## MAOIST INFORMATION BULLETIN-30 10th Anniversary of the Formation of CPI(Maoist) Special Issue

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### Editorial

## Ten Years of United Revolutionary Struggle

On 21 September 2014, CPI(Maoist) is completing ten years of its formation. On this occasion, we are presenting the current volume of Maoist Information Bulletin as the 10th Anniversary of the formation of CPI(Maoist) Special Issue. Here we reproduce the joint declaration of 14 October 2004 announcing the historic merger of CPI(ML)[PW] and MCCI and the formation of united CPI(Maoist) party given the significance of the document. This issue also carries the Call of the Central Committee of CPI(Maoist) on the occasion of the Party tenth anniversary. The Call gives an overview of the achievements of the Party, Army and the United Front - the three magic weapons of revolution - in the last ten years, while also outlining the major challenges before the movement at present. Included in this issue is an interview conducted by MIB with comrade Ganapathy, General Secretary of CPI(Maoist), where he reflects on the last ten years of united revolutionary movement, throws light on the party's ongoing efforts to advance the movement by surmounting the prevailing difficult situation and responds to various questions related to contemporary domestic and international developments. In addition, a list of some selected events related to the Indian revolutionary movement during the last ten years is presented in the Chronology of Important Events. This list, though not complete or comprehensive, may provide an overview of the ups and downs, achievements and losses, positive and negative experiences of the movement in these years. The regular sections of MIB follow thereafter as usual.

Looking back at the last ten years, the historic significance of 21 September 2004 for the Indian revolutionary movement cannot be overstated. It brought together two foremost revolutionary streams in India which independently advanced the protracted people's war in the country for nearly four decades since their decisive break with the revisionism of CPI and CP1(M) in the 1960s. Both CP1(ML)[People's War] and MCCI which merged to form CPI(Maoist) consolidated various genuine revolutionary parties and organisations prior to their unity. CPI(ML)Party Unity had united with CP1(ML)(People's War) while RCCI (M), RCC (M), CP1 (ML) Second CC and RCCI (MLM) had united with MCC. The formation of CPI(Maoist), which followed these mergers, established a single guiding centre of the Indian revolution, enriched its ideological-political-military line and gave it a countrywide presence. It brought about a qualitative leap in the development of the party and the army and laid the basis for building people's democratic power on a wider scale by forging a strong revolutionary united front. This historic unity brought to fruition the efforts of the great founding leaders of the party comrades CM and KC and fulfilled the long-cherished dreams of the revolutionaries and the toiling masses to unite the various revolutionary streams in the country into one mighty torrent. It was a watershed in the history of the country's revolutionary movement.

The significance of this unity was not lost to the reactionary ruling classes either. Within months of the merger, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh voiced the alarm of the imperialists and their domestic props by declaring the Maoist movement as the "single biggest internal security threat" to their rule. This was not surprising, as the newly installed UPA government at the centre in 2005 was entrusted with the task of pushing ahead the neo-liberal reforms initiated by the ruling classes in the early 1990s more vigorously than the previous NDA regime. This was not only the urgent need of the big landlords and comprador big capitalists of the country but was also demanded by international finance capital.

The capitalist world economy entered yet another crisis at the dawn of the new millennium, the manifestations of which became starkly visible by mid-2000. Production was brought down, jobs were cut drastically, real wages declined and unemployment reached unprecedented levels in capitalist countries as well as in oppressed countries that were closely integrated with the imperialist economy. As the gap between the income of a handful of moneybags and the vast majority of the working people widened to unprecedented levels in the capitalist countries, the growing discontent among the latter took militant forms of struggle. This was exacerbated by the 'austerity measures' adopted by the governments of the Western countries to come out of the crisis, the adverse affects of which were born by the workers, middle classes, immigrants, Blacks, the poor and other oppressed social sections. Once again, the working people were made to pay for the cyclical crises that inevitably plague the capitalist system.

US imperialism accompanied by its allies embarked on a renewed spate of aggressive wars for extending its world hegemony and with the immediate aim of boosting up its sagging economy by making the 9/11 attacks as a pretext. 'War on Terror' was the tag given to this fresh imperialist scramble for the world's resources and markets. Afghanistan and then Iraq were invaded and transformed into neo-colonies, where lakhs of people were slaughtered and their countries were reduced to rubble. All genuine anti-imperialist and democratic forces of the world that stood on the way of continued economic exploitation and political oppression by imperialism and its domestic props were termed as 'terrorists' and subjected to further attacks. Guantanamo Bay and Abu Ghraib became symbols of the brutalities perpetrated by imperialism, particularly against the Muslim masses, drawing protests from across the world. Resistance forces of Afghanistan and Iraq heroically fought the combined military might of imperialist powers and drew their adversaries into a prolonged war, thereby shattering their dreams of quick victory. National liberation movements strengthened and expanded in their struggle against dictatorial domestic rulers supported by imperialism. The Palestinian people too continued their longstanding liberation war by fighting against the Zionist Israel as well as opportunists in Fatah.

In such a tumultous international context, the advancement of the protracted people's wars led by Maoist forces in the Indian subcontinent not only caused alarm among the country's ruling classes but also worried the US – the self-appointed gendarme of the world. This worry took a concrete form in the US government's decision to put CPI(ML)[PW] and MCCI in its list of 'terrorist organisations' a few months before the unity of the two parties. This made the Maoists too a target of the global 'War on Terror' launched by the US. Since the formation of the CPI(Maoist), the imperialist powers have been guiding the Indian government more closely in its fascist repression on the revolutionary movement.

The country's rulers unleashed a new wave of intensified state repression on the unified Maoist movement since late 2004. By using deception and cunning characteristic of the reactionary ruling classes, the government withdrew from the process of talks in Andhra Pradesh and resumed cold-blooded murder of revolutionary activists and supporters. At about the same time, the fascist Salwa Judum campaign was started to crush the movement in Dandakaranya. Similarly, persecution was scaled up in Bihar-Jharkhand and other movement areas, leading to the killings and arrests of leadership comrades at all levels including several Politburo and Central Committee members, damaging the movement considerably. Nevertheless, the Unity Congress-9th Congress of the Party was successfully held even amid such fascist repression, filling the revolutionary camp with new energy and enthusiasm. The Congress reviewed the past and on its basis set new tasks before the movement. With united efforts and renewed strength, the masses led by the Party and the PLGA heroically fought back Salwa Judum, Sendra, Nasus, Shanti Committee, TPC, JPC, JLT and such other state-sponsored vigilante gangs and private armies as well as government paramilitary-police forces. The daring Nayagarh Multiple Raid, attacks in Ranibodili, Madhuban, etc., shook the ruling classes to the core. In leading the protracted people's war by fighting the enemy offensive, the Party consolidated and expanded to newer areas, the PLGA expanded and developed to higher-level formations and increased its fighting capabilities, unprecedented achievements were gained in developing embryonic forms of people's democratic power in several guerilla zones by setting up Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs). Masses in their tens of thousands were mobilised into peasant, women, cultural and other revolutionary mass organisations led by the Party in different parts of the country.

During the last ten years, people rose up in different parts of the country, particularly the adivasi peasant masses, against the complicity of the UPA government at the centre and various state governments with foreign and domestic big business to displace them from their land and forests. Kalinganagar, Kashipur, Singur, Nandigram, Niyamgiri, Jagatsinghpur, Sompeta, etc., inspired the people of the country with their militant resistance. Land struggles in places like Narayanapatna, Vishakha Agency Area, Chengara put the governments on the defensive. The historic Lalgarh mass upsurge shook the bastion of revisionist CPI(M). In many of these movements, CPI(Maoist) was either actively leading the masses or was playing a supportive role.

It was also a period when the workers across the country, be it in Haryana or Tamil Nadu, carried out militant strikes and protests in factories of foreign and comprador big capitalists. Various sections of the peasantry agitated on a range of demands - for land, subsidised water, electricity, agricultural inputs and credit, better support price for their produce, etc. Dalits were protesting against upper-caste violence in Khairlanji, Gohana and other places. Religious minorities, particulalrly the Muslims who faced increasing peresecution by the Indian state and Hindu-fascist organisations, continued their struggle for justice and democratic rights. Women participated in large numbers in all democratic movements, including struggles against gender discrimination and sexual violence. Separate statehood movement of Telangana intensified and inspired other such movements of Bodoland, Kamatapur, Gorkhaland, etc. National liberation movements in Kashmir and the Northeast too continued in spite of their temporary weakening. In all places where mass movements took a militant form, the ruling classes tried to crush them with iron hand.

While the masses of the country were up in arms against the UPA-1 government opposing its disastrous, anti-people and country-selling policies, the government led by the Manmohan-Sonia-Chidambaram-Montek clique was busy in implementing these very policies even more aggressively to placate the imperialists and their domestic props. Opening up various sectors of the economy for Foreign Direct Investment, disinvestment of public sector units, relaxation of labour laws and other statutory norms in the name of ending 'license/permit raj' and financial rationalisation, massive tax concessions and subsidies to big business, passing of anti-people legislations such as the SEZ Act, forcible acquisition of land, etc. continued unabated. Agrarian policies of the governments were continued to be framed with a view to maintain the grip of big landlords and other parasites

in the countryside. These policies further consolidated their landholdings and political power and ensured their continued dominance over the rural toiling classes reeling under a deepening agrarian crisis. On the other hand, government expenditure on social security measures was cut down and several welfare schemes were dismantled, adversely affecting crores of people. On foreign policy, India moved further closer to the US and Israel, enthusiastically supported the US-sponsored 'War on Terror', signed the Indo-US Nuclear Deal (123 Agreement), voted against Iran in the UN, established closer commercial and military ties with US and Israel, and more aggressively pursued its expansionist policy towards its neighbouring countries.

Towards the end of UPA-1 rule, the imperialist economy plunged into yet another worldwide crisis triggered by the housing bubble in the US in the second half of 2008. The slowdown of the global economy had a direct impact on the India which was now more closely integrated with the imperialist economy than it was two decades before. The UPA government which came to power in mid-2009 for the second term was tasked with overturning the declining growth rate and facilitate the economic 'recovery'. For this, the ruling classes more blatantly put up the country for sale to enrich the parasitic classes by pushing the toiling masses into the clutches of more excruciating exploitation and hardship.

It was in such a context that the UPA government within three months of coming to power launched the first ever countrywide armed offensive against the Maoist movement in September 2009. It came close on heels of the Sri Lankan government's genocidal war to crush the Tamil liberation movement led by LTTE. With a similar aim of destroying the revolutionary movement to open up the resources of vast mineral-rich forest areas of central and eastern India, the multi-pronged counterrevolutionary 'war on people' began under the banner of Operation Green Hunt. The Party, PLGA and the revolutionary masses braced up to fight back yet another wave of repression politically and militarily.

Beginning with the Palachelma counter-offensive in Dandakaranya where state forces led by Cobra commandos were chased away by the PLGA with the staunch support of the people, several counter-offensives were launched against the mercenary government forces, culminating in the historic Mukaram ambush of 6 April 2010, delivering a severe blow to the enemy forces. Mass agitations in the form of protests, bandhs, public meetings, campaigns etc. were carried out in the guerilla zones, in the urban areas and internationally to oppose Operation Green Hunt. Faced with sharp public opposition and stiff military resistance to its reactionary 'war on people', the central government enacted the drama of talks while putting all efforts to eliminate the leadership through deceit and damage the movement.

Simultaneously, government made preparations to introduce the Indian army and air force into OGH by the middle of 2011, while intensifying its fake reform programmes under the overall LIC strategy. Thus began the second phase of OGH with the Indian army's entry into Dandakaranya in the name of training in Narayanpur district of Chhattisgarh. Several operations within the overall purview of OGH in different movement areas such as Operation Anaconda, Operation Saranda, Operation Haka, Operation Vijay, etc. were carried out. Unified commands were established at state level for better coordination among various armed forces of the enemy. Carpet security was tightened with the setting up of new camps. Infrastructure, communication and intelligence network was strengthened on war footing in movement areas. New surrender policies and enhanced bounty on leadership were declared. Combing and mopping up operations were intensified, filling up the country's prisons with revolutionary activists and masses. Extra-judicial killings, massacres, arrest and assault, illegal detainment, custodial torture, rape, arson, destruction of property continued unabated as a part of the enemy's LIC policy. Colonial measures such as seizing the property of the families of revolutionaries was reintroduced. Complimenting measures that combined repression with 'reforms', a vicious psychological war too was carried out targeting the movement.

Internationally, a new wave of mass agitations swept through the Arab world demanding the ouster of dictatorships propped up and supported by Western powers. These mass struggles complimented the ongoing national liberation wars against imperialist invasion, turning Asia into a boiling cauldron of militant resistance. From Tunisia to Egypt, people's movements forced the rulers of several countries out of power, but the people were denied any fundamental change or real political power as the structures of the old state remained intact with only a change of the face of the rulers. Moreover, imperialist powers tried to divert the widespread mass anger against autocratic rule and to use it to topple the governments of Libya, Syria etc. For this, it armed mercenaries and deployed devastating air strikes. In the process, it left these countries ravaged and in chaos. Not stopping at that, the imperialists continued to target Iran, North Korea with economic sanctions and even with the threat of wars.

These were signs of the intensifying fundamental contradictions in the world. Particularly since the global economic crisis that set in from 2008, contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed countries and people, contention between capital and labour in the capitalist countries and the inter-imperialist contradictions have intensified further. The ongoing conflicts in Syria and Ukraine as well as imposition of sanctions on Russia by the NATO countries reflected the growing contradiction among different imperialist powers. The US found itself isolated or staunchly opposed by other imperialist powers on many occasions in the international arena, particularly on questions of fresh direct military intervention in Syria, Iraq etc.

In such a scenario, people's movements – be it in the form of worker's and peasant's agitations, national liberation struggles, Islamic resistance movements, democratic mass movements or communist movements led by the Maoist forces, etc. - consolidated and expanded in the last one decade. Overcoming serious setbacks faced by some revolutionary and democratic forces during this period such as the Nepal revolution due to the betrayal of the Prachanda-Baburam neorevisionist clique or the LTTE in Tamil Eelam, new forces came to the fore to fight back imperialism and all reaction. The protracted people's war in the Philippines advanced by resisting the government's fascist repression through Oplan Bayanihan. New Maoist parties were formed in a few countries while existing Maoist forces consolidated in some others.

The countrywide revolutionary movement in India led by the Maoist party entered a difficult phase following this aggressive multi-pronged enemy offensive. It suffered serious losses in some movement areas due to the martyrdom and arrest of comrades. Confronted by this difficult situation, some people within the revolutionary camp became politically weak and deserted to the enemy camp. Reviewing the situation, the Party initiated a Bolshevisation campaign in September 2013 coinciding with the beginning of the tenth anniversary celebration of the formation of united Maoist party. This campaign is aimed at strengthening the Party, PLGA and the revolutionary united front so that it can advance the movement by overcoming the challenges and obstacles 0th anniversary of the formation of CPI(Maoist) Special Issue

the movement faces at present. The Party was further bolstered by the unity of CPI(Maoist) and CPI(ML)NAXALBARI in May 2014.

The BJP-led new NDA government replaced UPA-2 in May 2014 by promising to bring 'Good Days' through 'development'. Domestic and foreign big capitalists and big landlord classes backed BJP led by Modi who proved his pro-corporate pro-landlord credential during his decade-long rule in Gujarat. After winning a clear majority in the Lok Sabha and emerging as the single largest party, Narendra Modi-Rajnath Singh-Arun Jaitley-Venkaiah Naidu-Sushma Swaraj-Amit Shah fascist gang has not only speeded up all the anti-people and country-selling policies of the UPA government, but have also introduced new reactionary measures targeting various sections in the society. 'Development', 'Good Governance', 'Make in India', 'Shrameva Jayate', 'Swatcch Bharat', 'Ease of Business', etc., became the neo-liberal mantras coined by these lickspittles of the ruling classes with the aim of serving the imperialists and their Indian compradors.

These steps are being hastily implemented on different fronts by the NDA to serve the interests of foreign and domestic big capitalists as well as big landlords more thoroughly than was done by UPA-2 government. These measures have already started to adversely affect the country's vast working masses. NDA is desperately making efforts to clear the way for mega projects such as SEZs, mining, industrial corridors, roads, dams, ports, airports, metro rails, real estate projects, etc., from which the UPA was forced to pull back to some extent due to massive people's resistance and the contradictions prevailing within the ruling classes. At the same time, various Sangh Parivar outfits are given a freer hand to target Muslims and other religious minorities, Dalits and Adivasis, women, democratic sections of the middle classes, oppressed nationalities and other subjugated people.

As a part of this renewed aggression against the people of the country to serve the ruling-class interests, the new NDA government started preparations for launching the third phase of OGH. Home Minister Rajnath Singh reiterated the previous government's approach towards the Maoist movement by declaring that it still represents "the biggest threat to internal security". Several steps have already been initiated to intensify this reactionary 'war on people' under the aegis of the new government at the centre. Like earlier, this attack will not only be against the Maoist movement alone but will target all democratic, patriotic, progressive and secular sections of the society that stand against the ruling classes.

As a result of taking the country towards greater fascicization and subjecting its people to more rigorous economic exploitation combined with political and social oppression through its aggressive pro-imperialist and Brahmanical Hindutva agenda, the NDA government will face growing anger and resistance from the masses. It will provide grounds for a broad unity of revolutionary, democratic, progressive, secular and patriotic forces to launch fresh anti-fascist democratic struggles to fight back the government and the Sangh Parivar. CPI(Maoist) has called for a broad-based unity to brace for a militant struggle against these obscurantist, reactionary forces. The history of the revolutionary movement teaches us that to be effective, such a unity has to be based on a commitment to serve the interests of the broad masses, particularly the working people, peasantry, Dalits, Adivasis, religious minorities, oppressed nationalities and other oppressed social sections. It will have to clearly demarcate between friends and enemies, traitors and patriots, and forge a broad unity for struggle. Such a united struggle will need to have a clear understanding about the various forms of struggle and various forms of organisation this resistance will have to adopt as per varied circumstances. Such a united fight is the urgent need of the hour, not only to give a fitting response to the counter-revolutionary OGH-Third Phase, but also to beat back the anti-people anti-country moves of the ruling classes pushed through the Brahmanical Hindu fascist BJP at the centre and various reactionary parties ruling the states. In all likelihood, such a people's struggle will soon emerge to push back the latest reactionary onslaught. The Maoists will certainly take their place at the frontline of this struggle.

In the last six years of its publication, MIB has made efforts to fulfil the task it had set out in the very first issue itself in March 2008, i.e., "mainly to present the facts concerning the ongoing people's war in India led by the CPI(Maoist)". The importance of revolutionary propaganda through magazines, newspapers and other forms of literature is growing along with the sharpening of the class struggle and the intensification of the people's war in the country. On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of CPI(Maoist), MIB renews its pledge to carry forward this important task and play its part in the ongoing people's war.



## **Homage to Martyrs**

On 21 September 2004, the two foremost streams of Indian revolution – CPI(M-L)[PW] and MCCI – merged to form a single guiding centre for Indian revolution, the CPI(Maoist). It materialised the aspirations of the country's toiling masses and the efforts of communist revolutionaries including the great founding leaders of the Party comrades Charu Mazumdar and Kanhai Chatterji to form a single proletarian vanguard to lead the New Democratic Revolution of India to victory and then to march towards achieving Socialism and Communism. This unity was built on the foundations laid by over ten thousand martyrs who have sacrificed their lives while carrying forward the banner of Protracted People's War in India.

In September this year, CPI(Maoist) completes ten years of its formation. In this decade, the revolutionary movement in India led by the party won newer and greater political and military victories in the class struggle by traversing a zigzag path. The party, army and united front achieved unprecedented quantitative and qualitative development, making it one of the most significant decades in the entire history of India's communist movement that spans over nine decades.

Great victories are achieved with great sacrifices. None of the achievements of the revolutionary movement are conceivable without the supreme sacrifice of 2332 comrades in the last decade. They include over 400 women martyrs. The movement lost ten Central Committee (CC) members in the period – Politburo members comrades Shamsher Singh Sheri, Cherukuri Rajkumar, Koteswarlu and Sushil Roy, as well as CC comrades Chandramouli, Anuradha Ghandy, Parimal Sen, Sande Rajamouli, Patel Sudhakar and former Secretary of CPI(ML)NAXALBARI and veteran leader of our movement comrade Rawoof. 34 State level, 9 Regional level, 132 District level and 246 Sub-Zone & Area level Party committee members were martyred in these years. Hundreds of primary members of the Party, PLGA and the UF lost their lives. In addition, hundreds of revolutionary masses have been martyred during the period. In the last one year alone, over 120 comrades were martyred.

Many of the martyrs have died in the battle-field confronting the enemy, in carrying out assaults on enemy forces and in defending the movement from enemy attacks. A majority of the comrades were murdered in cold-blood by the enemy after catching them alive, most of whom were subjected to brutal torture before being killed. Some comrades breathed their last in attacks and massacres by landlord armies and counter-revolutionary gangs propped up by the reactionary ruling classes in our struggle areas. Some were martyred due to fatal illness and accidents. A few comrades have also lost their lives in the enemy prisons due to lack of adequate and timely medical care. Many veteran comrades died of old age after lifelong service to the revolution.

The martyred comrades came to the revolutionary movement from all oppressed social classes and sections. They were from the working class, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie, Dalits, Adivasis, religious minorities, women, and others. No matter what background they came from, the martyrs imbibed the muchcherished proletarian values, be it unflinching commitment to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, unshakable conviction in the victory of the oppressed, death-defying courage and determination in the face of extreme adversities, self-sacrificing nature, untiring eagerness to serve the people, exemplary revolutionary practice, and so on. They thereby personified the highest human qualities and thus have become the ideals to emulate.

Several comrades have laid down their lives in the three months since the publication of the last issue of MIB. We mention here a few of them about whom we could procure any information. On 16 June, comrade Sinoj alias Rajan of Keralam was martyred in an accident in the Western Ghats. On 30 June, Madvi Budhu alias Sukku was martyred in an encounter with the police in Bijapur district, while another PLGA comrade was martyred in Giridih district of Jharkhand in police firing. On July 4, a PLGA comrade was martyred in Lakharia forest of Jamui district, Bihar in a battle with the police, in which the secondin-command of CRPF's Jamui base was also killed. On 28 July, the government armed forces attacked Ramaram village of Pidimel RPC in south Bastar region. They caught comrade Madkam Hidma, DAKMS president of Pidimel and comrade Vetti Hidme, KAMS president of Ramaram. Both of them were

tortured and killed in front of the villagers. On the same day, two of the revolutionary masses were martyred in indiscriminate firing in a weekly market in Birbanki in Khunti district of Jharkhand by counterrevolutionary gang PLFI.

On 12 August, comrades Krishna Thakur alias Raju and Sonu Katenge alias Dasrath were martyred in Khobramenda forest of Kurkheda block in Gadchiroli district, Maharashtra. The enemy forces had carried out a major operation in Bhairamgarh and Gangalur areas between 7 to 11 August and again from 14 to 17 August. In their firing in Dumri Paralnar village, Jan Militia member comrade Karram Aitu was martyred. On 22 August, enemy forces attacked a PLGA unit in Jagavaram, Birbhatti. PLGA fought back heroically, during which Comrade Podiyami Vijjal, Section Deputy Commander of Platoon-8 was martyred. Comrade Dodi Soma was martyred in an exchange of fire with the police on 29 August in Gaganpalli and Murkumpar forests of Bijapur district.

On 12 September, comrades Dinesh Pandit, Jeeblal Murmu and Sahadev Rai were martyred in an encounter with the police at Nayanpur in Giridih district of Jharkhand. Another comrade was martyred in Pujuariguda forest of Malkangiri district in Andhra-Odisha Border on 17 September. CRPF and Chhattisgarh police personnel shot dead a village mass organisation member Ramdhan on 19 September at Harrakoder village of Lohandiguda, Bastar district and claimed that a 'Naxalite' was killed in an encounter. An unidentified Muslim person who was brought by the government forces along with them was also brutally murdered by the police to make the claim that they shot dead a Kashmiri militant who was associated with the Maoists. In September, the police

"Thousands upon thousands of martyrs have heroically laid down their lives for the people; let us hold their banner high and march ahead along the path crimson with their blood!"

- Mao, 'On Coalition Government'

fired upon militia member comrade Jalku in Aluveda village of Kuanar area in East Bastar when he was crossing Korram River in a small country boat. Jalku was drowned and died as a result.

