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Maoist Information Bulletin - 9

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**Hail the heroic martyrdom of our beloved comrades
Patel Sudhakar Reddy and Venkatayya!
Let us pledge to fulfill their dreams
with redoubled determination!!**

On the 24th of May 2009, the CPI(Maoist) and the Indian revolution suffered another major and irreparable loss. On that fateful day, comrade Patel Sudhakar Reddy alias Suryam alias Vikas, who is a member of the central committee of CPI(Maoist), and another district-level member, comrade Venkatayya alias Prasanna, were brutally murdered after having been arrested the previous day by the Special Intelligence Bureau (SIB) goons of Andhra Pradesh. They were arrested from Nashik city in Maharashtra at around 11.30 on 23rd morning, flown to Warangal, brutally tortured and murdered in the early hours of the next day. The dead bodies of the two comrades were thrown in the Lavvala forest in Tadwai mandal of Warangal district and the usual story of an encounter was floated. The Chief Minister who was in Delhi at that time repeated this concocted police story without an iota of shame. The police claimed that one AK-47 rifle and a 9mm pistol were recovered from the dead along with three kit bags. To mislead the people as part of the psychological warfare waged by the enemy in his all-round war against the Maoist movement, a statement was issued by the APSIB in the name of the CPI(Maoist) spokesperson comrade Azad that comrade Vikas had indeed gone to Warangal forest area on some work. Later the CC, CPI(Maoist) issued a press release disowning the statement given in the name of Azad and exposing APSIB's dirty psychological war.

The CC, CPI(Maoist) Party and people to observe to protest against the cold-beloved comrades. A High Court by the Andhra Committee for conducting body of the martyrs, and was carried out on May 26 Vikas while comrade cremated earlier by his manner in which the re-conducted was condemned organizations, several democratic-minded since it was done secretly



Comrade Patel Sudhakar Reddy

issued a call to the entire *bharat bandh* on June 12 blooded murder of our petition was filed in the Pradesh Civil Liberties a re-postmortem on the upon the Court's order, it on the body of comrade Prasanna's body was family members. The postmortem was by the civil rights political parties and other individuals as a hoax without allowing comrade

Sudhakar Reddy's brother or others inside when the autopsy was being conducted. The lawless Warangal police, openly violating the Court order, did not even allow the family members of the deceased at the time of re-postmortem. The funeral of comrade Sudhakar Reddy took place on the 26th in his native village attended by revolutionary poet comrade Varavara Rao, balladeer Gaddar, and several other people. The police tried to obstruct the funeral procession with the pretext that there is no permission.

Various political parties condemned the murder describing it as a fake encounter and demanded a judicial enquiry. Maoist prisoners in the Cherlapalli jail in Hyderabad and Warangal central jail went on a hunger strike, protesting against the encounter of comrade Sudhakar Reddy. They demanded that fake encounters be immediately stopped.

However, neither the lawless public goonda ruling the police state of AP, YS Reddy, nor the neo-Nazi criminals—Manmohan Singh and Chidambaram—who hide their murderous nature behind a certain degree of sophistication and gentlemanly

appearance, are bothered about fake encounter killings notwithstanding their non-stop howling about the "rule of law", defence of the "democratic rights of the people" and such false rhetoric. In fact, it is under their direction that everywhere in the country the police and the central para-military forces have been trampling underfoot the fundamental rights supposed to be enshrined in the Indian Constitution. All they want is the elimination of the Maoist leadership at any cost. These unconstitutional criminal acts are not carried out by some police officials at the district or even statelevel.

They are planned and executed under the direct guidance and direction of the top political leadership of the ruling party—YS Reddy in AP and Manmohan Singh-Chidambaram at the Centre. Comrades Vikas and Prasanna are the first victims of the fascist repression unleashed by the newly re-elected blood-thirsty government of YSReddy in Andhra Pradesh and the Congress-led UPA government in the Centre.

The facts regarding the incident are as follows:

Comrade Vikas went to meet comrade Prasanna at about 10.30 on May 23rd morning in Nashik city. He informed another comrade with whom he was staying at that time that he would attend the appointment and return within one hour. He called up after half-an-hour and informed that none had turned up for the first contact and that he would see for the second contact at 11 am also and return by 11.30. And that was the last that was heard of him. He, along with comrade Prasanna, were abducted from the appointment place in Nashik, airlifted to Warangal which is more than 1000 km away, tortured them throughout the night, murdered in the early hours, and their bodies were thrown in Lavvala forest in Warangal district. In less than 18 hours the SIB had abducted, tortured and murdered the comrades and threw their bodies at a place more than 1000kms away. Such is the sophistication of the criminal lawless gang in AP known as the SIB which never had any accountability whatsoever whether under the TDP regime of Chandrababu Naidu or the Congress regime of YS Reddy. This lawless gang, along with Greyhounds, resemble in all ways the death squads in Latin America under the US-backed tin-pot dictators during the 1960s through 80s, and have a notorious criminal record of abduction and murder of hundreds of revolutionaries such as comrades Puli Anjanna, Shyam, Mahesh, Murali, Sande Rajamouli alias Prasad, Vadkapur Chandramouli alias BK, Sathyam, Madhav, Matta Ravi Kumar, Somanna, Yadanna, Padma, and innumerable other martyrs.

Brief life history of the two comrades

Comrade Patel Sudhakar Reddy alias Suryam alias Vikas hails from Kurthiravula Cheruvu village in Mahbbobnagar district in south Telengana. He joined the Radical Students Union while studying his graduation in Gadwal town in Mahboobnagar district. He completed his post-graduation in Hyderabad and became a full-time revolutionary in 1983. he worked in Mahboob Nagar until the end of 1984. in December 1984 he became a commander of a guerrilla squad in Eturnagaram forest in Warangal district (that is why the APSIB threw his body in Eturnagaram forest after murdering him). From 1986 to 1989 he worked as the commander of the Etapalli squad in Gadchiroli district in Maharashtra which is part of Dandakaranya. He was transferred to the key department of arms supplies and as incharge of this department he played a prominent role in ensuring arms supplies to AP and DK between 1989-1992.

He was arrested from Bangalore in the beginning of 1992 by the APSIB basing on information provided by an arrested courier. Com Sudhakar Reddy spent 5 ½ years in jail from the beginning of 1992 to 1997. In jail he remained steadfast and became an exemplary model for other revolutionaries. He organized the prisoners and launched several militant struggles inside the jail. As soon as he was released in 1997 he jumped bail, went underground and carried on revolutionary activities. He was allotted work in Andhra Pradesh and took up responsibility as a regional committee member of South Telengana region. He was elected to the state committee of Andhra Pradesh

in the state plenum held in February 1999 and again in the state conference in December 2000. He also took up charge as the secretary of the South Telengana Regional Committee.

After the formation of the PGA (now PLGA) in December 2000 comrade Vikas took up the responsibility of PGA in Andhra Pradesh as incharge of the state military commission. He became a member of the state secretariat towards the end of 2002. Thus from 1998 until mid-2003 he took up various responsibilities and played a key role in the movement in AP. He was shifted from AP in 2003 by the central committee and was allotted very important technical work which he fulfilled with great determination and creative mind until he was murdered by the cruel lawless SIB of Andhra Pradesh. He was elected to the central committee in the Unity Congress—9th Congress in early 2007. He played a crucial role in formulating revolutionary tactics from time to time.



In the Party and among the revolutionary masses comrade Sudhakar Reddy was very popular as comrade Ramanna in Eturnagaram and Gadchiroli, as Suryam in Andhra Pradesh, as Srikant in the arms supply department and as Vikas in the newly merged Party and central committee.

From the revolutionary student to guerrilla commander in Dandakaranya

Comrade Sudhakar Reddy worked in the revolutionary movement in Mahboob Nagar district along with comrade Sudarshan Reddy (Kiran). Struggles were organized on several issues of the students while in Gadwal. With the development of the student movement in Gadwal and other towns in Mahboob Nagar attempts were made to integrate with the rural peasantry by undertaking the "*Go to the Villages Campaign*". Until the end of 1984 when he was transferred to the armed squads, he took initiative to organize the struggles of various sections of the people in the district and was in the forefront of these struggles.

By the end of 1984 comrade Suryam was transferred to Dandakaranya with the aim of fulfilling the all-important task of transforming Dandakaranya into a liberated zone and North Telengana into a guerrilla zone. During his work as a guerrilla squad commander in Eturnagaram he displayed his brilliant organizational and military abilities. He showed great courage and heroism in the fight against the police and feudal forces. He fought relentlessly against the bankrupt class collaborationist politics of CP Reddy group (presently CPI(ML)—Janashakti group), exposed it before the people and within a short period won the hearts of the people.

In the course of the advancement of the revolutionary war North Telengana was brought under a separate regional committee and Eturnagaram-Mahadevpur forest area was separated from Dandakaranya and combined with North Telengana. Keeping in view the interests of the movement he was transferred to Etapalli area in Gadchiroli district in DK. In no time he learnt the Gondi language of the adivasis there, integrated himself with the adivasi people, faced the enemy boldly and very soon comrade Sudhakar Reddy became popular in Gadchiroli as Ramanna.

Exemplary role in prison

While in prison during the period 1992-97 comrade Sudhakar Reddy inaugurated a new chapter in the history of the revolutionary movement in India and Andhra Pradesh in

particular. He demonstrated how prisons could be transformed into great battle-fields or theatres of class struggle, into effective education centres to raise the political consciousness of the cadres, into training schools for developing the organizational abilities of the Party cadre, into recruitment centres for the Party and the PLGA; in short, into new dynamic fronts in the war against the enemy. During his stay in the prison, even people who were in no way connected to the Party and had landed up in jail just on trumped up charges enthusiastically joined the Party after grasping its politics. Most of these unfortunate souls, whose poor financial condition did not permit them to engage lawyers to fight the false cases foisted on them by the Indian state that represents the interests of the moneyed classes, were organized into several militant struggles against the high-handedness of the prison authorities, and for the rights of the prisoners. The Indian jails too serve as a mirror to the fake democracy existing in India and the hollowness of the Indian Constitution. The rights of the prisoners exist only on paper and it took over a month of struggle by prison inmates all over Andhra Pradesh from the end of 1994 to the middle of 1995 to achieve even what rightfully belongs to them in accordance with the Jail Manual.

This state-wide prisoners' struggle was historic. The successful coordination between the various prisons separated by hundreds of kilometers and the tenacity of the participants shook the rulers who had to ultimately give in to most of the demands. Hundreds of prisoners who had served 14 years in prison were released. Comrade Sudhakar Reddy played a leading role in this struggle and demonstrated his brilliant organizational abilities and fighting nature.

While in police custody and later in prison he made it a point to study the enemy, his tactics, methods, and movements. This has been a quality so much ingrained in his consciousness that he could make assessment regarding the enemy even when he was blind-folded and subjected to intense torture. The CC naturally selected him for the work of political and military intelligence which task he carried out with great efficiency and élan.

As a member of the Party leadership team of Andhra Pradesh

The Party ranks and the revolutionary masses of Andhra Pradesh remember him as comrade Suryam. He made great contribution in advancing the movement in South Telengana and Nallamala region besides contributing to the overall advancement of the movement in the state. As secretary of South Telengana Regional Committee between 1999-2001 he guided the movement in Mahboob Nagar and Nalgonda from close quarters. His concrete study of the conditions in the region and his creative application of theory to those conditions helped significantly in advancing the movement. His contribution lay in the formulation of some of the important tactics adopted by the AP State Committee such as Tactics in Plain Areas, urban tactics, retreating the armed squads from the largely plain-dominated Medak district thereby preserving our subjective forces in face of the brutal offensive by the enemy, tactics with regard to covert agents in the Party, building a network of intelligence and so on. He also insisted on developing a comprehensive all-round counter-strategy to deal with the all-round offensive of the enemy. His creative thinking resulted in the development of diverse forms of struggle and forms of organization like Jana Sadhana Committee in Nalgonda, anti-drought struggle committee in Mahboob Nagar, etc. His stress had always been to combine political and military tactics instead of relying solely on military aspect. As a result of all this, the movement in South Telengana, which was facing severe problems and crisis of confidence on the leadership, gradually picked up and advanced to the stage of a guerrilla zone by 2003. Comrade Suryam played a significant role in this transformation.

Comrade Suryam also guided the Party and the movement in Hyderabad which gave him greater opportunity to study the enemy more concretely. He played an

important role in the rectification movement in 2002 in AP. In the various Plenums and Conferences at the state, regional and district level com Suryam played a key role in synthesizing the movement, analyzing its strengths and weaknesses and suggesting constructive and practical ideas to advance the movement. His suggestions helped the movement to overcome its weaknesses and to advance with confidence by utilizing the strong points.

Special mention should be made regarding his military capabilities. As incharge of the state military commission he studied the experiences of various revolutions, the enemy's strengths and weaknesses, the strengths and weaknesses of our subjective

forces, and the concrete conditions of Andhra Pradesh, particularly the South Telengana and Nallamala regions. Several raids were carried out during the period from 2001 to 2003 and he played a crucial role in the planning and execution of the raids on Yadagiri Gutta, Srisailam and Sunnipenta police stations, several political actions against political leaders, imperialist and CBB property, and landlords. In spite of the serious pain persisting in his legs owing to police torture after his arrest in 1992 comrade Suryam spiritedly carried out his responsibilities in the field, leading the SMC, forming military commands, forming the first Platoons in AP, and guiding the PLGA in carrying out raids, ambushes and attacks against the enemy forces.

The most important military operation he guided was the attack on Chandrababu Naidu, the then Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, in October 2003 near Alipiri in Tirupati. Earlier, he also planned and guided the action team of PLGA which annihilated notorious DIG Umesh Chandra, and the state revenue minister Madhav Reddy who was responsible for the murder of several comrades of the erstwhile CPI(ML)[People's War] when he was the state Home Minister. He closely guided the action teams engaged in such actions against selected targets. Needless to say, comrade Suryam became a nightmare to the reactionary ruling classes. The APSIB goons, in particular, had laid traps several times to capture com Suryam but had utterly failed. In utter desperation, these thoroughly brutalized, sadistic killer squads and loyal dogs of the feudal-comprador rulers, unleashed a dastardly psy-war denigrating the Party leadership in Andhra Pradesh and comrade Suryam in particular.

As a member of the central committee

Comrade Vikas, as he was known after the merger of erstwhile CPI(ML)[People's War] and MCCI in September 2004, made concerted effort to fulfill the important responsibility placed on his shoulders by the CC. He developed his department into an important wing of the Party. He prepared the Basic paper on Intelligence and also its programme. He conducted classes for the leadership and the leading cadres in the states. He also wrote the basic book on intelligence named as "**The sixth Sense**". He made all-out effort to develop effective intelligence units at various levels in the Party.

As a member of the central committee since the beginning of 2007 com Vikas made significant contribution in a short span of time. He concentrated seriously on studying enemy strategy and tactics. He particularly concentrated on studying the Low Intensity Conflict strategy of the enemy, undertook deep study and played a prominent role in preparing the LIC paper which was placed before the Politbureau in November 2008.

The martyrdom of Comrade Vikas is a great loss to the Indian revolution and to the CPI(Maoist) Party. The Party has lost an able leader, a brilliant organizer, a proven military strategist and a steadfast soldier, and a creative Marxist Leninist Maoist thinker. The people will keep him forever in their hearts and will fight with greater determination and with hatred for the enemy who committed such a dastardly act of murdering their beloved leader.

Martyrdom of com Vikas is an irreparable loss to the Indian revolution and the Party. He was an exemplary model to be emulated by all revolutionaries. Even in the midst of severe enemy repression he maintained a calm posture and instilled immense confidence in other cadres. He had also contributed much in studying the enemy tactics.

He was known for his sincerity and dedication, deep commitment to the cause of the oppressed people, creativity, solid determination to fulfill any task entrusted to him, and militant fighting nature. Even in the severest hardships comrade Suryam never showed any vacillation or tension which gave immense confidence to the cadres around him.

In one incident in early 2003, for instance, when he was working in Nallamala forest region, the enemy suddenly came near the camp and there was tension among the comrades present at the camp. But seeing com Suryam, who just sat coolly, others regained their cool and waited for the next step. Com Suryam sent instructions to the members of the defence team asking them to put up stiff resistance in case the enemy attacked and to continue firing until everyone else had safely retreated. No wonder, his very presence instilled great confidence and a fighting spirit among the cadres and the people.

There are many revolutionary qualities that have to be emulated from comrade Suryam: his sense of humour, frankness in criticism of the mistakes in Party line and policies, mistakes and weaknesses of other comrades as well as his own, initiative and creativity, diligent study of events and experiences of other movements and committees, alertness to changes taking place in the enemy camp, domestic and international arena so as not to lag behind events, and seriousness of purpose in every task taken up by him or entrusted to him by the party. This quality he displayed from the very moment he joined the Party 28 years ago. That is why the higher committee always reposed confidence in him and rested in ease after giving him charge of a specific department or work. At the time of his martyrdom, he was involved in the crucial work of intelligence that is indispensable for formulating tactics by the various party committees, particularly the CC. His martyrdom at this critical juncture of our movement is an irrecoverable loss and will have a serious effect on the Party as a whole.

Comrade Venkatayya

Comrade Venakatayya alias Prasanna hails from Cheryala mandal in Warangal district and was actively involved in the student movement in AP for almost a decade and served as a leader of the All India Revolutionary Student Federation in AP. He took charge of the student movement in AP after the martyrdom of comrade Bhujanga Reddy alias Praveen. He was shifted to technical work in 2004 and has been working in the technical field since then.

The contribution of com Prasanna to the department of intelligence is also noteworthy. He diligently collected material regarding enemy's policies, plans and movements and utilised every source and resource for this task. He wrote regular reports on the political situation in Andhra Pradesh for CC's reference. He was always jovial and adjustable with any comrade. He took every work given to him quite seriously and hence the higher committee entrusted him important work with complete confidence in him. In his martyrdom the Party has lost a young and energetic comrade with promising leadership qualities. **Comrade Venkatayya** was just 30 years at the time of his martyrdom.

The contribution of comrades Suryam and Prasanna to the Indian revolution will never be forgotten by the Party, the PLGA and people. They will continue the struggle

for the liberation of the country with redoubled vigour and hatred for the exploiters and traitors who rule the country. The reactionary rulers of India, with the active assistance of the imperialists, vainly hope to suppress the Indian revolution by eliminating the central and state leadership of the CPI(Maoist). By this, they think they can deprive the oppressed people of leadership and suppress their struggle for land, livelihood and liberation. But this conspiracy of the reactionary rulers will remain a mere day-dream. Thousands upon thousands of worthy revolutionary successors will step into the shoes of these beloved leaders turning the dreams of the reactionary rulers into nightmares.

The CC, CPI(Maoist), pays its comrade Sudhakar Reddy and their revolutionary dreams for a India, particularly the people of forget the great service these Indian revolution. The Party will of these comrades by ongoing people's war, vast countryside of the country, and advancing the Indian



red revolutionary homage to Venkatayya and vows to fulfill classless society. The people of Andhra Pradesh, will never comrades had rendered to the certainly avenge the martyrdom intensifying and expanding the establishing base areas in the transforming the PLGA into PLA revolution to its final victory.

Comrade Venkatayya

The role of leadership is very crucial in any revolution. All successful revolutions in history had taken great care in preserving the leadership and ensuring continuity of leadership. Without such a continuity of leadership it is impossible to advance the revolutionary war and achieve final victory. Hence the enemy also has been trying desperately by all means at his disposal to eliminate the Party leadership at all levels, particularly the central and state leadership. Enormous funds have been allotted for the purpose of eliminating the leadership and a vast intelligence network has been set up.

Let us take proper lessons from the serious losses suffered by our Party in the recent period, particularly the period after the Party Congress, strictly avoid repetition of the mistakes and strive hard to come out of our weaknesses, preserve and accumulate our subjective forces, be ever vigilant against the conspiracies and machinations of the enemy, be ever ready for any kind of sacrifice, and march ahead to achieve bigger victories. Let us emulate the great revolutionary qualities of comrade Suryam and Prasanna and concentrate on developing worthy successors to these immortal martyrs.



Comrade Venkatayya



Let us fulfill the lofty dreams of our beloved martyr comrades, emulate their communist qualities and create thousands upon thousands of able successors! Observe Martyrs' Week from 28th July-3rd August!!

—Call of the CPI (Maoist) to the people of India on the occasion of the Martyrs' Week 2009

In the past one year since July 28, 2008, a total of 232 comrades had laid down their precious lives in the course of the ongoing people's war to advance the new democratic revolution in our country to its ultimate victory. The brutal enemy offensive was taken to a new pitch during the year in the states of Dandakaranya, Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh leading to the martyrdom of 226 comrades in these seven states. The martyrs include one central committee member, comrade Patel Sudhakar Reddy alias Vikas alias Suryam, two state committee members from Andhra Pradesh—comrades Mastan Rao and Ramchandar, eleven members of DC/DvC/ZC, two sub-zonal committee members, 20 AC members/PL commanders/section commanders, 79 PMs and PLGA fighters, 39 village activists/militia members and 80 members from the revolutionary masses. Several women comrades like com Sasi in AP and com Rinki in Kandhamal, com Jyothi in Koraput, com Mynabai in Gadchiroli of Maharashtra were murdered by the police after cruel torture. Through their heroic sacrifices, deep dedication and commitment to the Party, people and revolution, extraordinary courage in facing the inhuman torture by the enemy and guarding the Party secrets like the pupils of their eyes all these comrades stand out as shining examples for one and all. Let us pay our humble red homage to all these immortal martyrs of the past one year, to the thousands of martyrs who had laid down their lives in the course of the Indian new democratic revolution, to our founder-leaders—comrade CM and comrade KC—and all those who fell fighting imperialism and reactionaries in various countries of the world.

In the past one year, the reactionary ruling classes of India, with the active assistance and guidance from the imperialists, particularly the American imperialists, have taken their counter-revolutionary war to a new pitch. In this continuing massive state offensive and state-sponsored terrorist offensive by the state-central forces and salwa judum goons in Dandakaranya, 132 comrades became martyrs and over 60 comrades in Bihar-Jharkhand. In the face of such severe state terror and state-sponsored terror, our forces have shown remarkable resistance and carried out daring and highly heroic tactical counter-offensives inflicting severe losses on the side of the enemy. In fact, the enemy morale was very much shattered by the increasing casualties on his side which are higher than those suffered by the revolutionaries. In the past one year our heroic PLGA, people's militia and revolutionary masses have wiped out more than 300 police and central forces while we had lost a total of 115 Party Members besides an equal number from the revolutionary masses. Even greater number of the enemy forces was injured in our attacks. This is a significant development in the overall development of the people's war.



Our resistance has become particularly significant from the time of the 15th Lok Sabha elections. Over 150 enemy personnel were wiped out during these four months alone. During these ambushes, raids and attacks on the enemy forces great courage was shown by our forces. In the raid on NALCO in Damanjodi four of our comrade—Raju, Keerthi (ACMs), Raghu and Sukhram (Party members)—became martyrs after heroically engaging the enemy for almost ten hours and finally capturing the explosives magazine. It is only by further stepping up our resistance to the enemy offensive, throwing out his authority from the countryside and establishing the people's revolutionary-democratic power, strengthening our Party, people's army, revolutionary mass organizations and organs of power that we can preserve our forces.

Stunned by the mounting casualties, the enemy has unleashed massacres of ordinary people and village activists of our mass organizations/militia members. The SP of Dantewada had openly declared that the ratio of the casualties should change in favour of the police. Thus the most brutal massacres began to be unleashed as the one in Singaram in Dantewada district in Chhattisgarh where 18 adivasis were murdered on January 8 after being abducted from their villages by the Central-State forces and salwa judum gangs. On April 16, five villagers were murdered in Badhania village in Latehar district of Jharkhand after picking them from their homes. Five militia members were murdered in Dondem Paara hamlet in Indravati area on January 24. Seven members were murdered after the Kokawada ambush in Dantewada on June 22nd. Thus enemy attacks on the people who support the revolution have continued to rise with the aim of creating an atmosphere of terror and dissuade the people from associating themselves with the Party and the revolutionary movement in any way.

