6. The KJSs are making the peasants who do not have oxen for



cultivating, join the mutual aid teams and helping them in their works; where possible they are providing oxen to them. They are encouraging usage of organic manure for cultivation and usage of local seeds while discouraging usage of hybrid seeds. They are conducting ‘*Krishi* (agriculture) Workshops’ to help them stand on their own legs and increase production by conducting discussions to increase their understanding about the kinds of seeds, manure etc. to be used. Rearing of goats, pigs and poultry is encouraged.

### **Political Program**

1. Controlling the authority of the tribal elders, *Oddes* (tribal priests)
2. Destroying the exploiting classes’ government machinery
3. Provision of equal rights to women
4. The oppressed masses running the people’s governments that were elected by them in the *panchayat* (village), Area, Division levels in the village meetings and the councils (representatives meetings) on their own; putting efforts to increase the active role and participation of the women; putting efforts to bring the peasantry, particularly the poor peasants into the political sphere on a vast scale and making them exercise their political power.
5. Mobilizing the people politically, more widely and actively into PW and expanding their political power.

### **Cultural Program**

1. *Ashram* schools at the Area and Division levels and schools at the *panchayat* level are being run with the aim of imparting ‘Education and Knowledge’ to the children and education is being imparted to thousands of children.
2. The good aspects in the DK Adivasi people’s culture are being encouraged and fight is put up against the bad aspects; people’s culture is being revolutionized and new democratic culture is being established.
3. Controlling forceful marriages that are present in the tribal traditions and encouraging love marriages and marriages between *Dorla* (*Rajgond*) and *Koya* tribes.
4. Propaganda against human sacrifice, conducting people’s courts by the Justice Department of KJS through discussions there according to mass line, propagating scientific thinking and raising consciousness against

feudal and imperialist lumpen culture and superstitions and putting efforts to sustain new democratic culture and expand it.

5. People's doctors are conducting classes to women giving them an understanding regarding their health problems. They are being educated in discussions, given an understanding about usage of medicines and hygiene. Women and child welfare programs are taken to the village/*panchayat* levels.

6. Medical camps are held. People's health and welfare is carried on through temporary camps and mobile hospitals. Herbal medicine is encouraged and along with it, medical care is imparted through allopathic medicines as well, thus making health care available to the people.

Thus, though at a primary level, the DKKJS is advancing in the path of new democratic development. To destroy the KJSs and suppress the revolutionary movement the exploiting ruling classes and the imperialists conducted *Salwa Judum* fascist attacks between 2005-2007 and are perpetrating massacres, atrocities and 'destroy all' offensives in the name of Operation Green Hunt (OGH) since mid-2009. After the Hindu fascist government led by Modi came to power this offensive is being carried out on a more severe and expansive scale than ever before.

It is only the KJS that can utilise the natural resources of our country for the development of the people and preserve it safely for the next generations. The central and state governments are formulating new laws to suppress this. But the KJSs and the people are continuing their tradition of struggles by fighting hand in hand with the people of our country and the fighting organisations for rights over *Jal-Jungle-Zameen*.

The KJSs led by the party and with the support of the PLGA are fighting back the unjust war of the reactionary governments and politically exposing the real face of the fake reforms and civic action programs (CAP) taken up by them, defending the people, increasing production and taking up educational and welfare activities. The DK people are proving with their practice at primary level in the present concrete conditions that it is the PW and the development of the poor people that is the genuine path of development for social transformation. \*

**The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.**

**- Mao (On Coalition Government)**

# Transform the Rage of the Youth into A Mighty Revolutionary Tide!

*[Reflections on the condition of youth and employment on the occasion of the 10th Anniversary celebrations of the formation of CPI (Maoist)]*

– Deepak

Neither the media nor the parliamentary leaders ever get tired of boasting about the world's largest democracy. But India is breathing its last in this so-called democracy. In any case the issue of India versus Bharat has become a subject of debate among analysts. The poverty-stricken masses are termed as Bharat while the rich are being called India. The claim is also made nowadays about it being one of the youngest countries in the world. But the future of the youth in this young India is neither dependent on their aspirations nor their capabilities. This is because the reins over the lives of the youth are in the hands of those who care precious little for them or anyone else. They are the ones who have monopolised Indian democracy. However, democracy and monopoly are contradictory things. Nevertheless, to imagine the rule of all in a class-divided society is an illusion. What is usually called democracy is in fact bourgeois democracy. In India this bourgeois democracy becomes feudal and comprador bureaucratic bourgeois democracy through the working of the trickle-down principle. It began by taking the form of Nehruvian 'socialism', took a cruel shape during Indira's Emergency, in Rajiv-Manmohan's hands it became terrorist and now Modi is running it in a fascist form. An MP can tear apart a Bill made by the UPA-2 government and throw it into the dustbin, and the entire parliament has to accept it. Or for that matter, Modi can conduct a parade of the secretaries of all the union ministries in his durbar. Both are similar things. If democracy is so hard to come by for even those who sing paeans to Indian democracy, what can the common masses expect from it? What can it give to the youth who dream of making their lives worthwhile and meaningful? Before the youth of young India starts dreaming of a glittering future, they must be aware of the relation of the present 'democratic' system with their future.

## Demography versus democracy

Even a good demography can be eaten up by a bad democracy. Indian democracy is carrying out a similar stratagem with the people of India. Census of 2011 says that nearly half of India's 1.21 billion population or 48.6 percent are less than 24 years of age. People between 15 to 24 years of age number 232 million. The workforce or the population capable of work belonging to the age group of 15 to 59 years is 62.5 percent of the total populace. This demography is a matter of pride. This workforce, if properly deployed to work, can change the entire face of India. But this is only possible when the system in the country is capable of providing employment at such a scale. If this workforce is to be provided with employment, 500 million new jobs will have to be created in the coming nine years, or nearly 50 million jobs a year. According to one estimate, 12 million jobs were created annually in India during the years of rapid GDP growth a decade back. This has come down rapidly to a paltry 2 million in the recent years. In such conditions, can the Indian government provide work to so many hands? From the economist to the common man, everyone will answer this in the negative.

The government claims that 500 million youths are in immediate need of education and 'skill development'. Therefore it has introduced 'skill development' schemes. The proclaimed target of the ruling classes is to provide 'skill development' to 530 million youths by 2022. It is claimed that 23 state governments will carry out 'skill development' of 380 million youths while the central government will train the rest 150 million under public-private partnership. National Skill Development Corporation and the autonomous National Skill Development Agency have been formed, while a National Skill Development Coordination Board has been set up under the Deputy-chairpersonship of the Planning Commission to coordinate between these bodies. However, only 1.35 million youth have been imparted 'skill development' by them in the last three years. Similarly, only 8.7 million have been trained up through the combined efforts of the central and state governments. So even going by the government's definition of skill development, the process of training the youth is going on at snail's pace. 13 million join the workforce every year while the government admits that it has the capacity to train only 3.1 million or 20 percent of it. This means that three-fourths of the employable youth would go without this

government-sponsored skill development training. To whatever extent may the government try, it does not appear that it would be able to build up a system at least for another ten years to train all the eligible youth in 'skill development'. Even the documents of the Eleventh Five Year Plan says that there is no provision for the 'skill development' of 80 percent of the youth. It is obvious that the existing system, which itself is the cause of this massive and ever-increasing unemployment among the youth, cannot provide any means of its effective and lasting resolution.

Then the moot question is, why is this hullabaloo around 'skill development'? Are the ruling classes really interested in imparting skills to the youth, to provide them employment and develop our economy through productive use of their skills? The answer would be a resounding NO. As part of globalisation policies and also as part of restructuring their economies in the backdrop of the worldwide economic crisis the imperialists are relocating parts of their capital and several of their production units to countries like India where cheap labour, along with land, raw materials and water are sold away for peanuts and infrastructure, transport, electricity etc are available at cheaper rates or even for free. Tax 'holiday' for 5-10 years is common for any MNC in our great sovereign country. The MNCs need a certain level of skills among their workers and employees and would like their satraps in the central and state governments to impart those skills to the youth. The cost of skill development in their countries is not only high, the salaries of those employed is also several times higher than the salaries of their Indian counterparts. So the MNCs would like the Indian government to train the youth and make them available for employment – all at a cheaper cost. Obviously, all those trainees would not get employment and this reserve army of 'skilled unemployed' would only help in depressing the salaries of even those who get employment. Let's have no doubts, once the MNCs find that all this can be done at cheaper rates in some other country than in India, they would take flight leaving both the employed and the unemployed in the lurch. With unemployment and underemployment rapidly becoming the global trend leading to severe unrest among the world people and even contributing to the toppling of some governments, any talk of providing large-scale employment opportunities to our youth by the Indian politicians, as if India is an independent economy uncoupled from the world economy, should be viewed with utmost suspicion to say the least.

We can even say that this clamour around skill development is also aimed to divert our attention from the larger picture. The BJP led NDA government is planning to make the biggest disinvestment till date in the public sector, particularly Navaratnas and Maharatnas and earn Rs. 43,800 crores in the name of filling the fiscal deficit. On the other hand, it is further paving the way for FDI in all key sectors, not leaving even the holy cow of defence sector. With the imperialists tightening their grip over the economy of our country day by day in this manner and with every sector and sphere being geared and restructured around the needs of the MNCs and the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie, what kind of hope can there be for our youth who dream of finding employment, becoming self-reliant or even aspire for independent development of our country? The fullest employment of our youth and their all-round development is possible only when our country and its economy free themselves from the neo-colonial clutches of the imperialists.

The Indian government promises to provide the youth unemployment allowances worth thousands of rupees instead of providing them with jobs. For instance, Uttar Pradesh government has promised to give Rs. 1000 towards unemployment allowance while the BJP promised to provide Rs. 2000. It is a different matter whether and to what extent do they fulfil their promises. In fact, the number of unemployed who are getting such allowance is nominal and this promise has turned out to be a mere humbug. But one thing that becomes clear from this is that they do not intend to make the youth capable and provide them with meaningful employment. The youth are being made helpless and servile. This is what the existing economic system has in store for the country's youth.

But the economic system is not an independent thing in itself. If the economy creates a political system conducive to it, then politics serves the economy. There is a dialectical relation between the two. Who controls the country's economy is crystal-clear. The economic system of India is controlled by imperialist finance capital. Comprador bureaucratic capitalist and landlord classes serve this finance capital. That is why the dictatorship of the comprador classes in the garb of democracy is related to the skill, education, employment and life of the youth. Casting votes and unfurling the flag on the Laal Quila – is this what democracy all about? The prime

minister raises the slogan of 'Come, Make in India' from the ramparts of Laal Quila throwing the red carpet to the foreign predators. The real meaning of this slogan is 'Come, loot India'. Is this the meaning of 'independence'? Two-thirds of the country's population go without two square meals a day. 77 percent of the population lives on Rs. 20 a day. India is the home to the most malnourished people. Political dissent is silenced in many ways including murder through false encounters. Are the masses allowed to enjoy the constitutional rights guaranteed to them? Are we to call democracy the degeneration of social values and culture? Are we to consider the gunning down of protesting masses the freedom of expression? This question alone exposes the true nature of India's state machinery.

### **The status of employment**

So few employment opportunities have been created in the last decade that it can be termed as the decade of the highest unemployment in 'independent' India. In addition, it will not be an exaggeration to call it a decade of high level of contractualisation and informalisation of work, a decade of high level of exploitation of labour. Only 2.2 percent employment opportunities were created in 2010-2012. Even the educated and the highly educated are forced to work below average wages. A large section of labourers are surviving on casual work. Moreover, there is large-scale underemployment and disguised employment in every sector of the country whose economic condition is similar to the unemployed. There is no trace of job security and social security. About the rate of job creation, the national survey report says that there has been very little job creation in the so-called years of high economic growth between 2000 and 2011-12. For instance, an increase of employment has been registered in hotel industry from 35 million to 53 million, but they are low-income jobs. When the GDP growth was 8.5 percent in 2004-05, the rate of job creation was merely 0.5 percent per annum. 470 million or 92 percent of the country's workers have to work in the informal and unorganised sector where there is no security of any kind. The manufacturing sector, which contributes 16 percent to India's GDP, has not been able to create enough employment. During this period 37 million workers have left the agricultural sector but could not

find employment in the industrial sector. The service sector, which has a share of 58 percent in GDP, could create only 26 percent jobs. Instead of focussing on employment-based development that could engage the vast army of unskilled labourers, India is concentrating on the IT and software skill development aimed at meeting the requirements of the US and other imperialist economies. Now the government is claiming to bring forth plans to rejuvenate the manufacturing sector. And the stake is pegged on the Delhi-Mumbai industrial corridor and many other such corridors, that too by completely depending on foreign investment. We have seen how China has become 'the manufacturing hub' for the imperialists due to its cheap labour and atrocious violations of labour laws and appalling conditions of work in the factories. India wants to replace or at least seize some of the 'manufacturing' opportunities from countries like China by offering its huge manual workforce as sacrificial lambs at the altar of the corporates. Even if the MNCs relocate some of their manufacturing units to India and it 'generates employment' to some extent, it would only result in abominable conditions for those workers and not in any decent or meaningful means of employment. Moreover, the manner in which foreign capital has plundered the country in the last ten years clearly indicates that the lollypop of employment generation that has been dangled by the government is no more than a mere drop in the ocean.

It is claimed by the ruling classes and their lackeys that the country achieved unprecedented economic growth during the Tenth (2002-07) and Eleventh (2007-12) Five Year Plans. But this is a jobless growth with closer dependence on the imperialist world economy. Already there has been great informalisation of work in the organised sector during 2004-05 and 2005-10. In the agricultural, industrial and service sectors, the nature of employment is greatly skewed. The agricultural sector still provides employment to the largest number of people. It gives employment to more than half of the country's workforce. However, the share of agriculture in overall employment has reduced from 57 percent to 53 percent between 2005 and 2010. This means that 14 million people have left agriculture and joined the service and industrial sectors. Poor and landless peasants and a section of the middle peasants are moving from agriculture to the urban



areas on a large scale in search of jobs. Employment generation in this sector between 2010 and 2012 has further declined by another four percent. It has come down to 49 percent from 53 percent. Additional 13 million people have been thrown out of agricultural sector due to this. Loss of employment at this scale has never been observed in 'independent' India before 2005. The share of agriculture in the country's GDP has got reduced from 33 percent to 15 percent during the last two decades. It is becoming clear that agriculture – the sectors which still contributes the most to the country's GDP after service and industrial sectors – have been unable to create adequate employment opportunities after transfer of power in 1947. This shows that the government is taking the agricultural sector to the brink of disaster. It has been claimed that employment will grow in sectors ancillary to agriculture such as horticulture, animal husbandry, forestry, fishery, etc. But there is drastic reduction in jobs in these sectors too. Employment in these sectors was 50.8 million in 2005, which declined to 34.6 million in 2010.