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the united revolutionary movement, we pay our humble red homage to the martyrs of India's new democratic revolution, the martyrs of World Socialist Revolution, the martyrs of Maoist parties of the Philippines, Turkey, Bangladesh, Peru, Nepal and other countries, the martyrs of national liberation wars as well as democratic and antiimperialist struggles across the world. On this occasion, we take pledge to advance on the path of struggle made crimson by the martyrs to realise their lofty aims for which they sacrificed their precious lives.

### **Obituary: Comrade Devender**



We pay red homage to Comrade Devender, a popular revolutionary worker and a leading activist of Disha Sanskritik Manch (Haryana), on his first death anniversary. Devender was suffering from ill health for the last few years and was martyred on 24 July 2013 at an age of 41. With his death, the revolutionary cultural movement of India lost a tireless fighter, who has left a lasting impact with his abundant creativity, infectious liveliness and staunch commitment to serve the people.

Comrade Devender was associated with Disha which had played a pioneering role in introducing new democratic culture in Haryana. He led Disha in many successful cultural programmes and campaigns, performing among the oppressed masses of Haryana and in various cities of the country. Devender displayed his creativity in writing and performing songs, street plays and other cultural forms, all of which reflected a clear revolutionary standpoint. He was adept at infusing revolutionary content to traditional forms of song and poetry popular among the

masses. In his leadership, Disha performed programmes against Dankel Proposal, WTO and the LPG policies of the Indian government in the mid 1990s. He was also a part of All India League of Revolutionary Culture (AILRC) representing Disha as one of its constituents. Comrade Devender was active in countrywide anti-imperialist platforms like All India People's Resistance Forum (AIPRF) and Forum Against Imperialist Globalisation (FAIG) which were active till 2004. Devender was at the forefront of the cultural protests against the US invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq. He was one of the main organisers of a number of workshops and conferences on revolutionary culture on behalf of Disha and its popular magazine 'Abhiyan'. He played an important role in training up a large number of youth in Haryana in cultural work.

Not surprisingly, comrades associated with the revolutionary movement in Haryana faced the antagonism of the feudal forces and other elements of the ruling classes. Devender with his comrades continued their work amidst growing state repression, until physical disabilities due to serious illness brought his work to a halt. Comrade Devender's untimely demise at a relatively young age is a loss to the revolutionary cultural movement of Haryana and the country. His life and work will continue to live on among his comrades and the people and will continue to inspire cultural workers to dedicate themselves for revolutionary change.

### from the pages of history

## Joint Declaration Announcing the Formation of CPI(Maoist)

### CPI(ML)[PW] and MCCI - Merged Communist Party of India (Maoist) Emerged



On Sept. 21, 2004, amidst the thick forests in some part of India, the formation of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) was declared at a public meeting before an assembly of peoples' guerrilla fighters, party activists and activists of mass organisations. The two parties, the Maoist Communist Centre of India and the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)[People's War] were merged to form the new unified Party, the CPI(Maoist). However, this merger declaration has been withheld from the media for security reasons and is now being released to the entire people of our country and the world. The formation of this new Party has fulfilled the desires and aspirations of the oppressed masses of the country for a genuine proletarian party that can lead them to revolutionary change for the establishment of a new democratic society, advancing towards socialism and communism.

This unified party has been formed after thoroughgoing discussions held between the high level delegations of the two parties initially and then finalized by the Joint Central Committee meeting of both the parties. Through these thorough-going and constructive discussions, held on an equal footing, five documents have been drafted and finalized. These documents are: *Hold High the Bright Red Banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*, the *Party Programme*, *Strategy and Tactics of the Indian Revolution*, the *Political Resolution on the International and Domestic Situation* and the *Party Constitution*. In addition to these documents it has also been decided that our beloved leaders and teachers of the respective parties, the late Com. Charu Mazumdar and Com. Kanhai Chatterji, will be recognized and highlighted as the founding leaders of the unified party. It was also decided that both these parties, stemming from the turbulent period of the decade of the 60's, particularly from the great Naxalbari uprising, livingly inherited all that was revolutionary in the long history of the Indian communist movement. The peculiarity of the situation is that both these parties continued to flow as two separate streams of the revolutionary communist movement, wedded to the same cause of carrying forward the Indian revolution over the past 35 years. All these steps taken together clearly disclosed a unified understanding on almost all ideological and political questions of line. The line established provided a principled basis for the unity achieved by both the parties.

Basing on this unity the Joint Central Committee meeting finally resolved to unite the two parties into a single unified party, which will henceforth be called as the Communist party of India (Maoist). Com. Ganapatthy was unanimously elected as the general secretary of the new party.

The formation of the unified Communist Party of India (Maoist) will certainly prove to be a new milestone in the history of the communist movement of India. A unified Maoist party based on MLM continued to be a long and highly cherished need of the revolutionary minded and oppressed people of the country including all our ranks, and also all Maoist forces of South Asia and internationally. Today this long-cherished desire and dream has been transformed into a reality.

The new Communist Party of India (Maoist) will continue to act as a consolidated political vanguard of the Indian proletariat. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism will be the ideological basis guiding its thinking in all the spheres of its activities. It will continue its struggle against right and left deviations, particularly against revisionism, by taking this as the main danger for the communist movement as a whole. It will still seek to unite all genuine Maoist groups that remain outside this unified Party.

The immediate aim and programme of the Maoist party is to carry on and complete the already ongoing and advancing New Democratic Revolution in India as a part of the world proletarian revolution by overthrowing the semi-colonial, semi-feudal system under the neo-colonial form of indirect rule, exploitation and control. This revolution will remain directed against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. This revolution will be carried out and completed through armed agrarian revolutionary war, i.e. protracted people's war with the armed seizure of power remaining as its central and principal task, encircling the cities from the countryside and thereby finally capturing them. Hence the countryside as well as the PPW (Protracted People's War) will remain as the "center of gravity" of the party's work, while urban work will be complimentary to it.

Since armed struggle will remain as the highest and main form of struggle and the army as the main form of organization of this revolution, hence it will continue to play a decisive role, whereas the UF will be built in the course of armed struggle and for the seizure of power through armed struggle. Mass organizations and mass struggles are necessary and indispensable but their purpose is to serve the war.

We also hereby declare that the two guerilla armies of the CPI(ML)[PW] and MCCI—the PGA and the PLGA—have been merged into the unified PLGA (Peoples' Liberation Guerrilla Army). Hereafter, the most urgent task i.e. principal task of the party is to develop the unified PLGA into a full-fledged People's Liberation Army (PLA) and transforming the existing Guerrilla Zones into Base Areas, thereby advancing wave upon wave towards completing the New Democratic Revolution. The formation day of the PLGA is to be December 2, the day when a people's army was formed for the first time ever in our country in 2000, on the first anniversary of the martyrdom of the three CCMs, com. Shyam, Mahesh and Murali.

Apart from this the unified party will continue to pay added attention to building a new wave of revolutionary mass movements on various political and other issues of the people. It will involve all the vast sections of the masses in these struggle directed against imperialism, feudalism and the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The vicious imperialist offensive on our country has resulted in mass destitution of an already impoverished people, particularly in the countryside, which has even witnessed thousands of suicides. The CPI(Maoist) will mobilize vast sections of the masses against the growing onslaught of the imperialists on the country, against state repression together with mobilizing support for all the movements directed against imperialism and feudalism.

The new party will also continue to support the struggle of the nationalities for selfdetermination including their right to secession and condemn the brutal state repression on these movements. It will pay special attention in mobilizing and organizing the women masses as a mighty force of the revolution, and will fight against all other forms of social oppression, particularly untouchability and casteism. It will continue to expose, isolate and defeat the more dangerous Hindu fascist forces, while exposing all other fundamentalist forces. It will continue to do so while keeping the edge of the people's struggles directed against the new Congress rulers in Delhi along with the CPI/CPM and their imperialist chieftains.

It will continue to expose and resist the expansionist designs of the Indian ruling classes along with their imperialist chieftains, particularly the US imperialists. It will more actively stand by the side of the Nepali people led by the CPN(Maoist), and vehemently oppose the Indian expansionists and US imperialists from intervening in Nepal with their military might. It will also continue to support the people's war led by the Maoist parties in Peru, the Philippines, Turkey and elsewhere. It will continue to support all people's struggles directed against imperialism and reaction. It will also support the working class movement and other people's movements the world over. It will continue to stand by the side of the Iraqi and Afghan people in their mighty struggle against the US imperialist-led aggression and occupation.

The Unified Party will continue to hold high the banner of proletarian internationalism and will continue to contribute more forcefully in uniting the genuine Maoist forces at the international level. Besides, it will also establish unity with the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and continue to fight shoulder to shoulder with them in advancing the world proletarian revolution against imperialism and their lackeys, thereby paving the way towards realizing socialism and then Communism on a world scale.

Thousands of our martyrs have laid down their valuable lives for these lofty aims. The Central Committee (Provisional) of the unified Party-CPI (Maoist) — pledges that it will continue to advance along the path illuminated by them and thereby mobilize all its existing and latent energies in transforming the dreams of the martyrs into a reality.

#### With revolutionary greetings,

Ruhan General Secretary Central Committee Maoist Communist Centre of India

Cranapathy

General Secretary Central Committee CPI (M-L)[People's War]

Date: 14-10-2004

# Call of the CC on the Occasion of the 10th Anniversary of CPI(Maoist)

Face up to the Challenge! Seize the Opportunities! Firmly Advance Along the Path of Protracted People's War!

Our party, the CPI(Maoist), a vanguard detachment of the international proletariat, celebrates ten years of its formation this year. The great Marxist teacher Lenin has taught us that there is no revolution without a revolutionary party. For us, this entire decade is a testimony to how this principle has been applied, tested, enriched and once again proven in our practice. The past decade is a chronicle of the progress achieved and lessons learnt by the party as the warrior that wields the two weapons of Army and the United Front (UF) and how to apply this Maoist dictum in practice.

On this joyous occasion, the Central Committee (CC) conveys its warmest revolutionary greetings to the entire party ranks, to People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA) commanders and fighters, to comrades of Revolutionary People's Committees (RPC) and mass organisations, to the thousands of comrades and revolutionary masses who have opened another battlefront in the prisons, to lakhs of revolutionary masses in our struggle areas and all over the country – to all of you who have made these years a decade of great struggles and achievements. It heartily greets the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties and organisations

[This Call of the Central Committee of CPI(Maoist) on the occasion of the Party's tenth anniversary gives an overview of the achievements of the Party, Army and the United Front – the three magic weapons of revolution – in the last ten years, while outlining the major challenges before the movement. This Call has been widely disseminated across the rank and file of the party and compliments the CC's 'Call to the People of India' released simultaneously – MIB] throughout the world that have come forward in solidarity with the Indian revolution. It expresses deep respect for the courageous stand taken by all the democrats and progressives who have stood up, in India and abroad, against the heinous 'war on people' waged by the Indian state under the banner of Operation Green Hunt (OGH).

In the 10 years since the formation of our united party 2332 comrades, including 10 members of the CC, have laid down their precious lives for the cause of the revolution. They include Politburo (PB) members comrades Shamsher Singh Sheri (Karam Singh-KS), Rajkumar (Azad), Koteswarlu (Kishenji) and Sushil Roy (Ashok, Barun); CC comrades Chandramouli (Navin), Anuradha Ghandy, Parimal Sen (Ajay), Rajamouli (Murali), Patel Sudhakar (Vikas) and former Secretary of CPI(ML)NAXALBARI and veteran personality of our party comrade Rawoof, 34 State level, 9 Regional level, 132 District level, 246 Sub-Zone & Area level party committee members and hundreds of primary party members and many more of the PLGA and the UF. In the last one year alone over 120 leadership and other comrades, from the Party, PLGA and UF and revolutionary masses have become martyrs. Each one of these losses, in particular the losses of our

eminent leaders, was heavy a loss we grieved over. Yet each one of them steeled us even more to serve the people, marching on along the path crimsoned with their blood, to fulfil their communist dreams. The CC bows its head in homage to the glorious martyrs whose blood has

nurtured our party, PLGA and UF and the New Democratic Revolution (NDR) it leads. They come in a long line of martyrs, including our founder leaders comrades Charu Majumdar and Kanhai Chatterjee. They continue a glorious communist tradition of sacrifice and service to the people. The CC also salutes the revolutionary masses who have willingly suffered loss of life, savage repression and hardship while standing one with the party and the revolution and takes inspiration from their sacrifices and creative role in the making of a new power and society.

On this occasion, the CC pays humble red homage to all the martyrs of the world socialist revolution (WSR), the martyrs of Maoist parties in the Philippines, Nepal, Turkey, Bangladesh, Peru and other countries, the martyrs of national liberation wars and those who sacrificed their lives in the anti-imperialist movements the world over.

#### Comrades,

10 years ago on the occasion of the formation of our party through the unification of the two major revolutionary streams in the country, we had declared our aims and tasks before the people:

"The new Communist Party of India (Maoist) will continue to act as a consolidated political vanguard of the Indian proletariat. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism will be the ideological basis guiding its thinking in all the spheres of its activities. It will continue its struggle against right and left deviations, particularly against revisionism, by taking this

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as the main danger for the communist movement as a whole. It will still seek to unite all genuine Maoist groups that remain outside this unified Party. The immediate aim

and programme of the Maoist party is to carry on and complete the already ongoing and advancing New Democratic Revolution in India as a part of the world proletarian revolution by overthrowing the semi-colonial, semi-feudal system under the neo-colonial form of indirect rule, exploitation and

control. This revolution will remain directed against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. This revolution will be carried out and completed through armed agrarian revolutionary war, i.e. protracted people's war with the seizure of power through armed struggle remaining as its central and principal task, encircling the cities from the countryside and thereby finally capturing them. Hence the countryside as well as the protracted people's war (PPW) will remain as the "centre of gravity" of the party's work, while urban work will be complimentary to it. Since the armed struggle will remain as the highest and main form of struggle and the army as the main form of organisation of this revolution, the armed struggle will continue to play a decisive role, whereas the united front will be built in the course of armed struggle and for the seizure of power through armed struggle. Mass organisations and mass struggles are necessary and indispensable but their purpose is to serve the war. We also declare that the PGA and PLGA have been merged into the unified PLGA (Peoples' Liberation Guerilla Army). Hereafter, the most urgent task, i.e. principal task, of the party is to develop the unified PLGA into a full-fledged People's Liberation Army (PLA) and transform the existing Guerilla Zones into Base Areas, thereby advancing wave upon wave towards completing the New Democratic Revolution. The formation day of the PLGA is to be December 2, the day when a people's army was formed for the first time ever in our country in 2000, on the first anniversary of the martyrdom of the three CCMs, comrades Shyam, Mahesh and Murali.

"Apart from this the unified party will continue to pay added attention to building a new wave of revolutionary mass movements on various political and other issues of the people. It will involve all the vast sections of the masses in these struggles directed against imperialism, feudalism and the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The vicious imperialist offensive on our country has resulted in mass destitution of an already impoverished people, particularly in the countryside, which has even witnessed thousands of suicides. The CPI (Maoist) will mobilise vast sections of the masses against the growing onslaught of the imperialists on the country, against state repression together with mobilising support for all the movements directed against imperialism and feudalism. The new party will also continue to support the struggle of the nationalities for self-determination including their right to secession and condemn the brutal state repression on these movements. It will pay special attention in mobilising and organising the women masses as a mighty force of the revolution, and will fight against all other forms of social oppression, particularly untouchability and casteism. It will continue to expose, isolate and defeat the more dangerous Hindu fascist forces, while exposing all other fundamentalist forces. It will continue to do so while keeping the edge of the people's struggles directed against the new Congress rulers in Delhi along with the CPI/CPM and their imperialist chieftains.

"It will continue to expose and resist the expansionist designs of the Indian ruling classes along with their imperialist chieftains, particularly the US imperialists. It will more actively stand by the side of the Nepali people led by the CPN (Maoist), and vehemently oppose the Indian expansionists and US imperialists from intervening in Nepal with their military might. It will also continue to support the people's war led by the Maoist parties in Peru, the Philippines, Turkey and elsewhere. It will continue to support all people's struggles directed against imperialism and reaction. It will also support the working class movement and other people's movements the world over. It will continue to stand by the side of the Iraqi and Afghan people in their mighty struggle against the US imperialist-led aggression and occupation.

"The unified party will continue to hold high the banner of proletarian internationalism and will continue to contribute more forcefully in uniting the genuine Maoist forces at the international level. Besides, it will also establish unity with the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and continue to fight shoulder to shoulder with them in advancing the world proletarian revolution against imperialism and their lackeys, thereby paving the way towards realising socialism and then communism on a world scale."

We have made steady and significant advances in fulfilling the tasks we set ourselves 10 years ago by bitterly resisting the countrywide savage repression, suffering heavy losses and tackling great challenges. We can look at the advances, losses and challenges we faced in this decade in three phases. 1) From the merger of the party to the Unity Congress, 2) From the Unity Congress to 2012, and 3) From 2013 till present.

While the announcement of the unified party enthused the people immensely, the response of the ruling classes was summed up in the statement of the Prime Minister that Maoists constituted "an even greater threat to India than militancy in Jammu and Kashmir and the Northeast." The enemy specifically directed its attack against our leadership, inflicting severe losses. Despite this and in the face of heavy odds the PLGA delivered powerful blows to the enemy. Militant mass struggles mobilised tens of thousands and united diverse sections and put up stiff resistance against the depredatory policies of the rulers.

The historic Jehanabad jail break cum multiple raid (Bihar) where the PLGA supported by the people's militia seized control of the town, liberated 341 prisoners including two RCMs and some lower level cadre and a vast number of revolutionary local activists from the jail, captured and executed hated leaders of the feudal upper caste private army Ranvir Sena and seized weapons is an outstanding example. Giridih (Jharkhand-JH) raid on home guard armoury, blasting of a mine-proof vehicle in an ambush and wiping out 24 CRPF personnel in Padeda (Bastar-Dandakaranya), elimination of 11 We have made steady and significant advances in fulfilling the tasks we set ourselves 10 years ago by bitterly resisting the countrywide savage repression, suffering heavy losses and tackling great challenges

Naga Force personnel and 11 policemen in Murkinaar (Bastar) are some other major battles. The guerilla war that we were waging for the past 25 years in Dandakaranya (DK) and Bihar-Jharkhand (BJ) advanced. With platoons and companies acting as the mobilising centres we could centralise our forces and conduct big tactical offensives. The decentralised combat units continued to carry out small and medium-level armed actions.

Most importantly, through the planned work taken up after the formation of the united party, we could expand some guerilla bases as a transitory step towards the establishment of liberated areas. We succeeded in consolidating RPCs in several villages in these bases. In DK our guerilla bases were further consolidated by increasing party units at the village level, forming village party committees, increasing our military formations, strengthening them and taking them to company-level formations, bringing a greater number of people into the militia, mobilising people in political, military, organisational and cultural campaigns and expanding peasant, women and cultural mass organisations on a wide scale and at the level of Division and Special Zone, establishing, consolidating and expanding people's authority in the form of RPCs at Divisional level also. The guerilla bases enabled us to carry out strategic tasks to further consolidate and expand them to advance the revolutionary war.

On the mass front too, forces led by our party carried out political calls such as the call

for the unconditional release of political prisoners, campaign against Salwa Judum (SJ), against state repression, statesponsored attacks on the revolutionary movement in Andhra Pradesh (AP), and observed revolutionary days, like Party Formation, PLGA Formation, May Day, International Women's Day and Martyrs Day. They mobilised and participated in joint activities with allied organisations and forces against imperialist globalisation and the neoliberal policies pursued by the Central and State governments, imperialist occupation of Iraq and the war-mongering acts of the US imperialists and its allies, displacement of Adivasis and the peasantry from forest and agricultural lands by huge mining, multipurpose, infrastructural and other projects, atrocities and attacks on Dalits and religious minorities (Muslims and Christians) and other issues.

The exploiting governments formed counter-revolutionary vigilante gangs like Nagarik Suraksha Samiti, Sendra, Shanti Committee, Harmad Bahini, TPC/PLFI/JPC and Special Police Officer (SPO) system and carried out campaigns like Salwa Judum (SJ), as part of Low Intensity Conflict (LIC)/ counterinsurgency strategy and tactics for decimating the revolutionary movement. The PLGA led by the party fought back these reactionary gangs by firmly implementing class line and mass line and by mobilising the masses and raising their consciousness. People and particularly the women stood in the forefront and resisted the SJ goons. A series of brave attacks put an end to the murderous SJ campaign.

One of the greatest achievements of Indian revolution which was materialised in this period was the successful convening of the historic Unity Congress-9th Congress of the party, overcoming all the efforts of the enemy to foil it. Through its deliberations, drawing lessons from four decades of protracted people's war (PPW), the synthesis of the two revolutionary streams was taken to a new height. All these were synthesised in the backdrop of significant political and economic changes in India and in the world. The ideological, political and military positions of the party were further refined and consolidated through deep and extensive debates. Debate on some differences of opinions, including some left positions, took place and were resolved through democratic centralism. An exhaustive review was made of the achievements and drawbacks, successes and failures, of the two and half years since the merger. Along with central and principal task, other important tasks were set. The leadership was further strengthened. Thus, our party emerged from the Congress, more sharp in its ideological-political positions, more consolidated in its unity, more steeled in its determination and fighting spirit, to fulfil its tasks as the vanguard of the NDR of India.

One of the greatest achievements of Indian revolution which was materialised in this period was the successful convening of the historic Unity Congress - 9th Congress of the party, overcoming all the efforts of the enemy to foil it

The years that followed gave ample demonstration of this. Responding to the call of Congress and led by the party at all levels, the first raid which symbolised mobile warfare was conducted by the PLGA in 2007 at Ranibodili, wiping out the enemy forces and seizing weapons and ammunition in large quantities. In 2008, in another blazing attack, the PLGA deployed its forces over long distances from the Central and Eastern Regional Commands and seized the District armoury in Nayagarh of Odisha after taking control of the town. In the Khas Mahal, Rajpur-Bagheila, Jhajha raids in Bihar the PLGA forces overcame the enemy and seized large quantities of weapons and ammunition after controlling and annihilating the enemy forces. In Silda, Paschim Banga, the PLGA came in vehicles and motorcycles in broad daylight and seized and destroyed the Eastern Frontier Rifles camp in an open market, after annihilating 24 enemy troops. The successes in almost all these valiant actions were possible only through the supreme sacrifices of several commanders and fighters of PLGA.

In 2007, 299 prisoners out of 377 escaped from the most wretched conditions of Dantewada Jail, DK. They seized some arms and ammunition from the jail. Comrade Navin, who was recently martyred in the Bethkathi false encounter (DK) escaped from us as a bunch of terrorists, was carried out. Intense combing operations, surprise attacks on our forces, attacks on our mass base in the war zones, large-scale arrests, destruction of our urban networks, destruction of the infrastructure built up through the collective labour of the masses were combined with reform activities meant to sidetrack the people. In the face of this onslaught we did suffer serious losses. Led by the CC, the whole PLGA, people's militia party, and revolutionary masses led by the RPCs and mass organisations (MOs), stood firm, learnt from our mistakes, redoubled efforts and hit back. Simultaneously we waged a political battle. We

a juvenile jail in 2007. In 2009, the PLGA conducted a surprise attack on the Lakhisarai District court, Bihar with meticulous planning and freed comrade Misir Besra, PBM. On January 17, 2011, leadership (one SC level and two RC level) comrades conducted а daring jail break

During this period the PLGA gained rich experiences in battling and breaking the enemy's 'cordon and search' campaigns. When seven thousand enemy forces attacked our camp in Mamayil, BJ, with the designs of eliminating our leadership comrades the PLGA valiantly fought back the enemy for 30 hours, defeated that attack and successfully broke out.

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In the midst of this, on April 6, 2010, the historic ambush at Mukaram (South Bastar) completely decimated a company of the enemy forces. 75 CRPF jawans and a district police constable died and seven were injured. This ambush was conducted with exemplary courage and sacrifice of the comrades by keeping the guerilla battalion at the core. The leadership of local comrades for the guerilla battalion, the grip this leadership had over the terrain as a result, the strong bonds with the local people and the strong mass base

from inside of Chaibasa Jail, JH and rejoined the revolutionary movement. On June 21, seven children from the Bal Sangathan (childrens' organisation) escaped from the juvenile home at Panpos near Rourkela, Odisha and rejoined their organisation. In 2012, a police escort vehicle was heroically attacked by the people's guerillas in the vicinity of Giridih town and eight comrades including 1 SACM and 2 RCMs were rescued.