The cruel enemy has been concentrating on destroying the central and state leadership of the Party. In fact, he has achieved some degree of success in his regard. Enemy will step up his effort to eliminate the central Party leadership as well as the leadership at various levels. He is trying to eliminate the mass organization leadership and people's militia at the village level. Hence he is planning to unleash fake encounters and mass murders on an unprecedented scale. Hence while preparing for great sacrifices we should take special caution to preserve the central and state leadership as well as the leadership of the mass organizations.

Particularly after the re-election of the Congress-led UPA government in the centre the offensive was stepped up further and on a war footing. In less than a month an All India ban was imposed on the Party and it was declared as a terrorist organization. Central forces were deployed on a massive scale in Lalgarh and together with the state's forces and CPI(M)'s lumpen *harmad bahini* goons a savage attack was launched on the people of Lalgarh and surrounding areas. All these point to the inevitable escalation of the war and the brutal atrocities, fake encounters by the state's forces. The entire people along with the Party and People's Army should be prepared to confront and defeat this cruel offensive by the reactionary ruling classes.

We send our revolutionary greetings to all the PLGA fighters, people's militia and people at large for having participated actively in the tactical counter-offensive campaigns, election boycott campaign and various forms of resistance against the enemy. The massive resistance by the people after the Badhania murder of five villagers by the CRPF stands out as a shining example of resistance against fake encounters during this period. We call upon the entire Party rank and file, commanders and fighters of PLGA, and revolutionary masses to step up such resistance against the fake encounters and counter-revolutionary campaign of suppression.

We call upon the entire Party ranks, PLGA fighters, organs of revolutionary people's power and revolutionary mass organizations to observe Martyrs' Week from July 28-August 3 throughout the country, organize memorial meetings, publish life-histories of the martyrs, conduct wide propaganda through various means and to erect columns in commemoration of the martyrs wherever possible.

Let us emulate the glowing communist qualities of the innumerable martyrs, particularly the dedication, courage, creativity, self-confidence, and revolutionary zeal of comrade Vikas, and prove ourselves as worthy successors of these immortal martyrs. Let us make all out effort to produce innumerable successors to those martyrs who fell in the course of advancing the revolution.

Let us march ahead holding aloft the bright red banner drenched with the blood of innumerable martyrs to establish base areas, transform the PLGA into PLA, and guerrilla war into mobile war. Let us pledge to continue the revolutionary war and expand it to vast areas of our country with redoubled determination and with steel-like firmness in order to achieve the cherished goals of our beloved martyrs i.e., the liberation of our country from the vice-like grip of the imperialists, comprador bureaucrat bourgeoisie and reactionary big landlords, and the establishment of people's democracy, socialism and ultimately communism.

Politbureau,
CPI(Maoist)
July 10, 2009



News from the battlefield

People's War reaches new heights in India defeating the countrywide brutal military offensive by the reactionary rulers

The ongoing people's war in India—the second most populous country in the world—has been surging ahead undeterred in the face of the ever-intensifying brutal countrywide military offensive unleashed by the feudal-comprador ruling elite with the active assistance and guidance of the imperialists, particularly the American imperialists. The attacks against the CPI(Maoist) and the revolutionary movement in various parts of the country have become extremely ferocious and cruel after the UPA coalition came back to power at the Centre for the second time in the second half of May 2009.

Comrade Patel Sudhakar Reddy, a central committee member of CPI(Maoist) and a long-standing tested leader of the Indian revolution, was arrested along with another district committee member, comrade Venkatayya, and brutally murdered within a week after the fascist Manmohan Singh government took over. And within a month an All India ban was imposed on the CPI(Maoist) and it was declared a terrorist organization. 6000 police and central forces were deployed in Lalgarh to suppress the mass uprising of the tribals against police atrocities. However, in the face of such an all-round cruel offensive the Maoist revolutionaries put up intense resistance and carried out several tactical counteroffensives against these mercenary forces inflicting some of the heaviest losses ever to the enemy in a short span of time.

In the first seven months of 2009 ending in July 31, Maoist guerrillas undertook more than 1200 strikes against the police, anti-Naxal commando forces, central paramilitary forces, special police officers, the state-sponsored private terrorist vigilante gangs such as salwa judum, and important installations of the state infrastructure.

Besides these, hundreds of actions were carried out against local class enemies, police agents and their property. Maoist PLGA guerrillas carried out more than two dozen major actions against the security forces; wiped out over 260 security personnel and injured an equal number in 2009. Among the major tactical counteroffensives during the first seven months of the current year were Markegaon, Mugner and Dhanora ambushes in Maharashtra (Dandakaranya), Vinjaram, Chintagufa, Risgaon, Kokawada, Madanwada, Gidam ambushes in Chhattisgarh (Dandakaranya), Badhania (Latehar), Khunti, Goelkera (West Singhbhum), Nawadih (Bokaro) ambushes in Jharkhand, NALCO raid and Palur ambush in Orissa's Koraput, Mahuliatand (Nawada) ambush in Bihar, Piralgiri More ambush in West Bengal's Bankura, and so on. And in the last 2 ½ months since the UPA government assumed office the Maoist PLGA wiped out around 110 security personnel even as the Centre and the various state governments stepped up their fascist offensive against the people's war, the oppressed people who are waging the war, and the CPI(Maoist) which is leading the people's war.

In fact, the Union Home Minister and a loyal agent of the imperialists and the CBB, P Chidambaram, had declared on the very day he assumed office that he would suppress the Maoists with an iron hand, that he would massively increase the central forces in the states of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa, Bihar, West Bengal, Maharashtra and even in other lesser effected states. He assured the states of all help from the Centre in the form of massive funds, equipment, training, intelligence sharing,

coordination etc., besides huge deployment of the central forces to contain what he described as “the Maoist menace”. He even called the Maoists as “bandits” and “terrorists”. And within a month—on June 22—the Home Ministry declared the CPI(Maoist) as “terrorist” and imposed an All India ban under the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act. And a massive crack-down was launched on the open activists of the revolutionary mass organisations and sympathizers of the Maoist movement.

The immediate reason behind the move is the Lalgarh adivasi uprising which shook the reactionary ruling classes and their imperialist mentors. The second Santhali rebellion had given sleepless nights to the social-fascists in Kolkata, the fascist rulers in Delhi and the imperialists led by the No. 1 global terrorist in Washington. By declaring the Maoists as terrorists and imposing a countrywide ban on the CPI(Maoist), the reactionary rulers led by the Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram gang dreamt that the Lalgarh uprising could be brutally suppressed and that the rebellious masses completely subdued with the pretext that they are led by the banned CPI(Maoist). The chief reason for the massive build-up of the state’s armed forces in these areas and the calculated moves of the Centre to suppress the mass revolts in this entire stretch is the irresistible temptation to covet the huge wealth that the region possesses—wealth that no imperialist vulture or comprador capitalist can ever dream of ignoring. In the entire human history brutal wars have been fought for coveting such wealth. Imperialists went out of their own countries to loot such wealth even if it meant the cruelest decimation of entire populations. Hence it is not a surprise that the reactionary Indian ruling classes and their imperialist masters have unleashed a savage war on their own people for serving the interests of the most notorious oppressors.

Chidambaram, a typical comprador serving the interests of the imperialists, a member of the Board of Directors of the multinational Vedanta mining corporation that has been ruining the Niyamgiri hills and the Dongria Khondhs in Orissa, and the blue-eyed boy of the Bandit companies that are spelling death and destruction of entire regions in India, has chosen to describe the Maoists as bandits. The actual bandits—the Tatas, Mittals, Ruias (Essar), Jindals, Vedanta, POSCO and various imperialist MNCs—have set their greedy eyes upon the huge priceless mineral wealth of the vast adivasi tract stretching from Purulia-Bankura-West Mednipur in West Bengal to Srikakulam-Vizianagaram-Vishakhapatnam of North Andhra Pradesh i.e. a huge landmass that runs over 1200 kilometres from one end to the other. And it is in these areas that the Maoists have a dominating presence. It is in these areas that alternative form of people’s governments—the janathana sarkars or the Gram Rajya Committees, or revolutionary people’s committees—have been formed in hundreds of villages and at higher levels acting as inspiring models of genuine development in the interests of the people. It is in these areas that armed guerrillas are marching ahead bravely inflicting severe blows upon the sadist khaki and olive green-clad mercenaries of the state deployed to protect the oppressive, exploitative, repressive fascist regimes in power. It is in these areas that millions of adivasi and non-adivasi oppressed masses have taken to arms and are participating in the revolutionary people’s war against the authoritarian anti-people state that describes itself as democratic but is in reality out and out fascist. It is due to the presence of the Maoists in these areas that imperialist and comprador capital have been finding it extremely difficult to carry out their naked loot and pillage. The masses led by the CPI(Maoist) have successfully obstructed their land and mineral vultures. That is why Manmohan Singh had as the single biggest threat to the country. That is why every class representative political leader and ruling cry hoarse that the



Maoists have become a hurdle for development. And Manmohan decried that as long as Maoists are allowed to thrive in these regions there cannot be any "development" (read loot by the MNCs and the comprador big business houses) as all the mineral wealth of the country is concentrated there.

That is why Chidambaram, without mincing words, made clear his government's goals: *first carry out police action to flush out Naxalites; then follow it up with development measures.* The entire stress is on police action or military solution. So-called development i.e., looting the land and forest resources, is sought to be carried out only after carrying out massacres and establishing the peace of the graveyard. Chidambaram also said that para-military forces would only play a secondary role in Kashmir which means some of these central forces would be withdrawn from Kashmir and redeployed in the areas of armed struggle. **Terrorism and "Left-wing extremism" are used by the reactionary ruling classes as a pretext to step up their fascist offensive on the people at large. This is necessary for the reactionary rulers in order to enforce their imperialist-dictated anti-people market fundamentalist policies on a reluctant population.**

Hence armed with the so-called illusory and fake mandate of the 15th Lok Sabha elections the Congress-led UPA government at the Centre has declared an all-out war on the Maoists and on the millions of oppressed people who are waging life-and-death struggle against their displacement by the vultures representing the big capital, and for their land, livelihood and liberation from all kinds of oppression and exploitation. The All India ban on the CPI(Maoist) announced by the Union Home Ministry and ever-increasing deployment of repressive lawless central forces is a conspiracy of the reactionary rulers to facilitate the free entry of these vultures to the vast hinterland of India and to rob its enormous mineral wealth. It is a conspiracy to crush the militant people's struggles erupting in various parts of the country in the name of containing an artificially created threat of Left-wing 'terrorism' and enforcing the non-existent 'rule of law'. It is a conspiracy aimed at depriving the oppressed people of India of its leadership by suppressing the CPI(Maoist) which is spearheading the struggles of the oppressed.

The biggest traitors who publicly mortgage the interests of our beloved motherland to their imperialist masters—the Manmohans and Chidambarams—can never achieve their fond dreams of handing over huge chunks of our land to the imperialist marauders and their comprador agents in India. **The biggest 'terrorists' ruling our country who deploy their khaki-clad olive-green mercenary forces to commit murders, torture, rapes, destruction and psychological harassment on people can never hide their ugly faces behind the façade of their 'war on terror'. Their state terrorist forces—the CRPF, BSF, EFR, IRB, CISF, ITBP, NSG, Cobras and various anti-Naxal special forces and elite commandos like the Greyhounds, STF, SOG, C-60, and so on—and their state-sponsored terrorist gangs like the salwa judum, sendra, PLFI, TPC, JPC, NSS, Shanti Sena, beastly Tigers and Cobras under various names, will get more and more bogged down and sucked into the mire of counter-insurgency.** The more these lawless repressive forces unleash terror on the masses the more will the people's militant resistance. Led by the CPI(Maoist) which is seen as their genuine leader irrespective of the ban and the branding as terrorist by the reactionary rulers the oppressed masses will be increasingly drawn into the PLGA and hasten its transformation into a mighty PLA. The more the lawless terror unleashed by Chidambarams and Manmohans the more will the people take law into their own hands and deal deadly blows on the mercenaries for their own self-defence. Uprisings like Lalgah and Narayanpatna on the one hand and heroic tactical counteroffensives like Madanwada, Gidam, Chintagufa, Risgaon, Markegaon, Dhanora, Nawadih, Goelkera, Damanjodi, Palur etc on the other, will become a general feature of our country's political scenario giving sleepless nights to these offsprings of

Adolf Hitler and George Bush. The unfolding explosive situation makes it impossible for these reactionary rulers to maintain stability or control the mass uprisings and armed resistance even if they continue their mad policy of continuously increasing their repressive forces even as the vast majority of the Indian population languishes in extreme poverty and misery. The more these vultures spend people's funds to strengthen the state apparatus and the state's forces in order to ensure their own security and marginalize the vast majority of the Indian people who are left without even food, drinking water and the minimum necessities of life, the more they will become the objects of people's wrath and hatred. By stepping up repression instead of addressing the problems of the oppressed the reactionary rulers of India are digging their own graves by creating millions of Maoist guerrillas. Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram gang is making preparations to launch a major offensive after the monsoon season and planning to mobilise another 23 Battalions of central para-military forces in the Maoist areas. It is even planning to rope in the Army in its anti-Maoist operations.

All this would no doubt take the people's war to a higher stage; guerrillas will learn how to fight and defeat the Indian army, or for that matter, even the US Marines. That's how the guerrilla army was born and developed to this stage. They learnt how to fight and inflict lethal blows on the elite anti-Naxal special forces and various Commando forces, they learnt how to fight the central para-military forces, the Naga, Mizo Battalions, who are projected as an invincible force. They will certainly defeat the COBRA force and the Indian Army if they dare to enter deep into the Maoist guerrilla zones. With tremendous mass support and participation in the people's war, the Maoists are confident of defeating the conspiracies of Chidambaram & Co and grow stronger from an escalation of the war just as it grew into a qualitatively stronger and highly steered force after the reactionary rulers unleashed the cruel terrorist campaign through salwa judum in Dandakaranya, sendra and NSS in Jharkhand, harmad vahini and the social fascists in West Mednipur.

It is the people who make history and not a George Bush or a Manmohan Singh or a Chidambaram. These vultures who prey on the corpses of millions of helpless people will be washed away by the unfolding tsunami of people's revolts throughout the country.



News from the battlefield

Maoist guerrillas carry out the biggest tactical counteroffensive in Dandakaranya wiping out 40 policemen

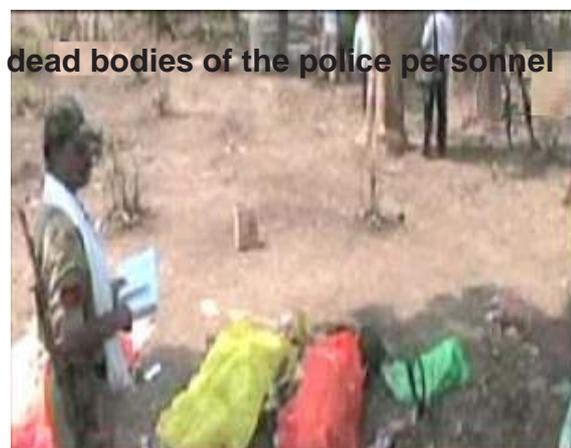
On July 12, 2009 the Maoist guerrillas carried out the biggest ever attack on the central para-military forces and the state police in Dandakaranya wiping out 40 police personnel including the district Superintendent of Police in Rajnandgaon district in Chhattisgarh. The attack took place near Madanwada which falls in Manpur area of the district. Another two dozen policemen were injured in the deadly attack.



In the meticulously planned and daringly executed tactical counter-offensive operation on July 12 the PLGA led by CPI (Maoist) first lured the policemen into a trap and carried out three attacks spread over the entire day.

The first attack was on a CRPF camp in Kerkatta village. The second attack was on the police batch led by the district SP. The third attack took place in Sitagaon. "There was heavy firing on the police party," said Durg IG Mukesh Gupta. "The firing occurred in two phases. First, they killed policemen in a CRPF camp in Kerkatta village and then, they targeted the SP when he arrived with reinforcements. We are finding bodies everywhere. The more we look, the more bodies we see."

The Rajnandgaon Choubey, who was guerrilla offensive, the Maoists for a long responsible for the murder of several Dandakaranya. He the attack on the capital Raipur and Bhilai in early 2008. trained and sent a the Party to and cadre.



district SP Vinod Kumar eliminated in the was a coveted target of time as he was abduction, torture and Maoists in was also responsible for Maoist network in state the industrial town of He had personally few covert agents into eliminate the leadership

A statement issued by the Dandakaranya special zonal committee soon after the guerrilla offensive explained why the PLGA undertook the operation which was named as 'Operation Vikas'. It was meant to avenge the martyrdom of a Central Committee member comrade Vikas (Patel Sudhakar Reddy) on May 24 this year by the APSIB, and another special zonal committee member who was also known as comrade Vikas who was murdered by the Chhattisgarh police in 2006. It alsoit explained the crimes of the district SP Choubey (see the full text of the statement in the later pages in this issue).

The daring counteroffensive sent shivers down the spines of the reactionary BJP's Raman Singh government in the state and the Congress-led Manmohan Singh

government at the Centre. It should be noted that both the Congress and the BJP have been waging a brutal war jointly against the Maoists and the adivasi people at large in Chhattisgarh. Besides the deployment of 21 Battalions of the central and state's forces in the guerrilla zone in Dandakaranya, these two biggest parties representing the anti-people pro-imperialist feudal-comprador classes of India had set up, armed, trained and pitted a small section of the disgruntled and reactionary elements from the Gond adivasis against the majority adivasi population which is waging a revolutionary war against the reactionary state. Named as salwa



judum or the peace march this state-sponsored terrorist vigilante gang had unleashed the most savage onslaught against the adivasis since June 2006. Over 700 villages have been completely razed to the ground; over 500 people, including many children and old men, have been murdered in cold blood; scores of adivasi women have been raped; property worth several crores of rupees was destroyed; crops have been set on fire; in a word the entire region has been suddenly transformed into a killing field. There is no limit to the catalogue of crimes committed by these reactionary armed terrorist gangs who carried out the atrocities jointly with the CRPF and the state's police forces. The anger and pent-up hatred of the adivasi people towards the police and CRPF knows no bounds. Hence it is only natural that the entire people have come to the side of the Maoists, participate directly or indirectly in the ongoing people's war, supply intelligence to the Maoist guerillas, and accompany the PLGA and participate actively in the attacks against these oppressors.

The bold and deadly attacks had completely shaken and demoralised the police force whose morale had already reached its nadir in the face of continuous losses suffered particularly over the last three years. The growing intensity of attacks by Maoist guerrillas this year which saw huge losses for the mercenary forces has led to increasing desertions and refusals to be deployed in the guerrilla zone or to undergo special training at the Jungle Warfare School in Kanker. Many had applied leave fearing for their lives. The Madanwada guerrilla offensive will no doubt accelerate this trend of desertions and demoralisation not only among the state's police force but also the central CRPF.

"They are striking now as per their will and we have lost an SP (Superintendent of Police) rank officer in a Maoist attack for the first time," a senior official at the state police headquarters here said.

He added: *"If the intelligence inputs coming in from western and southern regions of the state are to be believed, the police are going to be under more attacks."*

Chief Minister Raman Singh said: *"It's not the time for the opposition to play politics but all political parties, intellectuals and people of the state should rally behind the police who have all the resources and strength to hit back."*



POLICE PERSONNEL KILLED

Chidambaram himself called upon everyone irrespective of the political affiliation, to unite in the war against Maoists. The media went into a hysteria and wailed over the death of the policemen.

Soon after the Madanwada guerrilla offensive, the imperialist stooge and comprador Home Minister, P Chidambaram, admitted that the government had earlier under-assessed the depth of the threat from the Maoists and reassured his political class that he would do whatever was necessary to contain the "menace". He immediately declared that he would send an additional 23 battalions of CRPF and other central forces to Chhattisgarh and Orissa to launch an all-out attack against the Maoists after the monsoon season i.e. by end-September or after the Amarnath Yatra. He assured all assistance to the state government to crush the Maoist movement. Mine detection equipment, mine-proof vehicles and some choppers have been sent to the state. According to the Centre's nefarious plan as reported in the newspapers in the last week of July the attacks would be launched simultaneously in several areas and the ground troops would be provided air support. Aerial bombardment too is not ruled out. Chidambaram seems to be inspired by the aerial attacks launched by his counterparts in Sri Lanka and Pakistan, and by his Washington masters in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan. The declaration of CPI (Maoist) as a terrorist organisation is meant to justify such a criminal offensive. The Maoists have already taken note of the enemy's bizarre plans and have devised a counter-plan to defeat it. The coming days will witness a qualitative escalation of the war due to the massive troop deployment and the brutal state offensive, and the revolutionaries too have to inevitably intensify their counter-attacks creating more Madanwadadas.

Daring ambush by Maoist PLGA on CRPF personnel in Kokawada (Dantewada)

In a daring ambush on a large posse of CRPF personnel near Kokawada in Dantewada on June 21, 2009 at least 11 CRPF jawans were wiped out and a dozen others were injured. Initial reports said that 29 CRPF men were killed but after two days officials confirmed the death of 11 jawans. The land-mine blast was triggered off at about 7 pm and after the blast guerrillas opened fire on the survivors.



A large batch of CRPF personnel consisting of over a hundred men was returning in four trucks after completing combing operations. After the first three trucks crossed the spot Maoist guerrillas ambushed the fourth vehicle wiping out 11 personnel. There were 40 CRPF jawans in the truck. Police did not permit media personnel to the site of the land-mine blast and stopped them seven kilometers from the site. Neither did they declare the details of the dead even 24 hours after the ambush.

The state Home Minister Nanki Ram Kanwar placed the blame squarely on the CRPF personnel saying that they did not follow security instructions and moved in vehicles instead of going on foot when going on kaccha (unmetalled) roads. He said they did not make the necessary preparations while moving in Maoist-dominated areas and did not take lessons from past mistakes.

Soon after the ambush the CRPF-police goons went berserk and unleashed brutal attacks on innocent villagers. Seven villagers were abducted and murdered within hours after the CRPF suffered heavy casualties. The Home minister and the top police officials shamelessly claimed that they had killed seven jan militia guerrillas in an encounter and found arms. By murdering unarmed adivasi villagers Chhattisgarh's Hitler, DGP Vishwa Ranjan, imagines that he can boost up the morale of his men some

of whom have already begun to desert the force and seek other jobs in order to save their lives. The police officials boasted of having achieved success this time by killing seven Maoists. This claim, however, proved to be a big lie when the relatives of the dead villagers exposed the cold-blooded murder by the police-CRPF goondas. A Congress leader too condemned it as a fake encounter and blamed the BJP government for carrying out murders in the name of encounter.

The heroic Kokawada ambush by PLGA guerrillas on a Company-sized CRPF force left the police and the government shell-shocked. They did not imagine that guerrillas could launch attacks on the well-equipped para-military force which was moving in such a large number. The successful Kokawada ambush of an enemy Company has once again demonstrated the superiority of the Maoist guerrilla warfare and proved that it is possible for the revolutionaries to inflict deadly blows on the enemy force with meticulous planning and execution. It has also generated a wave of revolutionary enthusiasm among the people all over the country, particularly in Dandakaranya where the reactionary fascist rulers have amassed over 30,000 troops to suppress the Maoist people's war.