Employment has declined in the industrial sector too. The sector has remained nearly stagnant, registering a nominal growth from 24 percent to 26 percent. While employment has grown by 5 percent in industrial units employing more than 10 workers, it has reduced from 75 percent to 65 percent in units employing larger number of workers. While 12 million jobs were created in the manufacturing sector between 2000 and 2005, 5 million jobs were cut during 2005 and 2010 in the same sector.

Only in the service sector has there been an increase in employment, but is nominal in comparison to the high level of investment in the sector. The share of the service sector in the country's GDP has increased in the last twenty years. While it was 43 percent in 1990-91, this became 57 percent in 2010-11.

The service sector could generate only 4 million jobs while growth rate of this sector has touched 10 percent this year. However, this has grown to 11 million between 2010 and 2012. But only a tiny section of the upper stratum of the middle classes have benefitted from the service sector, while the rest work in adverse conditions similar to employees and workers in other sectors.

(A) Number of Workers by Sector, 1999-2000 (in millions)			
	1999 – 2000		
	Total	Unorganised	Organised
Agriculture	237.67	232.2	5.47
Manufacturing	44.05	30.92	13.13
Mining and quarrying	2.17	0.88	1.29
Electricity, gas and water supply	1.13	0.09	1.04
Construction	17.54	12.92	4.62
Non – Manufacturing	20.84	13.89	6.95
Wholesale and retail trade	36.63	34.30	2.33
Hotels and restaurants	4.62	4.08	0.54
Transport, storage and communication	14.61	10.44	4.18
Banking and insurance	2.25	0.49	1.76
Real estate, renting	2.67	2.02	0.65
Public administration and defence; compulsory social security	10.48	0.80	9.68
Education	8.47	2.29	6.18
Health	2.62	1.19	1.43
Other community, social and personal services	9.99	8.50	1.49
Total services	94.20	65.62	28.57
Total workforce	396.76	342.64	54.12

The 3 tables (A, B, C) show that the share of unorganised sector in employment is very high. Here employment grew in the first five years while in the next five it continued to decline. The growth of the unorganised sector is symptomatic of the intensifying exploitation of workers. The share of the organised sector in agriculture was 2.2 percent in 2000 which declined to a mere 1.1 percent in 2010. On the other hand, a continuous growth of employment in the organised segment of the non-manufacturing and service sectors could be seen during this decade. Nevertheless, the share of the organised sector in the manufacturing, non-manufacturing and service sectors is less than one-third of the total employment. Unorganised sector contributes to 84 percent of the total employment in the country and 99 percent of the total employment in its agriculture. Only 33 percent of the

(B) Number of Workers by Sector, 2000-05 (in millions)			
	2000 – 05		
	Total	Unorganised	Organised
Agriculture	258.93	252.8	6.09
Manufacturing	55.77	39.71	16.06
Mining and quarrying	2.64	0.89	1.75
Electricity, gas and water supply	1.30	0.09	1.21
Construction	26.02	19.66	6.35
Non – Manufacturing	29.96	20.64	9.32
Wholesale and retail trade	43.36	41.43	1.93
Hotels and restaurants	6.10	5.29	0.81
Transport, storage and communication	18.47	14.02	4.45
Banking and insurance	3.10	0.80	2.30
Real estate, renting	4.65	3.29	1.36
Public administration and defence; compulsory social security	8.84	0.08	8.76
Education	11.43	3.07	8.36
Health	3.34	1.58	1.76
Other community, social and personal services	8.75	7.45	1.30
Total services	112.81	81.72	31.09
Total workforce	457.46	394.90	62.57

total employment in the non-agricultural sectors is in the organised sector. This is a cause of great concern. But instead of addressing this problem the government is hell bent on expanding the unorganised sector. 44 million jobs were generated at the beginning of this decade in the manufacturing sector, which grew to 55.8 million by 2005 and again declined to 50.7 million by the end of the decade. Employment grew by 30 percent in the unorganised segment of this sector in the first five years of the last decade, but 5 million people had lost their jobs by the end of the decade. In this way, there was a decline of 34.7 million jobs in the unorganised manufacturing sector. The organised manufacturing sector which has a share of 30 percent job creation in the sector could increase its share only to 31 percent during this decade. It needs to be noted that organised sector is the one which provides relatively better job opportunities, salaries, job

(C) Number of Workers by Sector, 2005-10 (in millions)			
	2005 – 10		
	Total	Unorganised	Organised
Agriculture	244.85	242.11	2.74
Manufacturing	50.74	34.71	16.03
Mining and quarrying	2.95	1.09	1.86
Electricity, gas and water supply	1.25	0.12	1.13
Construction	44.08	31.1	13.0
Non – Manufacturing	48.28	30.38	17.90
Wholesale and retail trade	43.53	40.55	2.98
Hotels and restaurants	6.13	5.22	0.91
Transport, storage and communication	19.97	15.09	4.88
Banking and insurance	3.82	0.89	2.93
Real estate, renting	5.75	3.35	2.40
Public administration and defence; compulsory social security	9.46	0.00	9.46
Education	11.85	2.68	9.17
Health	3.59	1.39	2.20
Other community, social and personal services	12.24	11.00	1.24
Total services	116.34	80.17	36.17
Total workforce	460.22	387.38	72.84

security, other social securities, employee welfare and other related facilities. However, contrary to the claims of the government, there has been no significant growth of employment in the organised sector in spite of rapid growth in the GDP. Whatever growth there has been in employment generation, it has been based on informal and contract work. This clearly indicates that the government has neither any perspective nor any concern for generating employment, providing opportunities for socially necessary labour and employment, security and welfare of the workers. Whatever employment is generated is not a result of the effort to create jobs but as a side effect (trickle-down effects) of the process of profiteering by the multinational and Indian corporate houses.

Employment grew from 4.6 million to 6.35 million in the first five years of the last decade in the organised segment of the construction sector, which doubled to 13 million in the next five years. This was due to the

Formal and Informal Employment in Non-Agricultural Sector For 2009-10 (in millions)				
Workforce	Total	Unorganised	Organised	Share in Percentage
Total	460.22	387.34	72.87	100
Formal	33	2.26	30.74	7.2
Informal	427.22	385.08	42.13	92.8
Share in percentage	100	84.2	15.8	
Non-Agriculture	215.37	145.23	70.13	100
Formal within non-agriculture	31.00	2.26	28.74	14.4
Informal within non-agriculture	184.37	142.97	41.39	85.6
Share in percentage	100	67.4	32.6	

massive infusion of foreign investment in infrastructure development. The target set for attracting investment into the sector was fulfilled. Big sharks in construction such as L&T, Gammon and GMR were in the field. Taking into account the size and turnover of these companies as well as the relatively better remunerations they provide to the labourers, the employment generated by these companies is considered to be part of the organised sector.

Organised and Unorganised Employment in Major Sectors 2009-10 (in millions)			
Workforce	Total employment	unorganised	Organised
Agriculture	244.85(100)	242.11(99)	2.74(1)
Manufacturing	50.74(100)	34.71(69)	16.03(31)
Non-Manufacturing	48.28(100)	30.38(63)	17.90(37)
Services	116.34(100)	80.17(69)	36.17(31)
All sectors	460.22(100)	387.38(84)	72.84(16)

However, a large number of unorganised sector jobs are created by these companies through petty contractors and subcontractors. In reality, the excess labour exiting the agricultural sector is heading primarily towards the construction sector. The point to note here is that employment in this sector is highly flexible and is dependent on foreign capital investment. This capital can take flight at any time, thereby creating a tremor of unemployment. The service sector, in which there was a growth of employment in the first five years of the decade, could generate only four million jobs in the subsequent five years. The sector has presently gone into stagnation as far as job creation is concerned.

The flight of the unemployed from the primary to the secondary and tertiary sectors can be considered a general trend common to all developing

countries. The workforce displaced from agriculture are compelled to keep logging in casual work. The conditions of labour depend on many factors. Hours of work, work environment, wage, nature of work, legal safeguards, work-related ailments, etc., are all constitutive of it. The distinction between formal and informal categories of labour indicates the nature of employment. Workers belonging to the informal sector cannot avail social security measures such as provident funds, gratuity, pension, healthcare, maternity leave, etc. Their hours of work are longer, their wage is lower, the condition of their work and stay are abysmal. On top of all this, there is no job guarantee. Their workload is also very heavy. The particularity of India, which comes in the category of developing countries, is that 93 percent of the jobs created in the country are in the informal sector. Only 16 percent of the total employment is in the organised sector, and we have seen that half of even this small section is informal in nature.

To take a few examples from the non-agricultural sectors, 67 percent of the jobs in the manufacturing sector are in the informal sector, while it is 86 percent in the non-manufacturing sector. Only in the service sector the share of organised sector is a comparatively higher 63 percent, because the sector includes defence, banking and public administration. In the construction sector where 44 million jobs were created in 2009-10, 31 million were in the unorganised while 13 million were in the organised sector. Nearly all jobs in the unorganised sector are informal. In the large enterprises coming under the organised sector too, 12 million or 96 percent of the jobs are informal. 43 million of the 44 million total jobs in the construction sector are informal in nature. In other words, 98 percent of the construction workers do not have any social security or job guarantee. Workers in the coalmines are exploited to the hilt by contractualising jobs that in fact are of permanent nature.

## **Iniquitous labour market**

Inequality and unevenness in the labour market continues which segregates and differentiates labour in various ways. On the question of wages itself there is great inequity between regular/casual and organised/unorganised sectors. The daily wage of casual workers in the rural areas was Rs. 138 and Rs. 173 in the urban areas in 2011-12. The wage of regular workers was Rs. 298 in rural and Rs. 445 in urban areas. Of the

government-determined minimum wage too, the worker gets only a part due to widespread fraud and corruption. Similarly, the rural casual workers receive 7 percent less wage in comparison to the casual workers in the public sector. The ratio of wage difference between the agricultural and the non-agricultural sectors is a staggering 1:6.

Workers have been divided into many segments. They are being segmented on the basis of work, department, location, region, gender, caste, religion, adivasi-non adivasi etc. Dalits, Adivasis and BCs are being confined to low-productivity and low-income casual/informal sector jobs such as agriculture and construction. Muslims are being limited to the lowest ranked low-productivity and the so-called self-employment jobs. On the other hand, upper caste Hindus and others (Jains, Sikhs, Christians) have their share in better jobs far in excess of their proportion to the total population. Though the number of Dalits and Adivasis in the public sector has grown to some extent between 1999-2000 and 2011-12 due to reservation, the backlog wasn't reduced to any significant extent. More importantly, they remain almost unrepresented in higher-level jobs in the private sector due to severe opposition from the private capitalists and the government feigning helplessness. Here the domination of the forward castes continues. The share of Muslims in both public and private sectors has declined in the last decade.

Education is expanding among women. 23 percent of the graduate women in the age group of 15 to 29 years remain unemployed in the absence of good job opportunities. The share of graduates and other recipients of higher education in the number of the total unemployed in the country was 21 percent in 2005 which increased to 30 percent in 2011-12. 18 percent of the technically trained graduate youths are unemployed. Discrimination in employment on the basis of caste, religion and gender has grown in the last decade as a result of neo-liberal policies.

## **A war on workers**

State repression on workers in the last decade has been termed as a 'war on workers'. Great discontent of the workers has come to the fore in the last few years against this attack. This is the war of the capitalists/factory owners against the workers. Automobile industry has been at the centre of the worker's rage. Violent incidents took place at the Manesar

plant of Maruti Suzuki. Company's goons fought pitched battles with the workers resulting in the death of a public relation manager. The blame for this was put on the workers. 148 workers were pushed into jails while 2000 were dismissed from work. Drastic decline in the real wages of the workers is said to be the reason behind this agitation. This, however, is not the only reason. Here the goondaism of the company and the question of right to form unions were also important. Not only in Maruti Suzuki alone but there have been a number of struggles in many well-established industries in 2013. Worker's struggles have come up in Hero Motocorp of Gurgaon in Haryana, in the powerloom industry in Maharashtra's Ichlakranji, Mahindra and Mahindra in Nashik, Bajaj Auto in Chakan, etc. Workers have fought militantly in Bosch India factory in Bengaluru, in Chennai's Nokia Siemens, Hero Motocorp in Haridwar and Gurgaon etc. Militant worker's struggles have taken place in General Motors at Halol of Gujarat, Dunlop's Hooghly and Ambatur factories, Caparo factory at Sriperambatur, Hyundai and MRF in Chennai, Pricol in Coimbatore, Volvo's Hoskote factory in Karnataka and other places between 2009 and 2012. Coal, cement and other mining sector workers, contract workers in paper mills, struggle by regular workers for wage agreements, agitations by bank employees, struggles by airport workers and pilots, struggles of the third and fourth grade employees etc. took place during this period. It is worth noting here that Tendu-leaf and bamboo workers are waging continuous struggles as per a clear strategy in the leadership of the Maoists as part of the New Democratic Revolution. To counter this about five lakh police and paramilitary forces have been deployed in the Maoist movement areas. The leaders and members of the worker's organisations who fight for their rights anywhere in the country are being harassed, dismissed, murdered, killed in fake encounters or are implicated in false cases and put behind bars.

The wages of the casual and contract workers are so low that they cannot survive on it. They are not given dearness allowances to cope with rapid rise in prices. In the recent times 15,000 workers have been laid off in the automobile industry. The industrialists are crying hoarse over the nominal increase in wages in the recent period. They claim that the price



rise and inflation are due to the increase in wage rates. But this is absolutely baseless. The share of wages in the prices of commodities in 2007-08 was 10.6 percent which later hovered between 11.3 to 12.2 percent. This was 16 percent in the automobile industry in 2011-12 but lesser than that of 2001. It shows that though wages have increased to some extent, it is hardly the cause of the problem. The problem is because of the factory-owners who have greatly increased the share of profits in the prices of commodities. The share of profit in prices was 24.9 percent in 2001, which sharply increased to 61.3 percent in 2007-08 and came down to 54 percent in 2011-12. But this decline too is not due to wages but is caused by the fluctuations in interest payment that is added to the prices. It is necessary to note that the total wage component which is added to the prices include administrative, clerical and managerial wages (including the salary of the CEO) . The salaries of the managers and CEOs are not counted separately. The share of the workers in the total wages paid in 1991-92 was 64.8 percent. This remained nearly constant from 1980 to 1990. However, it started to decline continuously after the implementation of liberalisation policies. This came down to 56.9 percent in 1997-98, became 48.4 percent in 2007-08 and 46.5 percent in 2011-12. At the same time the share of remuneration of the top managerial staff in the net prices rose to 7 percent, which amounts to nearly 60,000 crore rupees. The direct assault of the neo-liberal policies are seen in the decline in the worker's wages and sharp increase in the salaries of the managers and CEOs. It is to be noted that the remunerations of the CEOs are in addition to their income from the shares and stocks in their companies.