The enemy launched a countrywide allout war called Operation Green Hunt in mid-2009 with much fanfare. A grand plan was prepared to wipe us out. Huge forces were concentrated. Thousands of crores of rupees were spent. Massive propaganda, targeting

struck back exposing the enemy's propaganda. This paved the way for а favourable political polarisation within the country and internationally. Progressives and democratic forces came forward along i t h complemented each other and helped the success of this ambush. This courageous operation which was conducted in response to the brutal OGH as an integral part of establishing base areas was a great inspiration to the PLGA forces and revolutionary masses all over the country.

During this period the PLGA also gained rich experiences in battling and breaking the enemy's 'cordon and search' campaigns. When seven thousand enemy forces (two thousands at the spot and five thousands in the outer circle) attacked our camp in Mamayil, BJ, with the designs of eliminating our leadership comrades the PLGA valiantly fought back the enemy for 30 hours, defeated that attack and successfully broke out. In Operation Saranda too of BJ, where the enemy had mobilised a force of 10,000 in the inner and outer circles, PLGA forces with the full support of the people and with exemplary initiative, bravely fought the enemy for 72 hours and broke out. PLGA forces also fought back the tactics of the enemy of deploying the police and paramilitary forces through helicopters by firing on the helicopter at Pidiya in West Bastar. An Air Force officer was killed and three others were injured. PLGA forces fired on a helicopter in Porahat area of JH and damaged it, foiling the enemy's plans.

In this period, the party has further developed its capacities in different fields. It has actively engaged in ideological struggle against various deviations within the communist movement in the country and at the international level

This period also gave important lessons in revolutionary mass struggles and coordination between armed and mass struggles, through the Nandigram, Lalgarh, Narayanapatna struggles, the movement for separate statehood for Telangana and antidisplacement struggles in several States. These struggles took the form of mass upsurges. New forms of struggle and organisation emerged. Conducive ground was laid for the consolidation of MOs and an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist front. In many other parts of the country big struggles broke out where the masses came forward to defend their land. They fought against plans to displace them for the sake of opening big mines, dams and other pro-imperialist, proruling class projects. We supported these struggles and led some of them. This gave us rich experiences in leading mass struggles and uniting a wide variety of forces. These struggles brought out the vanguard role of the party and the PW it leads. They were of immense help in extending the war zones and expanding the party and the PLGA through winning over new forces.

In this period, the party has further developed its capacities in different fields. It has actively engaged in ideological struggle against various deviations within the communist movement in the country and at the international level. It played a key role in the functioning of the Co-ordination Centre of Maoist Parties and Organisations in South Asia (CCOMPOSA).

The party has paid attention to raise its ideological level through systematic study classes. Study material and magazines are published in various languages. Special effort was taken to develop study/propaganda material in Adivasi languages. Syllabi and texts prepared for basic education were further enriched. These are used in the schools run by the RPCs and for the education of PLGA combatants and members of the mass organisations.

The party committees, Commissions and Commands have conducted recruitment campaigns many times by giving calls to young women and men belonging to all oppressed classes and sections to join PLGA in large numbers to expand the PW. In some guerilla zones the revolutionary MOs, people's militia and the RPCs play a crucial role in recruiting young women and men into PLGA through village mass meetings. As part of this, since the Unity Congress-9th Congress, hundreds of peasant and Adivasi young women and men joined the PLGA in many guerilla zones. Thousands of people got consolidated into people's militia.

By fulfilling various tasks like conducting continuous revolutionary political propaganda, mobilising the people into various structures (party-people's militia-MOs, RPCs), arming the people, training them, mobilising the people into various people's struggles, participating in agricultural production, education, health and other welfare activities to raise the standard of living of the people and giving medical treatment to people, the party and the PLGA won a place in the hearts of people in various guerilla bases, guerilla zones, red resistance areas and other areas.

The party and the PLGA strove hard in building a strong mass base for the revolutionary movement. Lakhs of people have been mobilised in revolutionary peasant, women's, youth, cultural and children's organisations. They functioned under the guidance of the Central departments of the party charged with guiding mass work. They play a prominent role as mass base for PW. Under the guidance of the RPCs the people's militia, activists of peasant and women's organisations and revolutionary artistes participate in resistance against the enemy forces. They carry supplies for PLGA, convey information about the enemy to the party, PLGA and people's defence departments from time to time and function as sentries in the villages.

An exceptional contribution of the party is that of arousing the women who hold up half the sky and developing their capacities in political, organisational, military, cultural and other spheres so that they can By fulfilling various tasks like conducting continuous political revolutionary propaganda, mobilising the people into various structures (party-people's militia-MOs, RPCs), arming the people, training them, mobilising the people into various people's struggles, participating in agricultural production, education, health and other welfare activities to raise the standard of living of the people and giving medical treatment to people, the party and the PLGA won a place in the hearts of people in various guerilla bases, guerilla zones, red resistance areas and other areas

lay claim to their share in struggle. Today around 40 percent of the fighting force of the PLGA consists of women, though the percentage varies in various guerilla zones. Women are commanders at the platoon level and members of company level party committees.

The party has paid a lot of attention to develop revolutionary cultural activities. Mass cultural organisations exist in many States from village to State level. These organisations spread the message of revolution and promote democratic and scientific values through multifarious cultural forms that learn from and develop national, ethnic, cultural traditions and styles. They motivate the people to struggle for radical change. Their cultural messages also play the role of an instrument of rectification that attacks the reactionary values of the old society gripping the minds of the masses. These organisations are powerful weapons linking the party with the broad masses. Apart from these MOs, armed cultural groups are formed within the PLGA too, at the company and battalion levels.

More people's political power organs in the form of RPCs emerged in DK Special Zone, BJ Special Area, and Andhra Pradesh-Odisha Border (AOB) areas. In Telangana and AP, several RPCs had been formed in the past and though there had been a setback in our movement in these States, the people who had enjoyed political power are fighting to overcome the situation with that inspiration. In DK, several Area level RPCs were formed. A few Division (District) level people's governments have also started functioning. This is a new experience in the history of the revolutionary movement in our country. These people's governments are striving to increase the agricultural production of the people through their cooperative and collective labour while working very hard to march forward to achieve self-sufficiency for the economic development of the people and support to the party and the PLGA. This effort is an inseparable part of advancing the PPW and building base areas.

Another area of struggle is gradually expanding inside the prisons. Several thousands are in jail. Several Central and District and sub-jails in about 20 states reverberated with hunger strikes, at times indefinite, on the demands of political prisoners. Through their activities our comrades in jail have succeeded in mobilising ordinary prisoners to fight for their rights. Democratic organisations and forces are also playing a key role in this even amid countrywide severe repression. Funds were collected from the people by the party and several MOs and used for court expenses to release imprisoned comrades and to support their families. Support activities and struggles demanding release of all political prisoners have spread out across the country.

Attack on our leadership is a specific and key component of the enemy's counterrevolutionary plans. For this they made special teams with notorious police personnel as part of 'Special Investigation Bureau' (SIB)

and formed or strengthened special forces like AP Greyhounds in most of the States and in the Central government's 'National Investigation Agency' (NIA) to track down and eliminate our leaders. They succeeded in inflicting a number of heavy losses to our party and revolutionary movement, particularly through the capture and murder of comrade Patel Sudhakar, CCM (Political Intelligence-in Charge) and comrade Azad, Politburo member (PBM). Another outstanding leader of the Indian revolution, PBM comrade Kishenji was also captured in an encounter in a village of Lalgarh, brutally tortured and murdered. Yet we withstood this. Even while we suffered some disruptions in our work overall, till 2010, we could make advances. Since then, the enemy has further intensified his attacks using bigger forces. Coupled with our own weaknesses, this has created a very difficult situation where we have suffered losses or weakened and been forced to withdraw from some areas. We have weakened considerably on the urban front too.

People's political power organs in the form of RPCs emerged in DK Special Zone, BJ Special Area, and Andhra Pradesh-Odisha Border (AOB) areas

In the wake of the severe beating they suffered at the hands of the PLGA in the Mukaram, Saranda, Lohardagga and several other tactical offensives, the enemy started taking up operations with even larger forces. The enemy who was successful in damaging the leadership and cadre in the urban and plain areas is now targeting the leadership in forest areas. They are strengthening their intelligence network. They target party/PLGA camps when they are in meetings/political and military training and camps of the various departments with large contingents of Central and State forces, numbering several thousands. They also carry out sabotage operations by employing killer gangs. They are trying to hinder our political, organisational, military, production and propaganda activities and are trying to dent the morale of the people and the revolutionary mass base. Enemy forces are deployed in hundreds/thousands and area dominations and road patrolling are being conducted. The number of Road Opening Parties (ROP) and the number of persons in the parties were increased. There are nearly

> During the past few years we have been facing a very difficult situation. While three to three and a half lakh police, paramilitary and State and Central commando forces were deployed by mid-2010, this has increased to around five lakhs at present

150-200 persons in each batch. If they have specific information or if they know about the presence of leadership, nearly 800 to 4000 or even more troops are being deployed. The carpet security used in struggle areas like Kashmir is being extended day by day. Several dozens of police camps were newly (CG), established in Chhattisgarh Maharashtra, Bihar, JH, Telangana, AP, AOB, Bengal and Odisha apart from the borders of these States. They are establishing several police camps in Malnad area and the trijunction area of three south-west States to nip in the bud the newly extending movement. The AP government decided to take up more security measures in the police stations on the borders. In camps and police stations two to three company-level forces are being present. Along with deploying paramilitary battalions, thousands of police, home guards and SPOs/State Auxiliary Police forces are being recruited in recent years. To coordinate these forces and operations, dozens of IPS officers are being deployed in

the movement areas. They are building 400 fortified police stations and camps in strengthening carpet security in nine states. They are speeding up their preparations for drone (UAV) attacks. The Central government decided to build 2200 communication towers mainly in the camps of enemy forces in areas of our influence in nine States. With the aim of keeping surveillance on the movements of the guerillas in thick forests they launched Resat-1 satellite in 2012.

The Indian government has stepped up preparations to deploy the Army in Bastar Range, particularly in Maad at first and next in strategic areas of the PW in the Central and Eastern India with a long range strategy. The Army is wary of directly entering the 'war on people' since it fears getting bogged down and over-extended. The plan is to build up a special force on the lines of the Rashtriya Rifles in Kashmir. Once it is trained up and deployed it will engage in encirclements of wide tracts of forest areas to impart heavy loses to the revolutionary forces and eliminate the entire local leadership. Already nearly one-third of Maad is handed over to army camps by the State government. With the additional security perimeter the area under direct Army control will be 50%. Once the Army is formally deployed the draconian provisions of the AFSPA, already in force undeclared, will be imposed on the people. The Air Force is fully involved in supply and dropping troops in a big way. A wide network with a big number of helipads and several air bases are being built in CG, Vidarbha, AP, Telangana, Bihar, JH, Bengal and Odisha to support Central paramilitary and States forces, future Army offensives and also for conducting Air Force attacks.

The Central government is engaged in training thousands of special State and Central forces on AP Greyhounds model (a special commando force trained in counterinsurgency warfare). It formed Unified Commands with Chief Ministers as their Commanders-in-Chief in the States of our movement. These consist of a retired army brigadier and the top officials of Central and State forces. These Unified Commands function in coordination with the centre. They had also formed Joint Operational Commands in the borders of the States and are carrying on offensives by particularly concentrating on tri-junctions of the strong movement areas. Intelligence wings at the Central and State levels were revamped and the entire administrative mechanism has been restructured at the behest of the imperialists, particularly the US, to carry on a multi-faceted, centralised, coordinated, synchronised 'war on people' and implement the corporate agenda. In all of these counterrevolutionary moves they are guided and supported by the US and other imperialist powers.

Attacks on people, murders, sexual atrocities on women, razing down houses, loot, destruction of harvests and granaries, slaughter and looting of poultry and livestock by counter-revolutionary gangs and enemy forces to smash our mass base have increased further since the formation of the new party. The attack in Chintalnar area where they razed down four villages, killed and raped is a hideous example. Democratic organisations have exposed the destruction wreaked by the enemy. It is another matter that PLGA forces successfully conducted a tactical counterattack on this murderous gang in which four fascist Koya Commandos died and eight were injured.

On the other hand, as part of LIC they are intensifying reforms under innumerable names according to the conditions with the aim of splitting the revolutionary camp, isolating the party and the PLGA from the people and widening the social base of the exploiting classes by strategically mobilising, concentrating and coordinating the entire reactionary legislative, executive, judiciary and media and also tactically acting accordingly by putting armed forces at its core. In the name of 'civic action programmes' several reform schemes of the Central and State governments are being canalised through the enemy's troops. Apart As part of LIC they are intensifying reforms under innumerable names according to the conditions with the aim of splitting the revolutionary camp, isolating the party and the PLGA from the people and widening the social base of the exploiting classes

from this, huge amounts are given to these forces for such activities. Household utensils, clothes, radios and cycles etc are now being showered on remote villages, where the Indian state never bothered to provide basic amenities for decades together. The Indian state is now all enthusiastic to provide free boarding and tuition to a section of deprived Adivasi children who enjoyed the benefits of education for the first time in their lives through our party and the PLGA. By trying to come closer to the people through such means they are trying to form their own intelligence network. They are economically benefiting a section of the people amongst political leaders, officials, contractors, tribal elders/bad gentry, rich and middle peasants and even among the poor peasants and agricultural labourers and are utilising them as their social base. Enemy intelligence network increased in many places. As part of surrender policy, they are implementing rehabilitation programmes and forcefully turning most of them into traitors and are seriously trying to bring pressure on the village level leadership to turn them against the people. Serious efforts are going on to turn some weaker elements working in the PLGA and the party into coverts.

Enemy is carrying on foul propaganda on our movement and leadership at all levels as part of psychological warfare. Revisionist parties like CPI (M) and CPI and some of the right opportunist leadership of some ML groups are attacking our party line and supporting the ruling classes. They put up a deceptive propaganda campaign that squabbles have started between the leadership comrades in CPI (Maoist) on the lines of the erstwhile parties (MCCI, PW). They are carrying on psychological operations portraying us as antidevelopment, anti-democratic and violent without respite through all sorts of media and through their class forces by utilising their socio-cultural hegemony in a thousand ways. They propagate on one hand that socialism and communism are outdated and that we can never emerge victorious and so the party should join the electoral politics. On the other hand they urge those inside the revolutionary camp to join the police or act as informers by deserting the revolutionary movement as they would be wiping it out within 5-10 years and as we could never win. They are encouraging diehard opportunists like Savyasachi Panda and trying to fizzle out the movement.

Let us not forget that every revolution advances in a wave-like manner. That is a law of history. We should heighten our ideological level, keep politics in command, take the message of revolution deeper and wider among the masses, creatively apply the line of PPW and develop our tactics, be 'red and expert' in our political, military, organisational, propaganda, training, cultural, production, technical and other tasks

On the whole, during the past few years we have been facing a very difficult situation. While three to three and a half lakh police, paramilitary and State and Central commando forces were deployed by mid-2010, this has increased to around five lakhs at present. A measure of the importance attached by the reactionary Indian state to its 'war on people' can be seen in the fact that a number of Central battalions have been redeployed from the North East and Kashmir to our war zones during the past one decade. Paramilitary forces like the BSF, ITBP and CRPF are already heavily weaponised and the CRPF is being augmented with drones and other hi-tech equipment. Its combing operations already incorporate real-time inputs from area surveillance done through drones.

While the tightening blockades, combing and attacks brought out the steel in the vast majority of our ranks, it has also exposed the rotten elements that had remained hidden among us. Liquidationists who pretend that PPW is not suited to our conditions, cowards who flee under different pretexts hopelessly trying to cover up their defeatism, traitors who sell-out the people for the pittance thrown at them by the enemy - these trying times have uncovered them, one after the other. Among the masses, some have "surrendered" under enemy's brute force. Repeated and heavy attacks have caused great harm to the party structures in the villages and consequently to the RPCs and mass organisations too. A section of the masses have become passive.

In the face of all this, the morale of some comrades has dipped, even while they stick on to their revolutionary tasks. But unless their viewpoint is sharpened with MLM and transformed into clear-sighted resoluteness, the opportunities contained in the adverse situation we face will not be grasped or realised. Let us not forget that every revolution advances in a wave-like manner. That is a law of history. We should heighten our ideological level, keep politics in command, take the message of revolution deeper and wider among the masses, creatively apply the line of PPW and develop our tactics, be 'red and expert' in our political, military, organisational, propaganda, training, cultural, production, technical and other tasks. Only thus we will emerge from this situation more united, more disciplined, stronger, more consolidated and more dynamic. At each turn of the revolutionary war the need to reforge our ties with the masses on a deeper and higher level comes up. At each crucial juncture the task of deepening the politicisation of not only ourselves but simultaneously the politicisation of the masses also poses itself afresh. We must boldly take up this task to unleash the revolutionary energy and initiative of the masses in an even more powerful manner.

In the beginning of 2013, assessing the situation we face, the CC assessed that our countrywide movement is facing a very difficult situation and also formulated the basic tactics to overcome it. The reasons for this difficult situation to arise are two: one, the Indian ruling classes with the complete support and guidance of the imperialists launched an unprecedented multi-pronged countrywide strategic offensive to suppress our developing movement; the other reason for this is our subjective weaknesses. The CC had also noted that the weaknesses in our subjective condition were uneven. The weaknesses in our subjective condition are as follows:

Weaknesses and shortcomings continuing at varying scales and different levels in carrying on class struggle basing on agrarian revolutionary program in all the movement areas, in formulating appropriate tactics keeping in view the changing domestic and international social, economic and political conditions, in mobilising the party and the people to implement the tactics formulated and in putting determined efforts to fulfill our aim, in correcting the long term non-proletarian trends in our party, PLGA and revolutionary movement, in vastly rallying PLGA and the people in an effective manner into armed resistance and counter-attacks, in implementing secret functioning and guerilla war principles, in the legal-illegal link mechanism, in training the party, PLGA, RPCs and mass organisations ideologically, politically, organisationally and militarily in accordance with the situation, in

consolidating and developing the urban movements, in rallying the non-peasant vast masses inside the movement areas and outside; limitations in rallying the vast masses into the revolutionary movement by carrying on political and organisational work in accordance with our line and policies at all levels; decrease in mass base, recruitment and fighting ability - due to these problems in the subjective condition, though the revolutionary objective condition is developing excellently inside the country and in the world, we are facing limitations in well utilising it.

While we have weakened in some States and suffered setbacks in some war zones, in others we could sustain. We could also achieve advanced experiences in some parts and extend into some new strategic areas. Facing heavy odds and losses, we are opening up a new war front in the Western Ghats border region of Karnataka-Keralam-Tamilnadu. It shows us the great strengths of the strategy and tactics of PPW. It shows us how this war can be sustained and advanced to victory so long as we remain ideologically and strategically firm, be flexible in tactics and follow our politico-military line, be determined in boldly fighting the enemy, take revolutionary politics to the masses and fully rely on them.

The basis has been laid for revival of the movement in some of the areas from where we had to retreat. In areas where we have weakened, the party is trying to cope up with

This war can be sustained and advanced to victory so long as we remain ideologically and strategically firm, be flexible in tactics and follow our politicomilitary line, be determined in boldly fighting the enemy, take revolutionary politics to the masses and fully rely on them the situation with Bolshevik spirit. Moreover, the objective condition is more favourable. In fact, during the period up till 2011 we had succeeded in mobilising the masses and spreading guerilla war and thus upset the enemy's plans. Therefore it is quite possible to overcome the present difficult situation of the movement, no matter how challenging it is, by basing ourselves on the favourable factors and by taking up correct tactics according to the changing concrete conditions and firmly implementing them.

As we put conscious efforts, in the past one and half year we could preserve our movement and leadership amid intensified enemy offensive. In DK, BJ, AOB and Odisha the PLGA forces led by the party with the support of the people successfully conducted tactical counter-offensive campaigns (TCOCs) and several armed actions, annihilated enemy forces and seized arms and ammunitions. Thousands of people and people's militia led by the PLGA destroyed road building equipment, vehicles, guest houses, and camp offices of the government and the big construction and mining companies. Thousands of people held rallies and vented their ire demanding the withdrawal of the Central and State forces. They protested fake encounters, massacres, illegal arrests and atrocities on women, attacks on villages, loot and destruction of people's properties and demanded the release of political prisoners.

Our party's efforts to rally the vast masses in both secret and open forms against the pro-imperialist policies that served the interests of the ruling classes implemented by the Central and State governments continued. Various economic and political mass struggles were taken up against

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The PLGA forces valiantly resisted the enemy in all our movement areas with the aim of defeating OGH. They strove to advance the PPW by identifying the weaknesses of the enemy as far as possible and dealing substantial blows to the enemy forces in several medium and small actions as well as some big actions, and by obstructing the fulfilment of the goals of the enemy. We inflicted casualties on the aggressive BSF forces at Rallgadda in AOB using demolition tactics and on the Greyhounds police in Kurnapalli in Telangana after a long gap.

Responding to the call of the party the people in DK successfully boycotted the CG assembly elections. The capture and execution of the hated Mahendra Karma, the main person responsible for the brutal SJ atrocities was a major achievement. In DK, BJ, AOB and Odisha where our movement is strong and in areas such as Niyamgiri, Mali-Deomali, and Visakha where movements of Adivasis against mining and displacement are going on, majority of the people boycotted the Loksabha polls and expressed their protest against these destructive projects. As part of the election boycott campaign the PLGA forces successfully conducted tactical counter-offensive actions on the enemy forces that came to force the people to vote.

During the Loksabha election boycott campaign the PLGA forces gave blows to the enemy forces that swooped down on the people like vultures to make them vote, through actions in BJ, DK (Maharashtra and CG), AOB, Odisha. Some of these actions took place in areas which the enemy had claimed to have 'cleared' and taken control of. Within the first five months of 2014, spanning the election period, 63 enemy personnel were annihilated and 122 injured in 31 actions. One PLGA combatant was martyred. We could seize 36 weapons and 3366 rounds. It is noteworthy that these actions came in the

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wake of and during two massive countrywide special 'cordon and search campaigns' conducted by the enemy. The first lasted for one week from December 26, 2013 to January 1, 2014 in nine States with 40,000 additional paramilitary forces and State police forces. The second one was conducted from March 19 to 27, 2014 with about one lakh paramilitary forces, six thousand commando forces, four Israel Aeron surveillance planes and several mine-proof vehicles fitted with radars under the leadership of 70 Inspector-Generals of Police in six States where the Maoist movement is active. Due to guerilla actions conducted constantly by the PLGA in various guerilla zones, the enemy forces had to disperse their forces over a vast area and so were forced into a situation where they could not deploy their forces as they wished in our crucial areas. Due to lack of additional forces the enemy couldn't carry out these campaigns more intensively in all areas at once except in Bijapur and some other parts. Therefore it plans to increase its forces. Important aims of these campaigns were gaining experience in command and control of different forces from the Central and State levels and familiarisation of terrain.

In DK Special Zone, the people, militia, main force and secondary forces in their hundreds with the support of the entire masses of that area surrounded the newly established Minpa paramilitary and police camp and put up armed harassment of the thousand odd forces stationed there, closed down all supply lines of the enemy for about one week and forced the shut down of the camp. This is a new experience. In Harra Koder (DK) the masses of all the neighbouring villages of the area came out in huge numbers and persisted in peaceful agitation for six days forcing the withdrawal of a newly established CRPF camp that came for the purpose of facilitating the building of a dam. The role of women in this struggle was exemplary. We have also seen instances where the masses either rejected the free goods distributed by the enemy mercenaries as part of Civic Action Programs or made a bonfire of them.

The important achievement of this year is the merger into one party of CPI (Maoist) and CPI(M-L)NAXALBARI as another turning point in the effort to achieve unity of genuine revolutionaries in our country. As pointed out in the merger declaration, this gives a boost to the capacity of our party to better fulfil its role as the vanguard of the Indian revolution. The unity of Maoists in the face of intense enemy attack has greatly encouraged the revolutionary masses. It has been enthusiastically welcomed at the international level.

#### Comrades,

Here we are putting in a nutshell the main positive achievements of our party in the past decade in the backdrop of the international and domestic developments of the past decade which we are briefly mentioning here. It was these positive achievements that have helped our movement to advance to an unprecedented higher level.