Two CRPF jawans captured and annihilated by PLGA guerrillas in Bijapur (Dandakaranya)

Two CRPF jawans were captured by PLGA guerrillas from Bijapur in South Bastar and annihilated them on June 18. Their bodies were left on a road in Bijapur town. Both these jawans--Ram Bhuvan Patel and Dhanjay Varma--belonged to the 7th Battalion of CAF in Durg.



Six CRPF men annihilated in Dantewada

Within exactly a fortnight after the deadliest attack by Maoist guerrillas on the CRPF personnel near Madanwada in Mapur area of Rajnandgaon district of Chhattisgarh they carried out another daring offensive against the CRPF in Dantewada on July 26. The land-mine blast hit the vehicle in which the CRPF men were traveling killing six and injuring two. Around two dozen CRPF personnel belonging to the 111th battalion were moving in two vehicles from Gidam when the powerful landmine blast hit one of them in near *Ganesh Nala* which is about 8 km from Gidam on the Gidam-Barasur road in Dantewada district. The dead include a Sub-Inspector of police. The impact of the blast was so powerful that the vehicle was ripped apart and the bodies of the policemen were hurled several feet away. The CRPF personnel in the second vehicle fled the scene fearing for their lives. The degree of fear among the policemen could be gauged by the fact that none dared to go to the site of the blast to collect the bodies of their dead colleagues until the next morning. It is the fear of ambushes and land-mines that had dissuaded the police to venture into the area.



Home Minister P Chidambaram said he was upset over the complete breakdown of government in large tracts of land, especially in Chhattisgarh and some parts of Orissa on the Andhra Pradesh border. He directed the mercenary forces to launch flush-out operations on a massive scale. He immediately sent additional CRPF men to Dantewada where the central forces have been continuously increasing over the years to of no avail.

16 policemen wiped out in Dhanora ambush in Gadchiroli(Maharashtra)

In the third big attack by Maoist guerrillas in Gadchiroli district of Maharashtra in as many months, 16 specially-trained anti-Naxal police personnel, including five women commandos and a sub-inspector of police and an Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police were wiped out. The area falls in Dandakaranya guerilla zone. In the daring operation guerrillas seized arms and ammunition from the enemy forces. The 16-member anti-Naxal batch was proceeding on a combing operation, and the Maoist guerrillas, who received information regarding the movements of the police personnel between Pendri and Dhanora, organized the attack at a very short notice but succeeded in wiping out the entire enemy force. The police batch went to clear the Savariya-Dhanora road which the Maoists blocked by felling trees. the daring ambush tookplace on May 21- the second day of Dandakaranya bandh. The police top brass and the media tried to raise a hue and cry that women police personnel too were not spared by the Naxalites and alleged that this act showed the inhumanity of the Naxals.

The important thing to note here is that these women were as much responsible for the indescribable atrocities in the district as their male counterparts. In fact, these police women were encouraging their male counterparts in the anti-Naxal special police force and deriving vicarious pleasure when the latter were raping helpless adivasi women suspected to be sympathetic to the Maoists. They should not be seen as women but as representatives of a brutalized sadistic police force. It has never been the policy of Maoists to annihilate women informers and bad elements that are generally let off after giving some punishment. But the five women commandos in Dhanora deserved death due to their criminal, anti-people past.

The Dhanora attack shook the rulers in Mumbai who had all along been boasting that they had dealt heavy blows to the Maoists and that the latter became weakened due to the measures initiated by the Congress government in Maharashtra. Particularly after the arrests of three state committee members last year, including the state secretary who was a member of the central committee, the police claimed that the movement faced a severe setback. The attacks since February this year in Gadchiroli district resulting in 35 casualties on the police side with the Maoists suffering any losses during the same period revealed the hollowness of the government's claims. Immediately after the May attack the Chief Minister declared that he would take the help of the central forces to tackle the Maoists.

The jubilation of the people of Dandakaranya, particularly Gadchiroli, Chandrapur and Gondia in Maharashtra, knew no bounds. The people were so much vexed by the continuous harassment by the police that as soon as they heard of the annihilation of 16 police personnel in the Maoist ambush they held celebrations and welcomed the guerrillas to their villages with great enthusiasm. At least 35 villagers were arrested after the earlier Markegaon ambush in February which left 15 policemen dead in the same tehsil and their family members were more vocal in venting their feelings. "The police deserved it. They had unnecessarily arrested our men even though they were not in any way involved in the Markegaon ambush. Maoists have taught them a fitting lesson. This should make them realize what would be the price for their cruel atrocities on innocent people," said a woman whose husband has been languishing in jail since February.

The daring ambushes by PLGA guerrillas in the four months from February-May 2009 in Gadchiroli district in which 34 police personnel were wiped out generated new hopes and enthusiasm among the people of the entire region who have been undergoing untold suffering as a result of indiscriminate arrests (abductions to be more precise), torture, foisting of false cases and rape of women by the lawless goons, which is praised by Chidambaram & Co as implementing the "rule of law".

Will Maharashtra's lawless khaki goons learn a lesson at least now or continue the same old policy of murder, arrest, rape and persecution of the people thereby inviting more such ambushes by the Maoists?

10 policemen wiped out in a mine blast in Goelkera in West Singhbhum

Maoist guerrillas ambushed a joint party of police and CRPF in the Goelkera forests in West Singhbhum district in Jharkhand on the 10th of June killing ten jawans. The police and CRPF personnel were returning to their base camp after completing long-range patrolling that went on for three days and two nights. They got into their vehicles after covering a distance of about one-and-a-half kilometres from Auranga thinking that they were in a safe zone. The blast took place at around 8.30 in the morning after the security personnel boarded their vehicles.

The top brass of the police department said that the security personnel became an easy target since they had violated the Standard Operational Procedures (SOPs). *"The security personnel should not have boarded the vehicles. They violated security instructions that led to the mishap,"* superintendent of police (West Singhbhum) Sudhir Kumar Jha said.

10 policemen seriously injured in Rania ambush in Khunti

In a daring attack by Maoist guerrillas on June 13th morning at least 10 police personnel were injured. The attack took place near Sikariya in Raniaghatai in Khunti district. After the incident the policemen went berserk beating up and arresting innocent people. When six people who were working in brick kilns near the site of the ambush were arrested and taken to Rania PS the infuriated villagers surrounded the station and demanded the release of the arrested workers. Seeing the determination of the people the police had to ultimately release the arrested villagers. The instant united protest by the people had prevented the police from staging another fake encounter as they did in Badhania in Latehar in April last.

Mine-proof vehicle torn apart wiping out nine policemen in a Maoist ambush in Nawadih in Bokaro

Maoist guerrillas triggered off a land-mine under a culvert on Fusuro main road which is located at about a kilometer from Sarubeda under Nawadih police station in Bokaro district of Jharkhand. The blast ripped apart a heavy anti-landmine vehicle in which several policemen were moving as part of their combing operations in the forests for Maoists. Eight policemen belonging to SAP and NCF were killed on the spot while several others were seriously injured out of which two later succumbed to the injuries taking the total number of policemen wiped out in the powerful blast to ten.

The daring ambush occurred in the afternoon of June 12 when the police forces were coming towards Fusuro Bazaar from Nawadih station after receiving information about a Maoist attack on policemen in Fusuro town. The attack in Fusuro town earlier in the day took place when some policemen went to deposit cash at a bank. Two policemen were killed in the attack. Three INSAS and one SLR were seized from the policemen. The site of the attack was hardly 100 metres from Bermo PS but no policemen ventured to come to the incident site fearing land-mines. Upon hearing the news of the attack SAP jawans were sent towards Fusuro in a mine-proof vehicle from Nawadih which was hit by the land-mine killing nine.

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Nine OSSF commandos wiped out in Orissa

On June 18, nine personnel of the Orissa Special Striking Force(OSSF) were wiped out in a landmine blast triggered by the Maoists, when they were moving in a vehicle to remove the trees from the road. This elite commando force was set up specially for suppressing the Maoists in the state and is notorious for its atrocities on the adivasis and other oppressed sections of the people.

The Maoist strike broke the morale of the Special Striking Force personnel so much that they did not even venture to clear the roads for almost a week. It was only after the central home minister. P. Chidambaram visited Koraput on 25 June that the roads were at last cleared. And a day before the Home Minister's visit to the state Maoists attacked the Kakrigumma railway station in Koraput, the block office in Narayanpatna and destroyed three mobile phone towers.

CRPF jawan killed in mine blast in Orissa; Explosives seized by Maoist guerrillas

One CRPF jawan was killed in a landmine blast by Maoist guerrillas on July 17 while searching for a police team that was captured by Maoists on 16th night from the dense jungle of Jharbeda forest near Rourkela.

The guerrillas first opened fire at the driver of the explosives-laden vehicle and later the explosives were seized from the truck. When the CRPF personnel and the police launched a combing operation in the area Maoists triggered off a land-mine grievously injuring a CRPF jawan Maohammed Rafiq (29). He later succumbed to his injuries on way to hospital.

Two police Sub-Inspectors annihilated in Orissa

Sub-Inspector of police Ajit Bardhan of Koida PS was captured by Maoists on July 16th night when he was escorting a truck with explosives meant for local mining industry in Rourkela on NH 23.

He was annihilated and the body thrown in the forest of Jharbeda, about 55km from Rourkela.

In another incident a month earlier on June 15 a police sub-inspector Narasingh Mahakud was killed during an encounter with the Maoists in Sambalpur district.

Three policemen annihilated in Bankura

Maoist guerrillas ambushed a police patrol when they were having lunch at Simlipal's Piralgiri More on June 3rd killing three on the spot. Two constables were critically injured in the ambush.

The patrol party was followed to the hotel on Jhargram-Bankura Road where they were attacked. ASI Biswanath Bera and constables Bishnupada Saha and Gopal Dey died on the spot. The guerrillas took away an SLR, three .303 rifles and a revolver. *"They had some motorcycles hidden among the trees and sped away shouting 'Maobad zindabad',"* said the hotel owner. The attack was carried out with the dual aim of seizing the weapons and teaching a lesson to the police of Sarenga who have been repeatedly raiding nearby villages in search of Maoists in the past few months.

Maoists blow up two police stations and set ablaze police vehicles in Orissa

Heavily armed Maoists launched a series of attacks, blowing up two police stations and an outpost and setting ablaze police vehicles in Orissa's Koraput district, on Sunday night. About 100 guerrillas, including women, attacked two police stations at Baipariguda and Machhkund and a police outpost at Ramgiri in Koraput district, about 530 km from here. No casualties have been reported.

"A combing operation is on to flush out the ultras. The Superintendent of police [SP] and Range DIG have reached the spot," Chief Minister Navin patnaik said. The Maoists were opposing the setting of a battalion of the anti-naxal force, Cobra, at Sunabeda in Koraput district. They first struck at the police station at Baipariguda, and later blew up the police outpost at Ramgiri. *"The five police personnel posted there (Baipariguda) were forced to surrender at gunpoint before the ultras exploded bombs to blow up the police station building,"* a policeman who witnessed the attack told over phone. The Maoists laid sieges to the area for about two hours and triggered three explosions in Baipariguda police station premises. DIG [South-West range] Sanjeev Kumar Panda said. They then blew up the outpost at Ramgiri, about 30 km from Baipariguda, after driving out two police personnel present.

Koraput: Tribals led by Chasi Mulia Sangh seize their lands from companies

Another big rebellion of the adivasis has erupted in Orissa's Koraput district since the beginning of June. Though it went largely unnoticed by the mainstream media until the land-mine blast on June 18 in Palur that wiped out 10 policemen, the movement in Narayanpatna had in fact been developing into a mass uprising similar to the Lalgarh uprising. While the Lalgarh adivasi uprising was directed against the police atrocities Narayanpatna adivasis rose up in a movement to reoccupy their lands snatched by the various business houses. The struggle for the seizure of their lands soon spread to over a hundred villages with thousands of adivasi people uniting to prevent the entry of the police and district administration to their villages.

The entire area is cut off from the rest of the district with road blocks put up at the entry points of every village and the people guarding the roads. When police or other officials try to move into these villages immediately a huge gathering appears on the scene preventing the entry of the officials. When the police tried to forcefully enter the villages on June 18, the Maoists, who are leading the adivasis in their land

occupation struggles and mass resistance against the feudal forces and the authoritarian state administration, triggered a land-mine wiping out 10 policemen. This act, combined with the unprecedented mass resistance of the adivasis led by the Chasi Mulia Sangh (CMS), pushed the police and the administration into a state of inertia for a while. They sought more central forces from the Centre to be deployed in the area and to deal with the situation that was going out of their hands.

The entire adivasi belt in Orissa like that in neighbouring Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, north Andhra Pradesh has become a hunting ground for the imperialists and comprador big business houses which have been itching to loot and destroy the region. And these bandits had snatched away the lands of the adivasis through threats, coercion

Protesting the ownership of private companies on the forest land, members of Chasi Mulia Sangh (CMS) occupied 300 acres of the land in Bandhugaon Block of the district. They also fell down several teak trees planted by the private company.

"This land belongs to the tribals. The non-tribals have acquired it and sold them to the company owners. These 300 acres of land is in Bandhugaon block. We chopped off all the plants and distributed it among the tribals and non-tribals," said Kendu Kurjan, a functionary of Chasi Mulia Sangh.

Chasi Mulia Sangh has been fighting for the land and dignity of the tribals. It had led the adivasi struggle for their lands seized by non-tribals and business houses. In the latest incident, the 300-acres of land, which was under a Govt. plantation programme and was sold off to the STM company, has been taken over from its owners and distributed among tribals and non-tribals.

According to a newspaper report, *"The forcible eviction or occupying of the land in this area has created a sense of unease and fear among the multi-national companies who intend to invest in poverty-stricken Orissa and set up industries here."*

To appease the growing anger of the adivasis the government is trying to restore the tribals by providing them their land as per law. Nearly 500 acres of land has been restored and the process is further on.

"Now we are putting special officers in that area who will restore the tribal land from the non tribals," said S N Patro, Revenue Minister of Orissa.

But the tribals say it's a tedious process and is meant to be mere eye-wash. Hence they say there is no other option before them but to resort to measures like occupying lands by force.

Maoists annihilate a police agent and set ablaze vehicles in Andhra-Orissa Border Special Zone (AOB)

On June 28, Maoists set ablaze five vehicles being used for laying a road in Lakshmipuram panchayat in Munchingiput mandal in Vishakha Agency area.

In another incident on the next day, the president of the Merchants Association of Chitrakonda, Pradeep Patro, was annihilated near Balimela reservoir in Chitrakonda area in Orissa, near AP border.

Maoists torch vehicles of Essar Steel in Orissa

Maoists torched five vehicles of Essar Steel Ltd. near Chitrakonda in Malkangiri district on June 3rd evening. They however did not injure any company official. The vehicles of the company burnt down by the guerrillas included a truck, a tipper, an excavator and two Sport Utility Vehicles (SUV).

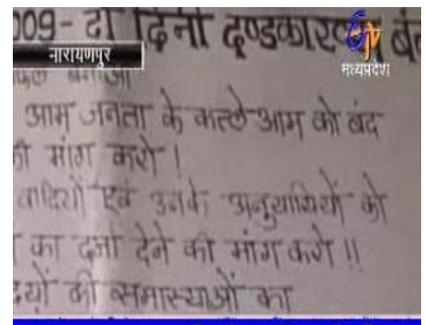
The officials of the Essar Steel were on their way to repair their iron ore slurry pipeline which passes through Malkangiri district.

This 267 kilometre long pipeline originates from iron ore mines in Chhattisgarh district and it carries the ore to Visakhapatnam in Andhra Pradesh. Recently a major crack was found in the pipeline near Panasgandi in Religuda panchayat near Chitrakonda which led to leakage of iron ore. The blast of the underground pipeline by Maoists led to the leakage.

The Essar steel owned by the Ruias, comprador capitalists from the state of Gujarat, has two major pumping units in Malkangiri for the flow of slurry through the pipe line. These pumping units are located at remote areas near Sukuma and Chitrakonda.

On June 3, the motorcade of officials, engineers and workmen of the company were on their way to the spot of crack on the pipeline for assessment of damage and its repair. They were stopped by the guerrillas near Panasgandi in the evening. All of them were asked to get down from the vehicles which were then set on fire. The Maoists and the local adivasis have been opposing the construction of the pipeline which has been carrying iron ore since 2007 but the arrogant and greedy Ruias had gone ahead with their proposal inviting attacks.

After the incident the Malkangiri-Motu road has been blocked by felling trees. Communications on the Malkangiri-Jeypore road and Malkangiri-Chitrakonda road have come to standstill.



Dandakaranya observes total Bandh on May 20, 21

The Dandakaranya special zonal committee issued a call to the people of the special zone to observe bandh on May 20 & 21 to protest against police atrocities and for the release of political prisoners. Interestingly, the bandh coincided with the return of the notorious DGP Vishwa Ranjan who was asked to go on leave by the Election Commission but was brought back by the Raman Singh government with the hope that this murderer can control the Maoists by stepping up the murders in the name of encounters.

Ever since it came to power for the second time in Chhattisgarh in December 2008, the fascist Raman Singh government has stepped up its brutal state terror against the Maoist revolutionaries and adivasi peasantry in Dandakaranya. This police state has carried out massacres in Singaram and Minkapalli and murdered several innocent adivasis in several parts of the state. It has also thrown hundreds of innocent adivasi youth and Maoist revolutionaries and sympathizers of the revolutionary movement in jails holding them without trial for years. Since June 2005 the state-sponsored terrorist *salwa judum* displaced thousands of people, murdered several hundred adivasi peasants, raped scores of women and destroyed the property of the adivasi peasants.

In this background the DKSZC placed forth demands like: *punish the culprits—leaders, police and SPOs—responsible for the mass murders in Singaram and Minakapalli, stop the cruel murders of adivasis in the name of encounters, release all revolutionaries and innocent adivasis from jails unconditionally, treat revolutionary prisoners as political prisoners, and so on.*

The 48-hour bandh was total in Basaguda, Bhopalapatnam, Gidam, Avapalli, Usoor, Madded, Bijapur. Buses were off the roads throughout the region and the trains were cancelled. Trees were placed on all roads. The vehicles were withdrawn and shops were closed voluntarily.

Leaflets were distributed in towns like Narayanpur, Gidam, Bhopalapatnam, Bijapur, Dantewada and Kanker. Meetings were held in almost all villages in Bastar range with chethna natya manch performing cultural programmes to raise the awareness of the people about the Maoist demands. According to media reports the effect of the bandh has extended to newer areas like Darbha this time. Thousands of people were mobilized to implement the bandh call. They dug up roads and placed blockades.

Another significant feature of the bandh was the massive protest by prisoners in the jails. They went on a mass hunger-strike responding to the call given by comrade Kosa, the secretary of DKSZC.

1 killed by Maoists in Koraput

Even as Director General of Police Manmohan Praharaj said on June 1st that the State Government was thinking of a special plan to combat the "Maoist menace", particularly in the hot beds like Malkangiri, the guerrillas cocked a snook at the police by targeting a police informer in Naryanpatna of Koraput district.

The Maoists took away Shiva Hereka of Kambiballa village around 10 pm and annihilated him after confirming his involvement as a police agent. Hereka admitted he was passing on information about Maoists to the cops and was secretly working as a Special Police Officer for Andhra Pradesh and Orissa police. A letter written by the Maoists was found near the body. The Maoists had earlier warned him several times.

The incident has triggered panic in the highly volatile area. In the same district the *Chasi Mulia Sangha*, had organised a militant tribal agitation boycotting the district administration. Many non-tribals who had been exploiting the innocent tribals had to flee from their homes fearing for their life and property.

Maoists set ablaze several vehicles of contractors in Vishakha Agency

In a massive operation, Maoists set ablaze a poelain, two tippers, a couple of Sumos and some two wheelers of a contractor who has been laying roads along the Andhra-Orissa Border despite repeated warning by the Maoists. Some 40 Maoists had participated in the attack in the Panasagondi area in Chintapalle mandal bordering Orissa around 6 pm on June 3rd. The Maoists, before setting ablaze the vehicles and equipment, asked the drivers and other staff to leave the place.

News from the counter-revolutionary camp

News from Counter-Revolutionary Camp COBRA Battalion must in Koraput, says DGP

2-06-09

PNS | Bhubaneswar

Defying local resistance, State Director General of Police Manmohan Praharaj on Monday made it clear that the proposed Commando Battalion for Resolute Action (COBRA) in the Leftwing insurgency-hit Koraput district under the South-Western police range would materialise at any cost.

Talking to The Pioneer, Praharaj admitted that the locals were up in arms against the battalion but the Government was committed for it for the betterment of the locals. *"In fact, we are convincing them and talks are on to pacify the anger of locals,"* he added.

The DGP hoped that the COBRA would be a befitting challenge to the Maoists. The COBRA unit, which is being sponsored by the Union Home Ministry, would come up on 400 acres of land to fight the armed cadres of the outlawed CPI(Maoists).

The locals of Sunabeda and Semiliguda are demanding relocation of the battalion. The State Government has allotted 400 acres of land in Semiliguda block. The land had been allotted to the Orissa University of Agriculture Technology in the early Sixties for agricultural activities. *"We would intensify stir if the Central and State Governments go ahead with the plan for the COBRA battalion,"* a tribal leader of Koraput, Trilochan Muduli, said over phone. *"As locals are not going to benefit, the battalion could be shifted to some other place without disturbing locals as there is abundant land in the district,"* he added.

It may be noted here that the battalion would house sophisticated 1,057 anti-Maoist operation jawans. Apart from Orissa, the unit would also work in nine other places of the country. Helicopters, electronic warfare ground systems, surveillance assets and light weaponry would be procured from home and overseas markets to equip the new battalions. The Special Forces will be trained at the Indian Army's anti-terrorist training facilities, police sources said.

Job card for families in naxal-prone areas

BANGALORE: In a bid to put down naxalism in certain pockets of the state, the state Government has announced a scheme to provide jobs to all families in the naxal-prone areas under the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme.

Minister for Rural Development and Panchayat Raj Shobha Karandlaje, who chaired a high-level meeting of the chief Executive Officers of the Zilla panchayat of the naxal-prone districts, said job card would be distributed to nearly 1.66 lakh families, covering a population of around eight lakh, in a week. Each person will be assured of 100 days of work a year at the rate of Rs. 82 a day. The people in these areas will also be permitted to cultivate their own land. According to a survey, nearly all of them own small tracts of land with the minimum being around eight to guntas.

The Forest Department will coordinate with these families in providing them fruit-bearing saplings. In case a family does not own land, it can work in the neighbouring land be assured of steady income.

By and large, families in the naxal-prone areas [Malnad and coastal belt] do not have work during the monsoon season owing to heavy rain. The job cards under the NREGS will be of help to them during this period.

The naxal-prone areas are spread over 23 taluks of the state encompassing 108 gram panchayats. Most people here are economically backward.

29 policemen suspended for refusing to undergo jungle warfare training

Raipur, July 15 (IANS): Twenty-nine policemen have been suspended in Chhattisgarh for refusing jungle warfare training, just days after Maoists massacred 29 of their colleagues, an official said on July 15.

The suspended policemen – all constables – were posted in Janjgir-Champa district and had been ordered to go for training at the Counter Terrorism and Jungle Warfare College (CTJWC) in Kanker district.

"All the 29 men were reluctant to go for the 15-day orientation course at CTJWC before being deployed for four-month-long postings in areas effected by Maoist insurgency.

I had no option but to suspend them," Jangir-Champa District Superintendent of Police S.K. Jha told IANS on telephone.

The government had set up CTJWC in 2005 and appointed counter-terrorism expert Brig (retired) B.K. Ponwar as its director to train policemen to *"fight a guerrilla like a guerrilla"*. Nearly 1,500 people have been killed in Maoist violence since the state was carved out of Madhya Pradesh in November 2000.

Following is part of the report published in the Hindustan Times of July 16 regarding the reactions of the policemen on the jungle warfare training.