Apart from the attack on wages, physical attacks on the workers are also increasing. Attacks on worker's movements by the police is a common occurrence, but now goons are being officially employed as bouncers against the workers. Worker's struggles are being termed as conspiracies. Workers are being arrested under the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA). Worker's leaders are dragged to civil courts with claims of compensation against damages. The social life of the workers is being destroyed by keeping them in jails. On the one hand, worker's leaders are beaten up by using the police while factories are being transformed into police camps at

the very sign of worker's militant agitation or the presence of revolutionaries amidst the workers fighting for their rights. The illegal acts of the capitalists have been legalised through amendments in labour laws immediately after Narendra Modi became the Prime Minister. Workers were previously prevented from establishing their organisation in various ways. But setting up of legal worker's organisations has been made almost impossible now that it requires the consent of 30 percent workers of an industrial unit. All these conditions compel the thinking from a fresh perspective about new slogans, new forms of organisation and new forms of struggle to defend the worker's interests.

### **Youth policy of the government or a bottle of wine**

Immersion in entertainment pushes ones duties into oblivion. The ruling classes are trying to infuse an admixture of westernisation and saffronisation of education and culture as well as to promote reactionary values and servility among the students. A section of the products that are coming out of this process are playing the role of hired agents in the spheres of polity, economy, society and literature. This 'talent' is in high demand in the existing reign of the compradors. With this infusion, a conspiracy is being hatched to dwarf the Indian society in every sphere, which would neither be able to see higher, think higher, nor leap higher. Nonetheless, when the youths confront the ground reality they become enraged. The ruling classes are always afraid of the possibility of this rage putting spanners in the process of production, and ultimately getting transformed into a revolutionary tidal wave. That is why they introduce ever-new schemes to divert the youth, to keep them constantly engaged and to appease them. The youth are being distanced from their responsibilities by keeping them busy in entertainment clubs, programmes of cultural and sports groups and addiction to colourful parties – all of which are politically controlled and orchestrated by the rulers of the country.

Socio-cultural values are being degraded through deprivation and deterioration of education. Lumpenisation is being encouraged. Consumerist, individualist self-centric thinking is being promoted. Corrupt practices and individual skills are being extolled, thereby propagating careerism among

the youth. Casteism is being reshaped and reproduced as per the needs of the market. Upper caste\_unemployed youths are being instigated to consider the backward classes to be the cause of their unemployment and to agitate against them. They are being tempted to think of fulfilling their immediate personal interests. Crass consumerist frenzy, Brahmanical Hindi-fascist values and hidebound thinking are being spread through films, TV serials and other media, while highly corrupt and oppressive police officers are being presented as heroes. The consciousness of the youth is shaped in such a way that they stand in support of the anti-people acts of the ruling classes and their fascist state, and who can then be used as cannon fodder in their war on people.

The terming of rape as a small incident by the union minister Arun Jaitley or as a minor mistake of young lads by Mulayam Singh are not merely slips of tongue, nor is making the colourfulness of Shashi Tharoor and Jairam Ramesh a prominent issue by the corporate media. These are a part of the strategic thinking to instigate consumerist frenzy. They are presenting tricksters adept at fooling the masses as youth icons. The task of engaging the youth in festivities, religious functions, cultural programmes, art competitions, sports meets, various youth forums, etc., is being carried out in a well thought-out manner by increasing political intervention in such activities. Cricket has become a convenient tool in their hands to divert and mislead the young minds. The spread of pornography and all kinds of vulgarities have increased exponentially after mobile internet has come into common usage, resulting in growing violence on women. Apart from liquor, other forms of addictions such as Hukka Centres and drugs are being facilitated on a large scale. A vicious web of NGOs is being set up to trap those who still retain the capacity to think independently. In this way, the willingness and capability of the youth to fight for the value of dignity of labour, collective life, honesty and such values is being crushed. In this way, the youth are being made victims of careerism, slaves of personal interest and individual pleasure. The ruling classes are shooting three birds with one shot through this. First, they keep the youth immersed in addiction so that they do not think of the society, the country and their own future. Second, consumerist culture is conducive for creating new markets. Third,

political parties get control over the youth en-block, which they can use as foot soldiers when there is widespread lumpenisation. It is a conspiracy of the imperialists and their compradors against the country to keep the Indian youth intoxicated and in deep slumber. This is nothing but a crime against the people of the country.

## **Conclusion**

No doubt India is a young country. But it is equally true that the youth power of the country is being used by the political establishment for facilitating the profiteering of the capitalists rather than for the progress of the country. Unemployment is a characteristic feature of the capitalist system. The employers can procure cheap labour easily by keeping the labour market depressed. This is done in order to increase the share of their profit. This is an inevitable rule of the existing system. A skilled workforce is the necessity of the capitalists. So, skill development is done not for making the youth fit for employment but for creating a skill surplus so that cheap skilled workers can be made available to the foreign and domestic big bourgeoisie. Therefore, full employment is a mirage in the existing system. But with this, the youth are given the impression that something is being done for them, but at the same time they are doing business over their lives. Skilled work is being extracted at low wages and under difficult working conditions by putting a stamp of unskilled labour on a large number of skilled workers, through which input costs of the capitalists are reduced and high profits are reaped. This peculiarity demonstrates the semi-feudal character of industry in India. Unemployment on a large scale, more than nine-tenth of the available jobs in the informal sector and its growing trend show that getting employment will be even more difficult in the coming days. Whatever employment that will be available, will be in the unorganised and informal sector, which will be discriminatory and segmented so that it would be difficult to establish organisations and conduct struggles in the usual way because a factory will have different units at different places. Competition for jobs will further cut down wages. Available jobs will come with high level of exploitation along with oppression; there will be no job security or social security. The conditions of work will become even worse than present levels.

On the one hand, the agricultural sector which provides maximum employment is being decimated, while on the other the workforce which is exiting agriculture is being forced to labour in casual and contract work on very low wages in extremely adverse conditions and without any kind of security. The youth is undergoing social and cultural degeneration. Fascist forces are lumpenising them and using them against people's movements. The future of the youth has become bleak as a result.

The strategy of pushing the economy forward by depending on foreign capital will transform India into one more 'Asian Tiger' that failed. How hollow and artificial are the claims of a country becoming global economic power which cannot even put to use its strength and capabilities is starkly evident. India is merely going to become a large country that invites large-scale foreign investment through compradors, the reigns of which are in the hands of foreign companies. Nor can the existing acute crisis in agriculture that is resulting in massive loss of livelihood, creating unemployment and underemployment be overcome within the present system and through reformist measures.

The last decade has been a period of people's struggles – workers strikes, militant peasant and adivasi struggles, youth fighting for employment, social discontent against the existing system in various forms. It was also a decade of state repression on these movements using the police and paid goons, attacks by Brahmanical Hindu forces and imprisonment of agitators by the courts through deceit. At the same time, it has been a decade of the masses building up an alternative political power by rejecting the existing system while carrying out armed resistance against state repression.

India received the gift of neo-liberal policies in the form of widespread unemployment, state terror, illiteracy, disease, malnutrition and destruction of the social fabric. These policies have three particularities. First, they commodify everything. That is, everything is for the market. Second, they raise the frenzy of individualism to its extreme limits so as to prop-up crass consumerism. Third, they crush all democratic rights and values. The impact of the destruction of even the nominal available democratic space is first

of all felt by the workers, peasants, Dalits, Adivasis and women. The direct influence of shrinking democratic values, growth of individualism, predominance of market-oriented slavish values and reformism can be seen on the consciousness of the youth in particular and the people in general. In addition, the imperialists and their lackeys – the rulers of India – are promoting casteism and caste violence, Brahmanical Hindu-fascism and obscurantism, gender discrimination and violence, aggressive national chauvinism and regionalism, and other forms of ruling-class ideology to turn the youth and the working masses into social bases of reaction and counter-revolution. We will have to show the way to the misled youth. We will have to raise their consciousness and direct their frustration and rage towards the existing system and its protectors – the feudal and comprador ruling classes and the imperialists.

By 2030, the workforce of the country will surpass that of China. The existing system which has no capacity to provide jobs to this burgeoning army of the unemployed must get ready to be destroyed. Social discontent is growing in the absence of adequate education/training and employment of the youth. Thus, the present situation in India cries out for the inevitability and urgency of the new democratic revolution. The imperialists are hovering over India to loot and plunder the country openly in collusion with the feudal and comprador forces. The contradiction between feudalism and the vast masses and that between imperialism and the people of India is intensifying every day. Along with worker's struggles, militant struggles of the people for land and against displacement are its results. In this context, the establishment of CPI(Maoist) and the development of people's war in the country and several people's movements carried out under its leadership and its advancement by building alternative organs of people's political power can be seen as a particularity of the last decade. It is true that there is loot, intense exploitation and cruel oppression, but it is equally true that in response to this there is a revolutionary programme for India's bright future that is being implemented by a capable Maoist leadership according to a tried and tested political line. That is why it is a call of our times that the vast working masses and the youth are mobilised in the ongoing people's war.

## **What is to be done?**

Through its supreme sacrifices, the Maoist party has established itself as the most prestigious and undisputed revolutionary vanguard of the people of India. The party has to advance by addressing all the major contradictions of our society through militant struggles conducted according to the strategy and tactics proven in the crucible of ten year's of intense people's war. The party has to march forward by addressing the burning problems faced by the masses including feudal oppression, exploitation by domestic and foreign big capital, unemployment, threat to loss of job and livelihood, state repression, attacks of the Brahmanical Hindu-fascist forces, dominance of feudal and imperialist culture, lack of healthcare and education, etc. The youth and the working class will have to be mobilised in large numbers in the people's war to resolve these problems.

The changed conditions and the aggressive policy of the state in attacking the people indicates that there is a need to bring necessary modifications in the forms of organization and struggle and in methods of functioning of the party. To be confronted with fascist repression is no novelty for the working class. The organisation of the working class had to face cruel repression from its very inception. During the historic struggle of the Chicago workers too, the workers had a secret organisation with a seven-lakh strong membership. The experience of Paris Commune, Russian, Chinese, and Vietnamese revolutions and particularly our own revolutionary experiences tell us that only by building impregnable secret party structures and well-knitted disciplined units that may function at any level and which may work in any of the secret/illegal or open/legal trade unions or mass organizations or technical units, can the party preserve itself and take initiative to utilize the favourable objective international and domestic situation and act in urban areas according to the twists and turns of the Indian revolution and build a strong urban revolutionary movement. This kind of a strong party can emerge only by implementing our 'Strategy and Tactics of the Indian Revolution' and the 'Urban Perspective' documents in practice creatively. Only this kind of a party can build the working class and urban movements, protect its fighting forces and create the conditions for defending and expanding its mass base and advance towards victory. Today we must strive hard to correctly implement the strategic perspective of

protracted people's war in the urban centres. We have to further develop the correct aspects of our work and discard the incorrect ones. 'The wheel bearings of the machines engaged in production are replaced immediately even when a minor snag develops in them, but a bullock-cart continues to be put in use even after the axle of its wheels are worn out. In the second case, the bullock gets either a broken leg or the cart a broken wheel, while in the first, production is never allowed to come to a halt.' We need to replace all the bearings which have been damaged or are making nagging sound. In other words, we have to bolsheivise our party. Growth of unemployment and atrocities on workers are surpassing all tolerable levels. The extreme anger of the army of pauperised youth and the workers labouring under the shadow of the retrenchment sword hanging on their necks are crying out to be mobilised into the people's war. People's militant movements emerging all over the country are enjoining us to mobilise everyone in one direction. The political line, perspective, self-sacrificing spirit, commitment to the cause of people's liberation, necessary organisation and leadership capabilities required for this are all present with the Maoist party and the genuine revolutionary forces. This direction is the protracted people's war, the form of struggle is armed struggle, and the aim is to complete the new democratic revolution and establish a new democratic society.

That is why the youth who wish to have a better life need to understand that it is an illusion to think of a better life without overhauling the present exploitative system and building a new one in its place. Only a new democratic system and socialism can give productive work to every hand, ensure free and all-round development of all and bring prosperity to everyone's lives. And there is no other means to achieve this than the protracted people's war. \*

**The world is yours, as well as ours, but in the last analysis, it is yours. You young people, full of vigour and vitality, are in the bloom of life, like the sun at eight or nine in the morning. Our hope is placed on you... The world belongs to you...**

**- Mao (Talk at A Meeting with Chinese students and Trainees in Moscow, 1957)**



# Some Things to Remember Regarding Revolutionary Propaganda War

- Vindhya

*“Before you make a revolution, you must first create public opinion.”*

*– Mao, 1967 (Talk at a meeting of the Central PCR Group)*

Creating public opinion in favor of revolution and moulding it is a process that should be carried on relentlessly before the revolution and also during its course. People would make revolution only when they have the confidence, without any doubts, that revolution is the solution for all their problems and are convinced about the need for a revolution. Moreover, we will have to mould the opinion of the society. about why it is inevitable for the people to make revolution and why it should be supported. This has lot of significance for the revolution in withstanding the enemy onslaught.

The principal aspect in creating and moulding people’s opinion is our practice. There is no other greater example than Naxalbari for this in our country. It created an impact on the people of our country more than millions of books/words could ever have. Even regarding our present movement, moulding of public opinion is a result of its People’s War practice. This is the principal aspect. After making this clear, let us now look at some things that we should remember regarding revolutionary propaganda war carried on as part of our People’s War (PW).

Following the Sun-Tzu’s principle of ‘Know your enemy, know yourself’ let us know some aspects of both the opponents in the sphere of propaganda. All over the world as part of LIC strategy the imperialists and their lackey ruling classes in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries are giving utmost importance to ‘psychological warfare’ in suppressing revolutionary wars, national liberation struggles and wars of resistance. This has a strategic significance for them. They are utilizing it so too. They are able to divert the masses relatively depending on the concrete conditions at that time and space.

In this period of enemy LIC strategy, all the propaganda carried on by the enemy against our movement can be denoted as ‘psychological warfare.’ The entire propaganda that we are doing against this can be denoted as

revolutionary propaganda war.

The first thing that we should understand is that strategically the psy-war of the enemy can never be successful. The reason is it is pro-exploiting classes, anti-people and reactionary. The revolutionary propaganda war serves the interests of the vast oppressed masses. It is waged against exploitation, oppression and the reactionary psy-war of the enemy and aimed at their overthrow. So strategically its characteristic is to win.

The enemy psy-war is waged with the aim of diverting the people by basing on lies and fabrications. This aims to keep the people forever under the yoke of exploitation, oppression and suppression and is waged for the abominable selfish interests of a handful of exploiters. This is also very unscientific as it always travels in the opposite direction of the principles of advancement of the society. It travels backwards in contrast to the society's laws of motion that advance in a spiral and its direction is towards diminishment. Revolutionary propaganda war is based on verities, facts, evidences and truths. This is carried on with the unselfish motive of liberating people. This is the most scientific because it travels according to the society's laws of motion and its direction is towards progression.

The enemy psy-war regards the masses as dull, brainless and fools who would believe whatever they say. This is one of its main weaknesses. All the foul propaganda they carry on thinking that they can forever keep the people under illusion would ultimately backfire leading to severe wrath of the people and turns the masses against them. However we should realise that they would be able to deceive the people though temporarily. If we do not, we may not carry on our revolutionary propaganda as sharply as is necessary and may become complacent.