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the party, on the one hand, let us first grasp the essence of these positive achievements and then propagate them widely inside the party and the people. On the other hand, let us overcome the negative aspects, strengthen the party and develop the PLGA and the UF to the level of fighting back and defeating the enemy onslaught, overcome the present difficult condition using the basic tactics formulated by the CC and further advance the NDR. In the backdrop of the difficult conditions our party and the movement are facing since 2013, it becomes even more necessary to grasp and propagate our positive achievements as they become our stepping stones to overcome this situation, as they help us avoid our past mistakes and also to build up confidence among the party rank and file and the people.

Ten years back itself a favourable turn was seen at the international level when US imperialism's aggressive 'War on Terror' faced stiff resistance. This upset its plans, forcing it to change tactics in order to avoid getting bogged down. Bush was replaced with Obama's so-called human face! Utilising its difficult situation Russian imperialism made gains. Organisations like the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation and the BRICS strengthened. This relative weakening of US imperialism led to more contention among imperialist powers on the one hand and the strengthening of people's struggles on the other. But the international communist movement could not utilise this to the fullest extent, due to treachery of various hues of neo-revisionism, most notably the betraval of the Nepali revolution by the CPN (Maoist) leadership. In India, the UPA blatantly pushed the LPG policies and surrendered to the US diktats in the nuclear deal issue.

Since then, the domestic and international objective conditions have become even more favourable to the revolution as never before. After the imperialist economy got bogged down in a worldwide crisis in 2008, changes are occurring at a fast pace in world politics. Especially the fundamental contradictions in the world are sharpening. The contradiction between the imperialists and the oppressed nations & oppressed peoples of the world is intensifying with each passing day. In neocolonies and semi-colonial – semi-feudal countries movements are developing against the imperialists and their comprador/lackey ruling classes. The proletariat in the capitalist countries is taking up agitations on a huge scale against the capitalists in their countries. While the national resistance struggles against NATO forces led by the US and their lackey government forces in Afghanistan and Pakistan intensified, in Iraq the resistance forces are gaining strength against the puppet government servile to the US and are increasing their grip in the northern part of the country. Resistance forces are reinvigorating in Libya. Civil war conditions are prevailing in Egypt. The national liberation movement of Palestine continues to resist the fascist offensives of Israel. Syria and Ukraine have become centres of intensifying interimperialist contradictions. Contradictions between the Japanese and US imperialists and China are further intensifying in the Asia-Pacific Region.

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The worldwide economic crises shook our economy. In the past few years budget deficit increased, growth rate fell, current account deficit increased, inflation increased. The living conditions of the people of our country are deteriorating even further. The fundamental contradictions in our country are intensifying. Dog fights among the ruling classes are intensifying. All oppressed classes' and sections' of people are continuously getting rallied into struggles on various issues. National liberation aspirations of the Kashmir and North East people are continuing to get expressed in various struggle forms. The formation of the Telangana State positively impacted the various movements for separate States. Though the BJP newly came to power with the slogan of 'Vikas', it exposed its real agenda within a few days. This indicates the Brahminical Hindu fascist offensive that is bound to increase. All oppressed classes, sections, religious minorities and nationalities would definitely become its victims. The need for all of them to fight in a united manner against this has increased more than ever before. All of them must get ready for that. Our party must strive to fulfil its role in this foremost task.

On the other hand, the proletarian revolutionary, national liberation and gradually democratic forces are strengthening and expanding all over the world. Particularly, the international movement in support of the Indian PW is expanding further. Our party participated in polemical debates at the international level and released an Open Letter to the CPN (M) when it began turning revisionist. It participated actively in all the international forums formed with the initiation of various Maoist parties and organisations and won the political confidence of these parties and organisations through its political stands and its practice. It built up solidarity for the revolutions of other countries, particularly to the NDR in the Philippines. We are also participating in anti-imperialist movements in the world. Thus a strong aspiration is getting expressed that the development of the PW in India would serve as a mighty support to the WSR. We have the great responsibility to make this a reality.

#### Comrades,

Through its multi-faceted, allencompassing ideological, political effort in various spheres, guerilla warfare, Army and UF (RPCs and tactical UF) activities, the party has withstood the onslaught of the enemy in the past decade, particularly the multipronged countrywide offensive that was launched in mid-2009 despite severe losses to leadership at various levels, particularly at Central and State levels and loss of some areas and losses in some crucial departments. The party's practice in the past decade has succeeded in establishing it as a ray of hope to the oppressed masses of our country and the world. This decade has once again proven the Leninist principle that 'There is no revolution without a revolutionary party' through mainly positive and some negative experiences. The past decade has been an enriching experience for us in party-building and in wielding the two weapons of the People's Army and the UF.

In this decade our party strove to fulfill its responsibility in the WSR by unflinchingly upholding, defending and propagating MLM

In the course of advancing in the direction of fulfilling the central task we had set for ourselves after the merger and after the Unity Congress, we had formulated new tactics whenever new conditions arose. We summarised our experiences from time to time. We gained rich experiences in forms of struggles and organisation in the course of our PW. Our understanding about guerilla warfare, people's army, revolutionary political power of the people, guerilla zones, guerilla bases and base areas got enhanced 10th anniversary of the formation of CPI(Maoist) Special Issue

in these ten years of rigorous revolutionary practice.

In this decade our party strove to fulfill its responsibility in the WSR by unflinchingly upholding, defending and propagating MLM - through its creative application to the conditions of our country, by fighting back revisionism, right and left opportunism and non-proletarian trends both in India and the world, by keeping the red flag of WSR aloft in this part of the world through immense sacrifices of the leaders and cadres of the party in the path of the WSR martyrs, by learning from our own experiences and from other revolutions in the world, by building solidarity with the other fighting people of the world and by initiating as well as becoming part of the international activities taken up as an integral part of WSR.

Our party members, right from the top leadership to the village level party members have continued the legacy of the great martyrs of the world and Indian revolution, particularly since Naxalbari and once again established the great revolutionary traditions of sacrifice. They never bent their knees before the enemy, whether in the battlefield or in enemy custody.

We had succeeded in developing our party as a single centre of guidance for the NDR in our country defeating the conspiracies of the ruling classes and the revisionists to prevent it. As part of fulfilling the remaining task of uniting genuine revolutionaries in India we successfully completed the merger with CPI (ML)NAXALBARI.

The party successfully defeated the various right, left opportunist trends that arose in the party such as the diehard right opportunist liquidationist clique in Karnataka and Panda in Odisha and isolated them. Handful of central and state leaders left the party, surrendered to the enemy and unleashed vicious propaganda on our party, our line and our movement by joining hands with the ruling classes. Our party successfully fought back all such reactionary attacks consigning them to the dustbin of history. The party successfully defeated the various right, left opportunist trends that arose in the party such as the diehard right opportunist liquidationist clique in Karnataka and Panda in Odisha and isolated them

After the formation of the new party, our party expanded to some new areas. New forces had joined the party and they were educated and trained ideologically, politically, militarily and organisationally. Apart from rectification campaigns and campaigns like Bolshevisation, the party tried to increase the ideological, political, cultural and educational levels of the party cadres through regular education and building separate structures and schools at various levels of the party for imparting both primary education and political education. It carried on wide-ranging political propaganda and agitation through party, PLGA, RPCs and various mass organisations and raised the educational and political levels of the cadres and the revolutionary masses through magazines, publications, schools, propaganda campaigns, celebration of revolutionary occasions, party statements, preparation of notes on political subjects and topics, meetings, seminars etc.

The party inside the prisons all over the country stood steadfast in the face of enemy suppression and successfully kept the red flag aloft inside the dungeons too in the face of inhuman conditions, tortures and psychological pressures to abandon the movement. The party placed models of immense courage and resoluteness before the people of our country through uncompromising struggles and sacrifices inside the prisons. The most outstanding of these examples is of Comrade Sushil Roy who was martyred recently on June 18 2014. The party in the prisons is politicising the jailed comrades and the common prisoners along with politically influencing the jail staff who but belong to the oppressed classes. The party outside the prisons has also succeeded to some extent in building solidarity with the political prisoners' struggles and issues. The condition of women comrades inside the jails is worse but they have provided excellent examples of resoluteness in face of adversity not only to the people of our country but to the fighting people of the world. Several comrades and common people have died inside the prisons or after release as a result of the neglect of the authorities but never bent before the enemy. Some comrades led by the jail party leadership broke jails from inside while the party outside led the PLGA in some brave actions to free our jailed comrades. The party set an example of how to break the enemy dragnet and join the people in the struggle even in face of draconian laws, strict prison conditions and severe repression. Thus the party had turned the prisons into centres of struggle, political education, military actions and organisation and have inspired several comrades and the people to rejoin the movement once they got released.

As the fascist offensive of the enemy intensified, the psychological warfare also expanded as a part of it. In the past decade we fought back the enemy's psychological warfare by carrying on revolutionary political propaganda creatively in various forms. We tried continuously and tirelessly to uphold and propagate MLM, our political and military line, successes achieved by the people, new democratic culture and tried to fight back and defeat the enemy foul propaganda. We tried to develop the understanding among the entire party and the people that PPW is a total war on all fronts against the counterrevolutionary LIC strategy and tactics. We also strove to develop the collective participation of the people in the sphere of political propaganda.

The party successfully carried on the agrarian revolutionary programme that is the

axis of the NDR, put the land issue on top of our agenda in the form of seizure of lands and struggle for Jal, Jungle and Zameen. Through this practice and also ideologically and politically it fought back the arguments that tried to underplay the semi-colonial, semifeudal nature of our society. In the past one decade it once again firmly upheld the path of NDR for the liberation of our country from the clutches of feudalism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and imperialism. It called upon the people to boycott sham elections and build their own political power under the leadership of the party advancing in the path of PPW.

The death blow given to the socialfascist CPM in Paschim Banga starting with Nandigram and culminating in the mass uprising in Lalgarh will go down as one of the biggest achievements of the party in the past ten years. More than three decades of the social-fascist rule of the CPM crumbled and a revolutionary alternative (of NDR) was brought to the fore once again most powerfully after Naxalbari period during the Lalgarh uprising. Lalgarh continues to remain a model to be emulated in every part of the country. It once again established firmly the PPW line by successfully implementing it in practice. Another successful model put before the people by the party in this period is the land struggles in Narayanapatna in Odisha. The struggles for Jal, Jungle, Zameen

The party successfully carried on the agrarian revolutionary programme that is the axis of the NDR, put the land issue on top of our agenda in the form of seizure of lands and struggle for Jal, Jungle and Zameen. Through this practice and also ideologically and politically it fought back the arguments that tried to underplay the semi-colonial, semifeudal nature of our society is being carried on in various States. All these once again firmly established the politics of agrarian revolution among the people.

We follow the principle – the party commands the army. The PLGA is led by the party at all its levels and in all its activities. Under its leadership, the PLGA is developing, consolidating and expanding guerilla warfare in the vast swathes of rural India, particularly in Central and Eastern India. As part of advancing in the direction of fulfilling the central task of the Unity Congress the PLGA took its first steps towards developing guerilla warfare to mobile warfare. The PLGA gained vast experiences in centralising and decentralising forces and conducting various manoeuvres at all levels. The party formed and led the various levels of Commissions and Commands, and guided the building of higher level formations of Platoons, Companies and Battalions thus gaining experience in running them and in attacking the enemy with these higher level formations. The PLGA conducted several successful tactical counter-offensives and TCOCs, thus arming itself and the revolutionary masses.

The PLGA built various departments necessary for an army and gained valuable experiences in running them. The party propagated and established new culture through the PLGA. The PLGA participated in agricultural production and political propaganda activities integrating with the masses. Along with supporting the people in building people's power by destroying the enemy power it served as an armed support to carry on strategic tasks in the guerilla bases. The PLGA defended the political power of the people and the revolutionary MOs and the people from enemy attacks. It recruited youth participating in class struggle and trained them.

The party developed its ideological and political understanding regarding political and military intelligence and in its light conducted study and education about the LIC strategy and tactics of the enemy. The PLGA built various people's militias in the guerialla zones and other struggle areas and succeeded in establishing it as the primary form of self-defence for the people and as the base force in the PLGA. One of the biggest achievements of the PLGA was the huge mobilisation of the poor peasants (majority of whom are Adivasis) and women into the militia in this decade. The creativity of the masses was unleashed as never before in these militias and several military leaders of the masses emerged from them.

The party strove to develop people's resistance – armed and unarmed – to the enemy repression and this past decade has given the party and people immense experience on this front too. DK, BJ, Lalgarh, Narayanapatna and Telangana have given us diverse as well as countless exemplary models in armed and unarmed people's resistance.

The party led the PLGA and the UF skilfully in defeating several repressive campaigns of the enemy in the past ten years. Through continuous attacks by PLGA, the SJ, Sendra, Nagarik Suraksha Samiti, Santi Committee, Harmad Bahini etc, were defeated in Bengal-JH and Bihar-JH-Odisha and AOB areas. The party led the PLGA and the UF in fighting back the above notorious counter-revolutionary campaigns that were unleashed as a part of the onslaught of the ruling classes against the revolutionary party. In BJ the private armies of the landlords were brought under control and in the past decade

The party strove to develop people's resistance – armed and unarmed – to the enemy repression and this past decade has given the party and people immense experience on this front

too the PLGA continued to defend the poor peasants and prevented such armies from raising their heads again. The most prominent among these successes was the defeat of SJ in DK which was started with the purpose of forcefully dividing the people by applying ruthless repression and herding the people into SJ sibirs. It suffered death blows at the hands of the PLGA and the entire battle against it was conducted with the huge mobilisation and active participation of the people of DK. People and particularly the women stood in the forefront and resisted the SJ goons. The DK people put a model before the people of the entire country on how to defeat one of the most savage onslaughts of the ruling classes in the garb of SJ. Not only the party in DK, but the entire party mechanism throughout the country was mobilised in various forms in defeating it. Every party member in the country had a role in exposing and defeating it, in mobilising the people's opinion against it, in rallying the support of the democratic sections in the society, in sending relief and other help to the fighting people of DK and also in rallying international support. Thus the party had put an excellent example before the people of our country on how to conduct a coordinated campaign against an enemy repressive campaign by keeping guerilla warfare carried on by basing on the masses at the centre and by involving vast masses inside and outside the guerilla zones against it.

Over the past one decade the PLGA (all its forces included) by fully relying on the vast masses conducted all together 990 small, medium and big actions, periodically conducted TCOCs and had also resisted, annihilated and injured the enemy forces when they attacked our forces. A total of 2064 enemy police and paramilitary personnel were annihilated and 1993 were injured. Apart from this, 169 landlords, bad gentry, 369 counter-revolutionary gang members and several informants were also eliminated. Through these actions, the PLGA seized 2109 weapons including high-power rifles, mortars, 92,061 rounds of ammunition and military equipment like bullet-proof jackets, communication sets, helmets etc. In these actions we lost 165 brave commanders and fighters including some militia comrades.

The party successfully placed an alternative model of development before the people of our country as against the lopsided, pro-landlord, pro-CBB, pro-imperialist develop ment model of the ruling classes.

These actions have clearly proved that guerilla forces can take on a mighty enemy force and inflict severe losses and seize huge amounts of arms and ammunitions by applying guerilla warfare principles correctly and creatively. Thus the party arms the people and increases the armed strength of the people's army. We can advance towards victory by carrying on PPW in this manner.

The party ideologically, politically and organisationally led the formation and running of RPCs in DK, BJ, North Telangana and AOB in the past ten years and helped the party and the people gain self-experience in running them. Through this the party successfully placed an alternative model of development before the people of our country as against the lopsided, pro-landlord, pro-CBB, pro-imperialist development model of the ruling classes. It had brought to the fore the agrarian revolutionary programme and the need for a NDR in our country by placing this alternative model of development before the people. The new political power, new society, new path of development, being built by the oppressed masses in Central and Eastern India under the party's leadership with the armed support of the PLGA, after destroying the Indian state piece by piece, stands out as a shining alternative that is increasingly attracting wider sections in our country.

Whatever may be the situation, we have a mighty weapon to tackle it. This is our ideology, MLM. Grasp it deeply and take up this weapon ever more firmly; this is the crux of Bolshevising the party. The aim of this Bolshevisation campaign is to strengthen the party and the PLGA and develop PW and through this equip both of them with the capacity to overcome the present difficult situation our movement is facing

The party in the past ten years had successfully led the vast masses in various struggles and formed innumerable organisations and united fronts to lead the masses on their issues. Thus the party and the people gained immense self-experience in building and running tactical UF. Revolutionary politics were propagated widely through the tactical UF activities. The party's efforts in the tactical UF had resulted in building huge support to the fighting people inside our country and also gained international support. It fought back the draconian laws and inhuman and variously biased judicial system in our country through building civil rights movements and by fighting for the rights of political and other prisoners in our country. It exposed the imperialist (particularly the US) grip over every sphere of our country and played a role in building anti-imperialist movements in India and abroad. In this decade our party strongly reiterated its support to the struggles of the nationalities in India, particularly to the people of Kashmir and the North-East.

The party successfully mobilised the most oppressed classes and sections of the society into the NDR – poor and landless

peasants, the overwhelming majority of those who joined the Army being from these classes; the most marginalised sections of the society – Adivasis, women and Dalits were mobilised hugely into the party, Army and the UF. The huge presence of women and Adivasis inside the party has had a positive impact on the people.

These successes were mainly gained till 2012. From 2013 our movement is facing a very difficult situation. Deeply analysing the various factors hampering our work the party issued a call in 2013 to Bolshevise the party. Whatever may be the situation, we have a mighty weapon to tackle it. This is our ideology, MLM. Grasp it deeply and take up this weapon ever more firmly; this is the crux of Bolshevising the party. The aim of this Bolshevisation campaign is to strengthen the party and the PLGA and develop PW and through this equip both of them with the capacity to overcome the present difficult situation our movement is facing. To lead the revolution to victory the party must mould itself through consistent effort continuously. This campaign is a part of that long process. For that the following should be done -

- \* Understanding deeply and adhering firmly to MLM and the general political line of our party; creatively applying MLM to our concrete practice and firmly implementing our line; being unwavering regarding our ideological and political line, establishing its correctness and enriching it further by fighting against various bourgeois ideologies and opportunist trends inside and outside the party;
- \* Developing our party into a strong organisation that is well equipped with the correct ideological, political, organisational and military line, that is firm in strategy and flexible in tactics, that has well-knitted structures, that has correct style of work, that correctly practices democratic centralism & steely discipline, that functions with

utmost dedication, steely determination, sacrifice and fights with courage, that has mass character, that defends its leadership and forces from all kinds of enemy conspiracies, attacks and left and right dangers by successfully defeating them, that steels itself in the face of enormous difficulties, twists and turns in the course of PPW;

- \* Further building all three forces of the PLGA as the main form of organization; boosting its fighting skills and capacities; rousing and raising its fire power mainly by seizing the enemy's weapons; training it even better; developing its command, control, coordination and intelligence and thus making it an even more powerful and strong people's army to carry forward the PPW successfully;
- \* The party leadership rallying the vast masses into PPW by correctly implementing the political and military line and formulating and implementing correct tactics according to the changing conditions and thus making the people accept its vanguard role and rally under it;
- \* Increasing the strength of our mass base under the leadership of the proletariat by rallying our firm allies - the agricultural labourers and poor peasants, reliable allies - the petty bourgeoisie and also the vacillating allies - rich peasants and national bourgeoisie by winning over, neutralising and isolating different sections among them and defeating the enemies one by one and concentrating on the main enemy by using the contradictions among them- is necessary. We can achieve this only by developing the ability to rally all these classes by implementing class line and mass line and realising in practice the Marxist principle 'People are the makers of history' by closely integrating with them and leading them and

 Honestly accepting its mistakes, shortcomings and weaknesses, correcting and avoiding those by learning from practice

We must carry on the present campaign in a planned manner for two years to achieve concrete targets to overcome the present difficult situation and advance the revolution. We should implement a concrete program at all levels according to the ground realities. We should discuss this in the committee meetings and take the necessary decisions to carry on this campaign seriously. Completing this campaign successfully means –

- \* Enhancing the ideological study of MLM to improve the proletarian world outlook inside the party, particularly among the new forces;
- \* The entire party, every unit in the party, gaining the most clear-cut understanding about the goal of NDR and the concrete targets to be reached at the present juncture;
- \* Understanding deeply the three point work style taught by Mao and improving our work style;
- \* The party strengthening its mass base by firmly integrating with the people and mobilising the people into various economic, political and other struggles apart from giving priority to rallying the peasants into the agrarian revolutionary war and putting special efforts among the vast non-peasant masses and the urban population;
- \* Enhancing the study of the changing socio-economic, political and cultural conditions and changing the tactics accordingly, thus developing the movement successfully;
- \* Along with enhancing our understanding about secret party building and functioning, quickly rectifying the defects that are occuring

in this work and in implementing guerilla war's operational principles;

- \* Giving appropriate training to enhance the ideological, political, organisational and military levels of the party, Army and MOs-UF and improving their quality;
- \* Along with rectifying the non-proletarian trends continuing in the party, enhancing the consciousness and alertness of the party to fight against these, enhancing and strengthening unity of thought and action and discipline through this;
- \* Being able to display the consciousness to face the difficult situations and dangers that come up in the course of the revolution;
- \* Heightening preparedness to valiantly fight the enemy, and
- \* Being able to defend our subjective forces, particularly the higher level leadership and the movement from the cruelest offensives of the enemy.

Only by achieving this through the present Bolshevisation campaign can we overcome the difficult condition we are facing and also lay down the basis for new victories.

#### Comrades,

With the principal contradiction in the world between imperialism and the oppressed nations and peoples and the other two fundamental contradictions sharpening with each passing day, the objective condition in our country and the world is increasingly turning favourable to the revolution. All kinds of social contradictions are sharpening and people are coming closer to the revolutionary path world over to solve them. It is the need of the hour that we grasp the excellent objective situation and mobilise people actively and extensively in PW and advance the revolution by intensifying and expanding guerrilla warfare. We must put efforts to completely utilise the favourable objective and subjective conditions conducive to the development of PW. Though we have suffered losses and weakened, let us not forget that in a vast

The present situation no doubt brings up serious challenges, but it also brings even more opportunities. We must boldly go more deeply and broadly among the different oppressed classes and sections of the people, mobilise them politically and unite them in struggle

stretch of area covering lakhs of square kilometres, i.e., starting from AP, Telangana borders to Lalgarh and South of the Ganga River with crores of population, our organisation has been continuing from a long time, people have gained vast selfexperience in class struggle and at least in some areas they had tasted their own political power. This is our strength. We must rely on it and unleash its potential in order to defend our movement and develop it. Another new front has been opened in the Western Ghats which has strategic significance and great potential to develop PPW in a vast area. Thus we can overcome the unfavourable situation that we have faced in the recent period and advance in the direction of fulfilling the tasks given by our Unity Congress-9th Congress.

To overcome the situation we are facing today, we must protect our subjective forces, consolidate them, strengthen our mass base and thus advance the PPW more powerfully. The new situation emerging after the coming of the Modi regime must be utilised in this direction. The present situation no doubt brings up serious challenges, but it also brings
even more opportunities. We must boldly go more deeply and broadly among the different oppressed classes and sections of the people, mobilise them politically and unite them in struggle. We must respond to each and every anti-people, anti-country policy and measure of the Modi government, persistently expose them, mobilise all the people in struggles against it, and strive to link them up with the ongoing PPW. Let us creatively apply the operational principles of guerrilla warfare. Let us deeply integrate with the masses and widely mobilise them in the PPW. Let us get rid of our shortcomings and weaknesses and strengthen ourselves through the successful completion of our Bolshevisation campaign. Let us go all out and seize these opportunities.

Let us learn from both the many positive and the few negative experiences of the past decade and put efforts to build a strong proletarian party to lead our revolution to victory and fulfill our share in the WSR to march towards socialism and ultimately towards communism

It is a lesson of history that dying reactionary rulers will become even more ferocious when they near their end. The imperialist system is still in the grip of the worldwide economic crisis. This is severely impacting the Indian economy. This crisis situation makes the enemies of the people, the imperialist multinational companies and Indian compradors ever more desperate to plunder the resources of our country and exploit the labouring classes to the hilt. But the ill effects of this country-selling path are becoming more and more evident.

There is also another lesson of history. A small force can defeat a big one. A weak force can destroy a stronger one. This has been repeatedly proven in numerous revolutionary wars all over the world.