Of the 40 policemen directed to undergo jungle warfare training before being posted in Rajnandgaon, 29 did not turn up. The Chhattisgarh police immediately suspended the truant cops.

But the suspended policemen are unfazed.

"Once I am trained in jungle warfare, I will always be posted in insurgency-affected areas. What assurance do I have that I would be considered for other areas, too?" asked constable Rakesh Singh (name changed).

The number of personnel reluctant to serve in Naxal-affected areas is growing, home minister Nanki Ram Kanwar told *HT*.

"If benefits are given to those posted there, why should indiscipline be tolerated?"

A number of policemen languish in Naxal-affected districts after the mandatory four months.

"Only after I sustained bullet injury in my lungs was I transferred out," said town inspector Ajitesh Singh, posted in Janjgir, not in the Red Corridor.

The government acknowledges 12 of Chhattisgarh's 18 districts were Naxal-affected.

Govt seeks two battalions for Malkangiri

PNS | Bhubaneswar

In the wake of the ongoing Maoists activities in Malkangiri, the State Government has asked the Centre to provide another two battalions of Central para-military force for Malkangiri.

Meanwhile, the shop owners of Chitrakonda market on Saturday downed their shutters to protest the killing of contractor Badri Naryan Patra on Friday by the Maoists. Besides being a contractor Badri was also the president of the Chitrakonda Market Committee. The shop owners said despite the killing spree by the rebels the police are dragging their feet and not taking any action against the ultras.

They alleged that the frequent combing operations were only rhetoric. The ultras have targeted businessmen, contractors to collect extortion money and if anyone dares to disobey their diktat he has to pay with his life. Many such incidents have taken place recently. But despite their pleas the police have failed to provide protection to them and they have to fend for themselves.

In another incident in Gajapati district the ultras felled about 15 trees on the Adaba-Brahmanigaon road. The rebels also put up some posters.

Govt likely to rope in two more central forces against Naxals

31 May 2009, PTI

NEW DELHI: In a signal that Naxalism will be tackled with an iron hand, the Centre may soon rope in the services of two more para-military forces to counter Left-wing extremism along with the CRPF, which is already deployed to deal with the menace.

Sources in the home ministry said a combined team of CRPF, BSF and ITBP is likely to be set up to undertake special operations in Naxal-infested areas.

The proposal which had been pending for some time received a push in the wake of widespread Naxal violence during the Lok Sabha polls, when left-wing extremists used rocket launchers for the first time.

Sources said a meeting was recently held in the ministry to chalk out a new strategy which also included possibility of increasing more personnel on the ground.

The CRPF, which has been fighting the Naxals along with state police forces, did not have any more men to offer till its newly created 10,000 personnel strong special force - Combat Battalion for Resolute Action (CoBRA) - completed recruitment and training.

The home ministry had then approached other paramilitary forces to know whether they could give additional personnel to take on the Naxals and the BSF and ITBP replied in the affirmative.

bodies of the police personnel
killed in Kokawada, Dantewada district



New plan in war against Red Terror Rehauling CRPF to induct 35000 troops, army adviser

Hindustan Times 16-07-09

New Delhi: With the Naxal insurgency taking on deadly new proportions, India's premier Para-military troubleshooters are set to become the frontline anti-Maoist fighting force.

The government is working on a plan to add 38 new battalions – or more than 35,000 men and women – to the 60- year old Central Reserve Police Force, which is already the country's largest paramilitary force with 2.7lakh personnel and is bigger than the armies of many countries.

The plan also includes a nation-wide intelligence network for the CRPF – an acronym that is translated by its own overworked, always-on-the-move, cadre as "*Chalte Raho Pyare.*" It would add more responsibility and powers to the paramilitary force to fight Naxals, if the Naxal –affected states come on board.

"The Union Home Ministry is giving final touches to the plan." CRPF Director General A.S. Gill told Hindustan Times.

His comments came as home minister P.Chidambaram told parliament on Wednesday that the government would soon evolve a comprehensive strategy to fight Naxals..

The move coincides with a spike in Naxal attacks, which have already claimed lives of atleast 249 security personnel in the past six months – a figure that tops similar casualties in all of last year and is eight times the number of soldiers killed by insurgents in J&K this year.

"For many years we did not properly assess the threat posed by Left-wing extremism. We under-estimated the challenge and in the meanwhile they (Naxalites) extended their influence." Chidambaram told Parliament on Wednesday "Today they (Naxalites) pose a grave challenge ... We are preparing to taken on the challenge. Details cannot be disclosed now."

He said the government has appointed a special military adviser and will convene a meeting of CMs of naxal-affected states next month.

The Naxals, who have a presence in more than 150 districts across nine states, have stepped up attacks in recent months. Earlier this week they ambushed a police convoy, killing nearly 40 people, in Chattisgarh – stronghold for the rebels who believe in revolutionary warfare.

Chidambaram did not give details of the government's plan.

"For the first time, the CRPF will be setting up its own intelligence network at the national level." Gill said, adding it will also have more bomb disposal squads. "But we will have to wait for it to come out."

The government has yet to take a final view in the matter, he said.

Since law and order is a state issue, consultation is on with the states on what role and powers could be given to the paramilitary force to carry out the anti-Naxal operations. Some states have already expressed reservations or certain provisions to be incorporated in the plan.

Total strength of CRPF - 2.7lakh

Planned increase - 35,000

CPI (Maoist)

**150 - is the number of districts where it has a presence
(Total number of the districts in country 600)**

249 - is the number of security personnel killed by naxals this year

31 - is the no of security personnel killed by J&K militants

A new plan to fight naxals

Maharashtra police suggest ways to toughen its operations

Sweta Ramanujan-Dixit
Hindustan Times
Mumbai may 28

After losing 34 policemen in for months, Maharashtra police have realized the anti-naxal operations need an overhaul.

The state police have proposed drastic changes to the state government to strengthen its offensive in the Naxal-hit areas of Gadchiroli, Chandrapur, Gondia and Bhandara in Vidarbha region.

The suggestions came out of a series of meetings convened after 16 policemen, including five women constables, were ambushed and killed near Tavitola village on May 21..

Among other things, the state is considering moving the specialized Anti-Naxal Operations unit (ANO) to Gadchiroli from Nagpur and unifying the operations under a single Command and Control Centre. DGP S.S. Virk said the plans were under process. He, however, refused to elaborate, saying they were at the discussion stage.

"The shifting of the ANO is aimed at restructuring (the system) to add sting to the operations" said Virk. "Experience says that if the force is on the spot and you launch operations from within the field, the results are better."

The police have made a series of suggestions – increasing manpower, filling up vacancies, effecting transfers on time and infusing fresh blood into the operations. It seeks to strengthen field operations through a wider network outposts.

Home Minister Jayant Patil said the government has decided to set up a dedicated force of two or three battalions and seek eight to 10 battalions and seek eight to 10 battalions of central paramilitary forces, which will be stationed in the region.

According to Virk, first of the changes are likely to be made in three to four days. Additional DGP (ANO) Pankaj Gupta refused to comment. When asked if the ANO had lost its sting, he said: "We are taking it up."

The ANO currently operates out of Nagpur, 180 km from Gadchiroli and 152 km from Chandrapur; two of the most affected areas in the state.

The first attack of the year took place in February 2009. Fifteen policemen, who had gone to conduct a panchnama (examination of a crime scene in the presence of five witnesses) of an incident of arson in Markegaon village, 40 km from Dhanora, were killed after a two-hour gun battle with Naxals. Three policemen were killed in an attack in Munger to April 2009. Earlier, in October 2008, four policemen killed when Naxals ambushed a petrol team near Karepalli village.

According to data available with the Maharashtra government, at least 74 policemen and 78 civilians have been killed in Naxal related violence in the state since 2004.

Atleast 74 policemen and 78 civilians have been killed in Naxal-related violence in Maharashtra since 2004. 34 policemen have been killed in the last four months alone.

The proposals

Relocate the anti-national operations to Gadchiroli from Nagpur.

Infuse more manpower into operations

Set up a dedicated force and bring central paramilitary forces into the region.

From News Papers

Koraput headed the Lalgarh way?

June 22. The Hindustan Times

It's a similar story, headed for a similar ending. Koraput, an under-developed Orissa district, has been cut off from the world for the last five days and looks in danger of becoming another area "liberated" by Maoists.

Like Lalgarh in West Bengal, before it was won back.

Dispossessed tribals on one side and alleged grabbers on the other are in the middle of a violent battle for land waging in Koraput, which is 560 km from Bhubaneshwar. And no prizes for guessing who is winning.

The administration exists on ground but only just. It has no clue as to how much land was lost by tribals and is able to only hazard a guess about how much has been reclaimed by them through peaceful or not-so-peaceful means.

The tribals don't bring their complaints to the local administration any more. They go straight to organisations backed by the Maoists. In fact, the tribals are not complaining at all. They simply grab back what was grabbed from them.

"They come and hoist a red flag in our agricultural land, signaling the end of our possession over it. I owned 11 acres of land. Now, I'm hiding in the houses of my relatives," said Madhusudan Pongu, 72, of Balipeta village.

Both the locals and the administration said Chasi Muliya Adivasi Sangha, an organisation of dispossessed tribals, is spearheading the agitation. But its violent ways are blamed on a more radical section within it.

The targeted non-tribals have no choice but to leave the area completely – an estimated 200 people have left the Narayanpatna block of which Pongu's Balipeta village is a part, in recent days.

The Narayanpatna area has been completely cut off for the last five days as sangha activists have blocked the main arterial road with trees.

On Thursday, nine personnel of the Orissa Special Striking Force who tried to clear the road were killed in a landmine blast triggered by the Maoists. Now, no policeman wants to go anywhere near Narayanpatna.

The mainstream sangha leaders held a convention on Saturday but the hotheads from Narayanpatna stayed away. One of them, Nachika Ling, a tribal in his 30s, is believed to be leading the radicals.

This is where the Maoists come in – they are believed to be Ling's chief backers. And this is where the story begins to sound like Lalgarh's, where a committee of locals agitating against the police took on the state with the help of Maoists.

"The Maoists want the hawks within the CMAS to take over the organization so that they can guide the tribal movement in the manner the Naxals have done in Lalgarh," said a senior official refusing to be identified.

"Linga is hand-in-glove with the Maoists," Sanjeev Panda, DIG of Koraput area, told Hindustan Times. "He was arrested before and spent two to three years in jail before he was released on bail."

Linga and his group are reported to have forcibly occupied hundreds of acres of land and handed them over to the tribals. The group has also damaged nearly hundred houses belonging to alleged "land usurpers".

But the state hasn't given up here yet, unlike in Lalgarh. "Presently, 100 CRPF personnel, about 30 men of India Reserve Battalion and one unit of Orissa Special Striking Force are deployed in Narayanpatna," said police officer Panda.

And they are not leaving. Not yet.

After Koraput : Chasi Muliya Adivasi Sangh targets Rayagada

Rayagada tribals lock horns with non-tribals over land

5 Jul 2009, Satyanarayan Pattnaik, TNN

KORAPUT: Taking a cue from the Narayanpatna and Bandhugaon areas of bordering Koraput district, tribals in Rayagada district are now up in arms against non-tribals, who allegedly grabbed their land.

Over 500 tribals from 30 villages gathered in Rayagada town on Sunday to prepare a blueprint for their line of action. The tribals in Rayagada claimed that large tracts of their land on the periphery and low-lying areas of Rayagada town have been grabbed by state government officials and non-tribals.

"About 100 acres of tribal land in Rayagada town have been taken over by the administration and non-tribals by deceit. We want our land back," said tribal leader Basanta Ulaka.

"On Saturday, we met the collector and gave the administration a month's time to resolve the dispute. If the administration fails, we will intensify our agitation," he added.

Rayagada collector Krushna Gopal Mohapatra said, "We are looking into the matter."

In the past two months, the tribals in Koraput district, under the banner of Chasi Muliya Adivasi Sangh (CMAS), had forcefully occupied about 500 acres non-tribal land in Narayanpatna and Bandhugaon blocks.

Red flag up in Koraput

Hindustan Times, Soumyajit Patnaik , July 19, 2009

Naxal-backed tribals in Orissa's Koraput district on Tuesday forcibly reoccupied lands that non-tribals, local businessmen and other outsiders had cheated them of many years ago.

About 200 tribals, with red bandana-like pieces of cloth on their heads and wrists, marched into the rain-soaked agricultural fields in Koraput's Narayanpatna block, 560 km southwest of Bhubaneswar, and started tilling them. Another group of 150 tribals, armed with swords, spears and other sharp-edged weapons stood guard.



The area of land occupied by the tribals could not be ascertained. Everyone was too scared to speak.

Koraput is the heart of Naxal territory in Orissa. HT had first reported (Koraput headed the Lalgarh way on June 22) how the district administration is practically non-existent in some parts of this remote district and how local villagers now take their complaints and grievances to the Maoists.

A land loser, who spoke to HT on condition of anonymity out of fear of retribution, said: "The Maoists killed nine security personnel on June 18. When the police cannot defend themselves, how can they protect us?"

On June 18, the Maoists had completely cut off Narayanpatna block from the rest of the state by felling trees on the highways leading into it. They then killed nine personnel of the Orissa Special Strike Force, the elite anti-Naxal commando force, by triggering a powerful landmine when they approached the area to remove these felled trees.

When contacted, Koraput district superintendent of Police Deepak Kumar told HT: "*No FIR has been lodged (about the occupation of land). So, the police cannot do anything. Anyway, it's a civil dispute and will be handled by the revenue department.*"

Narayanpatna block development officer BDO B.M. Bhuyan switched off his mobile phone as soon as HT asked him about the takeover of land on Tuesday.

**** Traders, businessmen and non-tribal outsiders have taken over nearly thousands of acres of land in Orissa's Koraput district in the last few decades.**

**** The Orissa government had at last woken up to the issue. Over the last fortnight, state revenue minister SN Patro has repeated several times that land taken away illegally from tribals would soon be restored to them.**

**** But, on Tuesday, 200 Naxal-backed tribals reoccupied and tiled the lands. Another 150 stood guard with arms.**

The modus operandi of this land grab is simple. When HT had visited the district in June, Madhusudan Pondu, 72, of Balipeta village in the Narayanpatna block, had said: "*They came and hoisted red flags on our agricultural lands, signalling the end of our possession over it.*"

The "movement" by tribals to forcibly reoccupy land that was historically theirs is being spearheaded by Chasi Muliya Adivasi Sangha (Tribal Farmers' Association, better known by its acronym CMAS), which is allegedly backed by the Maoists.

According to Srikant (he uses only one name) the state convener of CMAS, tribal land cannot be transferred or sold to non-tribals without government permission under the law. The government has no records of how much tribal land has been sold or transferred to non-tribals.

"but traders, businessmen and non-tribal outsiders have taken over nearly thousands of acres in Narayanpatna and (in neighbouring) Bandhugaon blocks over the last few decades. The government did nothing, hence, we have launched this agitation," he said.

While that is true, the Orissa government has at last woken up to the issue. Over the last fortnight, state revenue minister Patro has repeated several times that land taken away illegally from tribals would soon be restored to them.

His department is in the process of setting up camp-courts in Koraput and some neighbouring districts to implement this promise, but the Naxals have clearly beaten the government to it. Again.

Binayak accuses Chattisgarh govt of exercising violence on adivasis

May 31, 2009

Civil rights activist Binayak Sen, who walked free from the Raipur jail after two years of incarceration on May 26, has accused the Chhattisgarh government of "exercising structured violence" on poor adivasis to transfer their land to industries. "The Chhattisgarh government has become guarantor of the transfer of the state's mineral and forest resources from the poor to the rich," he said in during an interaction with the media persons here on Saturday.

Citing an example, Sen, who was in jail for allegedly colluding with Maoists, said a company had wanted to acquire land in Chhattisgarh for a steel plant.

"The government, instead of calling a gram sabha to ascertain the views of the land owners about the acquisition, imposed section 144 CrPc and compelled the adivasis to agree at gunpoint to give away their land."

"Most of the government's claims of encounter deaths were false," Sen said, adding that "all people have to get together and de-legitimise this military option and influence the government so that political engagement takes place. Human rights organisations will have to take a lead on this."

Sen said he often faced the question that he was not as contemptuous of Maoist violence as he was of police action on them.

"As human rights workers, we condemn all kinds of violence. We have all along condemned violence irrespective of who does it," he said. Sen said the mass support he received was a sign that ordinary people were fed up with the manner in which their resources were being transferred.

Maoist threat to BJP legislator in Kandhamal

Indo-Asian News Service

Bhubaneswar, June 04, 2009

At least two posters warning a Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) legislator and Bajrang Dal activists of dire consequences for having allegedly fuelled last year's communal violence have been found in Orissa's Kandhamal district. The posters are suspected to have been put up by Maoist rebels, police said on Thursday.

The posters warning that BJP's Manoj Pradhan and three Bajrang Dal workers would be killed soon were found on Wednesday in the Raikia area of Kandhamal, about 200 km from Bhubaneswar, District Superintendent of Police S Praveen Kumar told IANS.

Police have tightened security at the jail in G Udayagiri, where Pradhan is imprisoned for his alleged involvement in the communal violence.

The district witnessed widespread communal violence after the murder of Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) leader Swami Laxmanananda Saraswati and four of his aides at his ashram Aug 23 last year.

While the police blamed Maoists for the killings, some Hindu organisations alleged Christians were behind the crime and launched attacks on the community.

At least 38 people were killed and over 25,000 Christians forced to flee after their houses were attacked by rampaging mobs in the aftermath of the attack on Saraswati. Nearly 2,500 people are still living in government relief camps.

Although no violence has been reported from the region since October last year, police believe the posters may have been plastered by the rebels to disturb peace.

The BJP on Thursday said the rebels had attacked Dilu Pradhan, a Bajrang Dal activist, a few days ago.

"The rebels have prepared a hit list that has the names of at least 14 people associated with the BJP and VHP," a BJP leader said

Press Releases of various organisations

PUDR on the banning of the CPI (Maoist)

June 25, 2009

In 2004, when the Congress led UPA government came to power it repealed the POTA, which it admitted had been grossly misused. It simultaneously amended an existing law, the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act 1967 (UAPA), siphoning into it some of extraordinary provisions of POTA, including those pertaining to banning of terrorist organizations. The conditions of banning under the amended Act no longer require a statement to explain the reasons of issuing a ban, a gazette notification merely adding an entry to the Schedule of the Act is sufficient, and there do not exist any provision for judicial redress.

On 22 June 2009, the CPI (Maoist) was added to the list of banned organizations in the Schedule of the UAPA. The Home Minister has claimed that the notification banning the organization was made necessary to remove ambivalences. Indeed, the CPI (M-L), PWG, and the MCC, which later merged to form the CPI (Maoist), were banned organizations since 5 December 2001. Apart from the futility of banning, the notification shows the total disregard the government continues to have towards people's movements around issues of livelihood, dispossession and alienation that have accumulated and aggravated over the last several years of the unleashing of neo-liberal policies on unsuspecting tribal populations and the rural poor.

It is indeed ironical that a month back, this government had claimed to have returned to power on the weight of its social policy programmes. The politics of banning is indeed reflective of a regime which despite its electoral victory, has but a truncated social base. Banning the CPI (Maoist), is therefore, not just arbitrary, it shows that the UPA government has lost the political courage to address the substantive issues of land and livelihood that the adivasis have been raising across the country in Chhattisgarh, Orissa or West Bengal. While banning itself is undemocratic and constrains the ideological spaces of freedom, in this case, it seems to also send across the message that like the government of any authoritarian state, this government too would prefer to use the law to suppress dissent violently. Much has been made of Maoist violence in the press. Without condoning this violence, PUDR would ask the Home Minister to note the extremely debilitating socio-economic contexts which has precipitated the adivasi movements in the country, and use the electoral mandate it has received to direct attention where it is required most, and in a way which is conducive to democracy through long term social programmes addressing issues of economic disparity.

**Moushumi Basu
Gautam Navlakha
Secretaries
Progressive Union for Democratic Rights**

“Release CPI (Maoist) spokesperson Gour Chakravarty”

--Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners

June 22, 2009

The Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners (CRPP) strongly condemns the arrest and media trial of Gour Chakravarty, the West Bengal State Spokesperson of the CPI (Maoist).

This is a complete volte face of the CPI(M) led government which had continuously insisted that they would deal with the Maoists politically. In fact it shows beyond doubt that the issues raised by the Maoists and the militant struggles of the adivasis of Lalgarh have become a real problem for the CPI(M)-led government in West Bengal. The only way that this government can deal with the issues of life and death for the toiling masses, pertaining to the four dreaded Ds – Displacement, Destruction, Destitution and Death – are through the baton and barrels of the police and paramilitary. Otherwise any people-oriented government would have first listened to the just demands of the adivasis of Lalgarh. The right to dissent against the policies of the State is a constitutionally guaranteed right. And when the people of Lalgarh have protested against the policies of the government which they understood would result in their peril, the political and administrative response of the government of West Bengal was through ruthless military action and a high voltage media blitzkrieg demonising the people of Lalgarh ably supported by the Central Government under Manmohan Singh and home minister Chidambaram.

Anyone who is closely observing West Bengal politics particularly since Singur and Nandigram struggles of the people can recall that Gour Chakravarty stood as a spokesperson of the CPI (Maoist) of West Bengal responding to the challenges thrown by Buddhadeb Chattarjee, the Chief Minister, and the CPI(M), for an open political debate on issues Maoists differ with the ruling party in the state. But the Chief Minister, instead of engaging in a political debate with Gour Chakravarty being the political representative of the CPI(Maoist), put him behind the bars. Therefore, the basis for the arrest of Gour Chakravarty is intensely political. This shows that the Chief Minister and his ruling party did not want to answer questions raised by the Maoist spokesperson regarding the people's issues entailing Singur, Nandigram and now Lalgarh. Instead they resorted to the brutal suppression of the voices of the people using military might and draconian laws like the newly promulgated CLAA by the central government. Ironically, while Buddhadeb Chattarjee was busy banning the CPI(Maoist), his own party was opposing the same as he went about the same law to arrest, incarcerate, and silence the incessant and flowing voice of Gour Chakravarty.

Gour Chakravarty, as the spokesperson of the CPI (Maoist), had upheld the right to dissent of the adivasis of Lalgarh against the World Bank, imperialist-backed up anti-people policies of the West Bengal government. Further he had openly exhorted the people that merely fighting against the West Bengal government would not suffice as he was convinced that the fundamental problem was related to the exploitative, predatory class character of the Indian State. This conviction had made him exhort the people to do away with this parasitic apparatus of the Indian state.

Though the Constitution of India calls itself a democracy with the right to freedom of expression and association, the governments of West Bengal and the one at the centre would dread such a scenario where the people have the courage and conviction to stand against the policies of the government.

Gour Chakravarty had tried to measure the possibilities of the human face that the Congress government at the centre and the CPI(M) government in West Bengal were pretending to project before the people. He was only trying to push the limits of stability that these governments were promising the people before and after the parliamentary elections. His crime: he insisted that there cannot be any stability without the just interests of the toiling masses being served. Without putting an end to all forms of exploitation, humiliation, mistreatment and discrimination. All these ideals of Gour Chakravarty have become a "law and order" question for the CPI(M)-led government in West Bengal.

This also brings to the fore that the CPI(M)-led government, despite all its pretensions, is no different than a Congress or BJP [the Hindu chauvanist party that previously led the central government] government while addressing the burning issues of the common masses. To address sincerely the issues that are dear to the masses of the people, one needs to have the political will to openly defy the policies of the World Bank and imperialism.

Gour Chakravarty, being the spokesperson of the West Bengal CPI (Maoist), has challenged the CPM-led government to be one *of*, *by* and *for* the Will of the masses of the people. He is the conscience of the toiling masses. He cannot be behind the bars. We demand his unconditional release.