Revolutionary propaganda is carried on according to the Marxist principles that people are the wise ones and they have the wisdom to discern the genuine from the false. It is carried on with the aim of developing their thinking ability and not to keep them under illusions. So it is carried on with the supreme confidence that though some of the enemy foul propaganda may temporarily gain an upper hand, the people will sooner or even later grasp the truth from their life experiences. The enemy relies on the Goebbels model of turning falsities into truth by repeating them umpteen times. Revolutionary propaganda is carried on with the confidence that

repeatedly putting the facts before the people would make them distinguish between the lies and the truths and that they would look at one's practice and not just the words to grasp the truth.

The aim of the enemy psy-war is to dispirit the fighting spirit of the masses and to divide the masses. The aim of revolutionary propaganda is to turn revolutionary ideas into a material force and unite the people.

These are the most important strategic aspects of the two opposing sides in the propaganda sphere. It is these aspects that ultimately decide the victory and defeat of these opposing sides.

However, tactically the propaganda machinery of the enemy is huge and boundless. In almost in all aspects such as funds, machinery, personnel etc what they possess is several times over what we have. In fact, there is no comparison at all. Though the persons employed by the enemy propaganda machinery is very large, it is mainly technology based. Mercenary intellectuals work as its think-tank.

The revolutionary propaganda war also tries to utilise technology and utilization of this should definitely be increased further than at present. However, its main characteristic is to carry it on by depending on the people. It encourages a dialogue/debate between persons and carrying it to each and every house. Instead of mercenary intellectuals, committed intellectuals who believe in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) and who are even ready to make sacrifices for it are on its side. Instead of employees, the revolutionary party, people's army, revolutionary activists (full-time, part-time) and sympathizers carry it on. The literary, cultural, art fields, all mass organisations and new democratic governments play the main role in this.

There is nothing that can stop the juggernaut of the enemy propaganda machine. There is never any ban or restrictions on it. However, our revolutionary propaganda is always carried on amid and by fighting back enemy repression, restrictions, bans etc. The enemy propaganda has the opportunity to aggressively spread all over the society at one go. Our propaganda is generally carried on in a specific location.

Moreover, the enemy psy-war is not something waged only by the Indian ruling classes. It is a war that is waged on the people by the combined

strength of the worldwide imperialists and the counter-revolutionaries. So it is carried on by all their support and active participation. In fact, even our revolutionary propaganda is but one part of the entire revolutionary propaganda war waged by the communists against the bourgeoisie worldwide.

In this 'globalised' times where it is claimed that the world has turned into a village, the media industry has reached unimaginable proportions and is now in the hands of a few MNCs. So it is not just an instrument that serves the interests of the ruling classes but the owners of the big/corporate media are themselves a part of the ruling classes. Moreover, it is a specific characteristic of these globalised times and LIC that the legislative, executive and the judiciary play an unprecedented role in the enemy psy-war and contribute their share. Another aspect is that it has become difficult to distinguish where the legislative, executive and judiciary of the State end and where media begins as media is donning the role of all these three components of the State sometimes. For eg: Even when the media conducts its own trials, plays havoc with evidences and passes judgments even before any trial in the courts, there is no liability and it is never restricted or punished. This is all part of a ruling class conspiracy.

Our revolutionary war against the enemy psy-war is carried on in the superstructure. However it is not possible to defeat it only with this. For this the battle has to be fought in the battlefield. In the superstructure we fight against its ideology, ideas, concepts, propositions, theories and culture. On the other hand we destroy the entire enemy propaganda machinery, the very system through our New Democratic Revolution and ensure that the entire propaganda machinery reaches into the hands of the people's democratic state of the four class alliance. Only then would the path be paved for the establishment of a people's propaganda machine.

Only then would it be possible to pave the way to replace the present wrong, unscientific, anti-people propaganda consisting of lies, conspiracies, scheming and illogical arguments with pro-people media and broadcasting that would help the development of productive forces and raise the education and cultural levels of the people, that respects labor, that is scientific and helps in the advancement of the society.

As classes would be present in the new democratic society and also in

socialism, the class struggle in the sphere of ideas would be carried on in the form of several cultural revolutions after the revolution. This class struggle in the sphere of ideas would be carried on throughout the socialist period until the establishment of communism.

Now let us discuss some practical aspects in our revolutionary propaganda.

Our party gained a lot of experience in the sphere of revolutionary propaganda. Broadly speaking, our party carried this on through the party, army and the UF. The efforts put by forming specific structures for this purpose were carried on as part of the party's efforts. We also have the experiences of our parties in countries like Russia and China before and after the revolution. By putting together all these experiences and by analyzing and synthesizing them we would definitely be able to take the necessary lessons and experiences more comprehensively. We may take this itself as one of our tasks in the propaganda sphere.

Here let's look at some of the important problems that should be overcome. Meaning, let's briefly look at those problems the solving of which may lead to a leap in this sphere.

At the ideological level, the aspect to be grasped more deeply is that revolutionary propaganda is a matter of strategic importance for the revolution. We should deal with it accordingly. Since this pertains to the ideological, theoretical and political spheres we should give it the first and primary importance that it deserves and allot the necessary time and forces for this work. Elements that can work actively, creatively and tirelessly should be chosen and allotted for this work by paying special attention at all levels.

The most important thing to keep in mind is that the most formidable answer to the enemy propaganda is our revolutionary practice. The lesser the discrepancy between what we say and what we do, the sooner would the lies of the enemy turn into husk. At present, on some occasions the enemy is being able to push us into self-defence and we are finding that we are not able to give pat replies with the same self-confidence and assertion as we did initially, when the same mistakes are happening again and again from our side. This only indicates the fact that we would be able to win in this war only when our revolutionary practice is correct. When

our revolutionary practice goes on with lesser mistakes, then the main victory in this (propaganda) war is already won. What would remain is taking this work as vastly as possible into the people.

The second aspect is – we should put further serious efforts to develop the understanding that every person in the revolutionary camp should participate in revolutionary propaganda. We are still not able to strongly establish inside the party the concept that being a communist itself means that they have revolutionary propaganda as one of their important tasks; that it is an integral part of their revolutionary practice. Appropriate understanding is not present, from top to bottom, on this. Not just the party, but the army, mass organisations, people's governments and even sympathizers should make this task a part of their life. Unless this is done we cannot achieve the leap that is very much needed in this sphere.

This should be done mainly in two forms. 1. Contributing to the making of propaganda material, and 2. Taking the available propaganda material in the most effective, efficient manner into the cadres and people, in a timely manner and as widely as possible. It should become a part of the daily practice of leadership to plan for these two kinds of works for themselves and for each person in the fields they guide and inspire/motivate them for doing the same. It is not a problem in itself that propaganda is the main task of a specific structure or a mass organisation. Definitely it would be the main task of some structures as part of work division. However the problem starts when it is seen a task that should be fulfilled only by them. At present we are facing this problem in various forms. This is proving a hurdle in getting appropriate results even from the limited propaganda efforts that we are putting. So this mistake should be corrected first at the conceptual level.

All of us (as always starting from the leadership to the lower levels) should firstly realise that each person has a responsibility towards the structures and the mass organisations that we have formed particularly for carrying on this task. The propaganda machinery and the mass organisations that are formed by the party at various levels should be given appropriate help and support by every one. (This would range from sending them information and material that would be useful in propaganda work to giving their opinion on the propaganda that is going on and helping enrich it, with

several kinds of helps and support from the highest to the lowest forms in between included).

The next thing to be carried on in a further improved manner is - reading the propaganda material that is made available to them, grasping what is written in it, ensuring that it is made available to whoever is under their purview, making them understand their salience and taking them vastly into the masses (with particular attention being paid to students, youth and intellectuals). Any shortcomings in this should be corrected from time to time. In fact, this is such an integral part of our daily revolutionary practice that it needs no mentioning. However, as shortcomings are occurring in this and as we are not making best use of even the available resources and opportunities for propaganda, we are facing a problem in fighting back the enemy psy-war.

As mentioned before, taking our propaganda to every person and every house is the principal aspect in our propaganda. So not only should our propaganda material and activities reach directly to the people, but also every one of us, particularly those in the organizational work and those working in various spheres among the people should realise more deeply that each one of them is also a soldier in the revolutionary propaganda war. Paying attention to know the various aspects that are coming to the fore in the enemy psy-war, researching on them, putting them up for discussion among the people, refuting those arguments and defeating them should become a more important part of our practice than at present. Our attitude in this should always be – allowing all the ideas and thoughts in the minds of the people to come out in open, then deal with all those ideas that are against their own interests one by one patiently and make them understand the reality with appropriate arguments, truths and evidences. We should not under any circumstance pile up all those ideas that we think are correct in front of them and turn ourselves into those who talk and the people into those who listen. There is nothing much we can gain from this approach.

The next aspect is about the understanding regarding united front (UF) in this sphere. It is only our revolution and our party that can defeat the psy-war of the enemy. However, it is not just we that should wage this revolutionary propaganda war. This is a war that should be fought with the huge participation of people who aspire for a revolution and who benefit from it. As our movement is anti-feudal and anti-imperialist, the first thing

that we should realise is that any propaganda that is aimed against these two enemies would contribute its share in transforming our society into a genuine democracy. So we should try to unite with all those forces that propagate about the need for democratization of respective spheres with the aspiration that genuine democracy be established in our country. Even while continuing our revolutionary propaganda work on the basis of MLM and new democratic politics and by keeping these at the centre-stage, we should put serious efforts to bring all those forces that propagate against feudalism and imperialism into a broad people's propaganda sphere (at various levels and in various forms).

We should keep in mind what Mao meant when he said, "A good Communist should be good at considering the situation as a whole, good at thinking in terms of the majority, and good at working with his allies. He who violates these points is not a good Party member." [*On New Stage, The New Stage in the Development of the National War of Resistance Against Japan and the Anti-Japanese National United Front October 12 to October 14, 1938*]

Our strength is always lesser than the strength of the enemy till our revolution achieves victory, particularly till the strategic offensive. This is more so in the propaganda sphere. So if we want to increase our strength several times over, it would be very essential for us to win over the majority of those working in this field to our side. The superiority of the people's enemies attained with their huge propaganda machinery can be overcome by us only by uniting with all forces that oppose feudalism and imperialism in our country. For that, it is essential that we further deeply assimilate the concept that all of them are fighters who could contribute in defeating the enemy's psy-war.

The various democratic forces, the various social sections that are becoming victims of this system, the national liberation forces and the liberal forces should be brought together into the fold of this work. However, in the contribution they do in this field there would be ideas that are not compatible with Marxism and sometimes they would be anti-Marxist too. This is inevitable as they are not Marxists. So though we form a UF with them in our propaganda war against the ruling classes, through our revolutionary propaganda we should consciously keep pointing out the shortcomings in their understanding with a friendly attitude. Otherwise,



since their style of writing and speech would be powerful, anti-Marxist views may get propagated strongly.

Uniting with them in the sphere of propaganda should have to be done in two forms. 1. Forming separate structures for it 2. Requesting and making them contribute in our propaganda work. When we say separate structures they could be in the form of organisations, forums and also separate propaganda structures (for eg: some magazines, radio or TV channels).

Just as PW acquires a genuine mass character only with the vast participation of the people, revolutionary propaganda war also assumes a mass character only when we make all the classes and sections that need the NDR a part of it.

Whether in the revolutionary propaganda that we take up from the revolutionary camp or in the propaganda taken up by the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal forces, i.e., in every propaganda effort that we put, the most important underlying principle in that should be 'from the masses to the masses'. Though we are generally abiding by it, many shortcomings are occurring in this. This should also be followed in the form of 'from the cadres to the cadres' inside the party and 'from the fighters to the fighters' in the army. Only then would our propaganda be lively, full of facts, be according to the concrete conditions and mobilise the majority. Then it would be able to win over the hearts of other people too. Routineness in propaganda is like an internal enemy for us. Since the class enemies are anti-people we may be able to defeat them but if we do not get rid of routineness in propaganda, we would not be able to win over the hearts of the people. The only way to overcome this problem is to implement the principle 'from the masses to the masses' in the most efficient manner. Only when every one of us, apart from the propaganda activists, has the motivation that we should make our propaganda in a lively and efficient manner, we would be able to effectively fight back the enemy psy-war by pooling all our energies and talents.

Our ideology, our theory, our line, our politics and our PW are all just, pro-people and scientific. So our opinions and arguments should be placed before the people clearly and in a straight-forward manner and without any vagueness, hesitation and shilly-shallying. For this, along with having a good grip over MLM, our party line and politics written down in our party documents and policies, we should also have a grip over the contemporary

political and economic phenomena in our country and the world and about history. Without this our propaganda would turn lifeless. Not just to wage the PW, but also to wage propaganda war as par of it, this is a pre-condition. The fact that our activists do not have sufficient grip over these matters is sometimes leading to not having substance in our daily organizational work or in our propaganda material and so we are failing in convincing the people as much as we can.

There may be several other shortcomings that are occurring in our revolutionary propaganda work but if we mainly keep in view the ones mentioned above and surmount them, it may be possible to achieve a leap in our propaganda work.

**For this,**

We should have the realization that we should achieve this leap and without this we cannot fight back the enemy psy-war.

We should have a determination and a class hatred that the successes that we have achieved and the movement that we built through our martyrs spilling lot of blood and our people daily making several sacrifices is being distorted to deceive the people and that we should definitely defeat it.

We should have great confidence that defeat it we will and that only we can do it because we have the most scientific weapon MLM in our hands.

We should have the work methods that would unleash the creativity of the masses on a huge scale and make them participants in the revolutionary propaganda war.

We should have the daring of Mao to heckle the enemy strategically as paper tigers and enthuse the people.

We should have the doggedness to identify the real tiger nature of the enemy tactically and pit ‘ten against one’ to pull out its fangs every day and the ardor to motivate them to be a part of this great endeavor.

These are the weapons we need in our revolutionary propaganda war at present.

“Attention must be paid to extending the party’s propaganda to all parts of the country. No affairs, major or minor, whether occurring in villages, xian, provinces, commercial cities, or towns, should escape the party’s attention. The Central Propaganda Department and all provincial propaganda departments are our party’s agents for deciding on tactics for dealing with such issues. Each time an incident occurs, therefore, all the departments should first of all present to the party and the people all over the country an accurate report, explaining the cause of the incident and its impact upon the national revolution, and then offer suggestions on how to make use of the incident to further the party’s policies.

In the army, it is the department of military supplies that provides uniforms and armaments to all units. The Propaganda Department in the party performs a similiar function to that of the department of military supplies in the army. It provides party members as well as the masses with knowledge of politics and the strategy for action, enabling them to struggle hard through the arduous process of national revolution and to uphold the party’s stand amidst conflicting views and emotions. The Propaganda Department should instruct each party member on how to conquer the evil forces of the imperialists and counterrevolutionaries. More importantly, it should transform party members who are impulsive, pessimistic, or lacking in self-confidence into a sound and solid force for revolution.