#### Comrades,

The CC calls upon all party units and comrades to grandly celebrate the tenth anniversary of our party. We should fully utilise this occasion to place before the party, PLGA, MOs, RPCs and the masses the successes and the positive and negative experiences gained by the new party in various spheres, the tasks before us to advance the revolution and educate them. Our CC calls upon you to work with determination to complete the tasks we set for ourselves to fulfill the dreams of our beloved martyrs. Celebrate the 10th anniversary of our party with revolutionary enthusiasm in all our areas where our party units are present by mobilising huge numbers of the masses and successfully implementing all the programs and propaganda activities planned by us. Utilise this occasion to fill the cadres and the people with the determination to participate with spirit in the Bolshevisation campaign, in increasing our mass base, in firmly resisting the enemy through guerilla warfare and in defending our subjective forces. Let us imbibe the ideals of our great martyrs to overcome the difficult situation we are facing and advance.

Let us learn from both the many positive and the few negative experiences of the past decade and put efforts to build a strong proletarian party to lead our revolution to victory and fulfill our share in the WSR to march towards socialism and ultimately towards communism. Let us apply the call of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, "Fight self, defeat revisionism" to make ourselves more capable of fulfilling the role as the vanguard of the Indian revolution.

Armed with MLM, steeled in our determination to destroy this hated humandevouring system, deeply and firmly linked with the masses, we are invincible. Mao Tsetung has taught us that miracles can be created by the masses led by the party. This we have seen in our own practice. The revolutionary creativity and energy of the masses is boundless. This we see reaffirmed in the ingenuous methods of resistance they put up, unfazed by the armed might of the enemy, and how they force him to back off. Let us take lessons from their creativity and resoluteness. Let us take guidance from our great teachers. Let us be inspired by our glorious martyrs.

Heighten your ideological-politicalmilitary, organisational and cultural level. Go deeper among the masses. Raise the quality of your fighting capacity aiming at 'greater, better, faster and more economical' results. Victory is ours because we serve the people. Victory is ours, because our cause, our revolutionary war, is just.

### With Revolutionary Greetings,

### Central Committee CPI(Maoist)

#### 10-9-2014

"Our Party organizations must be extended all over the country and we must purposefully train tens of thousands of cadres and hundreds of first rate leaders. They must be cadres and leaders versed in Marxism-Leninism, politically far-sighted, competent in work, full of the spirit of self-sacrifice, capable of tackling problems on their own, steadfast in the midst of difficulties and loyal and devoted in serving the nation, the class and the Party. It is on these cadres and leaders that the Party relies for its links with the membership and the masses, and it is by relying on their firm leadership of the masses that the Party can succeed in defeating the enemy. Such cadres and leaders must be free from selfishness, from individualistic heroism, ostentation, sloth, passivity, and sectarian arrogance, and they must be selfless national and class heroes; such are the qualities and the style of work demanded of the members, cadres and leaders of our Party."

- - Mao, "Win the Masses in Their Millions for the anti-Japanese National United Front" 

# MIB Interview with Comrade Ganapathy

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Building on the new, unique and unprecedented achievements of the last decade, Indian revolution will certainly overcome the difficult situation to win newer, larger and more glorious victories

[Maoist Information Bulletin (MIB) speaks with CPI(Maoist) General Secretary Comrade Ganapathy on the Occasion of the Tenth Anniversary Celebrations of the Formation of the United Party]

MIB: Revolutionary greetings to you and all our comrades from all of us at MIB on the occasion of the Party's Tenth Anniversary.

**Comrade Ganapathy (GP):** Thank you. Revolutionary greetings to all our comrades at MIB on behalf of our Central Committee.

# **MIB:** What do you think are the party's significant achievements in the past ten years?

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

0th anniversary of the formation of CPI(Maoist) Special Issue

The significance of this decade lies in –

Ushering in a single guiding centre for the NDR of India;

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

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

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

Rich and new experiences in building mass movements against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism by mobilising broad masses of the people, particularly the peasantry, around issues of *Jal, Jungle, Zameen, Izzat and Adhikar*;

Rich and new experiences in building strategic UF in the form of Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs) at a primary level and better and new experiences in tactical UFs, recognition of RPCs as an alternative model of development that could be applied successfully in contrast to the anti-people, country-selling development model of the ruling classes;

In spite of being in a very difficult situation at present, Indian Revolution withstanding a brutal unprecedented countrywide repression campaign waged by the fascist Indian regime with the support of the imperialists, particularly US imperialists, keeping alive the hope for revolution among the people of India and the world;

Considerable support for the fighting revolutionary masses from the most diverse sections of the Indian society, both against OGH and in support of the People's War (PW);

The merger into one party of CPI(Maoist) and CPI(M-L)NAXALBARI as another turning point in the effort to achieve unity of genuine revolutionaries in our country; PW in India serving as one of the important focal points around which international unity of Maoist forces and an international solidarity and support movement could be built.

All the developments of the past decade were achieved amidst and by fighting back relentless brutal enemy suppression campaigns on the one hand, and through bitter inner party struggles against right and 'left' opportunism that raised their head inside the party at various crucial junctures of the movement, on the other

These new and significant developments of the past decade were achieved on the basis of the new ideology, new politics, new line, new party, new army and new people's front ushered in by the glorious Naxalbari armed peasant rebellion and formulated under the leadership of the great founding leaders of our party comrades Charu Mazumdar and Kanhai Chatterji. All the developments of the past decade were achieved amidst and by fighting back relentless brutal enemy suppression campaigns on the one hand, and through bitter inner party struggles against right and 'left' opportunism that raised their head inside the party at various crucial junctures of the movement, on the other.

One of the most significant features of the Indian revolutionary movement is the glorious sacrifices made both by the communists and the masses for the liberation of our country, without which none of the above significant and new successes of the past decade could have been achieved. Through these sacrifices, the party has put forward an alternative mode of thinking and culture representing the highest human values as opposed to the rotten, decadent and self-centered mode of thinking and culture instilled by the ruling classes among the masses. In this way, these sacrifices have inspired the oppressed classes and sections of the society to fight for revolutionary change.

### MIB: What are the main challenges faced by the party now? What opportunities do you see to overcome them?

**GP:** The following are the main challenges our movement is facing at present. First, preserving our subjective forces, particularly the strategic leadership of the party. Since the formation of the new party, we have lost a considerable number of party leaders at all levels starting from the central committee to the village level party committees. Therefore, we have identified the preservation of existing subjective forces from enemy attacks as one of the foremost tasks before the party. Understanding the importance of preserving the subjective forces and protecting them, we must adopt secret and appropriate methods of functioning, rectify our mistakes in it and firmly implement the lessons learnt from our practice, prepare new leadership and raise the consciousness of the entire party about the need of a strong party with continuation of leadership as a condition for the success of the revolution.

Second, the revolutionary movement has weakened in the rural plains and urban areas. This is one of the factors leading to the difficult situation the party is facing today. It is a challenge before us to revive and expand the movement in areas where our party have been present for long but weakened over time. Similarly, we also need to expand the movement to newer areas and open new battlefronts in order to broaden the arena of the people's war. In light of the rich experience of our movement, we should utilise the conditions that are becoming increasingly favourable for advancing the revolution without repeating the past errors. In this way, we can definitely overcome the difficult situation and take the movement forward.

Third, some people are trying to spread confusion in the revolutionary camp by claiming that changes in socio-economic conditions have transformed India into a capitalist country. They also put forward the incorrect view that the line of PPW has become irrelevant. But the path of PPW have been proven in practice to be the only correct revolutionary path for the success After coming to power, BJP is implementing pro-imperialist, country-selling policies at a breakneck pace catering to the needs of foreign and Indian big capitalists and big landlords, while at the same time advancing the Hindu-fascist agenda in various forms. This will provide new avenues for uniting all the democratic, progressive, secular and patriotic forces in struggle. Newer and more numerous classes, social sections, forces and people of the society would be brought into the arena of struggle, and new opportunities for advancing the PPW will open up

of the NDR in a semi-colonial semi-feudal country like India. Therefore, we must guard against such erroneous views and expose them. At the same time, we must deeply study the economic, political, social and cultural changes and bring appropriate changes to our tactics.

Fourth, the Brahmanical Hindu fascist forces have come to power at the centre, which reflects a further consolidation of the ideology, politics and culture of the feudal and reactionary forces. International finance and the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie backed Modi-led BJP in its ascendance to power, which was complimented by communal polarisation in some places engineered by the Sangh Parivar. After coming to power, BJP is implementing pro-imperialist, country-selling policies at a breakneck pace catering to the needs of foreign and Indian big capitalists and big landlords, while at the same time advancing the Hindufascist agenda in various forms. This will provide new avenues for uniting all the democratic, progressive, secular and patriotic forces in struggle. Newer and more numerous classes, social sections, forces and people of the society would be brought into the arena of 0th anniversary of the formation of CPI(Maoist) Special Issue

struggle, and new opportunities for advancing the PPW will open up.

Fifth, the objective world situation is becoming increasingly more favourable for revolution. The imperialist world economy is still reeling under a serious crisis and all the fundamental contradictions in the world are sharpening. Consequently, the revolutionary, democratic and national liberation forces all over the world are gaining strength against imperialism and its domestic props. Maoist forces too are consolidating. But at the same time, socialist bases no longer exist and the subjective forces in the international communist movement (ICM) too are weak at present. This too presents a considerable challenge before us.

The objective world situation is becoming increasingly more favourable for revolution. The imperialist world economy is still reeling under a serious crisis and all the fundamental contradictions in the world are sharpening. Consequently, the revolutionary, democratic and national liberation forces all over the world are gaining strength against imperialism and its domestic props

MIB: After the merger of the party and the PLGA, we have seen that a qualitative change has occurred in the development of the PLGA and intensification and expansion of the guerilla warfare. But now there seems to be deceleration in this. How does the party plan to accelerate it again and advance?

**GP:** Your observation is correct. That is why some spectacular successes were won in the past decade. And the observation that there has been a deceleration in it is also correct as we can observe this since 2011. The CC summed up the situation in 2013 and assessed that our

movement is facing a very difficult situation. But this is at different levels in our different Guerilla Zones (GZ). In the past ten years, there has been unevenness in the development and also in the subsequent weakening of our different GZs. Just as there is unevenness in the economic, social and political conditions in our country, similarly not only among the different GZs but also in the entire countrywide revolutionary movement there is unevenness. This is a law of the PPW. Undoubtedly, it is our subjective efforts that advances the guerilla war, a matter which is not to be disputed. However, guerilla war has advanced in the different zones on the basis of different economic, social, political, historical and geographical conditions. Likewise, these conditions also form a basis for the ups and downs in guerilla warfare. We should not ignore this fact.

From 2011, we have gained some significant achievements in some states/GZs in the military front, in building mass struggles and in expanding the movement. The movement was developed in some GZs in this period by keeping the RPCs as the focal point and consolidating the party. Yet we have faced a deceleration. The party identified the reasons for this deceleration and geared the entire party, PLGA and mass organisations for overcoming this situation and this should be seen as a positive aspect. The OGH second phase began in 2011 and the OGH third phase has started after Modi-led NDA government came to power. So we should keep in mind that all these were done amidst severe offensives and by fighting them back. The party also acknowledges and wholeheartedly appreciates the positive role played by the democratic and patriotic sections of the society in lending their voice and support to the struggles of the people for Jal, Jungle, Zameen, Izzat, Adhikar and also their vehement opposition to the OGH. This also had its share in sustaining the people's fighting spirit.

In fighting back this counter-revolutionary war since mid-2009, the difference in the strength of the revolutionary forces and that of the counter-revolutionary forces was very wide. Guerilla forces were deployed at a company level to annihilate platoon level forces of the enemy. Guerilla forces at battalion level began to wipe out company level enemy forces. In these conditions, the enemy deployed tens of thousands to one lakh forces in every GZ. So due to the gap between the strengths of the opposing forces, new unfavorable conditions arose for waging our guerilla war. The huge deployment of the enemy forces was not only to crush our armed resistance but also to suppress the upsurge of mass movements witnessed in this decade such as the historic Nandigram, Lalgarh, Narayanpatna and several significant movements in almost all GZs. Thus, the Maoist movement emerged as an alternative to this decadent system.

The deceleration that occurred need not be seen only as the result of enemy repression, but is also a fallout of our subjective weaknesses. To come out of this situation, we have identified our mistakes and weaknesses and taken up the Bolshevisation of the party, the PLGA and mass organisations. At the same time, we should also look at the objective conditions that led to it. We had taken up certain tactics to fight back the enemy offensives when it was at the previous level and won some successes. This leads the enemy to take up some counter-tactics. So a new situation arises. So we will have to take up tactics that would again give us the advantage to counter the superior forces of the enemy through guerilla warfare and mobilise the people. A crucial factor in building up and developing the guerilla war would be the deepening of our mass base.

The ebb and flow of the movement would always give rise to new situations. In understanding this and preparing the party, PLGA and the people for this, there have been some serious mistakes from the party. Losses increased due to shortcomings in the party to face the new challenges. While fighting back a strong enemy in the course of PPW, losses and setbacks do occur. That is why Mao said that the PPW would advance through the process of victory-defeat-victory-defeat and ultimate victory. The PPW line would always pass through a complex process. Along with several smaller and partial successes and some big successes and leaps in the course of PPW, there would also be several smaller and partial losses, defeats and some big losses and retreats. It is a law of PPW that it advances in a zigzag manner. So we should look at the deceleration in guerilla war with this perspective.

Taking necessary tactics means this. Keeping in view the uneven development of the movement in various parts of our country, we should take up either self-defence tactics or offensive tactics according to the changes in the concrete conditions in our areas of work. This should be as an inseparable part of the overall changes in the revolutionary war in the present difficult situation with the aim of surmounting it. Not just in the different parts but also inside a single GZ too, we will have to take offensive or self-defence tactics according to that particular Division/Zone's specific conditions. Even if the conditions may be better in some areas, here also it should be subordinate to the overall difficult situation we are facing and the aim should be to overcome it. And we all know that self-defence would always include offensive and there can be no self-defence without being offensive. But in all the tactics we take up, preservation of the subjective forces, particularly leadership at all levels is very important.

Keeping in view the uneven development of the movement in various parts of our country, we should take up either self-defence tactics or offensive tactics according to the changes in the concrete conditions in our areas of work. This should be as an inseparable part of the overall changes in the revolutionary war in the present difficult situation with the aim of surmounting it

The two deviations that may occur in our party while preparing ourselves according to the new situation are -1. Looking only at the

apparent strengths and the severity of the enemy offensive and not identifying the underlying weaknesses; not looking at our strengths and advantages and the epochal role of the people in the revolutionary war; not strategically understanding the enemy and only looking at them tactically. This would lead to comrades losing initiative and becoming passive in the name of self-defence and finally losing the fighting spirit. This is a right deviation; 2. Not understanding the change that occurred in the contending sides in the guerilla warfare and trying to take up offensive tactics without taking into consideration the relative or to a large extent weakening of our subjective strength, passivity in the people and without giving importance to self-defence, i.e., preservation of subjective forces. They do not see the enemy tactically and assess them only strategically. This is a left deviation.

So studying the new changes that occurred in the revolutionary war and strengths and weaknesses of both the enemy's and ours along with study of the overall social, economic, political and cultural changes that occurred in the country is very crucial to bring about acceleration in our guerilla warfare. This is one of the main aspects that we are seeking to achieve through our Bolshevisation. Increasing the mass base, putting efforts to mobilise the masses and increasing their active role in the guerilla warfare and in all PW activities are all very important to regain the upper hand. The CC, the CMC and all leading committees are at present tackling the situation with this understanding.

MIB: Even the well-wishers of the party are concerned by the fact that the major activity of the party is confined to Adivasi areas. Some people are arguing the PPW line is relevant only to such areas and not to India as a whole. What is your reply? How will you spread the PW all over the country?

**GP:** India is a vast semi-colonial semi feudal country with uneven economic, political and social development. This unevenness rules out the line of a simultaneous revolution throughout the country, or armed insurrection. We must base

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ourselves on the backward and strategic areas of the countryside. This means that the revolutionary war has to be carried on for a long period in the relatively more backward areas where the social contradictions are sharp. Therefore the revolutionary movement can only advance along the path of PPW. Moreover, the ruling classes have a strong repressive machinery in their hands in the form of a powerful centralised state with a well-trained and well-equipped modern army. So we have to wage our revolutionary war in the weakest link of enemy rule, i.e., the countryside. Our own experience and the history of revolutions in China, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, etc. prove the correctness of the PPW line in semi-colonial semi-feudal countries beyond doubt.

The arguments that it is not possible to build liberated areas, to build the red army and to carry out protracted people's war in the country is not a new one. The ruling classes and the intellectuals serving them, revisionist parliamentary 'left' and the pseudo-ML parties – all of them have been making such arguments since long. Such views are put forward by them to create confusion among the revolutionary, democratic and patriotic forces that are increasingly drawn into the people's war. Moreover, left forces which have rejected PPW have not been able to achieve anything in transforming the society in their long practice. In fact, they are always against such transformation and are neck-deep in the parliamentary morass. One variant of this erroneous argument against PPW is the claim that PPW is applicable only in Adivasi areas and not in the rest of the country. This view too has no substance.

Such views coming from the enemy, however, have to be distinguished from the views of the well-wishers of Indian revolution who are concerned about the confinement of the major activities of the movement in Adivasis areas. It is true that our movement is today relatively stronger in the vast forest areas of central and eastern India, which are traditional home of Adivasi people. The movement has made advancements in the last one decade by keeping Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand guerrilla zones at the core. It has a clear perspective of how to develop the movement in various types of plain areas and the tactical guidelines are outlined in our document 'Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution'. We also have a policy paper on urban work. Yet our movement in rural plains as well as in urban areas has weakened. One of the main reasons for this is our shortcomings in preparing the party cadre according to these guidelines. There

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are also some limitations in grasping the strategic importance of these two areas and undertaking social investigation to analyze the changes in social conditions. As a result, we have lost considerable subjective forces that became soft targets of the enemy and the movement faced severe losses in these areas.

An important factor behind our weak presence in the country's vast agrarian plains is that we have not been able to rally the peasant masses, particularly the agricultural labourers and the poor peasantry, into the guerrilla war in large numbers. Similarly, our shortcomings in mobilising the non-peasant classes in the forested Adivasi areas, including the newly emerging middle classes, into the revolutionary movement have also led to the weakening the movement. It had a negative impact on our efforts to fulfill the central task.

But we must not lose sight of the positive aspect while analyzing the weaknesses and shortcomings of our movement in the rural plains and the urban areas. We must not forget that the revolutionary movement has acquired vast experience in working in such areas. The new experiences gained in the last decade after the merger will also help us to draw appropriate lessons and rebuild the movement where we are in setback, strengthen where we have weakened and expand to areas where we are absent. We must learn from the mass upsurges of Kalinganagar, Singur, Nandigram, Lalgarh, Narayanapatna, and Telangana separate statehood movement, etc., all of which have had a positive impact on the toiling masses of rural and urban areas. The majority of the people who are under the yoke of imperialist, feudal and comprador bureaucratic capitalist exploitation and oppression reside in the vast rural areas and in the cities lying outside the Adivasi areas. They have no other option for resolving their problems than to struggle. They are being influenced by the ongoing people's war. So the conditions in these areas are favourable for the spread of revolutionary war. We need to act creatively keeping in mind the concrete conditions and the demands of the various classes and sections of the people. By firmly

adhering to our political-military line, creatively working in a planned manner in the light of our vast experiences, implementing correct style of work, rectifying our past mistakes, employing correct tactics to suit the changing conditions and enemy tactics, we will be able to utilise the excellent objective conditions to build class struggle by mobilising the masses in these areas and advance the guerilla war. In this way, by building on the new, unique and unprecedented achievements of the last decade, Indian revolution will certainly overcome the difficult situation to win newer, larger and more glorious victories.

### MIB: The government is claiming that more Maoists are responding to their improved surrender policies and are surrendering. What is the truth?

GP: What do they mean by improved surrender policy? They ostensibly mean more money and more rehabilitation packages. This is for public consumption. Surrenders haven't increased due to the offer of more money or better rehabilitation. There are two reasons for this. The Indian State is one of the most ruthless regimes in the world when it comes to crushing the Adivasis and poor people who fight for their rights. And if they chose to fight under the leadership of CPI(Maoist) the amount of atrocities heaped on them just can't be described in words. To crush resistance to their proimperialist policies the State is resorting to several suppression methods of which this surrender policy is also a part. The government forces are pouncing like bloodhounds on the people in the movement areas, who may or may not be part of the revolutionary activities. However, it is targeting with particular attention those who are active in the resistance and subjecting them to all kinds of pressures such as severe torture, rape, destruction of property, psychological warfare, threats (including to maim or kill them or by actually doing it to others) etc., and making them surrender in large numbers. This accounts for the mass surrenders that the police triumphantly and arrogantly parade before the media. More than threefourths of the surrenders come under this category.

The other part of the surrenders is made of some individuals from the party, PLGA and mass organisations who are kneeling before the enemy. Yes, there is some increase in such numbers recently and a few persons of leadership rank (State Committee, District Committee and Area Committee level) have also surrendered.

The need to make newer sacrifices arises whenever a new round of offensives is launched by the enemy and ruthless suppression reaches unprecedented levels. There will always be some weak elements who would leave the movement or surrender before the enemy during such periods. It is happening now too. There may be some impact of the so-called improved surrender policy of the governments. But that is

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very minor and can never be the reason. The first reason for this kind of surrender is also the ruthless enemy offensives. Not just that, after the surrenders too the State is dealing differently with different persons according to their class and other backgrounds. But there is no difference in trying to turn them all into traitors of the people. The State is putting all kinds of pressures to extract information from them, utilise them as mercenaries, and make them participate in the intensified offensive at various levels. So whoever naively thinks that the State is taking up surrender policies to make them part of the 'mainstream', to give them a 'good life' etc., should understand that surrenders are nothing but a part of the 'War on the people.' Its aim is to intensify this war by weakening the movement and turning them into traitors.

The second reason for surrenders is that some persons are not being able to understand the nature of enemy repression and some temporary losses in the movement and are therefore getting confused. The personal weaknesses of some are another reason. The solution for these problems is in raising the political consciousness and commitment of the cadres at all levels, putting up more formidable fight against the psy-war of the enemy and making them understand how surrender turns us against our own people and is therefore not a solution. The present Bolshevisation campaign in the party is dealing with this aspect too.

One more thing I want to stress is that this very period of OGH first and second phases has witnessed some of the most unparalleled sacrifices of the revolutionary cadres and the people. Revolutions advance with sacrifices because firstly the people realise their inevitability and secondly because they prepare themselves for this with a higher consciousness. The enemy as part of its psychological warfare would of course highlight only the surrenders and try to suppress the aspect of sacrifice. We should effectively focus on this aspect in our revolutionary propaganda war.

As long as revolutionary wars continue, repression of the State too continues. Therefore, till the brutal system is overthrown, there may be some surrenders and their numbers may be relatively more or less in some periods. Sacrifices at all levels, including supreme sacrifice, are a result of voluntary dedication to the cause of revolution in the entire party and in all our movement areas and they are absolutely indispensible for any revolution.

MIB: Why did the party feel the need for a Bolshevisation campaign? What results are you expecting from it? **GP**: Our party issued a call in 2013 to Bolshevise the party and it is being carried out in the party, PLGA and mass organisations now. It would take some more time to complete it and only then we can assess how successful it had been in remoulding our party into a Bolshevised party.

It was the CPSU(B), popularly known as the Russian Bolshevik party, that overthrew the bourgeois class and established proletarian dictatorship for the first time in the world. When no communist party was in power in the world, this was the party that brought the working class and the toiling masses to power. It was the Bolshevik party that ushered in Socialism for the first time in the history of humanity. So we are taking this party as our model, and striving to turn our party into such a proletarian party by learning lessons from it and imbibing the qualities that made all this possible. That is why we named it as Bolshevisation Campaign. On the other hand the Chinese Communist Party model is also very important for us because China and India have several similarities and so knowing and imbibing the qualities of CPC that made it possible for it to make a successful revolution and build socialism in a semicolonial, semi-feudal backward country where peasantry is the majority by developing the PPW line and building a people's army, a successful united front and through the process of establishing liberated areas. CPC, since its

Bolshevisation campaign would remould the party with proletarian world outlook and enhance it inside the party, particularly among the new forces. This would be done by enhancing the ideological study of MLM and training up the entire party in it

formation, put continuous efforts to strengthen itself by taking CPSU(B) as a model. So we decided to carry on this campaign keeping in view the experiences of this party, particularly from the Great Debate and in the light of the lessons imparted by the GPCR. We would keep these two parties as the models and try to Bolshevise the party but it would be in the light of the experiences gained in the long revolutionary history of our party.