Maoist Information Bulletin - 10

**A Special Issue on
Lalgarh will be issued
shortly**



Open Letter to United Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)

From the Communist Party of India (Maoist)

Dear Comrades,

We have been keenly, with great concern, following the recent developments taking place in your country, Nepal. With the CPN(Maoist) emerging as the single largest party in the elections to the Constituent Assembly in April 2008 and the formation of the new government consisting of a coalition of several Parties, some of which are known for their anti-people, pro-feudal, pro-imperialist and pro-Indian expansionist past, an ideological-political debate has arisen in the entire revolutionary camp in India and the world regarding the path, strategy, and tactics pursued by your Party, now the UCPN(M), in advancing the revolution in Nepal. All these make it all the more urgent to conduct a deeper debate on the ideological-political line pursued by the CPN(M), particularly after it came to power through elections, after a decade-long heroic people's war and forming the government with some of the arch-reactionaries who had earned the wrath of the Nepalese masses.

Several issues need to be debated by Maoist revolutionaries throughout the world in the context of the UCPN(M) pursuing a line and policies that, in our understanding, are not consistent with the fundamental tenets of MLM and teachings of our great Marxist teachers—issues such as proletarian internationalism; stages and sub-stages of revolutions and its practical applications in semi-colonial semi-feudal countries; understanding of the Leninist concept of state and revolution; nature of parliamentary democracy in semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America; meaning of firmness of strategy and flexibility in tactics; and such other related questions. There are also some other specific issues raised by your Party in the name of creative application of MLM such as the concept of 21st century democracy or multi-Party democracy, Prachanda Path, fusion theory, and so on, which in our understanding, is a basic departure from Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and should be widely and deeply debated.

It is true that Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action. Those Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries who followed it only in letter and discarded its spirit have failed to understand the essence of Marxism, failed to understand what com Lenin had taught, that is, '*concrete analysis of concrete conditions is the living soul of Marxism*'. Such dogmatists failed to apply MLM to the concrete practice of revolution in their countries and hence failed to make any real advances in the revolutions in their respective countries. Dogmatism, no doubt, has been a bane of the Marxist Leninist movements and hence the struggle against dogmatism should be an inseparable part of the ideological struggle of the Communist Party.

However, **in the name of the struggle against dogmatism, there have been serious deviations in the International Communist Movement (ICM), often going into an even greater, and more dangerous, abyss of right deviation and revisionism. In the name of creative application of Marxism, communist parties have fallen into the trap of right opportunism, bourgeois pluralist Euro-Communism, rabid anti-Stalinism, anarchist post-modernism and outright revisionism.** Right danger or revisionism in the ICM has emerged as the greatest danger in the period following the usurpation of the leadership of the CPSU and state power in the Soviet Union after the demise of comrade Stalin. Com Mao and other genuine revolutionaries had to wage a consistent ideological-political struggle against revisionism and reformism in the ICM and also within the CPC. However, despite the great struggle waged by com Mao and other Marxist Leninist revolutionaries

all over the world against revisionism, it has been the revisionists who have temporarily won and dominated the ICM in the contemporary world. The ideological-political debate over the creative application of MLM to the concrete practice of the revolution in Nepal has to be conducted with a correct grasp of this international struggle ever since the time of com Lenin, and particularly by Mao against Khrushchev revisionism.

"Fight against dogmatism" has become a fashionable phrase among many Maoist revolutionaries. They talk of discarding "outdated" principles of Lenin and Mao and to develop MLM in the *"new conditions"* that are said to have emerged in the world of the 21st century. Some of them describe their endeavour to *"enrich and develop"* MLM as a new *path* or *thought*, and though this is initially described as something confined to revolution in their concerned country, it inexorably assumes a *"universal character"* or *"universal significance"* in no time. And in this exercise individual leaders are glorified and even deified to the extent that they appear infallible. Such glorification does not help in collective functioning of Party committees and the Party as a whole and questions on line are hardly ever raised as they stem from an infallible individual leader. In such a situation it is extremely difficult on the part of the CC, not to speak of the cadres, to fight against a serious deviation in the ideological-political line, or in the basic strategy and tactics even when it is quite clear that it goes against the interests of revolution. The *"cult of the individual"* promoted in the name of path and thought provides a certain degree of immunity to the deviation in line if it emanates from that individual leader.

Our two Parties, CPI(Maoist) and CPN(Maoist), have a considerably long period of fraternal relationship, a period going back to the late 1980s (then existing as MCC and PW) when the present leadership of your Party was still a part of the revisionist Party in Nepal pursuing a parliamentary line. We had been a keen and enthusiastic witness to the ideological struggle waged by your leadership against revisionism, its clean break with the revisionist line and its initiation of people's war in February 1996.

While extending support to the revolution in Nepal, we both (then erstwhile MCC and PW) had also pointed out from time to time some of the mistakes we had identified in the understanding and practice of the CPN(M), and also the possible deviations that might arise due to its wrong assessments and concepts. However, we never interfered with political-organisational matters concerning the internal affairs and inner-Party struggles within your Party. But whenever called upon, or, when we felt there is danger of a serious deviation ideologically and politically, we gave our suggestions as a fraternal revolutionary Party during the several bilateral meetings between our respective high-level delegations or through letters to your CC. It was only when some of the ideological-political positions stated by your Party publicly had deviated from MLM, or when open comments were made by your Chairman Prachanda on various occasions regarding our Party's line and practice, or when open polemical debate was called for on International forums, that our Party had gone into open ideological-political debates. These open debates were conducted in a healthy and comradely manner guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Since then our relations developed even further, but since 2003 we have marked the serious turn in your ideological-political line regarding the Nepalese revolution and the world proletarian revolution as well. After that you have further advanced on this political line, so there is a need to conduct a deeper debate and come to an overall assessment regarding the theory and practice pursued by your Party, synthesise the experiences gained in the course of the people's war in Nepal, and the lessons, both positive and negative, they provide to the Maoist revolutionaries in the contemporary world.

We are sending this Open Letter to your Party so as to conduct a polemical debate both within your Party and the Maoist revolutionary camp worldwide. This step has become necessary because of the very serious developments that have taken place in

the course of development of the revolution in Nepal that have a bearing on our understanding of imperialism and proletarian revolution as well as the strategy-tactics to be pursued by Maoist revolutionaries in the contemporary world; there is also serious deviation from the ideology of MLM. Hence these are no more the internal matters concerning your Party alone.

Moreover, such a debate is the urgent need of the hour in the backdrop of vicious propaganda by the revisionists as well as the reactionary ruling classes in India that the Indian Maoists should learn from the Nepali Maoists who were supposed to have realized at last "*the futility of achieving their cherished goal of socialism and communism through armed struggle*". Sermons are being preached by the revisionists who had always acted as the strongest advocates of Parliamentary democracy in India, opened up their social fascist fangs wherever they had been in power ever since the days of the Naxalbari revolt, acted as a safety valve to vent the fury of the masses into peaceful channels, and played the notorious role of diffusing militant movements and depoliticizing and demobilizing the masses, thereby serving the Indian ruling classes and the imperialists most faithfully—all in the name of peaceful path to people's democracy and socialism. These revisionists have been writing articles claiming that at last the Nepali Maoists have come to the correct track and that it should serve as an eye-opener to the Indian Maoists who should, at least now, give up their "*unrealizable dream of capturing political power through the bullet*" and, instead, try to achieve it through the ballot as their counterparts in Nepal are doing today.

We earnestly hope that the CC and all the Party members of UCPN(M) will evince keen interest in this ideological-political debate and take the correct revolutionary positions based on our guiding theory of MLM and the lessons provided by the rich experiences of the world revolution. We also hope that Maoist revolutionaries worldwide will participate in this debate and enrich the experiences of the world proletariat in advancing the world proletarian revolution.

In this context, we also regret to say that you have not cared to respond to our proposal to have a bilateral exchange of views with your CC after the April 2008 elections. Until December 2008 there was not even a reply from your CC to the letter we had sent on May 1st in this regard. Nor was there any response from your side to our proposal to hold the meeting of CCOMPOSA in order to continue the united struggle of the Maoist forces and anti-imperialist forces of South Asia against Indian expansionism and imperialism, particularly American imperialism.

At last we received a letter from your International department in December 2008 and a meeting of our two delegations materialized soon after. Basing on the discussions we held with your delegation and the material that was available to us regarding the current developments in your Party and the stands you had taken on various issues our CC held detailed discussions and drew conclusions based on MLM, the experiences of world revolution, and the actual situation prevailing in Nepal and the contemporary world.

Firstly, we are glad that a serious inner-Party struggle has broken out in your Party on crucial issues related to advancing the revolution in Nepal. Such a struggle within the Party has been the need of the hour since long, at least from the time your Party leadership, in our opinion, had begun to pursue a disastrous course of "*hunting with the hound and running with the hare*", i.e., striking alliances with the reactionary feudal, comprador political Parties with the sole aim of overthrowing the King and the monarchy while at the same time speaking of advancing the revolution in Nepal through a "final assault" or insurrection. Even prior to this, your Party's concept of multi-Party democracy or 21st century democracy, its non-proletarian stands on the question of assessment of Stalin, fusion theory etc were subjects of serious polemical debate. Our Party dealt with these issues through articles in our magazines and interviews by our spokespersons right from 2002, and particularly from 2006. We had also pointed

out the non-Marxist positions that you had taken on the question of state and revolution, on the question of disarming and demobilizing of the PLA by confining it to the barracks under the supervision of the United Nations, and on the question of integration of the two armies, demobilization of the YCL, abandoning the base areas and the great revolutionary achievements of the decade-long people's war, policy of appeasement adopted towards Indian expansionism, and so on. However, there was no serious debate on these issues from your side. Hence it has been an encouraging sign to see the inner-Party struggle within your Party on some of these issues at last.

After the dangerous journey that your Party had traversed in the past three years we earnestly hope that your Party rank and file will review the dangerous right opportunist positions and the disastrous consequences that these have given rise to, and also reconsider and rectify the wrong line pursued by your Party leadership headed by com Prachanda. Such a free and frank, thoroughgoing review of the ideological-political line pursued by the Party leadership and the serious deviations from the fundamental tenets of MLM that had taken place in the name of creative application of MLM, will help in establishing the correct line that can advance the revolution to its final victory in Nepal. We are confident that the correct revolutionary line will be re-established through such a serious, thorough-going ideological-political struggle within your Party. In this context we also wish to express our strong disagreement on the so-called unity between your Party and the break-away group of Mohan Bikram Singh's Mashal. We think such a unity with a proven Rightist group will not help in furthering the cause of the revolution in Nepal but will take the Party further down the path of revisionism and reformism. This unity based on the principle of '*two combining into one*' will further strengthen the hands of the reformists and right opportunists within the UCPN(M), or the UCPN/Maoism-Mao Thought as it is presently being called.

Now we take up the serious issues and deviations that have come to the fore in the course of the development of the Nepalese revolution. Interestingly, some of these deviations from the basic tenets of MLM had been theorised by your Party as an enrichment and development of MLM and summed up as *Prachanda Path*.

On 21st Century Democracy

Your Party had claimed that its "*decision on multi-party democracy is a strategically, theoretically developed position*" and that it is applicable even to conditions obtaining in India. {From Prachanda's Interview in Hindu} You attributed universal significance to it and claimed that it is an attempt to further develop MLM. Hence there is a need for every proletarian Party to take a clear-cut stand on this so-called "*enrichment of MLM*".

The conceptual problem of democracy in the leadership of UCPN(M) had begun at least by 2003. The 2003 CC Plenum of your Party had passed the paper on the development of democracy in the 21st century. In that paper you proposed that there should be "*peaceful competition between all political parties against feudalism and foreign imperialist forces*". You said that "*within a certain constitutional provision multi-party competition should exist as long as it's against feudalism, against foreign imperialistic interference*". You said during our bilateral meetings too that the peaceful competition that you are talking of was in the post-revolutionary period and not before. But later on you began to be evasive and vague on whether this multi-Party competition was also feasible before the seizure of power by the working class. Then, with the conclusion of the 12-point agreement with the SPA you made an about-turn and asserted that your Party was ready to compete with other comprador-feudal parties! What democracy you aspire to develop through peaceful competition with such Parties is beyond one's comprehension.

In his interview to *The Hindu* in 2006, com Prachanda said: "*And we are telling the parliamentary parties that we are ready to have peaceful competition with you all.*"

Here there is no bungling of words. The UCPN(M) leader has directly assured the comprador bourgeois-feudal parliamentary parties that his Party is ready to have peaceful competition with all of them. And by describing this decision on multiparty democracy as a strategically, theoretically developed position comrade Prachanda has brought a dangerous thesis to the fore—the thesis of peaceful coexistence with the ruling class parties instead of overthrowing them through revolution; peaceful competition with all other parliamentary parties, including the ruling class parties that are stooges of imperialism or foreign reaction, in so-called parliamentary elections; abandoning the objective of building socialism for an indefinite period; and opening the doors wide for the feudal-comprador reactionaries to come to power by utilizing the backwardness of the masses and the massive backing from domestic and foreign reactionaries or the bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces to hijack the entire course of development of society from the socialist direction to capitalism in the name of democracy and nationalism. Overall, com. Prachanda's conclusions regarding multiparty democracy creates illusions among the people regarding bourgeois democracy and their constitution.

Com Mao had pointed out: *"Those who demand freedom and democracy in the abstract regard democracy as an end and not as a means. Democracy as such sometimes seems to be an end, but it is in fact only a means. Marxism teaches us that democracy is part of the superstructure and belongs to the realm of politics. That is to say, in the last analysis, it serves the economic base. The same is true of freedom. Both democracy and freedom are relative, not absolute, and they come into being and develop in specific historical conditions."* (Ibid)

Genuine democracy is achieved through a consistent and uncompromising struggle against imperialism and feudalism—both in the sphere of the base and superstructure—and accomplishing the tasks of the New Democratic Revolution. Freedom, at the individual level, as Marx said, is the recognition of necessity; at the political level, it entails smashing the chains that bind us to the imperialist system.

Your Party says it has synthesised the experiences of 20th century revolutions by taking lessons from the positive and the negative experiences of the 20th Century; from revolutions and counter-revolutions of the 20th Century. But what lessons has it taken, and Maoists should take, from the experiences of Communist participation in so-called Parliamentary democracy in countries like Indonesia, Chile, Nicaragua, El Salvador and others? Would your Party have pursued the same path as above if it had correctly synthesized and taken lessons from 20th century revolutions? Is there anything wrong if one concludes from both your concept of 21st Century Democracy and multiparty competition and the practice of abandoning people's war, that you are following the same path treaded by the revisionist parties in the above-mentioned countries?

In an article in our theoretical organ *People's War* in 2006, we had pointed out the futility of participating in elections and how it would ultimately help the reactionary ruling classes. We pointed out:

"And even if a Maoist Party comes to power through elections, and merges its own armed forces with those of the old state, it can be overthrown through a military coup, its armed forces might be massacred by those of the reactionaries, its leaders and Party cadres might be eliminated. And if it wants to be part of the parliamentary game it has to abide by its rules and cannot carry out its anti-feudal, anti-imperialist policies freely. Even the independence of the judiciary has to be recognised as part of the game of parliament and can cause obstruction to every reform which the Maoist party tries to initiate after coming to power through elections."

"Then there will be several independent institutions like the judiciary, the election commission, the human rights commission sponsored by the imperialists, the media, various artistic, cultural and even religious bodies, non-government organisations,

and so on. If one declares one's commitment to multiparty democracy, one cannot escape from upholding these so-called independent institutions. Many of these can work for counter-revolution in diverse subtle ways. One cannot forget the subtle manner in which the western agencies infiltrated and subverted the societies in East European countries and even in the former Soviet Union."

Your Party had correctly explained in the document on 21st century democracy, released in June 2003, the role played by the proletarian Party after assuming state power in the following terms:

"Experience has proved that after assuming state power, when various leaders and cadres of the Party are involved in running the state affairs, then there is strong chance that physical environment may swiftly reduce the Party into a bureaucratic, careerist and luxurious class. With intensification of this danger the Party will become more formal and alienated from the masses, in the same proportion. This process when it reaches to certain level of its own development, it is bound to be transformed into counter-revolution. In order to prevent such danger as counter-revolution to happen, it is important to develop further organizational mechanism and system so that Party is constantly under the vigilance, control and service of the proletariat and working masses according to the theory of two-line struggle and continuous revolution. For this it is very important that there should be a mechanism to guarantee overall people's participation in two line struggle and that one section comprising of capable and established leaders and cadres should be constantly involved in mass work and another section should be involved in running the state machinery and that after certain interval of period there should be re-division of work thereby strengthening the relationship between the whole Party and the general masses."

The above-mentioned role is quite impossible in the present situation when your Party is sharing power with the representatives of the old feudal, comprador class and has a servile relationship with imperialism. So it was not surprising to see most of the established leaders taking up the role of administering a state that remains an instrument of oppression of the masses and in no way represents the aspirations of the masses.

On the Path of Revolution in semi-colonial semi-feudal countries:

Fusion Theory

This has been a much-debated issue ever since the time of the victorious revolution in China. During the Great Debate between the CPSU and CPC in the early 1960s, the path of revolution in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America was firmly established by the CPC.

The document adopted by the CC of the CPN(M) in 1995 had correctly formulated the strategy of protracted people's war after analyzing the specificities of Nepal:

"The synthesis of all the specificities clearly shows that it is impossible for the armed struggle in Nepal to make a quick leap into an insurrection and defeat the enemy. However, it is fully possible to finally crush the enemy through systematic development of the armed struggle in Nepal. It can be clearly derived from this that the armed struggle in Nepal must necessarily adopt a protracted People's War strategy of surrounding the city from the countryside."

But in its second national conference held in 2001, after synthesizing the experiences of people's war in Nepal, it brought forth the theory of fusion of two different kinds of strategies that are applicable to countries with different characteristics.

Just after the Second National Conference of the CPN(M), the press communiqué issued in the name of comrade Prachanda, stated in unequivocal terms that:

"The rapid development of science and technology, especially in the area of electronic field has brought about completely new model in regard to forwarding revolution in

each country and in the world in the form of fusion of the strategies of protracted people's war and general armed insurrection based on the above analysis."

While making clear that now "no model based on past proletarian revolution can be applied as in the past due to changes in the world", it has brought forth the concrete methodology of fusion of general insurrection into the strategy of PPW in Nepal.

Though the CPN(M) claimed in 2001 that this conclusion was drawn from a synthesis of the experiences of five years of people's war in Nepal, there was no experience to prove this assertion. On the contrary, the successes achieved in the five years of people's war had only vindicated the correctness of the strategy of PPW.

The changes that have occurred in the world situation after the eighties of the 20th century do not provide any new basis to "fuse" the two qualitatively different strategies into a "new" amalgamated strategy, for the simple reason that no changes of a qualitative nature have occurred in the socio-economic systems of countries like India and Nepal. In all backward countries like Nepal and India, the Maoist strategy of PPW has never rejected the usage of the tactics of uprisings in the cities during the course of the revolution. This was also seen during the Chinese revolution. In fact, the importance of usage of these tactics has grown in the context of the changes that have occurred after WW II, particularly due to the tremendous growth of urban populations and the high concentration of the working class. The Maoist forces operating in these countries should certainly give added importance to this question and prepare for uprisings in cities as part of the Maoist strategy of PPW. However, this does not mean that the two strategies should be "fused" into one by labeling PPW as an "old" and "conventional" model.

The 2005 CC Plenum "resolved that the very strategy of protracted PW needs to be further developed to cater to the necessities of the 21st century. In particular, several decades on it is seen that the protracted PWs launched in different countries have faced obstacles or got liquidated after reaching the state of strategic offensive, as imperialism has attempted to refine its interventionist counter-insurgency war strategy as a 'long war.' In this context, if the revolutionaries do mechanistically cling to the 'protracted' aspect of the PW at any cost, it would in essence play into the hands of imperialism and reaction. Hence the latest proposition of 'Prachanda Path' that the proletarian military also needs to be further developed is quite serious and of long-term significance. It may be noted that this proposition is firmly based on the concrete experiences of the successfully advancing PW now at the stage of strategic offensive and is aimed at further advancing and defending it." (**The Worker**#10: Page 58)

Thus the question of path of revolution has once again come onto the agenda for discussion after the CPN(M) proposed its "fusion" theory in 2001. The question had assumed significance for the revolutionaries everywhere not only in the context of the people's war in Nepal but also because **the CPN(M) had tried to give its fusion theory a universal character**. It theorized:

"Today, the fusion of the strategies of armed insurrection and protracted People's War into one another has been essential. Without doing so, a genuine revolution seems impossible in any country." (The Great Leap Forward ..., p. 20).

It had also argued that "On the theoretical concept of revolutionary war, this new theory of fusion of two strategies has universal significance."

"The theory developed by fusion of protracted People's War and insurrection has special significance and it has become universal."

In the paper submitted by the CPN(M) at the International seminar on *Imperialism and Proletarian Revolution in the 21st century* held on December 26, 2006, it repeated the 2003 thesis but with a very important change. It wrote:

".....we came to a conclusion that sticking to a particular model, and the tactic based on it, would not address the new contradictions created by the aforesaid changes in the society and confining the path of revolution within the framework of a certain modality would hold down our hand to resolve them.

"Taking all these ideological and political factors into account, our party from the very beginning tried to take up mass mobilization in the cities and guerrilla warfare in the countryside, i.e. political and military offensives, simultaneously, while making the latter as principal. Everyone can notice ever since the initiation, which was in the form of a kind of rebellion, our party has been incorporating some of the insurrectionary tactics all through the course of protracted people's war. That is why the course of revolution we are traversing resembles neither fully with what Mao did in China nor with what Lenin did in Russia. **We believe one of the reasons behind the development of people's war in such a short span of time in our country was our success to keep ourselves away from the constraint of any model.** In short, our position is no revolution can be repeated but developed.

"Almost after five years of the initiation of people's war in Nepal summing up its experiences in the Second National conference, 2001, our party developed a politico-military strategy stressing the need to have fusion of some aspects of the insurrectionary tactics with those of protracted people's war from the very beginning. Again, while coming at Kami Danda meeting, 2006, **summing up entire experiences of the ten years of people's war our party further developed it and synthesized that politico-military strategy with a balanced sequence of the people's war, strong mass movement, negotiations and diplomatic maneuvering only can lead the new democratic revolution in Nepal to victory.** We think, this synthesis of a revolutionary detachment of international proletarian army, the CPN (Maoist), could be useful to others as well."

Every country has its own specificities and the revolutionaries take these into account while drawing up their strategy and tactics. The world has seen two models of successful revolutions during the 20th century—the Russian model of armed insurrection and the Chinese model of protracted people's war. It is obvious that no revolution can be the exact replica of another. However, basic similarities in the objective conditions can make a particular model more relevant for a particular country. No revolutionary would claim that every country should inevitably follow this or that model *in toto* mechanically. There are bound to be variations in the strategy and tactics in different countries depending on the concrete conditions. But the general principle, of course, is common to all revolutions as explained so clearly by comrade Mao:

"The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and highest form of revolution. But while the principle remains the same (for all countries), its application by the Party of the proletariat finds expression in various ways according to the varying conditions."

The politico-military strategy is not anything new as you claim. No revolutionary party would think that it can achieve victory in the revolution through military strategy alone. Political strategy and tactics are an important part of the overall Strategy & Tactics pursued by a Maoist Party. Com Mao had always given importance to this aspect, and not just to the military aspect, in spite of the huge strength of the PLA. Isolating the main enemies, building the united front with all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces, organising the working class and other toiling masses in the urban areas and plain areas, have been an indispensable part of the agenda of the CPC under Mao and several Maoist parties today. The documents of these Parties prove this beyond any doubt.