The Propaganda Department should be the liveliest and the most quick-witted unit in the party. All party members who are able to write books and pamphlets, edit articles and commentaries, or draft declarations and slogans should take part in the work of the Propaganda Department. Authors or journalists who are not able to do so personally should devote part of their time and energy to the Propaganda Department’s work. From this perspective, the Propaganda Department is a general unit in the party, which assembles, employs, and directs the mental labor force inside the party to carry out the policy of the party.

Communication between the Propaganda Department and party members, as well as the masses, is extremely important. If the documents and directives issued by the Propaganda Department cannot be applied by the party members, or if they can be applied but do not meet the needs of the masses, then there is no point in doing any propaganda whatsoever and the Propaganda Department becomes utterly useless. Prompt delivery of propaganda materials can be guaranteed only by rapid transportation and a perfect organizational system within the Propaganda Department. The Central Propaganda Department should maintain, based on a predetermined schedule, close contact with all provincial propaganda departments, the various departments in the party, and various public organizations by means of correspondence, telegrams, and special courier.

All propaganda departments within the territory under our party's control should devote themselves wholeheartedly to general propaganda work and win the support and sympathy of the popular masses for the government of this party.”

*( Resolution on Propaganda Adopted by the Second National Congress of the Chinese Guomindang, January 16, 1926)*

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“The propaganda teams of the Red Army are important instruments of the propaganda work of the Red Army. If propaganda teams are not well organized, a large part of the propaganda work of the Red Army is wasted. Therefore, the problem of reorganizing and training propaganda teams is one of the tasks to which the Party must devote greater efforts at present. The first step in this work is to correct, from a theoretical standpoint, the attitude of looking down on propaganda work and propaganda teams, which is widespread among officers and soldiers.”

*- Draft Resolution of 9<sup>th</sup> Congress of CPC, 1929*

# Party Education in the Central Region: A Report

- Goutham

Let us pay humble homage to comrades Babu Rao, Madhavi of Andhra Pradesh, Komma (Andhra-Odisha Border-AOB), Mahita (RePoS), Chandana, Gajjela Saroja and Darbar Singh of Dandakaranaya (DK) who worked in the education field, put special efforts to develop the cadres ideologically, politically and organisationally, gave valuable experiences to us and were martyred in the course.

Our party leadership has from the beginning paid special attention to the task of developing the party ideologically, politically and strengthening it organisationally. Our party put efforts to educate the cadres even amidst severe repression and difficulties and hardship to fulfill our aims keeping in view the turns in our movement.

Keeping in view the changes that occurred in our party composition as our party expanded to the rural and forest areas, it put special efforts to teach primary education to the peasant and adivasi comrades. In some areas it even formed certain structures needed for the purpose. Party carried on regular educational efforts in all PLGA units as part of daily routine. It conducted training classes and workshops in various spheres. It put enormous efforts in educating the people. It is running primary schools in guerilla bases and in some strong movement areas to teach the children.

After the formation of the new party, as part of the preparations and holding of the Unity Congress-9th Congress, party conferences were held from State level to the District/Area level in the form of a very large countrywide ideological and political campaign inside the party. This was carried on in the entire Central Region too. We conducted party plenums in all the Special Zones and Divisions in the Central Region between 2011 and 2012 as another big education campaign. The Rectification-Education of 2009-10 and Bolshevisation campaign of 2013-14 educated the party. Along with classes on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism we conducted classes on Marxist fundamentals and this increased the understanding of the cadres.

Using several means such as - political and military training camps held for new recruits in the party and the PLGA, military training camps, cultural workshops, training for various departments, field training, the

elections of RPCs/Krantikari Janatana Sarkars (KJS)-conferences-workshops, the conferences of mass organisations and party calls – the cadres and people are being educated.

The continuous efforts put by the magazines of party, PLGA and mass organisations, their publications, political propaganda and cultural programs, the daily combined/collective study conducted, individual efforts for study in the party and PLGA units are all part of our party education.

Apart from getting educated through the meetings of party committees, PLGA commands, various mass organisations and united front forums, they are also getting educated continuously by working in a lively manner.

### **Education efforts in Dandakaranya Special Zone**

In DK, our comrades are working to develop education work amidst huge deployment of enemy forces (one and a half lakh), carpet security, cordon and search operations, area domination operations, enemy intelligence network, encounters, murders, atrocities, arrests, firings and destruction. Recently, the KJS schools have become the targets for enemy attacks. The enemy forces had already attacked Ashram Schools, razed them down and destroyed everything there in South Bastar, West Bastar, Maad, East Bastar and North Bastar. The enemy is unable to tolerate the progress achieved by the adivasi people in spheres such as education, agriculture, health care and others. They are unable to tolerate the alternative political, economic and cultural systems developing here. The PLGA and the people led by the party are gaining some good results in the educational sphere just as in other spheres by courageously fighting back the offensives of the enemy forces. They are imparting training in a systematic manner by forming ‘MAS’ for primary education, ‘MoPoS’ for party education, ‘BCTS’ for special education and ‘Politico-Military Mobile School’ for military training inside the party and the PLGA.

### **Mobile Academic School (MAS)**

This School was formed in 2001. The books for the first round (1. Language; 2. Mathematics; 3. State Machinery; 4. Human Evolution) were written and MAS teachers were given training in teaching these subjects. Since then MAS is functioning regularly. Initially, there was only one unit for the entire DK. Later between 2005 and 2008, three MAS units were formed in the three Regions. When conducting classes, each batch consisted

of 25 to 30 students. Initially the classes were conducted for 20 days. Later as repression increased, the duration was reduced to 18 days and later to 15 days.

In 2007 and later, syllabus books for the second round (1. Social Science; 2. Adivasi culture; 3. DK History; 4. Human Anatomy) were prepared and classes were conducted. In the entire MAS classes conducted in DK, a total of ....comrades were trained in ....batches. This training gave good results.

### **Mobile Political School (MoPoS)**

The MoPoS unit was formed in DK in 2000. Notes were prepared. Initially classes on Marxist fundamentals, party documents and party policy documents were held. As majority of the DK comrades were born and brought up in socially very backward areas, study camps are being held for developing them in ideological, political, organisational and cultural matters. In these camps, along with classes on the above subjects, classes were held on party history, the history of people's struggles in Bastar and party organisation. It was decided that a SZCM should definitely attend these camps and conduct classes linking the party experiences and the current domestic and international situation. This was implemented. This helped the development of those comrades and gave good results.

Several problems that cropped up during the course of holding classes were solved. Politics were imparted to all levels of comrades in the form of classes and study camps. Till now a total of ...comrades were trained in these classes. This political effort helped a lot in fulfilling the increasing needs of the movement in DK.

### **Basic Communist Training School (BCTS)**

This School is being run with the aim of ideologically, politically, organizationally, culturally and technically developing some selected comrades according to the needs of the movement. This was started in 2009. Every year, a batch of 20 to 25 students is being trained here. Some shortcomings that occurred regarding the first two batches in matters of selection etc were reviewed and rectified. Thus the training got improved later. Since attention was paid to standards in selection of students and to the subjects taught, we are getting good results. Due to increase in repression, the duration of the School was reduced from six months to four

months. It was reviewed that in the past, several subjects were taught and those were at a higher standard for the students. Now as syllabi were prepared and printed books translated into Koya language were made available to the students, it proved very useful. Academic subjects (like MAS books) and political subjects (like MoPoS subjects) are being taught here. Before the School ends, students are participating in production and integrating with the people as part of field training. People are welcoming the students very enthusiastically. This is a successfully ongoing experiment in DK.

### **Krantikari Janatana Sarkar Schools (KJSS)**

Some text books prepared for MAS are used in these Schools. The teachers in these Schools are given training. Subjects are decided by the party keeping in view the need for developing literacy and to develop democratic and scientific understanding. Teaching methods are adopted according to their background. Hindi is taught from third standard and English from 4th standard. Medium of instruction in KJS Schools is Koya language. School timings, holidays, and other matters are being formulated and implemented keeping in view the opinions of the people and the students. These are adjusted according to productive and cultural (festive) activities. As these Schools are run by the people themselves, they are completely within reach for their children. As a result these Schools are running well and have achieved good results. They had a good impact on the people. The KJSs are mainly looking after the managements, funding, security etc of these Schools. These are mostly getting all kinds of help from the people. In the entire Zone, more than fifty Schools are run by the local KJSs. More than a hundred teachers are working in these. All of them are party members. Most of them are part-time party members. Nine Area level Ashram Schools are being run in the South Region. All the Schools in Maad are Ashram Schools. Some Ashram Schools are being run in other Divisions too. Due to enemy repression the venues of the Schools are forced to be changed frequently. As enemy attacks are targeting these Schools since 2011, some of these had to be closed down. For Schools which are running, the working days have been reduced and they are also running as mobile Schools where necessary. The enemy is conducting propaganda offensives by propagating that the educational qualifications (School certificates) of the children studying in these Schools would not be recognised by the government schools, that we do not teach Hindi and



English and that the children cannot go for higher studies if they study here. The reality is otherwise. People proposed that we should run more of our Schools and see to it that every girl/boy joins such Schools as the educational standards in our Schools are higher than those of outside schools. Moreover the crux of the matter is which kind of school/education would serve whose interests. The revolutionary masses are not only confident that their children are getting higher standards of education in our Schools but are also being imparted the correct viewpoint towards life and society. However, the impact of destruction of Schools and other kinds of repressive measures, psychological warfare and bourgeois Schools can be discerned to some extent among the people.

### **Education Departmental Committee (EDC)**

Since 2006, a SZCM is fully concentrating on the education field and working in it. In 2007 two DVC level comrades who could impart education were made part of this work and an Educational Departmental Committee was formed with these three comrades as members. The EDC has the following three main tasks: 1. Preparing syllabi for the four types of schools mentioned above; 2. Training the teachers; 3. Conducting classes. Till 2009, EDC conducted classes for various levels of comrades in DK on Marxist fundamentals, party basic documents and party policy documents. RePoS was formed by the Central Regional Bureau (CRB) in 2009 and two rounds of subjects were decided. As it was not possible for the RePoS teachers alone to take all the classes, the EDC comrades too conducted classes along with RePoS teachers in the DK, AOB, NT Special Zones for several batches of DVCMs. Similarly, they took classes for Regional PLGA Companies and for lower level comrades in NT and AOB. So a gap occurred in taking classes in DK. Since 2013 they once again concentrated on DK and conducted classes and trainings.

The RePoS comrades are extending help to EDC comrades in preparing syllabus books (like BCTS text books, in preparing academic and political subjects etc). Both the committees exchange views regarding education related matters and extend help to each other in fulfilling their respective tasks. and completed writing and translating them into Koya. Now books on almost all subjects are available. They are being printed and distributed. The leadership is thinking of making these same books available to the teachers of KJS Schools and squads.

The DK EDC gained good experience by running the MAS, MoPoS,

BCTS and KJS Schools including Ashram Schools in coordination and the interests of the movement are also being fulfilled well. Due to the efforts of MAS, MoPoS and EDC, syllabus books were made available to party cadres at various levels and for students of BCTS and KJS Schools. Several classes were conducted. Schools ran successfully. The DKSZC encouraged and guided the various concerned structures to run them properly. However the EDC is yet to get enough help from all party committees in improving the level and efficiency of the concerned structures according to the level of the DK movement. The aspects that are to be overcome are as follows:

1. The EDC should be strengthened so that it can prepare syllabus books, improve/update the present syllabus books and conduct sufficient number of classes as per its aim.
2. As conducting classes has become primary, other works are not being fulfilled in time as planned. As the number of teachers is less, if classes are being held for one level of comrades, then classes are not being conducted for another level of comrades in time. Regular political training is necessary for all levels.
3. More efforts are needed to develop the teachers politically and on various subjects and teaching methods.
4. At least some time should be allotted for the teachers to conduct field studies so that their movement experience increases.
5. Keeping in view the increasing needs of the movement, Schools, teachers, mechanism and budget allotments should be increased gradually and only then will we be able to fulfill the movement needs in the field of education. At present we have only till 5th standard in our schools. The subsequent standards should be started.
6. We are running Schools with our limited experience and knowledge. Several kinds of knowledge, teaching methods and teaching aids developed outside. These should be made available to EDC and the teachers.
7. MAS and MoPoS structures should be formed in all Divisions, Areas and in Company and Battalion formations and training should be imparted in a decentralised manner. Otherwise we would not be able to cope up with the needs in severe repression. The number of teachers at present is very limited.
8. If the party DVCs do not concentrate on education paying it special attention, primary education and political education would be conducted

only partially in the Divisions where hundreds of our forces are present.

9. Teaching aides and visual aids should be provided. Along with conducting regular training classes for KJS School teachers, workshops should also be conducted.
10. The Central and State Committees should put efforts to supervise (check up) and improve education work and management matters related to it. As repression has intensified, they should also pay attention to security related matters and see to it that academic and political educational training is not affected.

### **Regional Political School (RePoS)**

The RePoS was formed under the CRB purview in 2009. They could conduct classes in two rounds for all levels of comrades under the CRB purview, as decided. The RePoS classes were successfully conducted with the help of DK EDC in DK and for the guerilla forces under the Central Regional Command (CRC).

The first round of subjects that were decided by the CRB were – Marxist Philosophy, Political Economy, Indian Economy and Tactics. Classes were conducted from the level of SZC comrades to the level of senior comrades in Area Committees by the CC, RePoS and DK EDC comrades. The SZC and DVC level comrades working in various spheres along with DVC level comrades in the Central Region forces attended these classes.

As part of the countrywide Bolshevisation program, study and classes are now being conducted as a campaign in the entire Central Region for all levels of comrades on ideological, political, organisational and military matters and party history.

The field surveys conducted by the RePoS comrades helped them in developing their understanding.

1. They conducted field study for about one month with the help of the local leadership by selecting four Krantikari Janatana Sarkars in A Area. They explained the current political situation to the people and also collected details for the survey. They discussed political matters for about two hours daily using team quiz methods with the local leadership accompanying them during the survey. After the survey they brought to their notice the shortcoming continuing in politically concentrating there, the need for class struggle and revolutionary land reforms. This survey was conducted in 2010. EDC comrades too

- participated in the survey.
2. In B Area, a field survey was conducted for one week to observe the functioning of a KJS and they gave suggestions to the concerned committee.
  3. In C Area, a report was written after doing class analysis for one week and this was published in the *Errajenda* (ideological organ) magazine. The CRB press and Kranti magazine Editorial Board comrades too participated in this field survey.
  4. A survey was conducted in D and E Areas and a report was written.
  5. Problems in mining areas of Surjagarh (Gadchiroli), Raoghat (North Bastar) and Bodhghat (East Bastar) were studied and a report titled – “Present Situation - People’s Aspirations - Our Efforts” was written. Comrade Mahita, RePoS member conducted surveys separately in East Bastar and West Bastar and wrote on production and organisation related matters too in her survey reports.