The reasons for taking up this campaign are : (1) There is a change in enemy's countrywide offensive. It has intensified; (2) There were severe losses to the party and the movement is now facing a very difficult situation; (3) Comrades from peasant and middle class background form a majority in the party and so there is a need for enhancing proletarian outlook in the party; (4) our shortcomings in studying and formulating appropriate tactics according to the significant economic and political changes that have occurred in the society and in revolutionary war; and (5) There are some serious non-proletarian trends within the party. Keeping these in view, we took up the Bolshevisation campaign for raising the ideological and political level of the party to tackle these challenges and to strengthen the party organizationally so that it can lead the revolution efficiently. Only by doing so the party can in turn mould the PLGA into a powerful weapon and strengthen the movement's mass base. And only through this we can surmount the present difficult situation and advance.

We decided to conduct this campaign in a planned manner to achieve some concrete targets. By achieving these targets we are expecting the following results.

This campaign would remould the party with proletarian world outlook and enhance it inside the party, particularly among the new forces. This would be done by enhancing the ideological study of MLM and training up the entire party in it. It would make the entire party, every unit in the party, gain the most clear-cut understanding about the goal of NDR and make them clearly understand the concrete targets to be achieved at the present juncture. It would help in understanding deeply the three point work style taught by Mao and thus improve our work style. It would enhance our understanding about secret party building and functioning, help in quickly rectifying the defects that are occurring in this and in implementing guerilla war's operational principles. It would rectify the non-proletarian trends continuing in the party and enhance the consciousness and alertness of the party to fight against them. It would also enhance and strengthen unity of thought and action and discipline. This would result in the party strengthening its mass base by firmly integrating with the people and mobilising them into various economic, political and other struggles. It would also lead to giving priority to rallying the peasants into the agrarian revolutionary war and putting special efforts among the vast non-peasant masses and the urban population. This would lead to the study of the changing socio-economic, political and cultural conditions and changing the tactics accordingly, thus developing the movement successfully.

We are expecting this campaign to steel the comrades so that they can display the consciousness to face the most difficult situations, hardships and risks that may come up in the course of the revolution and heighten their preparedness to gallantly fight the enemy. Last but not least, we expect that it would enable us to defend our subjective forces, particularly the higher level leadership and the movement from the cruelest offensives of the enemy. All the above results would be achieved by grasping MLM deeply and keeping it at the core of this campaign.

MIB: The enemy is propagating that the PPW line is outdated. Some people are advocating Chavez's 21<sup>st</sup> Century Socialism. The UCPN (Maoist) led by Prachanda-Bhattarai clique has chosen the parliamentary path and abandoned the PPW line. Several questions are being raised about the relevance of PPW line in India and elsewhere in the present globalised world. What is the party's answer to all these arguments?

**GP:** The exploiters and all reactionaries have always been propagating against Marxism and revolution not only in our country but also elsewhere in the world ever since Marx and Engels propounded proletarian ideology and after the working class emerged as a revolutionary force in the struggle against feudalism and capitalism, particularly in proletarian revolutions since Paris Commune. After Russia and China turned revisionist – they started propagating that Marxism itself is outdated. The reason is obvious. Revolutions and Marxism would bring their end.

How can the line of PPW be outdated? After Mao's death, all the revolutions that took place in the world, whether NDRs or national liberation wars, were protracted. Even if some of them faced betrayal or were abandoned, it is a fact that all of these were protracted. As long as semi-feudal structure does not change basically and imperialism keeps countries like ours in its clutches and does not allow their independent development, there is no other path than the PPW for the liberation of such countries. Some of the feudal forms may change but feudalism would be left intact as it serves the interests of the imperialists and serves as a basis for furthering the interests of the CBB. That is why the people are waging the PPW under the leadership of the party for the victory of an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution, the NDR. And the specific characteristics of our country decide that it would be protracted and it would be a war waged by the people led by our party. Hence the PPW. I have already explained why we consider the line of PPW to be indispensable for carrying out a successful revolution in a country like India.

Now about Chavez and his model of the socalled 21st century socialism. Till now two paths have been established for revolutions in the world – insurrection and the PPW. These two are basically to be applied according to the concrete, specific conditions in the respective countries. There might be modifications to these two paths in the new historical context. That is what Marxism says, not to do revolutions mechanically or dogmatically but creatively. But whatever may be the modifications they would always have to lie within the purview of revolutions. That is why revolution is a must. However, it has to be carried out in the specific characteristics of a particular country. Trying to reform the decadent system without any

perspective of traversing towards a classless society is purposeless. Chavez's model is not of revolution but of mere reform. It is socialism neither in form nor content.

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Several changes have occurred in the world after the Russian and Chinese revolutions. Both in the capitalist countries and the third world the petty bourgeois sections have increased considerably. A section of them possess liberal bourgeois ideas, another section possess utopian socialist ideas. In countries where bourgeois democratic revolutions or new democratic revolutions did not take place, where revolutionary movements could not bring them into its fold to a large extent, most among these petty bourgeois sections want some change or reforms in the framework of bourgeois parliamentary system. Chavez took some steps in the interests of the working class and the peasantry in Venezuela. Their main product is oil. Though oil and some other industries were nationalized, of course with several limitations, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism were not done away with. They are not separated from the world capitalist system too and so there was no basic change in the system. They are not completely independent from imperialist domination. A major section of the feudal and comprador capitalist forces in Venezuela are so anti-poor that they are opposing even these reforms vehemently which is turning into a boon in disguise as it is getting wide propaganda for Chavez's model from diverse sections. He never mobilised the masses in class struggle. Chavez invokes Bolivar and Che Guevera but his model is minus Bolivarism and minus Che Gueveraism. It is mainly reformism and that is why even the bankrupt CPI and CPI(M) in our country are highlighting his legacy. When they were in a united party they hailed 'Nehruvian Socialism' and betrayed revolution.

In Nepal the parliamentary system exists based on semi-feudalism and under the imperialist yoke; it is under the domination of Indian expansionism on one side and under the influence of China on the other. Anybody who joins it has to abandon revolution. In spite of good successes in the NDR, the Prachanda-Bhattarai modern revisionist clique in the UCPN(Maoist) chose this path. It is nothing but a betrayal. They just betrayed the millions of masses and thousands of their martyrs. Like all the revisionists before them, they did this for their selfish interests, for sharing power with the ruling classes.

We also accept that several changes in the economic, political and cultural spheres have occurred due to globalization. But for whom did these changes occur? These changes were brought to fulfill the interests of monopoly capitalism. The world capitalist system brought these changes over the past 23 years. This gave the opportunity for a section of ruling classes among the capitalist, imperialist and third world countries for super-exploitation of labor, labouring masses and indiscriminate loot of natural and other resources of colonies and semi-colonies. This led to enormous increase of gap between the incomes of the rich and the poor and concentration and centralisation of capital to gigantic levels. This is the same period that witnessed increased intervention of US imperialism in West Asia and later in Afghanistan. Almost all imperialist, capitalist States, particularly the US, and their lackey regimes turned neo-fascist. The ruling classes tried to portray the neo-liberal policies as the ultimate solution that would lead to GDP growth, boost the economy, employment, prosperity, and what not. All these claims came crashing down like a pack of cards with the worldwide economic crisis of 2008. So we should look at the havoc played by imperialism in the lives of people with these neo-liberal policies not only due to its economic crisis but also due to the wars of occupation and increasing neo-colonial intervention, bullying and control of other third world countries. With 'globalization' the imperialists have resorted to the only solutions they can adopt in their desperation to come out of their crisis. Wars, more exploitation, oppression and repression of the world people, particularly the third world people. So without fighting imperialism and their domestic lackeys the third world people cannot breathe free.

Correct ideology, a correct political line, a correct military line, a strong vanguard party, a strong people's army and strong united front are the only solution to make success the NDR for smashing the present semi-colonial, semi-feudal system for the liberation of our country and our people.

Therefore, we have to enrich our strategy and make changes in the tactics keeping in view these changes and mobilise the people accordingly in the revolutionary war. We have to bring changes in slogans, political tactics, military tactics and work methods and only then we can advance. The solution is not to abandon the political line and the PPW path but to adhere to it more firmly. Whatever tactics we take should serve this and advance this.

I reiterate that correct ideology, a correct political line, a correct military line, a strong vanguard party, a strong people's army and strong united front are the only solution to make success the NDR for smashing the present semicolonial, semi-feudal system for the liberation of our country and our people.

MIB: What is the position of the International Communist Movement (ICM) at present especially since the party's assessment is that the objective world situation is turning further favorable to the revolution? What do you think would be the impact of Avakianism and betrayal of Nepal Revolution by Prachanda-Bhattarai clique for the ICM? **GP**: The objective world situation is turning excellent for the advancement of revolution. As noted before, the imperialist system continues to go through its most serious crisis since the Great Depression, leading to massive lay offs and shrinking of job opportunities, unemployment and impoverishment on the one hand and intensified exploitation of working masses and neo-colonial plunder of oppressed countries and people on the other. Wars of occupation have shown no signs of abating, with US imperialism getting bogged down in Iraq, Afghanistan and several other warfronts.

Revolutionary, democratic and national liberation forces against imperialism and its domestic props are strengthening in different parts of the world. Workers, peasants, the middle classes, Blacks, immigrants, Muslims and other persecuted communities, women, students, youth and various oppressed classes and sections are coming out onto the streets. Several EU countries have been rocked by massive worker's demonstrations and strikes against job cuts, unemployment and underemployment, reduction in real wages, withdrawal of social security spending and other 'austerity' measures of the governments. As the gap between the rich and the poor is widening and class antagonism is sharpening, more and more people are joining struggles in the capitalist countries. The Black people, Muslims, immigrants and other oppressed people are protesting in Europe and North

The subjective forces in the ICM are seriously lagging behind this favourable objective situation in the world today. There is a contradiction between the potential of the objective situation and the subjective capacity of the Maoist forces to utilise it for the advancement of World Socialist Revolution America for their democratic rights. In the backward countries too, the disparity of wealth, impoverishment and destitution of the working people, political oppression are all leading to mass upheavals. Several Asian and African countries are going through turmoil and civil war. The armed national liberation struggles of the Iraqi, Afghan, Palestinian, Kurd and other peoples are advancing even in the face of bloodbaths and massacres. National aspirations of the Scot, Catalonian and other nations of Europe are sustaining. In South America, people have organised massive protests against the antipeople neo-liberal policies adopted by the governments of countries like Brazil.

However the subjective forces in the ICM are seriously lagging behind this favourable objective situation in the world today. There is a contradiction between the potential of the objective situation and the subjective capacity of the Maoist forces to utilise it for the advancement of World Socialist Revolution. We know from the lessons of history that this subjective weakness can be overcome principally by waging revolution according to the concrete conditions of each country. As the revisionist and reformist forces are proving incapable of addressing the people's issues, the possibility of their rallying with the Maoist forces is increasing. Maoist parties and organisations in many countries are gaining strength and some new parties are in the process of formation. The unity among Maoist parties, organisations and forces is also growing. The potential for a powerful new wave of revolutions is increasing. Facing several odds, PPWs in the Philippines and India are continuing. Maoist parties are carrying out struggles in several other countries as well. Solidarity activities among international Maoist forces around support to the people's war in India, international mobilisation against counter-revolutionary OGH and Oplan Bayanihan, struggles for the rights of political prisoners, etc. are being carried out. So it is possible that the ICM and the Maoist forces will be in a position to play a significant role in people's struggles and thereby usher in a revolutionary wave in the future.

Of course, the revisionism of Prachanda-Bhattarai clique and their betrayal of the cause of Nepali people and WSR caused serious damage to the ICM. These traitors have destroyed the glorious people's war from inside and helped the enemy to retain their stranglehold over the oppressed Nepali people. This is a reversal not only for the Nepali people but also for the entire ICM. However, the bitter struggle waged by genuine Maoist forces against Prachanda-Bhattarai clique, their shameless surrender before the imperialists and their agents, and most importantly, Nepali people's own struggle against these traitors has have exposed the clique's reactionary character and its betrayal of MLM in the name of developing and enriching it. These modern revisionists have become the most trusted lackeys of imperialism, domestic feudal and comprador bureaucratic capitalist forces and Indian expansionism. Nepali masses and the ICM have completely rejected their class collaborationism and will definitely advance on the path of revolution by throwing these turncoats into the dustbin of history.

Similarly, the so-called new synthesis of Avakianism too has seriously damaged some Maoist parties. This is because Avakianism is nothing but disguised revisionism and liquidationism. Though it may have some negative impact in the ICM temporarily, it will certainly be defeated. As a detachment of the world proletariat, our party will continue to struggle against Avakianism and all forms of revisionism in the communist movement internationally and in the country.

MIB: Modi-led NDA government is rapidly implementing the imperialist agenda and the RSS is speedily spreading its Hindutva tentacles. Home Minister Rajnath Singh has stressed that the Indian State still considers the Maoists as the biggest internal security threat. That the fascist offensive has been stepped up on all fronts is obvious. How does the party plan to fight this back?

**GP**: In the five months that the NDA government has been in power, it has intensified the policies of Liberalisation-Privatisation-

Globalisation (LPG) that have been pursued by successive governments since 1990s. In fact, Modi and BJP has been installed at the helm of government by imperialists, comprador big capitalists and big landlords precisely for carrying out these policies faster and more aggressively than the previous UPA government. Therefore a 'weak' Manmohan Singh was replaced by a 'strong' Narendra Modi. The combination of imperialist-driven policies with ruthless exploitation of the toiling classes and Hindu-fascist oppression of Muslims, Dalits and Adivasis was carried out in Gujarat under Modi. This 'Gujarat model' is now being extended all over the country.

The aggressive neo-liberal policies of the Modi government will intensify the hardships faced by the workers, peasants, government employees and various sections like women, students and the youth. Attacks on Muslims by the state and the Hindu-fascists will increase.

Assessing the post-election situation, our CC noted that the formation of RSS- dominated NDA government at the centre has brought the urgent task of fighting back the Brahmanical Hindu fascist forces across the country. This can be done effectively by building broadbased and powerful mass movements through uniting the revolutionary, democratic, secular and patriotic organisations, forces, indivi duals and the vast masses

Atrocities on Dalits is on the rise due to the strengthening of the feudal reactionary forces. Oppressed nationalities is facing further persecution. The drumming-up of big-nation chauvinism in support of NDA's aggressive expansionist policies would generate opposition from the peoples of South Asia. We need to intervene in such issues and organise the people in struggles.

Neo-colonial stranglehold will tighten over the country as a result of the aggressive implementation of the LPG agenda. To deflect the consequent anger of the masses, Sangh Parivar will resort to fanning up jingoism and false talk of nationalism. Such tricks must be challenged by presenting the true picture of the wholesale sell-out of the country by Modi's government. We must carry out wide propaganda exposing the pro-imperialist, profeudal nature of Modi's agenda.

The aggressive promotion of Modi's 'development' agenda will result in displacement on an unprecedented scale. Adivasis will find their existence threatened. This will bring forward mass struggles. We should actively intervene in these, either directly by adopting suitable forms or by playing a supportive role.

These attacks on the people will be accompanied by more draconian laws. Old laws are being modified and new laws introduced to suit imperialists, big landlords and comprador bureaucratic capitalists, to take away the *jaljangal-zameen* and livelihood of the people. Blatant violation of even formal justice, and more brutal persecution of political prisoners and suppression of activists who take up such issues. We must energetically intervene in such issues. There is good potential for building and strengthening civil rights movements in a broad manner.

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All these activities must be carried out with the aim of uniting them with the ongoing activities to fight back the third phase of OGH. The fascist home minister Rajnath Singh has parroted the approach of the UPA government by declaring that Maoists are the 'still the biggest internal security threat' and that countering the Maoist movement is the top priority of his government. We will fight back this fresh counter-revolutionary offensive by Bolshevising the party, intensifying the people's war and mobilising vast masses into the revolutionary war.

# MIB. The OGH third phase has begun. How is the party preparing to face this?

**GP:** One of the early measures taken up by the Congress-led UPA-2 government after it came to power for the second term in mid-2009 was to launch OGH – the war on people. It was a countrywide multi-pronged counter-revolutionary war on the struggling masses of our country. The NDA government led by Modi is continuing the same approach of its predecessor more aggressively and ruthlessly by launching the third phase of OGH, which is more extensive and more intensive compared to the earlier two phases.

While in the Opposition, BJP criticised the previous UPA governments for not preparing an integrated centralised policy to suppress the

The Adivasi people of central and eastern India have played a historic role in advancing the protracted people's war. They have joined the movement in large numbers, defended it with their blood and sweat, and prepared grounds for its expansion. Due to this, parts of central and eastern India have emerged as strongholds of the revolution. With the third phase of OGH, the enemy is concentrating its efforts to decimate these strongholds

Maoist movement. After coming to power, BJPled NDA is now implementing such a comprehensive policy in the form of OGH third phase under the overall LIC framework. Declaring large bounties on the heads of the leadership, announcing new surrender policies, increasing the amount of compensation for counter-revolutionary elements punished by the people, fake reform and civic action programmes, etc., are being intensified. Some of the new aspects introduced in the third phase are the use of air force for transport of forces for combat operations and closer collaboration with the US and Israel in the use of advanced drone/UAV technology. These measures are complimented by the raising of new units of central and state commando forces and increasing the number of existing ones, modernisation of armed forces to raise their combat capabilities, improving communication and intelligence network particularly in our movement areas, intensification of atrocities on the people including fake encounters, beating up, loot of people's property, arrests, custodial torture, rape and other forms cruel repression. But a completely opposite picture is being depicted through the media as a part of the psychological war.

Our response needs to be tempered with an understanding of the particularity of OGH third phase. The Adivasi people of central and eastern India have played a historic role in advancing the protracted people's war. They have joined the movement in large numbers, defended it with their blood and sweat, and prepared grounds for its expansion. Due to this, parts of central and eastern India have emerged as strongholds of the revolution. With the third phase of OGH, the enemy is concentrating its efforts to decimate these strongholds. By bringing quantitative and qualitative changes to its offensive, the enemy seeks to destroy the party, the army and the emerging organs of new democratic power so as to reinstate the old state and the decadent political system in their place.

Though these old and new forms of repression are aimed at the Maoist movement, they will not target the Maoists alone. This war on people will certainly extend to all the oppressed sections. All the exploited classes and social sections like the workers, peasants, Dalits, Adivasis, religious minorities, oppressed nationalities, women, etc. will come under attack politically, economically, socially, culturally, judicially and militarily. So the arena of war will expand. We have to politically and militarily counter this new phase of enemy offensive which comes in combination with the Brahmanical Hindu fascist ideology and country-selling policies of the Modi government.

Whether it is Modi, Rajnath Singh, Jaitley, Venkaiah Naidu, Gadkari, or any other representative of the NDA government, they are saying one thing to befool the people and doing its complete opposite. The anti-people nature of this fascist Modi government is getting more and more exposed as the ruling classes are using all extra-constitutional and extra-judicial means to carry out their all-out offensive against the people. We will have to resolutely confront and defeat this attack by uniting with all the sections that will be adversely affected. For this, our policies and tactics should be such that all democratic, progressive, secular and patriotic forces rally together in favour of the people and oppose and fight back Modi's reactionary policies and particularly the third phase of OGH. The parliamentary 'left' too will be forced to come forward to take up people's issues and oppose this enemy offensive in their own way in order to retain its relevance. It should come forward to join this fight. We call upon all the forces to fight in all fronts against this multi-pronged enemy offensive. Unite, unite and unite against the enemy offensive! Fight back, fight back and fight back against the common enemy!

# Chronology of Important Events (2004-2014)

In the last ten years since its formation, CPI(Maoist) has made new and unprecedented advancements in the course of struggle withstanding several setbacks and losses. Under the leadership of the party, PLGA underwent important developments and achieved significant military successes. Organs of people's political power in their embryonic form went through further development in several guerilla zones. Revolutionary mass organisations got strengthened and mobilised lakhs of people in militant mass struggles in different parts of the country on issues of *Jal-Jangal-Zameen-Izzat-Adhikar*. In the process, the protracted people's war led by the party deepened its roots among the country's oppressed masses, consolidated its strength and expanded to newer areas. This advance was made possible by the blood shed by over two thousand martyrs on the path of liberation.

The following pages chronicle some of the important events in the course of this history in the last decade. This compilation, however, is neither comprehensive nor exhaustive, and is only meant to give a glimpse of some events in the political and military spheres related to the last ten years of Indian revolutionary movement, presented in a chronological order. Important events such as CC plenums, Regional Bureau meetings, Zonal/State level and Sub-zonal/DC level conferences, AC conferences, Area level extended meetings, State and District plenums in major states, party membership drives, PLGA recruitment campaigns, Area to Statelevel conferences of mass organisations, conferences and elections to different levels of Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs), etc. are being left out. Similarly, some significant military actions have been excluded (refer to the publications brought out by CMC and various SMCs for a fuller list of military actions). Only a few of our comrades who have been martyred in the last ten years have been mentioned, though each of their deaths are significant in their own ways (fuller details of the martyrs can be found in the party's past and forthcoming publications). Likewise, only a small selection of the mass movements and people's struggles that erupted in these ten years have been mentioned in the list.