The problem, therefore, does not lie in not realizing the importance of the work in the urban areas or in the lack of political strategy but in the nature of the politico-military strategy that is being implemented and the order of priority of the rural and

urban areas in semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries. If the chief task of smashing the state machinery, particularly the Army and other armed forces, is relegated to the background in the name of political strategy and tactics, if concessions are given to the enemy at the cost of the class interests of the proletariat and oppressed people for the sake of maintaining the united front somehow or other, then the actual problem comes to the fore. The CPN(M) had achieved rapid gains in the decade-long people's war and claimed to have control over 80 per cent of the country's territory by 2005. But even this fact does not alter or dilute the strategy of PPW and lend priority to political strategy.

The foremost task even after assuming control over 80 per cent of the territory would be to consolidate the mass base and organs of political power, increase the strength of the PLA and smash the centres of enemy power in the midst of our base areas. No doubt, the task is quite arduous and requires great determination and patience since there will be an overwhelming expectation of immediate victory among Party ranks and the people at large. Serious mistakes are likely to take place in the period of strategic offensive if the protracted nature of the people's war is not understood properly.

The fusion theory of the CPN(M) had undergone further deviations in the five years since it was first proposed, and by 2006 it became the theory of peaceful competition with the reactionary parties and peaceful transition to people's democracy and socialism. From a fusion of people's war and insurrection Prachanda's eclectic theory had assumed the form of negotiations and diplomatic manoeuvring. One of the major reasons for this change was the incorrect assessment of the contemporary world situation and the conclusion that the neo-colonial form of imperialism is now taking the form of a globalised state.

As mentioned in the seminar paper:

*"The fundamental character of imperialism hasn't been changed in essence but as said in our party document the imperialism in its course of development has been acquiring new forms and shapes. The initial colonial form of imperialism changed its form into neo-colonialism. Now the neo-colonial form is taking its shape in the form of a globalised state. **Naturally this change in form of imperialism should be taken into account while developing path of revolution.**"*

The conclusion regarding globalised state goes against dialectics as it relegates inter-imperialist contradictions to the background and attempts to make imperialism as a whole into a homogeneous mass. This formulation was put forth for the first time by your Party towards the end of December 2006 after striking an alliance with the SPA. In fact, we can say that your 12-point agreement with the SPA, your decision to become part of the interim government sharing power with the comprador-feudal reactionary parties in Nepal, your participation in the elections to the Constituent Assembly and forming a government under your leadership once again with the reactionary forces, and theorizing on peaceful competition with these parties—all these had arisen from the above assessment of your Party regarding imperialism and the conclusion that it has assumed the form of a globalised state. **It is only natural that such an assessment, similar to the thesis of ultra-imperialism proposed by Karl Kautsky in 1912 and which was laid bare by comrade Lenin, cannot but lead to the conclusion of a peaceful path and peaceful transition to people's democracy and socialism. The fusion theory had ultimately led to the theory of peaceful transition!** Now there is neither people's war nor insurrection but peaceful competition with other Parliamentary parties for achieving power through elections!!

The leadership and the entire Party ranks of UCPN(M) should at least now realize the reformist and right opportunist danger inherent in the incorrect

eclectic formulation of comrade Prachanda regarding the path of revolution in Nepal. To put forth such an eclectic fusion theory in an extremely backward semi-feudal semi-colonial country, where almost 90% of the people reside in rural areas shackled by semi-feudal social relations, is really tragic. It makes a mockery of the Maoist concept of PPW and negates the basic teachings of comrade Mao. Prachanda's fusion theory is a serious deviation from MLM, has created only confusion and illusion among Party ranks about quick victory instead of preparing the entire party for a protracted people's war.

On Prachanda Path

Much has been written about *Prachanda Path* in your documents, articles and interviews in the past seven years. It has also been a topic of discussion during our bilateral meetings in the initial years of Initiation of people's war in Nepal.

When specifically asked by your delegation, we had reiterated our stand in our bilateral meetings that building a personality cult will not help the Party or the revolution in the long run. We cited our own experiences in India at the time of comrade Charu Majumdar and advised you not to inculcate blind faith in individuals. Our firm opinion had always been that *isms, paths, thoughts* etc get established over a long process after they are vindicated in practice and have a clear scientific basis. We advised you that it was too hasty to speak of a new *path* or *thought* in Nepal just because some significant victories were achieved in the people's war. You were not convinced and proceeded with "*enriching and developing*" MLM in the form of *Prachanda Path* and giving it a universal character.

While asserting that it is the creative application of MLM to the concrete conditions of Nepal and assuring others that you do not attribute universal significance to it, you had, at the same time, tried to project it as a further development and enrichment of MLM with universal significance. Your document had mentioned thus:

"Prachanda Path has been termed in the historical Second National Conference of C.P.N. (Maoist) as an ideological synthesis of rich experiences of five years of the great People's War. The Party, in this conference, has taken up Prachanda Path as an inseparable dialectical unity between international content and national expression, universality and particularity, whole and part, general and particular, and has comprehended that this synthesis of experiences of Nepalese revolution would serve world proletarian revolution and proletarian internationalism. (The Great Leap Forward: An Inevitable Need of History).

You had tried to explain the development of *prachanda path* theoretically as follows:

*"Development of Prachanda Path is advancing ahead in its third phase. These phases can be presented as: political and military line of Nepalese revolution that was adopted in the Third Expanded Meeting of C.P.N. (Maoist) held in 1995 — the first phase; ideological synthesis of the rich experiences of five years of great People's War that took place in the historical Second National Conference of C.P.N. (Maoist) held in 2001 — the second phase and the process of development following this conference— the third phase. Along with the grasp of MLM, Prachanda Path has been developing in the process of its defense, application and development and **this concept also carries specific international significance regarding the process of development of revolutionary theory.**"*

Your Party had listed out the contributions of comrade Prachanda in the field of ideology, dialectical materialism, political and military line, and so on. But after going through the documents and writings of the leaders of UCPN(M), it is still not clear as to what has been developed anew in the real sense in the formulations made by comrade Prachanda in these fields.

In the name of creative application of MLM to the concrete conditions in Nepal and further development and enrichment of the theory of MLM "*in the conditions of 21st century*", your Party and its chief, comrade Prachanda, have brought forth several formulations that negate the fundamental teachings of comrades Lenin and Mao. You have justified this by asserting repeatedly that dogmatism has become the main obstacle for advancing the revolutions in the contemporary world. For instance, com Basanta, a CC member writes:

"Our Party, under the leadership of Chairman Comrade Prachanda, believes that the analysis of imperialism made by Lenin and Mao in the 20th century cannot scientifically guide the Maoist revolutionaries to develop correct strategy and tactics to fight in the 21st century." ("**International Dimension of Prachanda Path**", **The Worker** #10, pp. Page 84)

Your CC Plenum document of November 2005 goes on to show how globalised imperialism has caused some of the analyses of Lenin and Mao to lag behind thereby implying that these have become outdated and irrelevant. It says:

"...an important preface that today's globalized imperialism has caused some of the analyses of Lenin and Mao on the strategy of imperialism and proletarian movement to lag behind in the same manner as to how a number of Marx's and Engels' analysis of revolution in Europe, in the period of competitive capitalism, had caused to lag behind in the situation, when imperialism had developed till the First World War."

How the analyses of Lenin and Mao on the strategy of imperialism and proletarian revolution are lagging behind is not clear. But for some rhetoric, there is no substantial reasoning or analysis on the part of the CPN(M) to show the inadequacy of the analyses of Lenin and Mao or how their analysis of imperialism in the 20th century cannot scientifically guide the Maoist revolutionaries to develop correct strategy and tactics to fight in the 21st century.

After witnessing the full flowering of the concept of *prachanda path* one thing has now become clear to the Maoist revolutionaries everywhere: Lenin and Mao had indeed become an obstacle to Prachanda and the UCPN(M) for carrying out their reformist, right opportunist formulations. They needed to discard the Leninist concept of state and revolution, and imperialism and proletarian revolution. They needed to throw overboard Mao's theory of new democracy and two stages of revolution in semi-colonial semi-feudal countries, and to replace the path of PPW with an eclectic combination or fusion of people's war and insurrection, and finally pursue the same old revisionist line put forth by the CPSU under Khrushchov against which comrade Mao had fought relentlessly. *Prachanda path* had finally turned out to be a theory that negates the fundamental teachings of Lenin and Mao and the essence of *prachanda path* is seen to be no different from the Khrushchovite thesis of peaceful transition.

Assessment of the character of State in Nepal and prospects of completing the Revolution

Firstly, what is the class character of the state that the CPNM) had taken over through the process of parliamentary elections in alliance with other comprador-feudal parties?

How does the UCPN(M) intend to consummate the revolution that was stalled half-way?

What is the understanding of the UCPN(M) regarding the nature of power that had fallen into their hands through elections? Does it think it can utilize this power to bring about a basic, revolutionary change in the social system in Nepal?

How does the UCPN(M) plan to bring about the radical restructuring of society and build a new democratic Nepal in alliance with the parties representing the reactionary exploitative classes that oppose tooth and nail any such radical changes?

Does the UCPN(M) believe that the old state machine—principally with the same-old bureaucracy and major chunk of the old standing army—can act as an instrument in the hands of the proletariat to bring about radical changes in the existing semi-feudal semi-colonial social system?

And most important what is the attitude of the UCPN(M) to the question of establishing a people's democratic dictatorship in the period of New Democratic Revolution and its transition to socialism through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat? In this context what is its approach to the historic GPCR?

What will be the class character of the new army that will be formed by the proposed integration of the revolutionary PLA and the reactionary Nepalese Army? Can the UCPN(M), as a major partner in the ruling coalition in Nepal, ensure a pro-people character to the newly integrated Army of Nepal? And now when the Maoists have lost power due to withdrawal of support by the other major allies, how could they ensure that a newly integrated army, with the major portion coming from the old reactionary army, will not be used by the reactionary forces to massacre the Maoists as we had witnessed in Indonesia or Chile?

We have been continuously raising these questions, particularly during the past three years, through bilateral meetings, letters to your CC, our statements, interviews and other writings. We had brought to your notice your serious deviation from the Leninist concept of state and revolution and cited the experiences of revolution in several countries. In a statement issued in November 2006, our CC pointed out that even if the Maoists became part of the interim government or came to power through elections they cannot alter the reactionary character of the old state or build a new Nepal on the old basis.

"The agreement by the Maoists to become part of the interim government in Nepal cannot transform the reactionary character of the state machinery that serves the exploiting ruling classes and imperialists. The state can be the instrument in the hands of either the exploiting classes or the proletariat but it cannot serve the interests of both these bitterly-contending classes. It is the fundamental tenet of Marxism that no basic change in the social system can be brought about without smashing the state machine. Reforms from above cannot bring any qualitative change in the exploitative social system however democratic the new Constitution might seem to be, and even if the Maoists become an important component of the government. It is sheer illusion to think that a new Nepal can be built without smashing the existing state."

After your Party had emerged as the single largest Party in the Constituent Assembly and was trying to form a government in alliance with other parties representing the old order, we once again brought to your attention in our statement issued on behalf of our CC on April 24, 2008 thus: *"The one and only guarantee for carrying through the radical revolutionary programme is to raise the political class consciousness of the vast masses, mobilize them into class struggle, arm and train them to fight the exploiters and all reactionary forces and defend the gains they had derived through long period of class and mass struggle.....One must keep in mind that the gains that can be achieved through a government that has come to power by means of elections are very much limited. Survival of such a regime depends on taking a conciliatory stand on several crucial matters. Hence to overestimate the prospects of radical restructuring of the society or economy by a Maoist government would be illusory and will dilute the possibility as well as the ability of the Party to continue the class struggle."*

Again in our letter sent to your CC on the 1st of May 2008, we pointed out: *"It is a fundamental tenet of Marxism that no radical restructuring of the system is possible without smashing the existing state. It is impossible to make genuine changes in the*

system only through measures initiated "from above", i.e. through state decrees and laws. In fact, even drafting Nepal's Constitution in favour of the poor and oppressed masses is itself going to be a very arduous and bitter struggle.

"Nothing could be more dangerous at the present juncture than to become complacent and underestimate the prospects of a reactionary backlash. One must keep in mind that the gains that can be achieved through a government that has come to power by means of elections are very much limited. To overestimate the prospects of radical restructuring of the society or economy by a Maoist-led government would be illusory and will dilute the possibility as well as the ability of the Party to continue the class struggle."

Our Party's stand on the struggle against monarchy was made clear several times in the past. For instance, our Party General Secretary said in his answers to questions sent by BBC in April 2007:

"The real fight is not against Gyanendra and the monarchy which is but a symbol of the feudal-imperialist oppression and exploitation of the vast masses of Nepal. Without throwing out the feudal forces, the imperialists, the Indian big business and the local compradors, mere ouster of Gyanendra would not solve any of the problems of the Nepali masses. And this can be done only by firmly carrying on the people's war to final victory. No Parliament can touch the seat of these reactionary forces who de facto rule the country."

Thus it should be clear that fighting feudalism is not synonymous to fighting the monarchy. The monarchy is a part of the semi-feudal, semi-colonial system whose main aspect is in the semi-feudal land relations. In India, the rajas and maharaja were deprived of their power decades back, but that did not destroy the semi-feudal base in the countryside.

A correct assessment regarding the state was in fact given by your Party itself two years before going into alliance with the SPA. In an article entitled "**UML Government: A New Shield of Feudalism and Imperialism Under Crisis**" written by the then Chairman of CPN(M), comrade Prachanda, this was lucidly explained thus:

*"Marxism, on the basis of historical materialist scientific outlook that severely attacks upon the entire mysterious and idealist explanations in relation to state power, declared with undeniable material of experience of class struggle that it is nothing but a weapon of one class suppressing the other. **A state power that simultaneously represents classes of two opposing interests has neither been possible in the history nor will be in the future.** Marxism hates and rejects the entire prattles of reform and class collaboration as bourgeois hypocrisy. State power is either the dictatorship of the proletariat in different forms or that of the exploiting class. **There can be no other stupidity than to imagine a power acting in between these two.**"*

Citing comrade Lenin that "*The State is a special organization of force; it is an organization of violence for the suppression of some class.*", comrade Prachanda rightly asks: "*Will now the state power stop becoming an organization of violence right after the UML has become a part of the government?*"

Quoting com Lenin he explained how no government can be pro-people as long as the two institutions of bureaucracy and standing army remain intact: "*Two institutions are most characteristic of this state machine: the bureaucracy and the standing army.*"

Com Prachanda had correctly pointed out: "*It is evident that any government, which is compelled to function under the direction of the bureaucracy and standing army, the main two components of the state power, is impossible to become pro-people to the least.*"

Explaining the reactionary character of the UML government, Com Prachanda cites the famous proposition of Marxism: *"To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament—such is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism, not only in parliamentary-constitutional monarchies, but also in the most democratic republics."* (**Lenin, The State and Revolution**)

That was six years ago, in 2003, when the people's war was advancing in rapid strides. But how have these fundamental theoretical formulations changed after the CPN(M) emerged as the single largest party in the April 2008 elections?

Now we ask you the same question that you had placed when the UML came to power claiming that it represented the people's interests: ***"Is there any such particularity in Nepal because of which the class character of the reactionary state power has changed?"***

Can one describe the act of forming the government in alliance with comprador-feudal parties and attempting to bring revolutionary social change through the basically old state machine as merely a tactic? With what logic can one say it is not a path of revolution similar to the 'peaceful transition to socialism' put forth by Khrushchov?

The pronouncements by the leaders of the CPN(M) on various occasions, particularly after their electoral victory in April 2008, remind us of PKI's revisionist theory of *"a state with two aspects"*, i.e., a *"pro-people's aspect"* and an *"anti-people's aspect"* proposed by its Chairman Aidit.

According to Aidit: *"The important problem in Indonesia now is not to smash the state power as in the case in many other states, but to strengthen and consolidate the pro-people's aspect...and to eliminate the anti-people's aspect."*

This peaceful transformation would take place by *"revolutionary action from above and below"*, i.e., by initiating revolutionary measures from above aimed at changing the composition of the various state organs on the one hand, and by *"arousing, organizing and mobilizing"* the masses to achieve these changes.

Then there are several issues where the stand of your Party had already led to the abandoning of the basic requisites for bringing about a revolutionary change in Nepal. The most important among these are the virtual decimation of the PLA by limiting it to the UN-supervised barracks for over two years, return of the lands and property seized by the people in the course of the people's war to the exploiters and oppressors, demobilization of the Young Communist League, compromising with imperialism, Indian expansionism and other main enemies of revolution in Nepal, and so on.

Com Prachanda announced that the *"paramilitary modus operandi of the party's youth wing, the YCL, would be scrapped, and public and private buildings, factories and other properties captured by the party will be returned to the owners concerned."* He also announced that all the party units established as parallel state units [the various levels of the former revolutionary government established during the people's war] will likewise be scrapped, and assured that *'These agreements will be implemented as early as possible after setting a timeframe'*.

The above measures can have one and only one meaning: abandoning people's revolutionary power and all the gains accrued in the decade-long people's war at the cost of over 13,000 lives of heroic martyrs, the best sons and daughters of Nepal.

In addition to all this there is also one more serious question, as regards the understanding of the UCPN(M) towards the fundamental Marxist-Leninist concept on the dictatorship of the proletariat. As Com. Lenin said the distinguishing feature of a genuine communist is not merely limited to acceptance of the class struggle but its

extension to the question of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. MLM teaches us that this question in backward countries is related to the question of the establishment of the New Democratic State, i.e. the joint dictatorship of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes under the leadership of the proletariat, basing on the worker peasant alliance. Nowhere in their documents does the UCPN(M) talk of the question of exercising dictatorship over the exploiting classes.

On the Stage of Revolution in Nepal

The CPN(M), in its basic documents, had come out correctly with its assessment of the present stage of the revolution in Nepal as new democratic and had declared the programme to be implemented in this stage of revolution.

However, in an article by comrade Baburam Bhattarai in March 2005 and in his 13-point letter in November 2004, the above understanding regarding the new democratic stage was changed in a drastic manner. It was declared that the Nepalese revolution was passing through a **substage of a democratic republic**.

*"As far as the sincere commitment of the revolutionary democratic forces, who aspire to reach socialism and communism via a new democratic republic, towards a bourgeois democratic republic is concerned, the CPN (Maoist) has time and again clarified its principled position towards **the historical necessity of passing through a sub-stage of democratic republic in the specificities of Nepal.**" (The Royal Regression and the Question of the Democratic Republic, March 15, 2005)*

Our Party had pointed out in an article in our organ *People's war*:

*"No Maoist would say it is wrong to fight for the demand of a Republic and for the overthrow of the autocratic monarchy. And likewise, none would oppose the forging of a united front of all those who are opposed to the main enemy at any given moment. **Needless to say, such a united front would be purely tactical in nature and cannot, and should not, under any circumstances, determine the path and direction of the revolution itself. The problem with the theorization by the CPN(M) lies in making the fight against autocracy into a substage of NDR and, what is even worse, making the substage overwhelm (dominate and determine) the very direction and path of the revolution. The programme and strategy of NDR drawn up by the Party prior to its launching of the armed struggle, the targets to be overthrown and even the concrete class analysis made earlier based on which the revolution had advanced so far, are now made subordinate to the needs of the so-called substage of Nepalese revolution. It is like the case of the tail itself wagging the dog. The substage of bourgeois democratic republic has become the all-determining factor. It has subsumed the class war, set aside the strategy of protracted people's war, brought multiparty democracy or political competition with the bourgeois-feudal parties as the most important strategy, nay, path, of the Nepalese revolution.**"*

The fight against monarchy or the King has become the be-all-and-end-all—the ultimate goal—for the leadership of UCPN(M). The concepts of NDR, socialism and communism have become relegated to a secondary position and are subsumed by the concept of a sub-stage for a fight against the King.

In fact, such an understanding was reflected in the statements and interviews given by comrade Prachanda himself after the people's war in Nepal confronted serious difficulties in the phase of strategic offensive and the final assault did not fetch the anticipated results. For instance, in his interview with the BBC in 2006, com Prachanda spoke of a new Nepal without the need for smashing the old state:

"We believe that the Nepali people will go for a republic and in a peaceful way the process of rebuilding Nepal will go forward."

"In five years' time Nepal will move towards being a beautiful, peaceful and progressive nation.

"In five years' time the millions of Nepalis will already be moving ahead with a mission to make a beautiful future, and Nepal will truly start becoming a heaven on earth."

He further asserted that a democratic republic elected in such a way will solve the problems of Nepalis!!

"We believe that with the election of a constituent assembly, a democratic republic will be formed in Nepal. And this will solve the problems of Nepalis and lead the country into a more progressive path."

In an Interview to an Italian newspaper *L'espresso* in Nov 2006 Prachanda further elaborated his vision of a future Nepal as that of transforming into a bourgeois republic like that of Switzerland: *"In ten years we'll change the whole scenario, rebuilding this country to prosperity. In 20 years we could be similar to Switzerland. This is my goal for Nepal."*

And he intends to use foreign investment to achieve the above transformation of Nepal: *"we will welcome foreign investors, using capital from abroad for the well being of Nepal."*

The above lines are in no way different from what the Indian compradors continuously repeat. How will Nepal start becoming a *"heaven on earth"* after becoming a bourgeois republic? How can the formation of a so-called democratic republic *"solve the problems of Nepalis"*? Why is Prachanda dreaming of making Nepal into a bourgeois Switzerland instead of a socialist paradise? Even when comrade Prachanda had declared this to be his goal for Nepal in the next 20 years it is a pity that hardly any voice was raised within the Party. In fact, such pronouncements by Prachanda and other leaders of your Party have only increased after the elections to the CA. The entire direction and programme of your Party is, in essence, nothing but a continuation of the existing semi-colonial, semi-feudal system, i.e. the dictatorship of the exploiting classes.

Our *people's war* article had further pointed out:

"Can Nepal free itself from the clutches of imperialism after becoming a (bourgeois) democratic republic in the present imperialist era? Does the UCPN(M) really think that the "process of rebuilding Nepal will go forward in a peaceful way"? And is there a single instance in world history where such a peaceful process of rebuilding has taken place? Does not the history of world revolution show that bitter class struggle, bloody and violent at times, continues even after decades following the capture of power by the proletariat? Then how could com. Prachanda think of such a peaceful process of rebuilding Nepal?

"Do the parties belonging to the SPA really fight imperialism and feudalism in Nepal? Is there a guarantee that the CPN(M) will defeat the bourgeois-feudal parties, with which it wants to go for political competition in the elections, and ensure that Nepal does not drift into the clutches of imperialism and Indian expansionism? How could one be so naive as to believe that once the elections to the Constituent Assembly are over and Nepal becomes a Republic, not under the leadership of the working class party but may be under an alliance of a hotch-potch combination of Parties i.e., an alliance of ruling class and working class under CPN(M), the country would free itself from feudalism and imperialism and become a "beautiful, peaceful and progressive nation" ?

The same understanding of the sub-stage was reflected in the declaration by the Maoist spokesperson Krishna Bahadur Mahara in November 2006 that the pact between the Seven-Party Alliance and the Maoists should continue until the end of feudalism in the country, or at least for ten years.

Thus from the various interviews of comrade Prachanda and other leaders of the UCPN(M) we can clearly see a basic shift in the Maoist position from the immediate aim of accomplishing the new democratic revolution with the goal of fighting for socialism and communism, to the establishment of a "multi-party democratic republic" through elections and bringing social transformation through peaceful means within the framework of the old state structure. This goes against the Marxist Leninist understanding on state as well as the stage of revolution.

The non-proletarian class stand of the UCPN(M) and the confusion and deviation that had arisen concerning the people's democratic republic arises from the above theory of sub-stage which is being presented, not merely as a tactics but as a strategic concept.