When the RePoS comrades got the opportunity to attend the party plenums from Special Zone level to Area level and in the conferences of mass organisations and KJSs, they not only strove to understand the movement but also conveyed their observations. When they are stationed in various areas, they are discussing with the comrades in PLGA forces about study and training and giving their suggestions apart from taking their opinions. During such occasions those comrades expressed their realisation that they should further develop their political understanding in view of the responsibilities they are holding and shared their shortcomings with the RePoS comrades. They strongly realised the need for further study and political training and expressed the same.

Keeping in view the social and cultural backwardness in our movement areas, the RePoS proposed that the party committees should pay attention to the following matters to educate the local structures and the people.

1. Listening to radio news daily and reading the newspapers wherever available should be done. Discussion should be conducted on the news items and thus the understanding of the people should be enhanced.
2. Arrangements should be made to impart primary education for the young women and men in the villages. For example, the night school system that was present in the past should be revived.
3. MAS and MoPoS classes should be held for militia comrades at a very primary level. Special syllabus should be prepared for them and

it should be made compulsory to form teaching teams to impart education to them.

4. Education should be imparted to women by paying special attention.
5. Our mass organisations and RPCs should put efforts on their own to educate themselves and we should guide them to pay attention to educating the people too.

## **Political and Military Education By Party Committees/ Military Commissions**

The party committees at all levels (CC to Area Committee), Central and State Military Commissions and Central and Special Zonal Military Instructors' Teams imparted political and military education and training at regular intervals to party cadres in the party, army and the united front. The subjects and topics for discussion were decided according to the needs of the movement at that particular juncture. This education was carried on mainly in the following forms. 1. Combined study or discussion during committee meetings; 2. Political classes; 3. Military Camps; 4. Motivation during formation of new military formations; 5. Motivation for conducting TCOCs; 6. Study camps and 7. Workshops. Party committee members, especially CC, SZC and DVC members conducted these. The help of EDC and RePoS teachers was taken where necessary while conducting political classes

Recently as part of Bolshevisation, one round of classes were conducted for the DVCs in Odisha. Before this, a workshop was conducted on Strategy and Tactics. Similarly several rounds classes on various subjects and topics were conducted in DK, AOB and NT at Zone and Division levels in the past ten years. To increase the understanding of the entire party regarding the imperialist sponsored LIC strategy that the Indian ruling classes are implementing in our country, a round of classes and discussions were conducted starting from the SZC up to the Area level party committee and PLGA during 2011-2012 in the Central Region.

“The party organization must consist of the advanced elements of the proletariat. As a vigorous vanguard organization, it should be able to lead the proletarian revolutionary masses in their struggle against class enemies,” said Mao. He also said “It is not possible to lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless there is revolutionary theory, a knowledge of history, and an understanding of the practical movement.”

In 2013 our CC has analysed the subjective condition of our movement

and assessed that it is facing countrywide difficult situation. Simultaneously a Bolshevisation campaign was also taken up in the entire party and PLGA. The direction of our political education at this juncture should also follow this. By imparting political education regarding ‘revolutionary theory, a knowledge of history, and an understanding of the practical movement’, we should strive to transform our party into a more ‘vigorous vanguard organisation’ to lead the ‘proletarian revolutionary masses in their struggle against the class enemies.’ This kind of political education would help us to tide over the difficult situation we are facing at present and help us to utilise the excellent objective conditions that are developing in our country and the world for the revolution. Let us grasp the key role of political education in Bolshevising the party and carry it on staunchly by defeating all the enemy conspiracies to stall it. The thirst for true knowledge is boundless among our cadres and the revolutionary masses. When it is fulfilled it would turn into a mighty force which no force on earth can withstand.

Let us defend all kinds of Schools run by the party, PLGA and RPCs and put all out efforts to carry on our educational efforts. \*

**Generally speaking, all Communist Party members who can do so should study the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, study our national history and study current movements and trends; moreover, they should help to educate members with less schooling. The cadres in particular should study these subjects carefully, while members of the Central Committee and senior cadres should give them even more attention. No political party can possibly lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and a knowledge of history and has a profound grasp of the practical movement.**

**The theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is universally applicable. We should regard it not as a dogma, but as a guide to action. Studying it is not merely a matter of learning terms and phrases but of learning Marxism-Leninism as the science of revolution. It is not just a matter of understanding the general laws derived by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin from their extensive study of real life and revolutionary experience, but of studying their standpoint and method in examining and solving problems.**

*(Report to the Enlarged Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, 1938)*

# Our Efforts in Dandakaranya Cultural Field: A Report

- Leng

Mao gave us the understanding that there are several fields in the liberation struggle. There are fields wielding the pen and those wielding the sword (gun), there are cultural war fronts. To defeat the enemy we should mainly depend on the army wielding guns. However army itself is not sufficient. In order to unify our ranks and defeat the enemy we would definitely need a cultural army too.

We are carrying on the protracted people's war (PPW) to successfully complete the New Democratic Revolution (NDR) with this understanding given by Mao. We are fighting against the ruling classes not only on the battle front but also on the cultural front to establish a New Democratic State. We have built a cultural army to mould the vast masses ideologically and politically, to transform them into a mighty revolutionary force for seizure of political power and are fighting the enemy on the cultural front. In Dandakaranya (DK) too, we are fighting to establish new democratic culture, to expose the imperialist and feudal culture, fight it back and eliminate it. We wrote a manifesto to guide the development of the cultural field in DK, formed the Chetana Natya Manch (CNM) and are putting efforts in this field. As part of this effort, in the past ten years more than sixty cultural warriors laid down their valuable lives in enemy offensives. Let us pay humble homage to these brave cultural warriors on this occasion. Let us vow to strengthen the cultural army to fulfill their aims.

A children's team of CNM comprising 16 members was arrested and put in jail under the 'Jan Suraksha Kanoon' by the Chhattisgarh government. They are still in jail. In the past ten years several CNM comrades became victims of enemy repression. Several CNM comrades are languishing in various jails. The formation of CNM in DK and the formation of our new party took place almost simultaneously. CNM gradually developed into a mass organisation. This is a brief report of the development of CNM in the past ten years.

CNM has units in hundreds of villages. There are thousands of members

in these units. CNM created hundreds of songs and several art forms. It put efforts to increase the understanding about new democratic culture among the people. It produced collective literature. It strove to preserve collective arts. It worked according to the principle 'from the people to the people', arranged 'People's Art *Karsads*' and rallied hundreds of local people's artistes.

At present there is one CNM cultural team in each Area. All Divisions have CNM teams. They are functioning with three to five members in each team. There is a Special Zone level CNM team.

Cultural teams have been formed in PLGA Companies and Battalions and they are functioning. As Mao explained, the people's army should participate in political propaganda and production along with waging war. The cultural teams in the PLGA are doing cultural work inside the PLGA and among the people along with waging war. These cultural teams were given two, three rounds of training.

Especially the role of women in this field is strong. Even to this day, it is mostly women who are playing the main role in the organisation and in performing. They are in the forefront in writing songs, composing collective dances and in learning the folk dances of the villages quickly. Three women comrades are working as CNM's Division Presidents and four, five women comrades are working as its Area Presidents and leading the work in this field. A majority of members in the CNM teams are women.

CNM successfully held three Special Zone level conferences. As part of this, firstly village, Area and Division level conferences were completed. In these conferences, the experiences of the cultural field were reviewed, lessons were learnt and tasks were formulated keeping in view the needs of the movement and for solving the problems arising in this field.

Workshops at Regional and Division levels were held on topics such as - increasing the standards (quality) in art, usage of instruments, writing songs, dance, drama and taking the revolutionary message to the people. Special training classes were held for the core comrades working in this field. More than a hundred comrades participated in these. Two volumes of literature and songs written from all over DK were published. Songs are being written on a large scale in the ten Divisions and they are being printed there itself locally.



We took organisational and cultural aspects that would be useful for the cultural movement in DK from the Andhra Pradesh, North Telangana, Andhra-Odisha Border Special Zone (AOB) and Maharashtra cultural organisations before the formation of CPI (Maoist) and from the Bihar-Jharkhand cultural organisations after the merger and put efforts to develop this work. Workshops were held joining with AOB cultural organisation, the Pituri Endana Dalam and Maharashtra CNM. Exchange of experiences took place here. 25 songs and seven dramas were prepared during the AOB workshop. A song 'Ayare Ayare Lal Pavan Ayare' on the occasion of the formation of the new party was written. A workshop on 'Go Back Indian Army' was conducted in the North Region and workshops on election boycott were conducted in the South Region and in the Divisions.

The feudal, bad gentry forces and the fascist State is carrying on violent attacks on the people and people's culture to preserve their reactionary system and culture and destroy the new democratic political power and the new democratic culture developing alongside it. Hundreds of villages were destroyed in these offensives. Countless atrocities on women and murders took place. Young men and women and peasants who crossed their way in the villages were hacked to death or shot dead. The Salwa Judum goons, police and paramilitary forces destroyed hundreds of drums, *dholaks* and other musical instruments, fishing nets and other materials of the people. These were thrown into the fire and turned into ashes. Following the call of the party to defeat this offensive, our cultural artistes produced several kinds of literary and art forms and propagated them on a huge scale among the people. They put efforts to defeat the Salwa Judum by preparing the people for it. The songs written about the successes achieved by the PLGA forces while waging guerilla warfare against the central and state forces filled the people and the PLGA with great fervor. Countless songs were written on martyrs. All these were a chronicle of the courageous deeds and great ideals of the martyrs. These enhanced the will to sacrifice and fighting strength of the party, PLGA and the people. On the other hand they prepared songs and skits on surrenders too to raise their consciousness to reject and oppose surrenders and enhance the fighting spirit. All these helped a lot in developing guerilla warfare and increasing the active role of the people in People's War.

Our cultural teams undertook propaganda work on the following topics on a huge scale among the people – exposing the imperialist and feudal culture, against superstitions, various issues of the people, against displacement with the slogan ‘Jal, Jungle, Zameen are our right’, against price rise of daily commodities, against atrocities on women, unemployment, suicide of farmers, against the fake reforms of the exploiting governments, sham elections, against the attacks on minorities by Hindu fascism and on the political, economic, social, cultural, ecological policies and development works of the Krantikari Janatana Sarkars (KJS).

Several songs and dramas were written on KJS. These helped the people in creating and expanding their political power. The people’s artistes participated in collective labor along with the people and gave cultural performances highlighting the prominence of land distribution, irrigation, increasing agricultural production, land leveling and other programmes and encouraging the people to participate in large numbers in these. They produced collective literature by exposing the penetration of imperialist and feudal poisonous culture into the villages and concentrated on preserving the collective arts and art forms. Our cultural teams performed among the people amidst carpet security, relentless operations of the enemy forces and brutal offensives. The artistes propagated on the significance of cleanliness, health care and education. All these had a good impact on the people.

The Adivasi Sanskritik Kala Manch of DK conducted a countrywide propaganda campaign to expose the joint attacks of the counter-revolutionary Salwa Judum goons and the government forces and rallied public opinion against this, during that period. This Kala Manch gave 65 performances in 14 states and propagated exposing this government sponsored fascist offensive. During the Salwa Judum period, the Second DK Special Zone CNM Conference was held in 2007 and an exhibition with people’s artifacts was opened at the venue. Drawing attention towards the need for preservation of people’s artifacts that were being destroyed by the Judum, especially in the South Region, was the main idea behind this exhibition.

A cultural team from DK went to propagate against the Operation Green Hunt (OGH) countrywide offensive on our movement. As soon as

it gave a few performances the artistes of this team were arrested in Hyderabad and put in jail for one month by foisting false cases on them. Huge propaganda was conducted among the people with the slogan “Indian Army Go Back” against the Indian Army that came to attack DK in the name of training.

Special Zone level teams conducted workshops on election boycott during the various assembly and parliamentary elections held in the past ten years and produced several songs and plays. During the elections for Chhattisgarh assembly in 2009, a workshop was held and a drama titled ‘*Bhoot*’ was prepared and propagated among the people. This drama has a good impact on the people. A drama titled ‘*Footwear*’ also had a good impact on the people. A drama titled ‘*Gonglametta*’ was also prepared and performed among the people. The dramas ‘*Imperialist Eagle*’ and ‘*Imperialist Dog*’ were very popular among the people. Dramas such as ‘*Korru Donga Nammoyi*’, ‘*Do not listen to bad things*’ and ‘*Three Monkeys*’ were created against OGH. During the 2013-2014 elections, 15 to 20 songs explaining the stance of the party were written, recorded and distributed to all Divisions. They were uploaded on the net too.

The Gundadhur dance drama highlighting the Bhumkal Rebellion during its centenary celebrations was very popular among the people. Gundadhur’s history was taken into the people through this drama. Every year, during February 10-Bhumkal Divas, March 8-International Working Women’s Day, July 28-Martyrs’ Memorial Week, September 21-Party Formation Day and December 2-PLGA Formation Day, our cultural teams do a commendable job. In 2010, during the Tenth Anniversary celebrations of PLGA, a workshop was conducted where songs and literature were produced and propagated widely. We also conducted a workshop on the occasion of March 8. Songs on women issues were written on a large scale and also a separate *Peeto* (story told with songs-*Tr*) on women’s liberation was also written, recorded and propagated. In the past ten years, our revolutionary message was taken to lakhs of people through thousands of performances during revolutionary occasions and black days.

Among the dances, the most popular were – ‘*Bhumkal, Bhumkal, Mahan Bhumkal,*’ ‘*O Udatu Dada,*’ and ‘*Aval Avega Vote Mangne Bormam*’ on election boycott. Though we have extensively used

Chhattisgarh dance forms in the dances composed by the CNM, our efforts in this are still less. We prepared an hour-long drama against Salwa Judum. The role of Mahendra Karma was portrayed in such a way that people come to know his true role. Ten songs were written and dances were composed on displacement issue alone. These were shot on video too. In these dances, several dance forms were mixed. A dance drama on Raman Singh was composed and shot on video. Several dance forms were mixed in this too. '*O cowherd boys and girls, come to school*' was a song composed to make the children realise the significance of education. This became very popular among the children. As the *Bal Sangathans* in the villages are guided by the cultural organisation committees, children are being in the forefront in song and dance.

During party conferences and plenums; mass organisation conferences; election meetings of KJS; training camps of party, PLGA, mass organisations, various departments and KJS – skits were prepared then and there and performances given on concerned topics or on the discussions held on that particular day. Similarly songs were also written and sung. The skit on Bhagat Singh was adopted for local conditions by replacing him with Gundadthur and performed. Thus all over DK Special Zone, thousands of performances were given.

Electronic means were utilised to some extent to record about 200 to 300 songs and these were propagated on a huge scale. 10 to 15 video films were shot on various issues and propagated. A lot of literature was produced to increase the consciousness of our party ranks, PLGA fighters and the people.

We are all aware that our party assessed that our movement is facing a difficult situation at present. This is impacting the cultural field too. Now we must overcome the difficult situation and advance the movement. For achieving this goal, we must successfully complete the Bolshevisation campaign taken up to strengthen the party and rectify the shortcomings that occurred in our ideological, political, organizational, military and cultural work; we must courageously fight back the enemy's OGH and defeat it and increase the active role of the people in the People's War. For this we must implement our program creatively in the cultural field too. We all know the impact of the corporate and government media on the people.