## 2004

- 21-09-2004 Historic merger of CPI(ML) [People's War] and MCCI and the formation of CPI(Maoist)
- 14-10-2004 Announcement of the formation of CPI(Maoist) in a press conference in Hyderabad by Comrade Ramakrishna, CC member and AOBSZC Secretary, who was leading the Party in talks with the Andhra Pradesh government. The first public meeting celebrating the formation of the new party is successfully held on 16 November in Hyderabad, drawing lakhs of people. Public meetings and rallies celebrating the unity are held in all the movement areas and in several cities. Programmes are disrupted by the police in Bihar, Jharkhand, Delhi and other places by detaining thousands of revolutionary activists and masses to stop them from commemorating the merger
- 24-11-2004 PLGA conducted Heenathghat (Chandauli) ambush near Chandraprabha dam in Chandauli district of southern Uttar Pradesh after luring the enemy forces into a trap. One of the vehicles in a convoy carrying the police was blasted. 13 PAC jawans and four policemen died, including the in-charge of Chandraprabha police station. Nine modern weapons were seized. This was a fitting response to the massacre of 16 members of Krantikari Kisan Committee by the police on 9 March 2001 in Bhavanipur village in the neighbouring Mirzapur district
- 16-12-2004 The ceasefire between AP government on the one hand and CPI(Maoist) and CPI(ML)-Janashakti on the other lapsed. It was not extended by the government, resulting in an end to the ceasefire

- 05-01-2005 Bhimbandh deliberate ambush, in which Surendra Prabhu, Superintendent of Police (SP) of Mungher district, Bihar was annihilated at Bhimbandh along with six policemen by the PLGA
- 06-01-2005 Congress-TRS government led by YS Rajashekhar Reddy breaks the ceasefire with CPI(Maoist) and CPI(ML) Janashakti by killing Janashakti squad member comrade Rajireddy in a fake encounter in Mugulu forests of Warangal district, thereby starting the notorious 'encounter-raj' – the latest round of extra-judicial killing of revolutionaries. From 6 to 16 January, a total of eleven persons — ten revolutionaries belonging to the CPI(Maoist) and CPI(ML)-Janashakti, and a state executive member of the women's organization CMS were killed in fake encounters in the state
- 17-01-2005 AP units of CPI(Maoist) and CPI(ML)-Janashakti declared that they had no other alternative but to withdraw from the talks as it was sabotaged by the government by letting loose a wave of repression and fake encounters

- 06-02-2005 Comrade Saketh Rajan (Prem), KNSC Secretary, martyred along with Comrade Shivalingu (Arun) after an encounter with the police near Menasinahadya village of Koppa taluq in Karnataka
- 10-02-2005 PLGA conducted a raid on Karnataka Armed Police at Venkatammahalli in response to the murder of comrades Saketh Rajan and Shivalingu. Eight policemen died and five were injured in this successful raid
- 22-02-2005 Dodraj ambush. PLGA conducts an IED blast near Dodraj village in Bhamragarh Tehsil of Gadchiroli division, in which eight policemen including a TI died and eleven were injured
- 07-03-2005 Ten comrades martyred in Manala covert operation, Nizamabad district, Andhra Pradesh carried out by the fascist AP Police
- 19-03-2005 Four comrades including NTSZCM Comrade Yadanna martyred in Andugulamedi covert operation, Warangal district, AP
- 28-03-2005 Protest against the proposed Gangavaram Port to be made by a private company in Vishakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh. People clashes with the police with stones. One protestor dies in police firing
- 27-04-2005 PLGA attacked a police outpost at Batgaon in Sarguja district. Two policemen were annihilated and many modern weapons were seized. This was the first successful raid by the red guerrillas in North Chhattisgarh
- 17-05-2005 PLGA's Daula Raid, Narayanpur district, Chhattisgarh. DKSZCM Comrade Mangtu (Linganna) martyred along with three more comrades
- 21-05-2005 Comrade Sushil Roy, Politburo member and Comrade Patitpawan Haldar, Central Committee member and WBSCS, arrested in Kolkata
- 05-06-2005 The fascist Salwa Judum (SJ) counter-revolutionary offensive launched from Matwada village of Dantewada district, under the leadership of Mahendra Karma, Congress MLA and Leader of Opposition in Chhattisgarh Assembly. It is backed by the newly elected UPA government at the centre and BJP government of Chhattisgarh. Government sponsored SJ terror campaign is partly financed by Indian comprador bureaucratic capitalists like the Tatas and Essar
- 18-06-2005 Bhumkal Abhiyan or the armed mass resistance of the people against Salwa Judum begins. A 3,000 strong people's militia of Kotrapal successfully repulsed the attack on Kotrapal village by hundreds of SJ goons and chases them away. Two goons die at the hands of the people and twelve are arrested. A people's court finds one of them guilty of heinous crimes against the masses and is annihilated after the court pronounces death sentence on him
- 23-06-2005 Madhuban surprise raid ('Operation Dhamaka') also known as Madhuban Dhamaka – in which PLGA forces carry out simultaneous attacks on several enemy targets including the police station, Block office, State Bank, Central Bank and the house of the local MP in Madhuban town of East Champaran district, north Bihar. A policeman and a bank guard dies in the attack, while one PLGA comrade is seriously injured and later martyred. The retreating PLGA forces are vastly outnumbered and encircled by a large enemy force, but PLGA guerrillas break the cordon successfully and escape after bravely fighting for more than four hours and killing two policemen. Five PLGA

comrades are martyred in the battle. The next day, two more policemen die in another encounter with the retreating PLGA guerillas

- 25-08-2005 Comrade Kanaka Chari, a founding member of Andhra Pradesh Teacher's Forum, leader of Telangana Jana Sabha and associated with Patriotic Democratic Movement as a state Executive Members was kidnapped and brutally assassinated by the so-called Narsa Cobras propped up by APSIB near Makthal in Mahaboobnagar district, AP
- 03-09-2005 Padeda deliberate ambush. PLGA for the first time successfully exploded a 'Mine-Proof Vehicle' (MPV) used by the enemy in anti-Maoist operations. A CRPF MPV travelling from Chhattisgarh's Bijapur district headquarters to Gangalur village was blasted near Padeda. 24 CRPF men died and three seriously wounded
- 10-09-2005 Comrade Mannem Devi Prasad, district president of Kula Nirmulana Porata Samithi (KNPS) was attacked with sickles in his office and killed by mercenaries sent by the police in Prakasham district, AP
- 11-09-2005 15 members of the 'Sendra' counter-revolutionary gang are annihilated by PLGA in Belvaghati village, Giridih district, Jharkhand. 'Sendra', which means hunting of wild animals in Santhali, and was launched from Saranda forest in March 2004 to hunt down and destroy the revolutionary movement in Jharkhand, was delivered a severe blow
- 30-10-2005 Comrade Shamsher Singh Sheri (Karam Singh), Politburo member, martyred at the age of 65 due to the combined attack of cerebral malaria and jaundice
- 11-11-2005 Surprise raid on Giridih Home Guard armoury by PLGA. Conducted by a battalion-strength PLGA force with lightening speed and completed within 14 minutes, the raid resulted in a big haul of 192 rifles and more than two thousand rounds of ammunition. A total of six policemen defending the armoury were wiped out while six were seriously injured. PLGA suffered no casualty
- 13-11-2005 Jehanabad raid (Operation Jailbreak) at Jehanabad district headquarters, Bihar. In a daring daylight raid, two companies of PLGA attacked Jehanabad district jail and took it under control. 388 inmates were freed. Two comrades were martyred in the action. Two policemen, one leader and a member of the landlord private army Ranveer Sena locked up in the jail were wiped out
- 28-12-2005 Martyrdom of Comrade Maimuddin (Ravi), UP-Uttar Bihar-Uttarakhand Special Area Committee (3U-SAC) secretary. He was injured in a police encounter in Betona village, East Champaran district, Bihar. As he was unable to escape, he was captured, taken to the police station, brutally tortured and murdered
- 28-12-2005 Comrade Narayan Sanyal (Bijoy), abducted by the APSIB from Raipur and kept in illegal custody for the next six days. He was produced by the police on 3 January in Kothagudem court of Khammam district, AP after protests by civil rights organisations

- 02-01-2006 12 Adivasi peasants opposing forced displacement are martyred in police firing in Kalinganagar, Jajpur district of Odisha, while forty others are injured. The dead included a 13-year old boy and three women. Many of them were caught, tortured and later killed by the police as was evident from their mutilated bodies. The Adivasis were protesting the construction of a boundary wall at the site of a proposed Tata steel factory
- 06-02-2006 Kotha Cheruvu Ambush, in Konta area of the undivided Dantewada district (presently in Sukma district) of Chhattisgarh. Nine personnel of Naga Police Battalion annihilated and nine severely injured when PLGA attacked their vehicle on patrol
- 09-02-2006 PLGA conducts 'Operation Akash' a surprise raid on the explosives depot of National Mineral Development Corporation (NMDC) located in Kailash Nagar near Eerralu village, Dantewada district, Chhattisgarh. PLGA annihilated eight CRPF jawans and seized 19 tonnes of explosives and 15 weapons. For the first time in its history, PLGA could seize such a large amount of explosives from the enemy while hundreds of militia members carried it off to safety
- 25-02-2006 An Anti-Mining Struggle Committee is formed by the people from 35 villages of Vishakhapatnam district in Andhra Pradesh in a meeting attended by thousands of Adivasi people. They opposed the proposal to open bauxite mining by Jindal company in the area and a resolution is passed to fight it to the end. They demanded the implementation of 1/70 Act that recognises the Adivasi people's right over their land and forests
- 28-02-2006 In an ambush between Errabore and Darbhagudem villages of Dantewada, Chhattisgarh, PLGA attacked a truck travelling in a convoy carrying notorious Salwa Judum goons to a meeting at Dornapal town organised by Mahendra Karma and the district administration. 28 SJ mercenaries were annihilated, 41 were injured while 60 more were arrested and later let off by PLGA with a warning. A massive blow is dealt to SJ
- 24-03-2006 PLGA's R Udayagiri Multiple Raid. An Orissa Special Armed Police (OSAP) camp, police station, treasury, sub-jail and communication tower in the *tehsil* headquarter of R Udayagiri town, Ganjam district, Odisha were attacked. 34 modern weapons and large quantities of ammunition were seized. 17 revolutionary activists and militia members were freed from the sub-jail. Three policemen died in the raid
- 16-04-2006 Murkinar Raid ('Operation *Maapana Diyya*' or 'Wiping Out Day' in Koya). PLGA fighters took by surprise the 30 CAF personnel and 30 SPOs in Murkinar camp, Bijapur district, Chhattisgarh by seizing a bus and alighting on it in broad daylight and starting a daring frontal assault. 4 CAF personnel and 7 SPOs died while the rest ran away. 45 modern weapons were seized
- 25-05-2006 Singur struggle begins against the takeover of nearly one thousand acres of agricultural land by the government for a Tata car factory in Hoogly district of West Bengal. On this day, the masses prevent Tata officials from carrying out a survey of the land. Using the draconian Land Acquisition Act of 1894, a colonial vintage, the government threatened to displace over eleven thousand peasant landowners and several thousand sharecroppers and agricultural

labourers dependant on the land. Rajkumar Bhul, Tapasi Malik and a few others are martyred in the struggle. The resilient resistance of the Singur peasants under the banner of Krishi Jami Bachao Committee subsequently forced the 'Marxist' WB government of Buddhadeb Bhattacharya to backtrack and the Tatas to shift the project to fascist Narendra Modi's Gujarat

- 01-06-2006 Kiriburu Ambush. PLGA exploded a mini bus carrying CRPF personnel near Kiriburu village of Singhbhum district in Jharkhand. 11 CRPF personnel along with three members of its bomb detection squad and a state police constable died
- 16-06-2006 Martyrdom of Comrade Matta Ravi Kumar (Sridhar), APSC member, along with three other comrades in Nallamala forest of Prakasham district in AP in an operation carried out by AP Grey Hounds
- 16-07-2006 A combined force of about a thousand PLGA and Jan Militia members attacked the Errabore Salwa-Judum camp, Errabore village, Dantewada district, Chhattisgarh, where hundreds of villagers were forcibly confined by the government armed forces, Salwa Judum goons and 'Special Police Officers' (SPOs). In all, 31 SJ goons and SPOs were annihilated while 20 were injured. It was another massive blow to the fascist Salwa Judum campaign
- 23-07-2006 APSC Secretary Comrade Burra Chinnayya (Madhav) martyred along with five comrades in Daraboinapenta encounter, Nallamala forest, Prakasham district, AP
- 17-09-2006 DKSZCM and Gadchiroli Division Secretary Comrade Vikas (Shivanna) martyred in a fake encounter in Kanker district, Chhattisgarh
- 06-10-2006 APSCM and Nallamala DVCS Comrade Sudarshan martyred in a fake encounter at Gonpalli, AP
- 07-10-2006 Comrade Budhini Munda (Sheila), Central Committee member, arrested at Rourkela in Odisha by the Jharkhand and Odisha police in a joint operation
- 10-11-2006 APSCM Comrade Raghavulu and seven other comrades martyred in Badwel covert operation, Badwel forest, Cuddapah district, AP
- 24-11-2006 Comrade Goutham, AOBSZCM and CTCM, martyred in a fake encounter at Ramavaram, East Godavari district, AP
- 02-12-2006 Bokaro Two-Person Ambush. On the day of the sixth anniversary of PLGA's formation, a two-member PLGA team blasted a CRPF vehicle with IED near Bokaro Thermal Plant, Bokaro district, Jharkhand. 15 of the 16 policemen travelling in the vehicle annihilated
- 08-12-2006 Vidharbha Bandh called by the Party to protest against the heinous murder of four members of a Dalit family in Khairlanji village of Mohadi Taluka in Bhandara district of Maharashtra on 29 September 2006 and against the continuing farmer's suicides in the districts of Vidharbha
- 27-12-2006 Comrade Vadkapur Chandramouli (BK), CCM and CMCM, martyred in a fake encounter along with his life partner Comrade Vijaya Lakshmi (Karuna) after being abducted by AP police while they were on their way to the Unity Congress-9th Congress

- Nandigram movement against the forcible takeover of over 14,000 acres land 04-01-2007 by the government for a number of proposed industrial projects including a 'mega chemical hub' by Salem group of companies of Indonesia begins in West Bengal. Two days after the formal notification was issued on 2 January, the people of the area rose up in a militant armed resistance under the banner of Bhumi Ucched Pratirodh Committee (BUPC) against the attempts of the government and private goons to take possession of the land. They chased out the civil administration, the police and CPI(M) goons from large parts of Nandigram and Khejuri blocks. On 14 March, at least 17 protestors are murdered by the police in indiscriminate firing to break the resistance. Later in the year, on 11 November more than 5000 armed goons of CPI(M) attack Nandigram supported by police-paramilitary forces in a bid to 'recapture' the area which the people were controlling since the beginning of the movement. Widespread killing, rape, arson and brutalities are committed. Three days later, lakhs of people participated in a massive protest rally in Kolkata against CPI(M)-led government, demanding a stop to the carnage in Nandigram. The West Bengal government was finally forced to withdraw the project bowing to the people's resistance
- 19-02-2007 Declaration of the successful completion of the historic Unity Congress-9<sup>th</sup> Congress of CPI(Maoist). This was the culmination of a year-long process of ideological-political-organisational campaign by conducting conferences from Area to State level of the entire party
- 04-03-2007 Baghadia Action. PLGA annihilated Member of Parliament (MP) from Tatanagar Sunil Mahato, his two bodyguards and a local leader of JMM at Baghadia village in Ghatsila, East Singhbhum district, Jharkhand. The MP was leading the counter-revolutionary 'Sendra' campaign from the front. He was directly responsible for the murder of 13 comrades at Lango village in September 2003 and many other revolutionaries
- 15-03-2007 Ranibodili short surprise attack. PLGA conducted an ambush on a school building that was converted into a fortified police camp in Ranibodili village of Bijapur district, Chhattisgarh. Of the 76 CAF personnel and SPOs stationed there, 55 were wiped out and 12 were wounded. 33 weapons and other war material were seized. None of the students residing in the school complex were harmed. Six comrades including West Bastar Division C-in-C Comrade Mohan (Chapa Gujja) and two Section Commanders of Company-2 were martyred. This attack became a significant milestone in the eventual defeat of SJ. It also brought new lessons in successfully breaking through enemy's carpet security
- 01-05-2007 Anti-Revisionist Declaration, called the 'Declaration to Reaffirm the Significance and Relevance of the Anti-Revisionist struggle and the GPCR', issued by several communist parties and organizations of the world including CPI(Maoist)

- 22-06-2007 Comrade Sande Rajamouli (Prasad), CCM and KNSC Secretary, martyred in a fake encounter near Dharmavaram, Ananthapur district, AP
- 26-06-2007 Two-day All India economic blockade called by CPI(Maoist) to protest against displacement, SEZ and pro-imperialist policies of the government
- 30-06-2007 PLGA conducted short surprise twin raids on police outposts at Rajpur and Baghela in Rohtas district, Bihar. A total of seven policemen died in a series of encounters that ensued. One PLGA comrade was martyred
- 01-07-2007 NTSZCM Comrade Somanna (Papayya) martyred in fake encounter near Tadwai, Warangal district, AP
- 09-07-2007 Urpalmetta Ambush, a landmark in PLGA history. Policemen from Errabore camp in Konta, Dantewada district, Chhattisgarh attacked Maraiguda village. Houses were razed down and the property of the villagers looted. PLGA's Company-3 located one and half an hour away from the village received the news and pursued the enemy forces. 24 policemen were wiped out after fierce close-quarter combat, while one member of PLGA's Platoon-4 was martyred. 22 weapons were seized.
- 15-08-2007 CCM Comrade Parimal Sen (Ajayda) martyred due to cerebral malaria which infected him while in a guerrilla zone
- 20-08-2007 Greyhound commandos of AP Police attacked Vakapalli village in Vishakhapatnam district of AP and raped 11 Adivasi women as a part of its white teror campaign
- 29-08-2007 Tadimetla ambush by PLGA. 12 CRPF jawans of a road opening party were wiped out near Tadimetla village under Chintaguppa PS, Dantewda district, Chhattisgarh. Nine weapons were seized. Some PLGA comrades sustained injuries
- 16-12-2007 Dantewada Jailbreak. Of the nearly 350 to 400 inmates locked-up in Dantewada district jail, Chhattisgarh, 299 led by Maoist inmates broke free. Many of them were mass organisation members and common people framed in Maoist-related cases. The Maoist prisoners seized six weapons from the prison guards, escaped in broad daylight from the headquarter town and rejoined their comrades in the forests
- 17-12-2007 Comrade Malla Raji Reddy (Sattenna), arrested along with comrade Suguna at Ernakulam of Keralam by APSIB in cohorts with Kerala Police

### 2008

13-02-2008 to15-02-2008 Martyrdom of Comrade Sukanta, SCM, and seven other comrades at Ranijharna near Bhitar Amda village under Dumaria police station, East Singhbhum district, Jharkhand. They were caught in a covert operation, severely tortured and murdered by a joint team of the counter-

revolutionary killer gang Nagarik Suraksha Samiti (Nasus) and CRPF. A 24hour Jharkhand Bandh was successfully observed against this brutal killing

- Nayagarh Raid ('Operation Ropeway'), another striking accomplishment of 16-02-2008 the Indian people's war. PLGA's main force, secondary force and base force conducted this daring daylight raid on the district headquarter town of Navagarh, located less than a hundred kilometres from the state capital Bhubaneswar. Six enemy establishments including the district armoury, police training school and its armoury, three police stations including Nayagarh town PS and a police outpost were attacked with lightening speed. PLGA held the town for two hours and eliminated 14 policemen who retaliated. PLGA suffered no casualties. It retreated with a haul of 1200 weapons and 1.75 lakh rounds of ammunition. Some of it had to be destroyed during retreat. Two PLGA fighters were martyred the next day in an encounter with the police, which resulted in the death of three policemen including one IPS officer. The political and military objectives of the movement – to expand to a new area in order to connect two guerrilla zones and to apply the elements of mobile warfare within guerrilla warfare – were given a boost by the raid
- 11-03-2008 Comrade Jagabandhu (Komma), AOBSZC member, martyred in a fake encounter
- 18-03-2008 Kanchala encounter. 18 comrades of DK and NT died in an enemy operation in Kanchala forest near Darelli village in Pamedu tehsil, Bijapur district of Chhattisgarh – the largest number of Maoists killed by the state in a single incident. A Bandh of Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh states was called on by DKSZC and NTSZC 26 March to protest against the killings
- 01-04-2008 Garwah fake encounter. Eight Maoists including one sub-zonal committee member and two ACMs are martyred in near Bandu village in Makhhatu forest of Garwah, Jharkhand when CRPF and state police forces surrounded the comrades in their sleep and fired indiscriminately. Jharkhand Bandh called by BJSAC on 16 April against the Garwah killing and recent fake encounters in East Singhbhum and Hazaribagh districts of the state
- 12-04-2008 Comrade Anuradha Ghandy, CCM, martyred due to falciperum malaria
- 13-04-2008 Jhajha Raid. PLGA conducted a surprise attack on Jhajha town police station, Jamui district, Bihar. The 60 odd policemen could offer little resistance and before the several RPF, SAF, CRPF and BMP camps in the town could react, 42 weapons and more than a thousand rounds of ammunition were seized. Four policemen died in the action
- 14-05-2008 Six Maoist guerrillas were martyred near Lambani Maddhai village under Sirdhala police station in Nawada district of Bihar in a surprise attack by the police on a guerrilla camp. A policeman was injured in retaliatory fire
- 15-05-2008 BJSAC calls Bandh of Bihar and Jharkhand protesting against the arrest of Politburo member comrade Pramod Mishra on 9 May and demanding his unconditional release
- 28-05-2008 Comrade Ranadev, AOBSZC member and Regional Company-1 commander, martyred during an ambush on the AP Greyhound forces
- 16-06-2008 Tellarayi ambush. PLGA carried out a massive IED blast at Tellarayi on the road from Balimela to Motu in Malkangiri district of Oddisha. The MPV in

which SOG commandos of Odisha police were travelling, was completely destroyed and 17 policemen were killed. Six AK-47 rifles with ammunitions were seized

- 26-06-2008 'All India Anti-Repression Week' called by CPI(Maoist) begins. On this day the countrywide Emergency was imposed by Indira Gandhi in 1975. The programme culminated in a Bharat Bandh on July 2, which was also called to protest against the counter-revolutionary suppression-and-elimination campaign of the India government against the Maoist movement
- 29-06-2008 Balimela ambush. Red guerrillas conducted a surprise attack on the Greyhound commandos of AP police who were returning on a motorboat after carrying out an anti-Maoist combing operation in Malkangiri district inside Odisha. PLGA fired on the policemen travelling in a motorboat as it was crossing the Balimela reservoir on the Sileru river. The sudden firing and the consequent commotion led to its capsize. In all, 42 policemen died while 24 were injured. 38 of the dead were Greyhound commandos. PLGA handed down the single biggest loss in the history of this brutal mercenary Greyhound force
- 22-07-2008 Bandh called by CPI(Maoist) in the states of Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal and Odisha against Indo-US Nuclear Deal and horse-trading of MPs
- 23-08-2008 PLGA carries out an attack on the Ashram of the Hindu-fascist leader Laxmananand Saraswati at Jalestapet on the borders of Kandhamal and Kalahandi districts, Odisha. He was the lynchpin of the forcible conversion of adivasis into Hinduism and heinous persecution of Christians in Kandhamal, spreading fascist terror with killings and razing down of nearly 400 churches. Laxmananand and four other members of his gang were annihilated by a Special Action Team of the PLGA
- 29-08-2008 Burudi Ambush. A police jeep was blasted with IED by PLGA near Burudi dam, a tourist place about 7 km from Ghatsila in Jharkhand. Eleven policemen died in the attack
- 29-08-2008 Tadimetla ambush. More than one hundred comrades of PLGA's main force and a large number of base force attacked a road opening party of CAF, DF and SPOs. 12 policemen died and 4 were seriously injured
- 19-09-2008 More than two hundred Adivasis led by Maoists hoisted red flags and seized 264 hectares of land of the Kumkumpudi Coffee Estate in Vishakha Agency Area, AOB
- 27-10-2008 Comrade Venkat Rao (Mastan Rao), APSCS, martyred in a fake encounter with comrade Prasanna in Vijayanagaram district, AP while comrade Thota Gangadhar (Ramchandar) APSCM, was martyred along with comrade Sarita in Vellatur fake encounter, Prakasham district, AP
- 02-11-2008 PLGA exploded a landmine at Kalaichandi near Salboni in Paschim Medinipur district targeting the convoy of the West Bengal Chief Minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharya, union minister for Steel, Fertilizers and Chemicals Ramvilas Paswan and industrialist Sajjan Jindal. The CM was returning after laying the foundation stone for a 35,000 crore rupee mega steel plant to be built on 4,500 acres of land by the Jindals (JSW Bengal Steel Limited). The CM escaped narrowly while six policemen sustained minor injuries in

the blast. In the name of apprehending the Maoists responsible for the blast, the police and paramilitary forces pounced on the villagers of Lalgargh in the next few days with their usual ferociousness – beating, abusing, molesting and arresting them brutally. But they did not expect the eruption of a militant opposition from the outraged masses against their repression and CPI(M)'s social-fascist rule. Led by the People's Committee Against Police Atrocities (PCAPA), this movement turned into an unprecedented mass upsurge against the Indian ruling classes and their lickspittle CPI(M). The people of Jangalmahal kept up the struggle against the Joint Forces of the central and state governments and the Harmads of CPI(M) for more than three years, inspiring the entire country with their revolutionary fighting spirit, courage and sacrifice

14-11-2008 PLGA fired upon a Russia-made MI-8 Air Force helicopter. It was taking off after dropping election officials from the helipad of a temporary CRPF camp at Pidiya village of Bijapur district, Chhattisgarh during the first phase of the 2008-09 assembly elections. A flight engineer died and three policemen were wounded, while the chopper sustained some damage. This was the first time in the history of the country's PPW that a personnel of the enemy's armed forces died in a PLGA attack on its helicopters

- 08-01-2009 Singaram massacre, South Bastar Division, DK. 18 adivasi villagers killed by the police in cold blood. Six women among them are raped before being murdered
- 26-01-2009 CPI(Maoist) calls a Black Day and Bharat Bandh on the so-called Republic Day to protest against the massacre of 18 Adivasis in Sinagaram of South Bastar, Chhattisgarh
- 26-01-2009 In a surprise daylight raid on the Jamui district court in Jamui town, Bihar, PLGA freed ten prisoners from the clutches of the enemy, two of whom were party activists
- 01-02-2009 Markanar ambush. PLGA attacked a police patrol in Markanar village under Murungaon PS in Gadchiroli district, Maharashtra. The enemy forces kept an old villager and a boy hostage to save themselves, but both were rescued by PLGA without harm. 15 policemen were wiped out and 16 modern weapons were seized
- 09-02-2009 Mahuliatand Attack ('Operation Dhamaka'). 10 SAP and BMP personnel died and three were injured in an attack by PLGA's action team on a group of policemen visiting a village carnival near Mahuliatand village, Navada district of Bihar on the Bihar-Jharkhand border. Fifteen weapons were seized from the enemy
- 28-02-2009 A Bandh of four states Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal and Odisha called by CPI(Maoist) to protest against the arrest of comrade Ashutosh, CCM and CMC member on 25 February by Jharkhand police