On Coalition Government

The proposal to form an interim coalition government with the arch-reactionary parties that represent the class interests of the feudal, comprador ruling classes in Nepal and serve imperialism and Indian expansionism, was defended by your Party citing some historical experiences such as the proposal of a coalition government with the enemy of the Chinese people, Chiang Kai-Shek, made by the CPC under com Mao in China during the anti-Japan War of Resistance. However, the understanding and practice of the UCPN(M) under com Prachanda is diametrically opposite to that pursued by the CPC under com Mao at that time.

Com Prachanda himself exposed the anti-people character of the coalition governments formed in alliance with the bourgeois, feudal parties such as the UML-led coalition government formed in Nepal after the mid-term elections in 1991. He draws a parallel with the bourgeois democratic government formed after the 1917 February revolution following the fall of Czarism in Russia with the participation of the Mensheviks. Citing com Lenin, he wrote in the article "**UML Government: A New Shield of Feudalism and Imperialism Under Crisis**": *"The capitalists, better organized and more experienced than anybody else in matters of class struggle and politics, learnt their lesson quicker than the others. Realizing that the government's position was hopeless, they resorted to a method which for many decades, ever since 1848, has been practiced by the capitalists of other countries in order to fool, divide and weaken the workers. This method is known as a "coalition" government, i.e., a joint cabinet formed of members of the bourgeoisie and turncoats from socialism."* (**Lenin, From the Lesson of Revolution**).

It is also interesting to note that your Party had castigated the reactionary government of the UML coalition by invoking the historical experience in Russia, where, in fact, com Lenin had castigated the bourgeois democratic government even after the fall of Czarist autocracy in the following words: *"He who says that the workers must support the new government in the interests of the struggle against tsarist reaction (and apparently this is being said by the Potresovs, Gvozdyovs. Chkhenkelis and also, all evasiveness notwithstanding, by Chkheidze) is a traitor to the workers, a traitor to the cause of the proletariat, to the cause of peace and freedom. For actually, precisely this new government is already bound hand and foot by imperialist capital, by the imperialist policy."* (**Lenin: Letters From Afar**).

What is wrong in applying the above-mentioned observation of com Lenin which was made in the context of a victorious bourgeois democratic revolution and the fall of Czarist autocracy in Russia. Firstly, the two are in no way comparable as what took place in Russia was a bourgeois democratic revolution, while what took place in Nepal merely dislodged the King but did not change the semi-colonial, semi-feudal socio-economic base. Besides, the main point here is not whether a coalition government should or should not have been formed in Nepal by the CPN(M) with the other ruling class parties, but that it should not be at the cost of the demobilization of the PLA and

abandonment of the base areas as done by the CPN(M). Let us examine this most important and key issue.

On the Abandonment of the Base Areas and disarming the PLA

The central question of any revolution is the seizure of power by armed force. In semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries power is seized first in the backward areas of the countryside by establishing base areas, then encircling the urban areas, organizing uprisings in the cities and finally achieving countrywide victory. Hence the importance of base areas and the people's army needs no mention. These two aspects are crucial for victory in any revolution and these are non-negotiable under whatever pretext.

Our CC had been discussing this question with you in our high-level bilateral meetings right from the time you were working out plans for an interim government, elections to the CA and an end to monarchy. You had assured us that base areas would never be given up and PLA would not be disarmed. But eventually it turned out that you had done both and had even invited the imperialist agency—the United Nations—to supervise the disarming of the PLA.

In November 2006 our CC had issued a statement on the proposal of the CPN(M) to disarm the PLA and confine the fighters to the barracks. Entitled "*A New Nepal can emerge only by smashing the reactionary state! Depositing arms of the PLA under UN supervision would lead to the disarming of the masses!!*", the CPI(Maoist) statement stated:

"The agreement to deposit the arms of the people's army in designated cantonments is fraught with dangerous implications. This act could lead to the disarming of the oppressed masses of Nepal and to a reversal of the gains made by the people of Nepal in the decade-long people's war at the cost of immense sacrifices....."

"Entire experiences of the world revolution had demonstrated time and again that without the people's army it is impossible for the people to exercise their power. Nothing is more dreadful to imperialism and the reactionaries than armed masses and hence they would gladly enter into any agreement to disarm them. In fact, disarming the masses has been the constant refrain of all the reactionary ruling classes ever since the emergence of class-divided society. Unarmed masses are easy prey for the reactionary classes and imperialists who even enact massacres as proved by history. The CC, CPI(Maoist), as one of the detachments of the world proletariat, warns the CPN(Maoist) and the people of Nepal of the grave danger inherent in the agreement to deposit the arms and calls upon them to reconsider their tactics in the light of bitter historical experiences....."

"We also appeal to the CPN(Maoist) once again to rethink about their current tactics which are actually changing the very strategic direction of the revolution in Nepal and to withdraw from their agreement with the government of Nepal on depositing the arms of the PLA as this would make the people defenceless in face of attacks by the reactionaries."

In his answer to the questions sent by the media, mainly by the BBC, in April 2007, our General Secretary, comrade Ganapathy, pointed out:

"The most dangerous part of the deal is the disarming of the PLA by depositing the arms and placing the fighters in cantonments. This will do no good except disarming the masses and throwing them to the mercy of the oppressors. Neither the imperialists nor big neighbours like India and China would allow any fundamental change in the socio-economic system in Nepal. They cannot remain passive spectators if their interests are undermined by the Maoists whether through a people's war or through the parliament. Hence the Maoists can never achieve their aim of putting an end to feudal and imperialist exploitation by entering the parliament in the name of multi-party democracy. They will have to either get co-opted into the system or abandon the

present policy of power-sharing with the ruling classes and continue the armed revolution to seize power. There is no Buddhist middle way. They cannot set the rules for a game the bourgeoisie had invented."

The move to deposit arms and confine the PLA fighters to UN-supervised cantonments, in practice, was tantamount to abandoning PPW and class struggle in the name of multi-Party democracy and endangering the gains made during the decade-long People's War. The first big deviation occurred when the CPN(M) decided to sail with the SPA by agreeing to abandon the Base Areas, demobilize its PLA, and participate in the elections in the name of fighting against the monarchy. **This line is a total deviation from MLM and the concept of PPW.** To justify this, the CPN(M) had cited the example of the CPC under Mao which had gone for a united front with Chiang Kai-shek's KMT and had given a call for a coalition government. It is a fact that CPC had given the call for such a united front. However, it is also a fact that it had never proposed giving up the Base Areas or disarming the PLA. And it was precisely this which had made the CPC's position stronger by the end of the anti-Japanese War. It was able to dictate terms to others mainly based on its independent strength in the base areas and its PLA. And when Chiang refused to act in the interests of China and continued his offensive against the Communists in collusion with the imperialists, CPC was able to isolate the KMT, expand the base areas and PLA rapidly, and achieve victory in the revolution in a short period after the end of anti-Japanese War of Resistance. As a result, CPC gained enormously from its proposal of UF with the KMT.

But in the case of the UCPN(M), although it achieved a big electoral gain, it had suffered a big strategic loss as it had disbanded the people's governments at the local level, abandoned the base areas and disarmed the people's army. One clause in the agreement to deposit arms by the PLA even sounds ridiculous. It says that while the PLA deposits its arms and confines itself to barracks, the Nepal Army too should deposit an equal number of arms! With this clause while the PLA as a whole becomes disarmed the reactionary army remains intact!! All that it has to do is to deposit some arms. Why did the leadership of the CPN(M) agree to such a ridiculous, and more important, such a dangerous, condition? Is it so naïve that it is not aware of the consequences? **We can only say this has been done deliberately as the central leadership of the Party had chosen to stay away from people's war and to pursue the peaceful path of multi-Party democracy to build a supposedly new Nepal.** Comrade Prachanda had unequivocally asserted this in his interviews, speeches and on various occasions.

Now Prachanda's path had placed the CPN(M) or what is now called, UCPN(M), the PLA and the revolutionary people's power in the countryside in great peril and at the mercy of reactionary parties, Indian expansionists and imperialists. It is now powerless to defend itself or the interests of the vast masses in face of attacks by the reactionary classes and imperialists. It has no base areas to bank upon and no army to fight against the reactionary coups and plots.

Moreover, after the formation of the Maoist-led government, the PLA is no more under the UCPN(M). The changed role and responsibility of the PLA were pointed out in clear terms in a speech delivered by com Prachanda on the occasion of the 14th Anniversary of PW and 8th PLA Day at Hattikhori PLA Cantonment and published on February 26:

The most important question is that according to the spirit of interim constitution and the agreements held before between the political parties, PLA will not be directly under the Unified CPN (Maoist). PLA will be directly under the leadership of AISC. Theoretically PLA is already under it. We will be connected for a long time contemplatively, that is another thing. However, PLA will not be under unified CPN-

Maoist anymore, morally and theoretically. In the situation of a legal state power and the transitional period, PLA will accept the leadership of AISC and follow its directives. PLA has been a part of the state legally since the day AISC has been made.

Today, there is a peculiar situation in Nepal. The old Royal Nepal Army continues to be the bulwark of the present state structure in Nepal while the PLA is a passive onlooker. What would the Maoists do if a coup is staged by the Army with the instigation of the reactionary comprador-feudal parties with the backing of Indian expansionists and US imperialists? Or if an Indonesia-type blood-bath of the Communists is organised by the reactionaries? How do the Maoists defend themselves when they have demobilised and disarmed the PLA? We had raised the question in our bilateral meetings right from the time when such a proposal of integration of the two armies was put forth by comrade Prachanda. There has never been an answer to this crucial, fundamental question of revolution. **By evading an answer and displaying eclecticism, your Party has actually placed the future of the oppressed people of Nepal in grave danger.**

On UCPN(M)'s understanding of Indian Expansionism

During Prachanda's official visit to India, he also used the occasion to hobnob with comprador-feudal parties like JD(U), Nationalist Congress, Samajwadi Party, RJD, LJP etc., besides informal meetings with Sonia Gandhi, Digvijay Singh, and some BJP leaders like LK Advani, Rajnath Singh and Murali Manohar Joshi. Perhaps his strategy was to cultivate good relations with the fascist BJP in case it wins in the next Parliamentary elections. His remarks during his India visit reflected, at best, his underassessment about the danger posed by Indian expansionism to Nepal and illusions regarding the character of the Indian state. And, at worse, it shows his opportunism in making a complete turn-about with regard to his assessment of India after winning the elections.

This attitude can be seen in his lauding the role of India in achieving the "*smooth and peaceful*" transition in Nepal and also praising India for its help in arranging the meeting between CPN(M) and SPA in Delhi and in forging a common front of the eight parties against the King. While talking to Rajnath Singh whose Hindu fascist party was responsible for the destruction of Babari Masjid and for inciting communal attacks against Muslims and Christians and genocide in Gujarat, Prachanda spoke of the common cultural heritage of the two countries and about Ayodhya. Hugging Manmohan Singh **he even requested that India should assist Nepal in drafting the new Constitution! It is a great insult to the people of both Nepal and India and amounts to surrendering the sovereignty of Nepal to Indian Expansionist rulers.** He knows our party's stand regarding the drafting of the Indian Constitution and its anti-people, pro-imperialist class content. Yet, he chose to seek the help of the Indian rulers in drafting the Constitution of Nepal!! **This is not just pragmatism but a clean and clear deviation from the ML standpoint and even goes against the spirit of nationalism that he had been speaking of.**

Failure to arrive at a correct objective assessment and understanding of Indian expansionism and its role in South Asia would have far-reaching consequences on revolutions in the countries of the region. The CPN(M) had, by and large, a correct understanding regarding Indian expansionism until it went into agreement with the major comprador-feudal parties constituting the SPA in 2006. There were, of course, some problems such as an over-assessment of the contradiction between India and US imperialism and the eagerness of the CPN(M) to utilize the supposed contradiction. Our Party delegation had brought to your attention the danger of falling into the trap set by the Indian expansionist ruling classes and cautioned you against hob-nobbing with the leaders of the various reactionary ruling class parties in India, particularly

the BJP and the Congress, but you continued to maintain relations in the name of utilizing the contradictions in the interest of the revolution in Nepal. We alerted you that the opposite would happen, and that eventually, it is not you but the Indian ruling classes who would utilize your soft approach and influence your ranks, including the leadership. The counter-revolutionary intelligence wing of India, RAW (Research & Analysis Wing), and the leaders of the various reactionary political parties in India had been very active in sowing illusions and ideological confusion among the rank and file of the CPN(M) but your Party leadership continued to cultivate and maintain intimate relations with these reactionary forces. The extent of the influence of these forces and the damage caused to the revolution could be gauged by the fact that several times your leadership had pleaded that strong words against Indian expansionism be dropped in the statements issued by our two Parties as well as in the statements issued by CCOMPOSA.

However, in spite of these deviations, overall, until 2005, there had been a collective struggle by our two Parties and by other Maoist Parties in South Asia against Indian expansionism. The CCOMPOSA too was formed with the aim of fighting against Indian expansionism and achieving unity and collective effort for advancing the revolutions in South Asia. But, after your 12-point agreement with the SPA, this struggle against Indian expansionism began to be blunted over time finally reaching a stage where your leadership even went to the extent of showering praise on the Indian ruling classes and taking their guidance.

We appeal to the leadership and the entire rank and file of the UCPN(M) to reconsider their stand towards Indian expansionism and to adopt a firm stance. Diplomatic relations between states should not run counter to the principle of proletarian internationalism.

On Proletarian Internationalism

Another serious deviation in the leadership of the UCPN(M) lies in its abandoning the principle of proletarian internationalism, shelving the CCOMPOSA and the fight against Indian expansionism and US imperialism, adopting a narrow nationalistic approach and sheer pragmatism in dealing with other countries and Parties. We can describe this trend as nothing but the approach of compradors taking a nationalistic garb. Comrade Prachanda obliterates class content and class perspective, mixes up bourgeois democracy with people's democracy and justifies all opportunist alliances as being in the interests of Nepal, without mentioning the class divisions and class rule within the country. When any tactic is divorced from our strategic goal of New Democratic Revolution it ends in opportunism.

This is contrary to the principle of proletarian internationalism as envisaged by our great Marxist teachers and is opposed to MLM ideology. This stand will not promote, but rather harm, the interests of the Nepalese masses, undermine Nepal's sovereignty in the long run, creates illusions on the reactionary parties in Nepal, and Indian expansionists outside. It undermines the need for a united struggle by ML parties world-wide against imperialism, particularly US imperialism.

It is a great paradox that a supposedly Maoist-led government has not even ventured to sever its ties with the Zionist Israeli terrorist state particularly after its brutal blatant aggression of Gaza and the massacre of hundreds of Palestinians when governments such as those in Venezuela and Bolivia had dared to do so. Even more disgusting is the manner in which the UCPN(M) leadership has been trying to get into the good books of the American imperialists. To curry favour with the American imperialists, a section of the UCPN(M) leadership had even assured that it would remove the Maoist "tail" from its Party name. Your entire Party should think that this is the proper time for you to take a consistently anti-imperialist, anti-Indian expansionist approach and work to forge close, working relations with other revolutionary and progressive forces worldwide to weaken imperialism and the reactionary forces.

Only through resolute struggle against the Revisionist Line pursued by the leadership of the UCPN(M) can a revolutionary line be re-established and bring the Nepalese revolution to its consummation

Lack of conviction in the ideology of MLM, concept of quick victory and eclecticism with regard to the path of revolution in Nepal arising out of the series of successes in the people's war, a wrong assessment of the impact of changes in the contemporary world leading to the conclusion that a qualitative change had occurred in the nature of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, and a lack of a strategic outlook to transform temporary defeats in a few battles into victories in the overall war, had led to a drastic drift in the stand of the CPN(M) and its slide into Right opportunism. The turning point in the people's war in Nepal occurred when the PLA led by the CPN(M) failed to smash enemy fortifications and suffered serious losses in the second half of 2005.

The 2005 CC Plenum had "*resolved that the very strategy of protracted PW needs to be further developed to cater to the necessities of the 21st century. In particular, several decades on it is seen that **the protracted PWs launched in different countries have faced obstacles or got liquidated after reaching the state of strategic offensive**, as imperialism has attempted to refine its interventionist counter-insurgency war strategy as a 'long war.'* In this context, if the revolutionaries do mechanically cling to the 'protracted' aspect of the PW at any cost, it would in essence play into the hands of imperialism and reaction." (**The Worker**#10: Page 58)

Thus the reason for the present predicament of the UCPN(M) and its change of strategy and path of the revolution lies in its inconsistency in adhering to the political line and the path of PPW enunciated in its own basic documents. While it correctly formulated the present stage of revolution in Nepal and the strategy and path of revolution in its founding documents, it landed into confusion regarding the strategy within five years of initiation of people's war.

The series of victories in the first few years of people's war were beyond the expectations of even the Party leadership. These victories also created a wrong thinking in the Party leadership that final victory could be quickly achieved, and instead of firmly adhering to the strategy of PPW which had brought about these successes, it began to develop new theories like the fusion theory and began to develop new strategies not only for the revolution in Nepal but also for the world revolution. Initially it expected to capture Kathmandu in a short period without a sober assessment of the support which the Nepalese ruling classes led by the King could get from the imperialists and Indian expansionists and also over-assessing the contradictions between the imperialists and big countries like China and India.

The document entitled "**Present Situation and Our Tasks**", presented by comrade Prachanda and adopted by the CC, CPN(M) in May 2003, made the following assessment:

"Had world imperialism, particularly American imperialism in today's context, not helped the old state directly, the Nepalese revolution would have by today developed further ahead with relative ease and somewhat differently through the use of the thought, strategy and tactics synthesized in the Party's historic Second National Conference. The Nepalese revolution has been affected by the activities of American imperialism, like bringing the most brutal and fascist feudal elements through the infamous palace massacre to take on the Nepalese People's War to intensifying its interventionist activities in Nepal with the declaration of the so-called war against terrorism after the September 11 event. We can clearly and with experience say that had the old feudal state and its royal army not had direct involvement of American

military advisors in planning, construction, training and direction in the post "emergency" period and that had it not received financial and military assistance from foreign reactionary forces including America, the old rotten feudal state in Nepal had no chance of surviving in the face of People's War till today."

In an interview to *The Times of India* in September 2005 comrade Prachanda said that his party would have *"captured Kathmandu by now if countries like the US, India and the UK had not extended military support to Nepal's 'tottering' feudal rulers."*

Is it not wishful thinking on the part of the UCPN(M) and com Prachanda to expect that revolution in Nepal can become victorious without fighting imperialist intervention? Intervention in the internal affairs of every country is the very essence and nature of imperialism. Even to imagine that they could have rapidly achieved victory if other countries had not extended military support to the tottering feudal rulers of Nepal smacks of romanticism.

Thus, due to all these factors, which are but natural in the course of any revolution, the people's war in Nepal had become stuck up in the stage of strategic stalemate or equilibrium in spite of tremendous victories and formation of the revolutionary organs of power in the vast countryside. Although it had declared that it had entered the stage of strategic counter-offensive by August 2004 and had even successfully implemented the first plan of the counter-offensive, which it summed up a year later, it realized that it is not possible to capture the urban centres and Kathmandu in the immediate future. Its assessment of a quick victory did not seem feasible. While it has control over the vast countryside it is unable to stage a general armed insurrection or to implement its theory of fusing the strategies of the Russian model of armed insurrection and the Chinese model of protracted people's war or the so-called fusion theory. The United Revolutionary People's Council (URPC), which the CPN(M) had formed as early as September 2001, had not been able to establish itself as an organ of new democratic people's power at the central level nor is it likely to do so in the immediate future.

CN(M)'s deviation from the concept of PPW and its longing for a quick victory did not allow it to think of tiring out the enemy in incessant war, accumulating its own strength further, and making long-term preparations for defeating the enemy and smashing the state machine at the opportune time. It erroneously thought that the longer the war dragged on the more difficult and unfavourable will the situation be for the revolutionary forces as the reactionary forces and the armies of imperialist powers and India are bound to intervene militarily.

The CPN(M) began to be skeptical about the prospects of victory in a small country like Nepal when it is confronted by imperialism and there is no advancement of any strong revolutionary movement in other parts of the world.

*"In the present context, when along with the restoration of capitalism in China there is no other socialist state existing, when despite objective condition turning favorable currently there is no advancement in any strong revolutionary movement under the leadership of the proletariat, and **when world imperialism is pouncing on people everywhere like an injured tiger, is it possible for a small country with a specific geo-political compulsion like Nepal to gain victory to the point of capturing central state through revolution?** This is the most significant question being put before the Party today. The answer to this question can only be found in **Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and on this depends the future of the Nepalese revolution.**"*

If the CPN(M) had a deep and thorough understanding of the strategy of PPW it would have had adequate clarity on how to grapple with the situation in the event of

external military intervention and transform the war into a national war and capture state power in the course of the war. But its lack of such understanding of PPW and its desire for quick victory led it to the highly dangerous short cut method of coming to power through an interim government and participating in the elections in a so-called multiparty democratic republic following the elections to the Constituent Assembly. Thus, **instead of adhering to the Marxist Leninist understanding on the imperative need to smash the old state and establish the proletarian state (the people's democratic state in the concrete conditions of semi-feudal semi-colonial Nepal) and advance towards the goal of socialism through the radical transformation of the society and all oppressive class relations, it chose to reform the existing state through an elected constituent assembly and a bourgeois democratic republic. It is indeed a great tragedy that it has come to this position in spite of having had de facto power in most of the countryside.**

The conclusion regarding the impossibility of achieving victory in the revolution through armed struggle is reflected clearly in Prachanda's answer to a question by a correspondent of *The Hindu* in his Interview with comrade Prachanda in February 2006. When asked whether the decision was a recognition by the CPN(M) of the "*impossibility of seizing power through armed struggle*" and that "*because of the strength of the RNA and the opposition of the international community, a new form of struggle is needed in order to overthrow the monarchy*", comrade Prachanda had replied that his Party had taken three things into consideration for arriving at the conclusion: **the specificity of the political and military balance in today's world; the experience of the 20th century; and the particular situation in the country - the class, political and power balance.**

In an article you had rightly pointed out the reformist thinking in the Nepalese communist movement in the following words:

"In the Nepalese communist movement a rightist thinking has been dominant that accepts New Democracy as a strategy but follows reformism and parliamentarism as the tactics, that sacrifices the totality of strategy for the practical tactical gain and that regards strategy and tactics as mutually exclusive. Against such thinking we should pay special attention to understand the relations between strategy and tactics in a dialectical manner and to adopt such tactics as to help the strategy."

Now your Party itself has become a victim of such Rightist thinking by accepting New Democracy in name only, but following reformism and parliamentarism in your concrete tactics.

Whatever be the tactics adopted by the UCPN(M) the most objectionable part is your projection of these tactics as a theoretically developed position which you think should be the model for the revolutions in the 21st century. You consider the ideologies developed by Lenin and Mao at the initial phase of international imperialism and proletarian revolution as having become inadequate and lagging behind at the present imperialistic phase. And, therefore, you claim that '*the main issue is to develop MLM in the 21st century and to determine a new proletarian strategy.*'

But what is new in the so-called new tactics proposed by the UCPN(M)? How is it different from the arguments put forth by the Khrushchovite clique in the Soviet Union after the death of com Stalin? In the name of fighting against dogmatism or orthodox communism the leadership of CPN(M) had landed into a Right opportunist line.

Comrades!

Today the entire world is going through the worst ever economic crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s. With American imperialism as the focus every country

in the world is engulfed in the crisis which is threatening to erupt into social and political explosions. In such an excellent situation the Maoist revolutionary forces in every country can grow in strength by properly utilizing the favourable objective situation created by the crisis and achieve great advances in the revolutions in their respective countries. But unfortunately the leadership of the Maoist Party in Nepal has chosen to strike a deal with the reactionary anti-people forces in the country and form a government that can in no way address any of the basic problems facing the Nepalese people or achieve the Basic programme of New Democracy and socialism. This peaceful path of com Prachanda has already led the Party and the PLA into a dark tunnel.