The electronic media is becoming an integral part of the people's lives. The need to produce literature and arts against the psychological warfare of the enemy and imperialist and feudal poisonous culture and propagate it more widely has increased more than ever. Our cultural performances should explain to the people— how the NDR would advance by facing the ups and downs, how the history of world movements advanced by facing up to the ups and downs, how favorable the objective conditions for the revolution are and increase the confidence of the people on the party, PLGA, mass organisations and the revolution. On the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of our Party Formation our successes should be highlighted and propagated through several kinds of art forms and our propaganda should increase the confidence of the people about the victory of the NDR. We should propagate the truth that the PPW is invincible, people are the makers of history and final victory belongs to the people.

**Down with imperialist-feudal culture!**

**Long live New Democratic Culture!**

**“All the experience of modern history and, particularly, the more than half-century-old revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of all countries since the appearance of the Communist Manifesto has unquestionably demonstrated that the Marxist world outlook is the only true expression of the interests, the viewpoint, and the culture of the revolutionary proletariat.**

**“Marxism has won its historic significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat because, far from rejecting the most valuable achievements of the bourgeois epoch, it has, on the contrary, assimilated and refashioned everything of value in the more than two thousand years of the development of human thought and culture. Only further work on this basis and in this direction, inspired by the practical experience of the proletarian dictatorship as the final stage in the struggle against every form of exploitation, can be recognised as the development of a genuine proletarian culture.”**

**- Lenin (On Proletarian Culture, October 8, 1920)**

# Historic First Steps in the Field of People's Health Care

- Rafeeq

Chhattisgarh's Bastar region always remains in lime-light due to its Maoist revolutionary movement. But in August 2013, it was in news due to hundreds of cholera deaths. Just in a week more than 150 people died due to Gastro-enteritis related incidents. Indravati and Bhairamgarh areas were worst affected. Indravati area is on the northern side of Indravati River, Bhairamgarh area is on the southern side of the river along the national highway connecting Jagdalpur and Bhopalpatnam.

The cause of Gastro-Enteritis was Cholera, a very infectious water-born disease, causing heavy vomiting and watery diahorrea. Some times it dehydrates the patient in a few hours. Most of the deaths occur due to severe dehydration and salt loss. In Indravati area alone more than 100 people died within a few days. Most affected villages were Dunga, Jhadka and Podad. Near about 50 people died in Jhadka village alone. In Bhairamgarh, Daller, Engum, Zapur, Mirtul and Pomara were most affected. An old person of Daller committed suicide after the death of his whole family. He had hung himself from a tree.

In these villages people use water from 'wells' (hand-dug pits) built along the courses of small rivulets. During rainy seasons frequently these 'wells' get flooded by rain waters. They become source of infection and cause epidemics of diahorreal diseases. Same thing happened in August 2013 also. The cholera spread like an epidemic in these villages and killed hundreds of people. Young children and elderly people were most affected due to their low immunity. That's why most of the dead persons were children and elderly persons. The only health centre in this area are Orcha in Narayanpur district and Bhairamgarh in Bijapur district, both are ill-equipped and understaffed. There are no dispensaries or PHCs inside the forest. No doctor or health worker ever visited these villages. Yes. Police and paramilitary forces patrol these villages frequently. People need health services, health workers, doctors. They will love to see them if they visit these villages. But no one visits these villages. Here people have lot of health problems. They don't have any security problems, or not facing any

law and order problems. They do not need police patrols. They don't like police. They need doctors, paramedics, medicines. They need hospitals. They don't need *Thanas* or CRPF camps. These police parties are security risk for Bastar people. These patrols are creating law and order problems. So this is the state of affair in these areas. The Indian administration is not giving even basic services like clean drinking water, health services etc., but instead it is terrorising these toiling people.

A girl from Zapur village was studying in Ashramshala at.... She got Cholera in school. Her mother went there to help her. The mother also got the disease and died due to severe dehydration. Villagers brought the sick girl and died body of the mother back to village. The girl died after the cremation of her mother. But before that more people got infected from that disease. Total 8 people died in 2 days after that. During that epidemic Indian administration came into action too late. They came to these areas, after the sacrifices of hundreds of precious lives. Their total system was inefficient and not having any interest to tackle that situation. In Zapur, the Maoist squads saved the lives of the remaining villagers. They gave them medicines and intravenous fluids. No other force came to rescue them in that situation. Question arises why the world's largest democracy's health system failed in that situation. Whether the forest stopped them? No, how can it be possible? There troops patrols these forests daily. Whether the lack of telecommunication services stopped them? No. How can it be possible? The girl from Zapur got infected in their Ashramshala, situated on their roads with good communication facilities. She was not getting proper treatment, that's why her condition deteriorated. Above all her mother died in their Ashram Shala, why did they fail to save her? Question arises why was that girl sent back to her village to die. Whether the rivulets stopped them? No. How can it be possible? How they supply ration to these paramilitary camps? How do their high-rank officers visit the camps in the area? If they can supply ration to their troops, and can visit these camps any time in the year. Then who stopped the Indian administration to send medical teams and medicine to these areas during the days of epidemic. Bastar is definitely a war zone, but what about Raipur and Durg, where hundreds of people died due to epidemic of hepatitis. What about areas of Odisha, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, where hundreds of people died due to diahorrea during the same period. Why

children are dying due to Japanese Encephalitis in western Bihar and eastern UP? Those areas are plain areas, well connected by roads and communication facilities, without any Maoist presence. Who stopped the Indian administration to go to those areas? It is only the exploitative and inhuman nature of Indian state that stops it to solve the basic problems of vast majority of its toiling people.

Public health services are one of the most neglected services in India. Since 'independence' Indian state spent very little to solve the health problems of its people. Patient to Doctor ratio is still very high. There are very few health centres for primary health care. Where they are, they are ill-equipped, understaffed and corrupted. The entire health system in India is structured to fulfill the needs of the urban rich. Villages and far-flung areas are most neglected. Most of the people depend upon quacks or spiritual healers for their health problems.

In the 1990s when India adopted the neo-liberal economic path under the name of structural reforms, the entire public health and medical education sector was restructured to favour the big pharmaceutical companies. There occurs total commercialisation of health medical education sector. The very few health services that were available to people were snatched from them in a step by step manner. The PHCs were closed, new recruitment of doctors and paramedics were stopped. Even District, tertiary level hospitals and hospitals attached to medical colleges are now understaffed and poorly equipped. Community health centres and district hospitals are now just referred centre for tertiary level hospitals. The conditions are so bad that the cases which can be treated at a CHC are also referred to big cities and tertiary level hospitals for investigation and treatment purposes. In those hospitals people get prescriptions written on slips. No one gets even a piece of cotton in hospitals. What a poor man will get, where every thing is on sale? How can an ill and dying health system save the lives of crores of people?

When India's public health system was dying due to lack of funds and staff, the small and big private nursing homes and hospitals started growing in towns and big cities. Many big pharmaceutical companies entered into the health sector. From Fortis, Escorts, Apollos and Max's - all these hospitals are owned by these companies. These Five Star hospitals owned by these companies or 2 or 3 Star hospitals owned by rich doctors have nothing to



do with health problems of the majority of the people of India. They cater only to the needs of the urban rich or neo-rich section growing in the cities of India. These hospitals are money making machines. The young doctors and para-medics also look towards these hospitals to get richer, to excel in their professions. On one side, in these hospitals, these professionals are using and mastering the most advanced technologies and techniques. But they are of no use for the vast majority of people. People have their own problems, they are suffering from mal-nutrition, communicable diseases which can be prevented by changing the socio-economic conditions and treated by modern medical sciences. But no one is paying even a little attention towards these problems. Even Bastar is not an exception. We can find big private hospitals in towns like Rajanandgaon, Kanker, Jagdalpur, Raipur or Bhadrachalam. But people of Bastar can't even dream of using their services.

Bastar region in the state of Chhattisgarh, comprises 7 districts (Sukma, Bijapur, Dantewada, Bastar, Kondagaon, Narayanpur and Kanker). This region is partly hilly, partly plain covered with tropical forests. These forests are one of the biggest pharmacies of the world, with hundreds of medicinal plants, it supplies natural raw material for so many Ayurvedic and Allopathic Pharmaceutical companies. But people here are dying due to very easily treatable diseases. The health services in this region are negligible. There are very few PHCs and CHCs. Where they are, they are understaffed, ill-equipped and corrupted to give proper health services to the people.

In Bastar, the major burden on the people is infectious diseases like malaria, water-born diseases like Amoebiasis, bacterial dysentery, cholera, Hepatitis and cases of Enteric fever during rainy seasons are also found. Epidemics of seasonal diseases like Pharyngitis, Bronchitis, community-acquired Pneumonia, viral fevers also occur. Apart from these, various skin diseases like scabies, fungal infections, Herpes also causes big problems to the people. Non communicable diseases like Epilepsy, Peptic ulcers, Sickle cell Anaemia (according to newspaper reports), Renal stones, Rheumatic heart diseases are also found. But no one is there to diagnose these diseases and treat them. People often got injured while doing work in fields, while collecting woods from forest. Some times they get injured due to attacks by wild animals like bears and wild pigs (hundreds of injured persons are treated by our PLGA squad doctors). At those times it is our

RPC doctors or *dalam* doctors who take care of them. Where RPC doctors or *dalam* doctors are not available people have to carry their dear ones on stretchers to roadside PHCs or dispensaries. Some times (better to say most of the times) it takes hours to reach these health centres on foot. Even after reaching there people do not get proper treatment. After first aid, they are mostly referred to higher centres for proper treatment. All these PHCs are situated in road-side villages or towns having CRPF camps or having police stations. The forces harass the people a lot. So most of the people hesitate to go to these health centres.

We will see the same condition prevailing in each and every village of Bastar. Whenever a *dalam* (People's Liberation Guerrilla Army-PLGA) visits a village, people always ask for the doctor. If you look like an urban and educated person, they will definitely come to you with their physical complaints and demands for medicine. Our *dalam* doctors are the most famous and most loved persons of their areas. They try their best to cure the ailments of these people. They try to learn modern medicine from heart. They are very much capable of treating common diseases prevalent in these areas. They don't practice hit and trial methods like quacks. They try their best and apply their acquired knowledge to reach at a diagnosis and try to give accurate and necessary treatment to these patients. They are very much hungry to learn modern medicine and some surgery. They can manage cases of Malaria, Gastro-enteritis, various infections, diseases like typhoid, Pneumonia, skin problems. They can give treatment for fractures and can manage up to some extent the cases of multiple trauma. Day by day they are learning new things and are getting experience during their practice. They all are doing these things because they know, during illness or during emergencies there will be no one to help their brethren. They serve their people like mothers. People also treat them as their children. So at one time they are the mothers of their patients, at other times the patients take the role of mothers. This is the relation that is developing between our doctors and the people. The medical professionals can learn a lot from them, about how to serve their patients. But our *dalam* doctors are also facing a lot of problems. They need teachers who can teach them more on modern medicine and surgery. They need teachers who can teach them about the medical laboratory techniques, who can teach them some dentistry.

Whenever somebody from outside the forest come to our areas and attend our programmes, they always put these demands in front of them. They also complain about the apathy shown by outside medical and surgical specialists towards their people.

Leave it aside, let us come back to the medical problems faced by our people. In February 2014, we were at E.... village in East Bastar division. We were treating the villagers there. Many women with their children came there for treatment. Most of them were complaining of body pains, Dyspnea on exertion and palpitations. They were all anaemic. Repeated malaria, high birth rate and high death rate had very adverse affect on their lives. Here in Bastar the death rate is very high. Most of deaths occur in the age group below 5 years. This high death rate is compensated by high birth rate. Repeated pregnancies and child births totally drain the women's body. Most of the women will look 10 or 15 year older than their age. But they are very hard working. They daily do household work, they work in the fields, daily collect woods from jungle, collect jungle products and take them to weekly bazaars for selling. They are the backbone of Bastar's socio-economic life. But they have to fight daily against their low haemoglobin levels. Many children were also undernourished. They were with the swollen bellies. Most of children were having splenomegaly. The enlarged spleen indicated the high prevalence of Malaria and lack of medical services in these areas. There we detected 3 cases of tuberculosis. One of them was a 4 month old male child. The child got the disease from his grand father who was a known case of TB. He was diagnosed and put on treatment for TB at Chhotedongar health centre. But he left the treatment in between because Chhotedongar is too far from their village. It takes 3 hours on foot to reach Chhote Dongar from E.... village. A CRPF camp and police *Thana* is also situated there in Chhote Dongar. So most of the men avoid visiting Chhote-Dongar also. We advised the mother to take her child to PHC. We also wrote the prescription for her child and handed it over to our area comrades to try to arrange medicine for that child.

In V.... village the scene was no different. Anaemic women, undernourished children with various grades of splenomegalies. There most of people were complaining of prurritis. They were having scabies, a

very infectious and irritating skin disease. Its treatment is very simple. It takes just two applications of Gamma Benzene hexachloride (GBHC) to treat this disease. A litre of GBHC was enough to treat all the patients. A pond of 500 ml of GBHC costs only 20 to 30 rupees in wholesale market. So it will take just 50/60 rupees to eradicate that disease from that village. But problem is that the people don't know about the cause and treatment of these diseases. Government health workers never come to these villages. Health centres are too far from these villages. They are left to live their life in that state by Indian government. We advised our area doctors to try to bring a litre of GBHC and apply that to all the patients.

In Barsur area we found two cases of Epilepsy. Both were women. One of them was taking treatment from a father of a Christian church. Her condition was worsening day by day. After detailed history, we prescribed her anti-epileptic drug and advised our local *dalam* doctor to follow the case regularly and report to us if any problem occurs. Our Barsur comrades told us about the various religious groups active in this area. There are so many Hindu and some Christian groups active in Bastar. Majority of them are Hindu religious organisations, who have one point agenda to convert adivasis to Hinduism. Some are Christian missionaries who are trying to convert them to Christianity. The sect of Baba Biharidas has the strongest presence. They have their centres at Jagdalpur, Chapka (their main centre), Mutainpal etc. Other sects like Satguru sect and a Shivshankarwala sect have centres at Narayanpur, Killepal and Gumar Gunda. Gayathri Mantar organisation has their centre at Geedam. They all are preaching Hinduism in Adivasi areas. They give Mantars and Prasad to people in the name of treatment. In the past, Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram (an RSS-run organisation) at Lanjoda had a dispensary but they closed it in 2009. Now there are not even such so-called health facilities provided by these Hindu religious organisations. For them Adivasis are just numbers, to add to their religion. They take young adivasi boys and girls to Raipur and Jagdalpur to show them as showpiece in their religious dance parties. These groups have nothing to do with their day to day problems, have no concern for their health. Same is also true for Christian organisations. They have their centres at Binta and Bellar in Barsur. They also only offer prayers for the ill persons. So the Maoists are not the only force in Bastar. Indian state

with its above 1 lakh troops is in Bastar, Hindu and Christian religious organisations are also playing active role in Bastar. But it is only the Maoists who have concern for the Bastar people.