Our CC appeals to the leadership and ranks of the UCPN(M) to undertake a deep review of the wrong reformist line that the Party has been pursuing ever since it has struck an alliance with the SPA, became part of the interim government, participated in the elections to the CA, formed a government with the comprador-feudal parties, abandoned the base areas and demobilized the PLA and the YCL, deviated from the principle of proletarian internationalism and adopted a policy of appeasement towards imperialism, particularly American imperialism, and Indian expansionism. All these are a serious deviation from MLM and only work towards the strengthening of the status quoist forces and help imperialism in its hour of crisis. These have also created confusion among the revolutionary masses, weakened the revolutionary camp and given the reactionary forces and imperialism a baton to attack the Maoist revolutionaries and communism ideologically.

A Maoist victory in Nepal, or at least the further consolidation of the vast Base Areas in that country, would have given rise to a new situation in South Asia, and a new democratic Nepal advancing towards socialism would have become a focal point, a rallying point, for the revolutionary forces in the region as well as all anti-imperialist, genuinely nationalist and democratic forces. It would have also played a significant role in the world-wide front against imperialism and assisted the national liberation struggles and revolutionary struggles thereby strengthening the cause of world socialist revolution.

Our CC has followed the deliberations at the national convention of CPN(M) in November 2008, gone through the two documents placed by comrade Prachanda and Mohan Baidya and the various writings by your Party leaders in the magazines and news papers. While the inner-Party struggle is an encouraging sign and a positive development in the life of the Party, it is very important and vital to ensure that it is carried out in a more thoroughgoing, fearless and frank manner so as the initiative of the entire Party cadre is released and a correct revolutionary line is re-established through collective participation of the entire Party.

Now that the government headed by comrade Prachanda has collapsed after the withdrawal of support by the UML and others at the behest of the Indian ruling classes, American imperialists and the local reactionaries, the Party leadership should be better placed to understand how the reactionaries can manage the show from the sidelines or outside and obstruct even moves such as sacking of the Army chief by a Prime Minister. This is a clear warning to the Maoists in Nepal that they cannot do whatever they like through their elected government against the wishes of the imperialists and Indian expansionists.

At least now they should realize the futility of going into the electoral game and, instead, should concentrate on building class struggle and advancing the people's war in the countryside. They should pull out the PLA from the UN-supervised barracks which are virtually like prisons for the fighters, reconstruct the organs of people's revolutionary power at various levels, retake and consolidate the base areas, and expand the guerrilla war, and class and mass struggles throughout the country. There is no short cut to achieve real power to the people. If the Party leadership hesitates to

continue the people's war at this critical juncture of history and persists in the present right opportunist line then history will hold the present leadership responsible for the abortion of revolution in Nepal.

In conclusion our Party opines that although the UCPN(Maoist) has a glorious revolutionary tradition, but now by abandoning the Base Areas, disarming the people's Army, discarding the path of ppw and adopting the parliamentary path, the leadership of this glorious party is pursuing a political line that is against the basic tenets of M-L-M and is in essence nothing but a right opportunist and revisionist line.

Comrades,

Your Party has a great and glorious revolutionary tradition. The oppressed masses of India and entire South Asia were greatly inspired by the historic leaps took in the People's War and the establishment of Base Areas in vast parts of your country. When your revolutionary movement reached the stage of the strategic offensive the entire revolutionary camp keenly awaited further gigantic strides towards the seizure of power and the establishment of a truly New Democratic State. But, unfortunately at this crucial juncture, the leadership of your Party began to divert from the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and enter the path of compromise with the ruling classes of your country and the Indian expansionists. Slowly the leadership of your Party began to traverse nothing but a revisionist and class collaborationist path throwing to the winds the historic advances in your protracted people's war and betraying the great sacrifices made by the 13,000 heroic martyrs who laid down their precious lives for the revolution in Nepal.

Given the great revolutionary traditions of your Party, we are confident that you will come out of this abyss that the leadership of your Party has pushed you into; that you will come out of the revisionist stands and practice and once again grasp firmly principles of M-L-M and apply them creatively to the concrete conditions of your country, rebuild your People's Liberation Army and re-establish your Base Areas and the organs of revolutionary power. Thus getting rid of these wrong lines and practices we are confident you will re-build the fraternal relations with the genuine M-L-M forces around the world, particularly in India, and advance in big strides forward towards the establishment of a New Democratic State as the first step toward socialism and communism. In this historic advance our Party and its CC assures you of all assistance in the true spirit of proletarian internationalism. In this context we feel the great need to advance the main slogans of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution: *never forget class struggle; fight self, refute revisionism; practice Marxism, not revisionism.*

Our two countries and peoples have close historical and cultural ties; we both have a common enemy in Indian Expansionism. Our two Parties, through many ups and downs, have had close relations for decades and have even built joint fronts like the CCOMPOSA. We are confident that these will help bind our two Parties on a principled basis. The advance of revolution in your country has an important bearing on the advance of revolution in India. We are confident you will learn from your past experiences and take great leaps forward.

With Revolutionary Greetings,

Central Committee,

CPI (Maoist)

July20, 2009

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)

CENTRAL COMMITTEE



Press Release:

May 20, 2009

Prabhakaran is a great martyr in the glorious struggle for the liberation of the Tamil nation!

Martyrdom of Prabhakaran cannot suppress the liberation struggle of Sri Lankan Tamils for a separate sovereign Tamil Eelam!!

On the 18th of May the Sinhala chauvinist Sri Lankan army claimed to have shot dead Velupillai Prabhakaran, the Tamil nationalist leader who led the war for the liberation of Tamil nation in Sri Lanka for over three decades. However, the fascist Rajapakse regime of Sri Lanka made the official confirmation of the death of Prabhakaran only the next day.

The death of Prabhakaran and several other leaders of LTTE is the culmination of the genocidal war unleashed by the Sinhala chauvinist ruling classes of Sri Lanka against the Tamil nation—a war that had taken thousands of Tamil lives, destroyed the towns and villages inhabited by Tamil nationals, displaced lakhs of people, and turned the entire northern region inhabited by Tamil nationals into a grave-yard. In this genocidal war the fascist Rajapakse government was assisted and guided by the various imperialist powers, and by the big powers of Asia—India and China. It is after arming itself to the teeth with material assistance from these powers that Rajapakse regime unilaterally broke the cease-fire of 2002 signed with LTTE and began its brutal onslaught in July 2006. It had unleashed aerial bombardment and indiscriminate destruction of the Tamil areas, carried out gruesome genocide, and created an unprecedented humanitarian crisis. The fascist army had bombed schools and hospitals, besides residential houses and offices of LTTE. The indiscriminate bombing on LTTE bases and civilian people had created a situation where people had no alternative but to flee the war-zone. And this was the goal of the Sri Lankan rulers who, like the Israeli Zionist racists who had occupied and settled Jews on Palestine territories, want to settle the Sinhalese citizens permanently in Tamil territories and change the demography of the region.

While this is the fact the neo-Nazi Rajapakse regime is falsely claiming that his army had been continuing the operations only against the LTTE to save the Tamil civilians. All the major powers in the world are accomplices in the genocide of the Tamil people and the murder of Prabhakaran and other leaders of the LTTE. The betrayal by renegades like Col. Karuna and Pillayan, has played no less a role in the setback to Tamil cause. They had shamelessly joined hands with Rajapakse—the chief enemy of the Tamils for a few crumbs.

The reactionary rulers of Sri Lanka, India and various imperialist powers and their servile media have been describing Prabhakaran as a terrorist and LTTE as a terrorist outfit. Every national liberation struggle in history had to bear with such epithets hurled by the colonialists and their servile lackeys. The fact is for over three decades Prabhakaran and the LTTE he led waged one of the longest and fiercest wars for national liberation in South Asia. LTTE and Prabhakaran had been a terror not only to the Sri Lankan rulers but also to the Indian ruling classes who had sent their Army

into Sri Lanka in 1987 to suppress the LTTE in the name of peace-keeping force but had to withdraw it after suffering huge losses of over 3000 troops in just three years. Moreover, the LTTE had also shot dead Rajiv Gandhi in 1991 for having sent the IPKF.

How was it possible for the Sri Lankan Army to defeat the powerful LTTE and capture the entire territories held by the LTTE? Every organization waging a national liberation war or a revolutionary war has to study this seriously. One of the reasons is the complacent attitude on the part of LTTE after having captured and retained its power over the Tamil territories for a considerable period. From a guerrilla force it gradually assumed the character of a standing army waging positional war. Hence its forces became easy targets for the enemy who had relied heavily on aerial bombardment of entire territories followed by occupation. Another reason was the lack of a consistent policy of uniting various sections of the Tamil people and organizations and building a broad-based front against the Sri Lankan state. Loss of the Eastern Province was the first great setback, and betrayal by renegades like Karuna and Pillayan who had joined hands with the ruling party and assisted in identifying and unleashing attacks on LTTE bases is also an important factor leading to the setback.

The CC, CPI(Maoist), offers its humble homage to Prabhakaran and the thousands of LTTE leaders and cadres who had laid down their lives fighting heroically until their last breath for the liberation of their nation. The aspirations of the Tamil nation cannot be crushed through brutal fascist means. Learning lessons from the setback, the Tamil nation will rise up again and wage a more united and militant struggle to achieve its genuine liberation. We stand by the Tamil people's demand for a separate sovereign Tamil Eelam and pledge to extend our support and solidarity.

sd/

Azad,
Spokesperson,
Central Committee,
CPI(Maoist)

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)

CENTRAL COMMITTEE



Press Release:

May 24, 2009

**Condemn the cold-blooded murder of CC member of
CPI (Maoist) comrade Patel Sudhakar Reddy (Suryam) and
DC member comrade Venkatayya by the APSIB!**

**Red Salutes to comrades Sudhakar Reddy and Venkatayya!
We shall avenge the murder of our beloved comrades!!**

Comrade Patel Sudhakar Reddy alias Suryam alias Vikas, member of the central committee of CPI(Maoist), was arrested on May 22 from Nashik city in Maharashtra by the APSIB, was brutally tortured and murdered on 23rd night. As usual, the AP police, under the direction of fascist YSR government, floated the story of an encounter having taken place in Tadwai forest in Warangal district in which comrade Suryam and district committee member comrade Venkatayya were said to have been killed. The police claimed that one AK-47 rifle and a 9mm pistol were recovered from the state along with three kit bags. Comrade Sudhakar Reddy was being followed by APSIB since at least a week prior to his arrest. He was kept under watch when he went to the shelter maintained by comrade Venkatayya in Nashik. The police waited with the hope of abducting some more top leaders of the Party but when they realized that Suryam became suspicious of being followed, he was promptly abducted along with comrade Venkatayya and both were shot dead after severe torture. These murders are yet another instance of the so-called rule of law preached by YS Reddy, Manmohan Singh, Chidambaram and the top police brass.

Comrade Suryam, hailing from Mahbbobnagar district in south Telengana, is a senior leader of the CPI(Maoist) who began his revolutionary life as a student leader of Radical Students Union in early '80s. Responding to the call of the Party to build a zone of armed agrarian revolutionary struggle in North Telangana and Dandakaranya with the goal of transforming them into base areas, he went to Eturnagaram-Mahadevpur forest in North Telangana in 1983 and worked as a commander of the guerrilla squad. Later he was transferred to Gadchiroli district where he worked until 1988. He was shifted to the work of purchasing arms for equipping the speedily growing armed guerrilla squads. He played a crucial role in supplying arms to the Party but was arrested in 1992 in Bangalore based on a tip-off from an arrested person. He remained an exemplary communist leader in jail where he spent almost seven years. He was released in 1998 and was taken into the AP state committee in the state Plenum held in 1999. He served as its secretariat member from 2001 to mid-2003 when he was transferred to other work allotted by the CC. He played a prominent role in building the movement in Dandakaranya in its initial years and later in the state of Andhra Pradesh. He was taken into the CC in 2005 and as a member of the CC he made significant contribution in formulating the central policies and plans.

Comrade Venakatayya hails from Cheryala mandal in Warangal district and was actively involved in the student movement in AP for almost a decade and served as a leader of the All India Revolutionary Student Federation in AP. He was shifted to technical work in 2004 and has been working in the technical field since then.

The martyrdom of these comrades is a great loss to the Indian revolution. The CC, CPI(Maoist), pays its red revolutionary homage to comrade Sudhakar Reddy and Venkatayya and vows to fulfill their revolutionary dreams of a classless society. The people of India, particularly the people of AP, will never forget the great service these comrades had rendered to the Indian revolution. The Party will certainly avenge the martyrdom of these comrades by intensifying and expanding the ongoing people's war, establish base areas in the vast countryside of the country, transform the PLGA into PLA and advance the Indian revolution to its final victory.

sd/

Azad,
Spokesperson,
Central Committee,
CPI(Maoist).

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)
CENTRAL COMMITTEE



Press Release:

June 5, 2009

Condemn the cold-blooded murder of our beloved leaders—comrades Patel Sudhakar Reddy and Venkatayya—by the APSIB goons!

Observe Bharath bandh on June 12 demanding punishment to the murderers and end to state terrorism!

On May 23 at about 10.30 am, the lawless bandits belonging to the SIB of Andhra Pradesh arrested comrade Patel Sudhakar Reddy alias Suryam alias Vikas, an established leader of the Indian revolution and a member of the central committee of CPI(Maoist), and a district-level comrade Venkatayya alias Prasanna from Nashik city in Maharashtra. They were brutally tortured and murdered in the early hours of 24th. Soon after the fascist Congress party led by YSR was re-elected to power in AP, it had recommenced its blood-thirsty campaign of tortures and murders through its sadist police and intelligence officers. The dead bodies of these two Maoist revolutionary leaders were thrown in the forest near Lavvala in Tadwai mandal of Warangal district and the usual story of an encounter was floated. The Chief Minister who was in Delhi repeated this concocted police story without an iota of shame no matter even if none believed it. The police claimed that one AK-47 rifle and a 9mm pistol were recovered from the dead along with three kit bags. **These lawless thugs have far surpassed the Nazis by issuing statement in the name of our Party spokesperson, comrade Azad, to mislead the people. We reiterate that the said statement was a concoction of the APSIB which is infamous for such forgeries as part of its psychological warfare.**

The CC, CPI(Maoist), calls upon the people of the country to raise their voices of protest against these gruesome murders of Maoist revolutionary leaders who had dedicated their entire lives for the liberation of the country from the clutches of the imperialists, feudal forces and the comprador capitalists. It is high time that the democratic organizations, individuals and people at large stand up and question the

growing state terror and the indescribable atrocities perpetrated by the khaki goons under the direct guidance of khadi-clad leaders of the Congress and the UPA. Manmohan Singh-Sonia Gandhi-Chidambaram & Co cry from roof-tops about their commitment to the 'rule of law', non-violence, democracy and such trash even as their government imposes state terror over vast tracts of the country and their khaki mercenaries go on the rampage violating all the provisions of the Indian Constitution and trampling underfoot all the laws of the country. Our central committee calls upon the people of our country, particularly in the states of AP, Chattisgarh-Maharashtra (Dandakaranya), Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, and in all areas where the revolutionary movement is raging, to observe bandh on June 12. In other areas protests should be taken up in all possible ways demanding punishment to the culprits and an end to the brutal state terror unleashed by the UPA government at the Centre and the Congress government in AP.

The contribution of comrades Suryam and Prasanna to the Indian revolution will never be forgotten by the Party, the PLGA and people. They will continue the struggle for the liberation of the country with redoubled vigour and hatred for the exploiters and traitors who rule the country. The reactionary rulers of India, with the active assistance of the imperialists, vainly hope to suppress the Indian revolution by eliminating the central and state leadership of the CPI(Maoist). By this, they think they can deprive the oppressed people of leadership and suppress their struggle for land, livelihood and liberation. But this conspiracy of the reactionary rulers will remain a mere day-dream. Thousands upon thousands of worthy revolutionary successors will step into the shoes of these beloved leaders turning the dreams of the reactionary rulers into nightmares.

The CC, CPI(Maoist), pays its red revolutionary homage to our beloved leaders—comrade Sudhakar Reddy and Venkatayya—and vows to fulfill their revolutionary dreams for a classless society. Let us intensify and expand the ongoing people's war, establish base areas in the vast countryside of the country, transform the PLGA into PLA and advance the Indian revolution to its final victory. Let us make the bandh on June 12 a big success.

sd/
Azad,
Spokesperson,
Central Committee,
CPI(Maoist)

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)

CENTRAL COMMITTEE



Press Release:

June 23, 2009

Declaring Maoists as terrorists means declaring war and legitimizing state terror against the oppressed people!

Maoists live in the hearts of the oppressed; state terrorism and state-sponsored terrorism can neither isolate nor suppress the Maoists!!

On 22 June 2009, the Union Home Ministry headed by the loyal imperialist agent Chidambaram, had declared our Party—the CPI(Maoist)—as terrorist and imposed an All India ban. Though the ban was declared with the immediate aim of creating a blood-bath in Lalgarh and the surrounding areas by the state terrorist goons sent by the Congress-led UPA government at the Centre and the CPI(M)-led Left Front government in West Bengal, the conspiracy to ban the CPI(Maoist) was hatched soon after the Congress-led UPA won the 15th Lok Sabha elections. The game plan of the UPA government at the Centre became clear when the Prime Minister Manmohan Singh reiterated on June 5 that Left-wing extremists who control the huge stretch of land possessing abundant mineral wealth in central and eastern India constituted the greatest threat to internal security.

This move reveals the extreme demoralization and utter desperation of the Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram clique, backed by US imperialism, to isolate the Maoists whose roots are firmly entrenched among the vast masses of Indian people and are spreading rapidly across the length and breadth of the country. By outlawing the CPI(Maoist) the reactionary ruling classes hope that they can lay their dirty hands on the vast mineral wealth in the adivasi-inhabited regions in Eastern and Central India or the so-called Red Corridor. They seek to justify their brutal attacks on the Party sympathizers and revolutionary masses with the pretext of cooperating with, or assisting the banned Party. Thus the real motive behind the ban is to cut off the Party from the masses by terrorizing the people who dare to struggle under the leadership of our Party, and intimidating all democratic-minded organizations and individuals who dare to oppose police atrocities on innocent people. Any people's protest can now be banned by alleging that it has links with the banned CPI(Maoist). Chidambaram and his bunch of Washington-trained gangsters in the Home Ministry cannot think differently from their imperialist masters in dealing with people's problems and mass protests. Deploy more mercenary forces to unleash state terror against mass protests on genuine grievances, unleash savage state-sponsored terror like that of the salwa judum gangs in the name of '*rule of law*', give unlimited powers to the state's killer gangs and derive vicarious pleasure as they go about raping women as in Shopian again in the name of '*rule of law*'—such is the mind-set of the reactionary rulers, whatever their colour.

We appeal to all democratic-minded organizations and individuals, and the entire people of the country to understand this nefarious game plan of the reactionary rulers to brutally suppress all just and democratic people's movements. We call upon them to condemn with one voice the fascist move of the Centre to outlaw and declare CPI(Maoist) as terrorist, and to build a broad-based countrywide mass movement to check the fascist, draconian measures of the UPA government and the state terror it has unleashed on the people who stand up in protest against the anti-people policies of the government.

For decades, the reactionary rulers have been trying to suppress the Maoist people's war by using brute force but have miserably failed. On the contrary, our Party has grown from strength to strength, established the people's guerrilla army and organs of revolutionary people's power in some pockets in the countryside, and has emerged as the only real alternative to the self-seeking, corrupt, exploitative parliamentary parties and the rotten so-called parliamentary democracy they represent. The fear of the CPI(Maoist) providing leadership to the vast masses of the Indian people groaning under the most miserable conditions has unnerved the rulers. The deepening global economic crisis, with its terrible impact on the Indian economy, has created an explosive situation where militant mass movements are erupting and going into direct confrontation with the Indian state. The traitors who came to power for the second time, have immediately begun to hasten the implementation of the imperialist-dictated neo-liberal policies claiming that people have given them a decisive mandate to carry out these policies of sell-out to the imperialists.

We, Maoists, like Bhagat Singh, feel proud for having created terror in the hearts of a handful of exploiters and oppressors, both native and foreign, and to be a real threat to the security of the Tatas, Mittals, Jindals, Ruis (Essar), and all the big bandits who are itching to lay their hands on the wealth of the adivasi areas controlled by the Maoists. And this is the '*internal security threat*' Manmohan Singh is actually referring to. The state terror in Lalgarh, and the desperate attempts by the Central and state governments to suppress the CPI(Maoist) and enforce their 'rule of law', has only one goal: loot the land and wealth of the adivasis and hand them over to the greedy sharks awaiting eagerly even if it means displacing thousands of people. The CPI(M) is pretending to be opposing the ban on CPI(Maoist) and claiming that it is interested in waging political battle with the Maoists. It is a ploy not to get isolated as they know that Maoists have wide mass support. But in practice it has brutally murdered our leaders, activists and sympathizers, deployed a huge police force in the Maoist areas and is acting as a loyal servant of the compradors like Tatas, Jindals etc. Notwithstanding the ban, which is anyway in existence for years in the major states, we declare once again that we shall never allow the compradors and imperialists to loot the wealth of the adivasi areas.

We call upon the entire Party ranks, the heroic fighters of PLGA, and the members of all revolutionary mass organizations to mobilise the masses all over the country into militant movements against economic terrorism, state terrorism and state-sponsored terrorism unleashed by the UPA government at the Centre, the social-fascist Left Front government in West Bengal, and the saffron terrorists in Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, MP, Karnataka etc. Let us intensify the people's war which is the real answer to the terrorism unleashed on the people by these oppressors.

Azad,
Spokesperson,
Central Committee,
CPI(Maoist)

CPI (Maoist) guerrillas stage a daring attack on the Court and bring back their leader—Politburo and CMC member comrade Misir Besra (Sunirmal, Bhaskar)

On June 23rd, the second day of the 48-hour bandh called by the CPI(Maoist) against the brutal police offensive in Lalgarh, guerrillas carried out a daring day-light attack on the police in the Court premises of Lakhisarai town in Bihar and secured the release of the Maoist leader comrade Sunirmal who is a member of the Politburo and Central Military Commission of the Party. Two rifles and a carbine were also seized from the police by the guerrillas. A home guard who was injured in the attack later died. A deputy director of development and four others in the Court complex received minor injuries. The attack took place around the noon when comrade Sunirmal was being taken out of the Court.

The guerrillas drove to the Court complex on ten motorcycles and opened fire at the escorting policemen. The policemen immediately surrendered, handed over their weapons and unlocked the handcuffs of comrade Sunirmal. Several other policemen who were present in the Court premises did not venture to intervene. The Court complex also houses the office of the district SP and the district police HQs is hardly a few hundred metres away from the site of the attack. Hence the guerrillas hurled hand grenades to keep the police at bay. Hearing the sounds of the explosion the policemen rushed to their barracks and locked themselves up. None dared to venture out until the guerrillas moved away after successfully completing their operation. Thus the meticulous operation was completed within minutes. And by that evening comrade Sunirmal was once again in the midst of the guerrillas.

Comrade Sunirmal was arrested in September 2007 from Khunti district of Jharkhand when he was boarding a jeep. He was severely tortured by the police and scores of cases were foisted against him to ensure that he would languish in the prison forever. But the fond hopes of the rulers were dashed to the ground after the PLGA carried out the daring attack and brought com Sunirmal back into the midst of the revolutionary ranks and oppressed masses.

The news of the daring guerrilla attack and the release of comrade Sunirmal from the clutches of the police sent shockwaves among the rulers particularly the police top brass of Jharkhand while creating an atmosphere of all-round jubilation and rejoicing in the revolutionary camp throughout the country.