The Maoist doctors are the first persons who come to the service of the people whenever they fall ill or get injured. Definitely our medical department is still weak, but it is developing, and is trying its best to solve the health problems of the people. The government forces are continuously conducting attacks to damage this department as part of wiping out the revolutionary movement. Those who buy medicines for the People's Health Centres and those who sell medicines to these are not spared by the police. However, our medical teams are doing their best with the support of the people and amid security provided by the PLGA. The changes in the economic life of the people due to the Maoist movement had definite impact on health of the people. After land distribution, people are growing more grains, cereals and vegetables, our Krantikari Janatana Sarkars are building tanks in villages from where they can get fish, can also use tank water for irrigation. Since the people are organised, they can freely collect edible plants from the jungles. People's purchasing power has also increased. Now they are using edible oils in most of the areas to some extent and sugar and sometimes milk to some extent. Their Krantikari Janatana Sarkars can purchase medicines to some extent, can help anybody during the time of illness. I have not seen any other tribal area other than Bastar. But our comrades, who worked in other areas in the past, had told us that nourishment level of the Bastar people is better than several other tribal areas.

In April, we were in G.... village in Kanger ghati area in Darbha division. There also people were demanding pills for fever, body aches, skin problems. The villagers there brought a young boy of 17 years of age. He was having Rheumatic heart disease. His heart's two valves were leaking. His heart was failing. He was unable to take even a few steps. He needed chest-xray, a ECG and Echo-Cardiography. We can detect most of the diseases clinically and can give treatment for them. But what about this type of diseases which needed investigations? We gave some dibreties and Lanoxin tablets and advised his parents to take him to the medical college at Jagdalpur. But who can be sure that facilities of Echo-cardiography are available at Jagdalpur medical college? There are many

medical colleges here in India, that have facilities like Echo, CT or MRI. Conditions of district hospitals are worse than the worst. Let us have a look at the District Hospital of Dantewada, which is catering to the needs of three districts of South Bastar region - Sukma, Bijapur and Dantewada. It is a 100-bed hospital. It has daily OPD of more than 200 patients. Patients from as far as Konta, Sukma, Madded, Bijapur and Bhairamgarh visit it for treatment purpose. The civil surgeon of the hospital is the only specialist doctor in that hospital. Even the meager health facilities are usurped by the paramilitary forces deployed on a huge scale here. All other 11 posts are vacant. It has no gynaecologist, paediatrician, Eye, ENT and Orthopaedic specialists. Every month more than 30 patients are referred from here either to Raipur or Jagdalpur medical colleges. The condition of Bijapur and Sukma hospitals is even worse. In Narayanpur also there is no Gynaecologist and Eye specialist to treat the people. Patients are either referred to Kondagaon or Jagdalpur or they return to their villages without treatment. So even if a person approaches these district hospitals, he will not be sure of getting proper treatment.

The crores of our population who are denied medical facilities or has only meager facilities available to them are waging a People's War to replace the ill and dying anti-people health system with a healthy, powerful People's Health Care system and only its victory would create the conducive conditions for permanently solving this basic issue and eventually solve it. People, the makers of history, would definitely build their own new health care system along with a new State. People are invincible! \*

**Comrade Bethune's spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his great sense of responsibility in his work and his great warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people. Every Communist must learn from him... We must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With this spirit everyone can be very useful to the people. A man's ability may be great or small, but if he has this spirit, he is already noble-minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of value to the people.**

**- Mao (*In Memory of Norman Bethune, Mao Selected Works, Vol. II*)**

## **Let Us Defeat the Psychological War of the Enemy Waged as Part of LIC by Fighting against it through All Spheres of People's War**

LIC strategy is a counter-revolutionary theory formulated by the imperialists to suppress most cruelly the just revolutionary movements and liberation struggles waged by the oppressed masses and nations of the colonial, semi-colonial countries of the world. They are not following military methods alone to suppress the rebellions. They are using multi-pronged offensive methods. They are taking up political, military, economic, cultural, psychological and civic measures.

LIC strategy was prepared by linking military operations with psychological war. The reasons for the birth of revolutions is not military ones. It is not possible to solve them using only military means. In any war, final victory is decided by the strategic strength of that war. That is why the imperialists are giving utmost importance to mould it according to the changed protracted war conditions even while mainly depending on armed forces in LIC strategy.

The four main components in LIC strategy are:

1. Carrying on military, social, economic, political and psychological warfare in a coordinated manner.
2. Winning the hearts and minds of the people
3. Utilising intelligence as a strategic weapon
4. Forming Special Forces and winning the war

We should observe in time about how every aspect in the LIC strategy is being applied to the concrete conditions and implemented by the imperialists and their comprador rulers. Their impact should be deeply analysed. We should formulate a resistance strategy exactly opposed to that and implement it. If we are not alert enough, the revolutionary movement would suffer losses and temporary defeats.

The imperialists and their comprador exploitative rulers may look very strong in appearance, but strategically they are only paper tigers. This is because they stand against the interests of 95% of the population. Tactically we should regard them as real tigers. However we should also study their many tactical weaknesses and fight. The aim of their war is to suppress the just struggles of the people to preserve their old exploitative system. The exploiting classes that exploit the majority of the people of our country are but a handful. The weaknesses of the exploitative classes are the strength of the oppressed masses. The just war that seeks to liberate 95% of the oppressed masses of our country from economic exploitation and political oppression and suppression is our strength. It is an absolute truth proved by the world people's history that it would definitely and finally emerge victorious. We should formulate counter-tactics to fight back the enemy tactics from time to time while keeping the above aspects in view,

In our Central Region, as part of LIC, the enemy has further intensified the psychological warfare by associating it with military and political offensive. This is being carried on as part of the tactics to win over the people ideologically. Their aim is to make the people lose confidence on the party, make the cadres lose confidence on the leadership and make the people and general activists to lose confidence on the revolutionary movement.

As part of this, the ideological offensive on our party is waged by propagating that – Marxism is outdated; even Russia and China that were once socialist countries have taken the capitalist road now; the Nepal Maoists have abandoned the path of People's War (PW) and chosen the electoral democratic path; Maoist protracted people's war (PPW) is not applicable to the present concrete conditions in India; revolution will not win and only capitalism is permanent and progressive all over the world.

They are widely propagating post-modernist theory as against Marxism and are counter-posing Dalit identity, Feminism and other identity politics against class struggle. Thus they are dividing the people into smaller groups and sections and are confusing them ideologically so that they do not concentrate on their basic problems.

Bourgeois pacifism, parliamentary democracy and bourgeois reformism are being brought to the fore. By resorting to ideological offensive and spreading of ideological confusions, the enemy is able to temporarily isolate



a few sections from the revolutionary movement.

Utilising propaganda means under their control such as magazines, radio, TV, internet and cinema and through persons who have weakened politically, lost confidence on the revolution and surrendered and through sold-out intellectuals, the ruling classes have launched a huge scale foul propaganda offensive on the revolutionary movement. Apart from the above ideological offensive, they are doing Goebbelsian propaganda that revolutionaries are terrorists, violent and anti-development and are resorting to destruction taking the wrong path. The small mistakes that are occurring in our practice due to shortcomings in our tactics are being propagated on a huge scale and they are utilising every opportunity to make people take out rallies against us. To spread distrust among the cadres and the people about the ability of the leadership and the party to lead the revolution, all kinds of lie campaigns are being taken up. Foul propaganda is going on regarding the internal relations within the party and also about the relations between the party and the people. They are making the surrendered persons give false statements that women are being sexually harassed. They are bringing to the fore the regional differences among the people and the cadre, utilising the occasions where differences arise between Telugu, Koya, Kuvvi, Bhagat and Odiya people and propagating these. They are counterposing one against the other and doing false propaganda. When the party punishes the people's enemies and the enemy agents, some people among the concerned caste, tribe and section are being organised and they are making them take out rallies and give press statements against the party. The police are creating some organisations and publishing pamphlets and pasting posters with those names.

They are stating that areas under Maoist influence are being liberated by the government armed forces, showing an arrest or surrender and showing seizure of dumps and weapons every day claiming series of victories. Thus they are propagating these so that disappointment and despair increases among the people and they lose confidence on the Maoists. Some intellectual teams are being organised that don a mask of democratic and progressive ideas and they are being sent into the Maoist areas in the name of gathering public opinion. These sold-out intellectuals are made to give statements that common people are getting crushed between the police and the Maoists and that ultimately the Maoists would lose the support of

the people. The namesake reforms taken up by the government are exaggerated beyond imagination and propagated as great development. The surrendered persons are being turned into counter-revolutionaries and the enemy is trying to strengthen the counter-revolutionary camp by utilising these elements.

In order to prevent the children in the movement areas from being influenced by revolutionary ideas, they are being shifted to model schools, Sishu Mandirs and taken on excursions. They are distributing clothes and books among them. They are taking up such programs in a planned manner to isolate the children from our movement.

The family members of party and PLGA activists are being counseled and threatened to make the party ranks surrender. Then the surrendered persons are shown and propagated on a huge scale. They are propagating widely through various forms like open letters, statements, posters, pamphlets and cultural performances that cases would be annulled if they surrender, that they would be given employment and given a new life. The enemies are portraying themselves as very strong having a well-trained army and modern weapons and carrying on psychological warfare that the Maoists are facing shortage of arms and ammunition and supplies and that they would not be able to win in the war. They are trying to strengthen the counter-revolutionary camp.

On the one hand, they are propagating that the leaders are accumulating properties and sending them to their families and on the other hand they are propagating in a self-contradictory manner that the families of the professional revolutionaries, the leaders and the martyrs are living in appalling conditions, the party is not caring for them and that the police are adopting these families and coming to their aid. This psychological warfare may intensify in the future in various forms.

How do we understand this psychological warfare and its aim? Imperialism is at present bogged down in an economic, political and social crisis as never before. It does not have any means to get out of it. It is on its death bed. The fundamental contradictions in the world are sharpening. People are looking for an alternative and are seeking solutions. The political justification for the PW led by the Maoists is increasing. Krantikari Janatana Sarkars that have been formed as an alternative political power in a nascent

form have come to the fore as a model for alternative economic development, democratic culture and development. And the participation of people in the revolution and support of the vast masses is increasing. This is worrying the imperialists and their comprador Indian ruling classes. In order to defend and preserve their power and the old exploitative system, they would resort to any amount of brutality, heinousness, bloodshed and massacre. However, we should keep in view that the LIC strategy formulated by the imperialists by taking lessons from their defeats in revolutions, national liberation struggles, and class struggles waged by the world people is a multi-pronged one and deal with it properly.

We should assess the impact of the enemy psychological warfare on the revolutionary movement and fight it back properly. The problems faced by the revolutionary movement are –

1. Some persons from the revolutionary camp are turning towards sectional movements and NGOs due to the impact of the ideological offensive and post-modernism.
2. They are increasing mistrust towards the revolutionary movement using the vacillation present in the middle classes.
3. The surrenders of cadres who lost the confidence that we would be able to overcome the difficult situation faced by the revolutionary movement, increased. Attempts to damage the fighting capacity of our party and the PLGA through these surrenders are on.

We should implement the following program to fight back the ideological offensive and the psychological warfare waged by the enemy:

1. We must carry on relentless ideological struggle to turn public opinion favorably towards revolution by working in the ideological sphere if we are to overthrow the political power of the enemy.
2. We must keenly fight against post-modernist theory and expose the identity politics and sectional movements. We must develop class unity among the people.
3. We must increase clarity towards our ideology and party program and class consciousness that imparts the essence of class struggle among our ranks. We must impart the mental strength to fight till final victory, passing through difficulties and hardship, defeats and successes and instill the confidence that PPW would definitely win.

4. We must explain in detail the changes brought about by our revolutionary movement in the lives of the people and make them stand with us.
5. We must take up every issue in the foul propaganda carried out as part of enemy psy-war, discuss with the people, party and PLGA units, expose their deception and thus increase their consciousness.
6. We should meet the family members of party and PLGA members and write letters to them so that they do not become victims of deceptive enemy counseling and expose the enemy conspiracies.
7. We should enquire about the problems faced by the families of full time activists and martyrs and pay attention to solving them with the help of the people.
8. We must take up programs to increase the participation of people in fighting back the enemy foul propaganda and revealing the facts through such as meetings, public meetings and interviews. Other creative forms should be taken up.
9. When people are facing losses due to mistakes in our practice in some places, the enemy is utilising these against us and trying to push a section of the people away from us. We should educate our ranks to behave more responsibly by following correct class line and mass line and see to that no harm is done to the people. Whenever a mistake occurs, we should immediately accept our mistakes transparently and with sincerity and explain the reasons that led to it.
10. We should use all paraphernalia available to us to fight back the enemy foul propaganda. Our propaganda through posters, pamphlets, press statements, song and drama from the cultural sphere should basically be on the offensive.

The enemy is not even abiding by their own constitution and resorting to fake encounters, massacres of people, atrocities on women, repression, tortures, razing down of houses, destruction of people's properties and trampling the people's right to live. The white terror of the No.1 terrorist, the State should be exposed among the vast masses. We must rally the democratic, progressive forces living outside our movement areas who would respond favorably to the revolutionary movement and join hands with them. The enemy is continuously trying to increase divisions and disunity among the vast masses. Our political and organisational work should be

aimed at fighting this back and isolating the enemy.

***Dear Comrades,***

In order to overthrow a political power it would be necessary to create public opinion first. We should work in the ideological sphere. The class war by the people to seize political power from the enemy (imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie) is not smooth or simple. The enemy would use everything and would resort to the most brutal, cruel, hateful and inhuman methods to defend their power. On the other hand they would wage a psychological war to make the people lose confidence on the revolution and thus try to prolong their rule. But they can never win over the people. They would increasingly get exposed as reactionaries, counter-revolutionaries and betrayers of the people. They would face the anger and wrath of the people. They travel towards their doom and finally would be buried by the people.

The people build their own army starting from nothing. Starting from not having a single weapon they would acquire modern weapons. They would start from a situation of powerlessness and establish the people's political power. We can understand this even by examining our movement's history. Every communist member who vows to fight till the last breath for establishment of communism should unhesitatingly overcome every difficulty and hardship with steely determination and the will to make any kind of sacrifice.

We must deeply ingrain the lofty ideal of establishing communism in everybody's mind. Only then can they keep themselves in the forefront whether during great revolutionary upsurges or during difficult conditions. Then they would be able to dedicate their lives for the party and the people. We should fight all through our lives for the liberation of the oppressed masses. Even when enemy bullets rip through our bodies, our hearts swell. We must always keep our hearts red. This means moulding ourselves for the struggle with more class hatred for the enemy and love for the people.

Let us fight back the deceptive psychological war of the enemy. Let us hold aloft the truth that "People are the makers of history."

**With revolutionary greetings,**

***August 25, 2014***

**Central Regional Command**