- 10-04-2009 Minpa opportunity ambush. A police team attacked Minpa village in Jegurugonda area of Dantewada district with the aim of terrorising the people and to compel them to vote. PLGA conducted an attack with battalionstrength force and wiped out eleven policemen including a CRPF deputy commandant. A large number of enemy reinforcement was also successfully repulsed. Six weapons and other war material seized. PLGA Company-3's Deputy Commander Comrade Chandu and three other comrades martyred while heroically taking on the enemy
- 12-04-2009 Damanjodi (Nalco) raid. PLGA conducts a midnight raid on the CRPF camp established for the protection of explosives of Nalco's Damanjodi bauxite mines in Koraput district of Odisha. In ten hours of battle, ten CRPF personnel die while six are injured. 11 semi-automatic rifles and a large amount of gelatine are seized. Four PLGA comrades are martyred during the raid
- 22-04-2009 Bihar-Jharkhand Bandh called by CPI(Maoist) to protest against the gruesome killing of five villagers by paramilitary personnel in a killing spree after PLGA guerillas wiped out two CRPF men in a landmine blast on 15 April in Barhania forests of Latehar district, Jharkhand. CRPF men went to the Barhania village, took custody of five tribal villagers at random and shot them dead, later claiming that five Naxals were shot dead in a 'fierce encounter'
- 10-05-2009 Mandagiri opportunity ambush. This ambush was conducted by the PLGA with a battalion-level force between Mandagiri and Sanbahar villages in the Mainpur forests of Dhamtari district, Chhattisgarh, which falls in the outer circle of DK Special Zone. 13 STF policemen travelling in a vehicle died while eight were injured. 8 weapons, 7 grenades and 386 bullets were seized. The attack helped in the expansion of the revolutionary movement and in opening a new battlefront in DK, forcing the enemy to decentralise and scatter its troops
- 21-05-2009 Tavvetola ambush. PLGA conducts a daring ambush on a patrol party of C-60 commandos on the Nagpur-Rajnandgaon inter-state highway near Tavvetola village in Dhanora taluq, Gadchiroli district of Maharashtra. 16 policemen including a TI and a SI are wiped out. 16 modern weapons are seized
- 24-05-2009 Comrade Patel Sudhakar (Vikas), CC member and People's Security Service (PSS) Director, martyred in Tadavi fake encounter, Warangal district, AP along with comrade Venkatayya, DC member working in PSS department
- 12-06-2009 The Party calls a 24-hour Bharat Bandh against the cold-blooded murder of comrades Patel Sudhakar and Venkatayya by AP SIB, demanding the punishment of the perpetrators
- 12-06-2009 Phusro-Kodvadih coordinated ambush. Eight PLGA assault teams attacked a police patrol party in Phusro town of Bokaro district, Jharkhand. Four weapons and ammunition were seized from them. 24 policemen from Navadih PS drove towards Phusro in an MPV as reinforcement. Jan Militia members exploded an IED and destroyed the vehicle. Nine policemen died and six severely injured, of whom one died later. The action put the

government forces on the back foot, who were conducting massive combing operations and committing atrocities on the masses in the area

- 12-06-2008 Beginning of the Narayanpatna mass uprising. Thousands of adivasi peasants from 159 villages of seven panchayats in Narayanpatna Block, Koraput district, Odisha, took out rallies and planted red flags on lands that were seized from them by non-adivasi landlords. In total around 3200 acres of occupied land was distributed among landless and poor peasants. The militant struggle of the adivasis threw out the landlords, bad gentry, liquor contractors and other oppressors who opposed the struggle from the villages. The seizure of land marked a militant turn to the anti-feudal struggle led by Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangha (CMAS)
- 16-06-2009 Palur ambush. PLGA targeted a police vehicle near Palur in Narayanapatna block of Koraput district, Odisha. People's Militia forces fell trees and blockaded a road to lure the policemen into the ambush. A road opening party of OSSF came in vehicle to clear the road and stepped into the ambush. Ten policemen died, while eight Insas rifles with ammunition were seized. This successful assault greatly enthused the masses and gave a boost to the Narayanapatna movement
- 20-06-2009 Kokavada ambush. PLGA's secondary forces conducted an IED blast near Kokavada on Puspal road under Tongpal PS, Bastar district of Chhattisgarh. Eleven CRPF jawans travelling in a truck died while eight were injured. This was the biggest attack conducted on the borders of Chhattisgarh and Odisha in Bastar district. It helped in expanding the guerilla warfare to this new area
- 20-06-2009 After the Kokaveda ambush, police forces in their desperation fired indiscriminately upon villagers returning from a weekly market on Chhattisgarh-Odisha border in Bastar district. Seven residents of Saatnar and Kindarvada villages belonging to the Durva tribe are shot dead, leading to large protests demanding the punishment of the culprits
- 23-06-2009 PLGA carries out a daring daylight attack in the district court premises of Lakhisarai town, Bihar and releases Comrade Misir Besra, member of the Politburo, Central Military Commission and C-in-C of Eastern Regional Command. Planned and guided by the CMC, this attack was executed by a PLGA action team when comrade Besra was brought to the court for production. After overpowering the police escort and seizing their weapons, the team retreated safely on motorcycles. It was a significant military action in that it was carried out deep inside the enemy territory and far away from guerrilla zones, successfully freeing a leadership comrade from the court premises for the first time in the united party's history
- 24-06-2009 Bandh called by the Party in five states against the abduction of Comrade Amitabh Bagchi, Politburo member, along with Comrade Tauhid Mulla. The party demanded their immediate production in the court in apprehension of their elimination by the police in fake encounter. The two-day bandh was extended to an indefinite general strike from 26 June, forcing the government to desist from the extra-judicial murder of the two Maoist leaders and to produce them in court
- ---- 06-2009 2000 acres of government plantation land was seized by thousands of people in Ramagiri village of Kotagiri area on Malkangiri-Koraput border, Odisha

- ---- 07-2009 Operation Green Hunt (OGH), the first countrywide multipronged offensive against the united party with centralised coordination is launched by the UPA government in mid-2009 after returning to power for a second term
- 12-07-2009 Madanveda deliberate area ambush ('Operation Vikas'). PLGA conducted two ambushes at the same site within a span of four hours in the forest near Karkotti village in Manpur block of Rajnandgaon district, Chhattisgarh on Gadchiroli-Durg state highway. 30 enemy troops were annihilated and 25 weapons along with a large quantity of war material was seized by the PLGA without suffering any casualty. It was named 'Operation Vikas' since it was aimed at expanding the movement in the area and as a response to the coldblooded murder of comrades Patel Sudhakar (Vikas) and Vikas, members of the CC and DKSZC respectively, who were killed by the police in fake encounters. Notorious IPS officer and Rajnandgaon SP Vivek Chaubey, who was directly involved in the murder of comrade Vikas, was killed in the ambush along with two SIs. The ambush gave a serious jolt to the enemy's plans to damage ther nascent revolutionary movement in Manpur Division
- 17-09-2009 Gacchampalli massacre. The newly raised Cobra Battalion of CRPF, which was tasked with countering the Maoist movement, conducted a coordinated attack under OGH in Kistaram area under Chintaguppa police station, Dantewada district, Chhattisgarh. One batch walked secretly at night from Chintaguppa PS for about 16 kilometres and attacked a weapons manufacturing camp of PLGA under South Bastar Division. They caught one villager and shot him dead. The second batch walked from the Andhra Pradesh side and attacked Palachelma, Gattapad and Burlanka villages. They caught six people and massacred them. The third batch walked for ten kilometres from Bhejji PS and attacked Gachampalli, Etrajpad and Endapad villages. Five more villagers were killed. Houses were razed down, hens and pigs were looted, creating mayhem. People's property worth lakhs of was severely damaged
- 17-09-2009 Palchelma attack. In its first major counter-offensive against OGH, PLGA delivers a major blow to the Cobra Battalion of CRPF near Palachelma village under Chintaguppa PS in Dantewada district of Chhattisgarh. These mercenaries were returning after massacring 12 villagers and razing down villages in and around Gacchampalli. The PLGA Battalion stationed nearby pursued the enemy forces for hours and covering many kilometres. Six of them were shot dead and three were seriously injured. Four weapons along with ammunition were seized. Villagers in enemy captivity were freed
- 01-10-2009 Gampad maasacre, South Bastar Division, DK. 13 villagers are killed by the police
- 03-10-2009 24-hour Bharat Bandh against the abduction and arrest of Politburo member comrade Kobad Ghandy, PCAPA leader Chatradhar Mahato and the murder of Adivasis in Palachalma in Dantewada is observed in the movement areas
- 08-10-2009 Mallampodur ambush. PLGA conducted a daring ambush just 800 metres away from Laheri police station in Gadchiroli district, Maharashtra. 17 C-60 commandos died after four hours of fighting, including the station incharge. A large amount of arms and ammunition was seized. Gadchiroli division commander-in-chief of PLGA Comrade Mangesh was martyred

- 09-01-2010 A Bandh was successfully observed in Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh called by DKSZC and the Central Regional Bureau (CRB) of CPI(Maoist). The bandh was in protest against Operation Green Hunt and Operation Trishool
- 20-10-2009 Sankrail raid. More than 40 PLGA and Sidhu-Kanu Jan Militia fighters came in motorcycles and attacked the Sankrail PS in West Medinipur district of West Bengal. Even before the policemen could react, two ASIs were shot dead and the police station brought under control. 15 weapons were seized. The Station In-charge and a constable were taken into custody by PLGA. The SI was released after 21 Adivasi women and an Adivasi man framed under false cases were released from jail
- 10-11-2009 Massacre in South Bastar Division, DK. Nine villagers are murdered by the police
- 20-11-2009 Police fired upon a group of 200 unarmed protestors including over a hundred women members of Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangha (CMAS), which was leading the Narayanpatna people's movement in Koraput district of Odisha. They were protesting at the police station against the harassment of tribal women by the police during combing operations the previous day. Comrade Wadeka Singanna, President of CMAS and Comrade Andru, member of CMAS, were martyred when the police opened fire targeting the protestors. Several persons were left injured
- 11-12-2009 Gumiyapal massacre, Kuakonda, Darbha, Dandakaranya. Six villagers are killed by the police

- 25-01-2010 A 72-hour central India bandh called by CRB of CPI(Maoist) began. The bandh was in protest against the brutal campaign of suppression unleashed by the Indian government against the Maoist movement under OGH
- 31-01-2010 Martyrdom of eight comrades at Phulwaria Kodasi in an attack by the counterrevolutionary gangs with assistance from the police
- 02-02-2010 Comrade Swapan Dasgupta, Editor of Bangla *People's March*, martyred in Kolkata prison due to the deliberate denial of medical care by the 'Left Front' government. He becomes the first Maoist prisoner to be martyred while being held under the draconian UAPA
- 06-02-2010 Comrade Balraj, Politburo member and Comrade Chintanji, Central Committee member, arrested by Uttar Pradesh Police along with some State Committee members and other comrades
- 10-02-2010 Centenary of the great Bhumkal Rebellion celebrated by the revolutionary masses across Dandakaranya. They commemorated the armed uprising by the adivasis of Bastar against the colonial government and its local props in in 1910 under the leadership of Gundadhur

- 15-02-2010 Silda Raid. Red fighters of PLGA accompanied by people's militia members carry out a historic raid on the camp of Eastern Frontier Rifles at Silda in Paschim Medinipur district, West Bengal. The entire camp is run over in this daring daylight attack, catching the EFR jawans unawares. 24 of them are annihilated while several are left injured. 12 AK-47 rifles, 17 Insas rifles, 16 SLRs, two pistols and a huge cache of ammunition are seized. Five PLGA members valiantly laid down their lives in carrying out the raid. This biggest military strike by PLGA in the revolutionary history of Bengal shakes the CPI(M)-led Bengal government and the UPA government at the centre, giving a major jolt to their joint operations in Jangalmahal against the Lalgarh mass uprising
- 22-02-2010 Comrade Lalmohan Tudu, President of People's Committee Against Police Atrocities (PCAPA) martyred in a fake encounter by the Joint Forces at Narcha, Lalgarh, West Bengal
- 12-03-2010 Comrade Sakhamuri Apparao (Ravi), SCM and Central Director of Military Intelligence, martyred in a fake encounter in Nallamala forest, Prakasham district, AP
- 04-04-2010 PLGA's Mantriyamba ambush. A Special Action Team of PLGA conducted an ambush near Mantriyamba village in Govindapalli Ghat on the state highway between Koraput and Malkangiri district headquarters. PLGA blasted an IED targeting a vehicle carrying Odisha's SOG personnel, resulting in the death of eleven commandos. This ambush helped in expanding the guerilla warfare to new areas of AOB
- 06-04-2010 The historic Mukaram-Tadimetla ambush. A battalion-level force of PLGA accompanied by the militia ambushed a police team consisting of a company of the 62nd Battalion of CRPF and District Force of Chhattisgarh Police. This attack was carried out just four kilometres away from Chintalnar police station between Mukaram and Tadimetla CRPF camps of Dantewada district, Chhattisgarh. After three hours of fierce battle, 75 of the 83 CRPF personnel of the company and one District Police personnel were killed. Among the dead were the Deputy Commandant and an Assistant Commandant of CRPF's 62nd Battalion. 79 weapons and a large amount of ammunition were seized. In this historic ambush, eight PLGA comrades, including two Section Commanders and two Dy. Section Commanders are martyred. This is the most telling blow delivered by the revolutionary movement against the enemy's counter-revolutionary 'war on people' Operation Green Hunt
- 08-05-2010 An MPV was destroyed in an IED blasted by PLGA near Peda Kodepal village on NH-18 between Bijapur and Bhopalpatnam, Chhattisgarh. The MPV, on its way from Avapalli to Bijapur, was destroyed and all the eight CRPF personnel in it were killed
- 09-05-2010 Comrade Suryam (Jeevan), AOBSZCM and Central Regional Company-2 commander, martyred in an enemy ambush in Samana village, Odisha, AOB along with Comrade Jagdeesh, PLGA member
- 18-05-2010 Chingavaram ambush. PLGA blasted an IED near Chingavaram village in Dantewada district targeting a bus carrying SPOs. 15 SPOs and one SSB

jawan were killed. 15 civilians too died in the blast as the bus was carrying civilians as well, a fact unknown to the PLGA ambush team. The party issued an apology to the people for the death of the civilians

- 18-05-2010 Comrade Gobinda Rai (Nirmal), WBSCM, martyred due to illness
- 19-05-2010 PLGA seizes a huge quantity of high-grade ammonium nitrate from a truck transporting it near Bhanupur on the National Highway 43 in Kanker district of Chhattisgarh, 50 km away from Jagdalpur. Over 16 tonnes of explosives were similarly seized in Gadchiroli district two months earlier
- 12-06-2010 Mamayil Resistance. PLGA valiantly fought back an enemy attack on a camp conducted by PLGA in Mamayil village, Chaibasa district, Jharkhand. PLGA foiled this attack carried out by five-six thousand troops after 30 hours of continuous battle. Five Cobra jawans were annihilated and eleven injured. Zonal Committee member comrade David martyred while protecting the party leadership
- 16-06-2010 Dhuli encounter. Eight PLGA comrades massacred by the Joint Forces of the central and state governments near Dhuli in Salboni, Lalgarh, West Bengal
- 29-06-2010 Kongera opportunity ambush. A road opening party of 63 CRPF personnel were encircled by PLGA near Kongera village in Jharaghati area under Daudai police station, Narayanpur district, Chhattisgarh. An entire platoon consisting of 28 personnel, including an assistant commandant, are wiped out and alrge quantities of arms and ammunition seized after four hours of intense gun battle. Three PLGA combatants, including two Platoon Commanders and a Section Commander, are martyred
- 02-07-2010 Comrade Cherukuri Rajkumar (Azad), Politburo member and Spokesperson, CC, CPI(Maoist), martyred in a fake encounter at Jogapur village of Adilabad district, Telangana along with Comrade Hemchandra Pandey, journalist
- 07-07-2010 Two day Bandh called by CPI(Maoist) in the states of Chhattisgarh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Odisha, and West Bengal followed by five days of protest programmes against the cold-blooded murder of comrades Azad along with journalist Hemchandra Pandey by the APSIB
- 14-07-2010 Under the banner of Paryavarana Parirakshna Sangam, people militantly resist the foundation-stone laying ceremony of a proposed thermal power plant on 1,100 acres of wetland at Sompeta of Andhra Pradesh's Srikakulam district which threatened tens of thousands of people in 30 villages, including peasants and fishermen. Two protestors die in police firing, while five are injured. The agitation successfully stalls the project
- 26-07-2010 Comrade Sidhu Soren, Commander-in-chief of Sidhu-Kanu People's Militia and five other PLGA members martyred at Metala when Joint Forces attacked them in their camp at night
- 20-08-2010 Kajra-Lakhisarai Deliberate Ambush. PLGA conducted a massive ambush near Rampalgaon in Sitalkodachi forests under Kajra PS limits in Lakhisarai district in Bihar in which seven Bihar police personnel died and nine were injured. Four policemen were taken prisoners and 38 weapons were seized
- 20-09-2010 PLGA's counter-offensive against 'Operation Saranda' carried out by more than 12 thousand enemy troops from 20 to 27 September in the Saranda

forests of Jharkhand. Four to five policemen died and more than ten injured in three ambushes conducted at Digha, Barwadih and Tirilposi villages by PLGA. Frustrated by their failure, the mercenary troops killed three persons including a Jan Militia comrade in cold blood and termed them as Naxals

- 30-09-2010 One Day Bandh called by CPI(Maoist) in protest against the massacre of Kashmiris by the government armed forces and in support of the just movement of the Kashmiri people for Azadi national independence
- 08-10-2010 Six persons including students are killed by the government armed forces in indiscriminate firing after PLGA blasted a police vehicle in Manpur division, Rajnandgaon district, Chhattisgarh
- 09-10-2010 Eight comrades martyred in an enemy ambush at Padkipali village under Sankara PS, Mahasamund district, Chhattisgarh. The movement entered the area newly and the village was a part of the expansion work
- 22-10-2010 PLGA conducted a night ambush near Jhatkana village under the limits of Syampur Bhatta police station in Bihar in which six policemen died including a SI
- 23-11-2010 Nine Jan Militia members on sentry duty were surrounded and brutally killed by the CRPF in a village in Jagargunda area of Dantewada district, Chhattisgarh. The militia was protecting the villagers working on their fields
- 28-11-2010 Ten comrades martyred in a covert operation on the banks of the Ganga in the border region of Khagaria and Munger districts, Bihar after they were poisoned by counter-revolutionary gangs and shot
- 02-12-2010 Historic tenth anniversary of the PLGA celebrated with revolutionary enthusiasm in all movement areas of the country and in several cities
- 06-12-2010 CPI(Maoist) gives a call to observe Black Day on 6 December against the demolition of Babri Masjid by the RSS Hindu-fascist gangs in cahoots with the Congress government at the Centre and demanding its rebuilding at the same site. The Party also demanded severe punishment of the Saffron terrorists responsible for the blasts in Malegaon, Mecca Masjid, Ajmer Sherif and Samjhauta Express that killed a large number of people

- 07-01-2011 Netai Massacre. Nine protesting villagers shot dead by CPI(M)'s Harmad Bahini goons in Netai village, Lalgarh, West Bengal
- 09-01-2011 Nine comrades martyred in Badangmali encounter with the police in Kashipur Block of Rayagada district, Odisha
- 17-01-2011 Comrade Uttam, State Committee member and Comrades Sandeep and Sanjay, Regional Committee members, successfully break free from the enemy's clutches by escaping from Chaibasa jail, Paschim Singhbhum district, Jharkhand
- 28-01-2011 Nine comrades martyred in Luhur forest, Latehar district, Jharkhand in an encounter with the police
- 04-02-2011 Two days of protest on 4 and 5 February followed by a one day Bharat Bandh on 7 February called by the party in six states against price-rise, scams and state terror
- 26-02-2011 Six comrades martyred in a battle with the police in Majhdih village, Jharkhand
- 28-02-2011 Police firing on the people protesting against a thermal power plant in Kakarapalli village of Srikakulam district, Andhra Pradesh. 2 protestors are killed and 34 injured. 34 huts and 14 acres of paddy burnt by the police. People protest police brutalities by calling a district Bandh on 1 March
- 10-03-2011 Comrade Sashadhar Mahato (Kiran), WBSMCM, martyred in a fake encounter orchestrated by the police in Chandsora village, Kushoboni forest, West Bengal
- 14-03-2011 Six comrades martyred in an enemy encirclement attack in Dharmaha, East Champaran district of Bihar
- 21-03-2011 A large public meeting held against Indalco's bauxite mining project on Deomali hill in Potangi Block of Koraput district, Odisha for which the state government had approved a 15-year lease to the company in 2005. The project threatened to affect ten thousand people in 22 villages on and around the hill
- 03-05-2011 PLGA conducted an ambush near Urumuri village of Dhardharia in Lohardagga district, Jharkhand. More than a company force consisting of CRPF and JharkhandArmed Police joint forces were returning from Urumuri when they were trapped in the ambush. A series of mines at a distance of ten feet was planted along a 500 metre radius. Fourteen policemen died and around 65 were injured. This was the largest number of injuries sustained by the enemy forces in a single ambush. It brought a new battle experience to the PLGA guerillas
- 16-05-2011 The Adivasi people of Manyam area stage a massive rally against china clay mining in Kandrum Panchayat of Dumbriguda mandal in Vishakhapatnam district, Andhra Pradesh. They demanded the cancellation of the lease given to a private company for mining china clay
- 21-05-2011 Two-day Bharat Bandh against the arrest of Central Committee members comrades Pulendu Shekhar Mukherji, Varanasi Subrahmanyam and Vijay Kumar Arya along with a few other comrades in Bihar and against the ongoing Operation Green Hunt – 'war on people' and the brutal repression of peasants in Uttar Pradesh
- 23-05-2011 Sanbayil ambush. PLGA carried out an attack on a police party in Sanbayil of Komna block on the borders of Gariaband and Nuapara districts along Chhattisgarh-Odisha border. Nine policemen including a notorious ASP of Chhattisgarh Police died. Nine weapons and ten grenades were seized by the guerillas
- 09-06-2011 PLGA conducted a night ambush on a MPV near Gattam village in Kattekalyan of Dantewada district. Nine policemen died on the spot, while another succumbed to injuries later. Seven of them were SPOs and ferom the district police. Three more police were severely injured. 6 modern weapons were seized

- 23-06-2011 Bharat Bandh called by CPI(Maoist) against the arrest of Politburo member Comrade Jagdish Master in Gaya of Bihar and to oppose the ongoing fascist state repression on revolutionary movement
- 19-08-2011 Metlacheruvu ambush. PLGA main and secondary forces conducted a surprise attack on a police team travelling in a tractor near Metlacheruvu village on the Bhopalpatnam-Bhadrakali road in Bijapur district of Chhattisgarh. Twelve CAF policemen and a SPO died in the attack, while two others were injured. Six weapons were seized
- 20-08-2011 Makadchuvva encounter. Comrade Ranita, President of Chadgaon Area RPC in Gadchiroli district of Maharashtra is martyred after a heroic battle. She took on more than six hundred Cobra and C-60 commandos single-handedly for a whole day, annihilating three of them and injuring four before she was felled by enemy bullets.
- 11-10-2011 CPI(Maoist) calls Bharat Bandh in support of the 'Sakala Janula Samme' (Entire People's Strike) demanding the immediate formation of separate Telangana state
- 24-11-2011 Comrade Mallojhala Koteswaralu (Kishenji), Politburo member, martyred in a fake encounter in Burisole forest, West Medinipur, West Bengal
- 29-11-2011 Countrywide Protest Week from 29 November to 5 December and 48-hour 'Bharat Bandh' on 4-5 December against the brutal murder of Comrade Kishenji by government forces
- 03-12-2011 Chipadohar deliberate ambush. The enemy forces launched 'Operation Prahar' on 7 November 2011 in Jharkhand. To counter Operation Prahar and to avenge the brutal murder of Comrade Kishenji, PLGA carried out an ambush in Chipadohar near Satnadiya on Garu Road during PLGA Week. PLGA fighters blasted a mine targeting a bulletproof vehicle escorting former Speaker of Jharkhand Assembly Inder Singh Namdhari's cavalcade. Eleven policemen died and ten weapons were seized

# 2012

- 15-01-2012 Poor peasants and landless labourers from 15 villages seized 400 acres of land from the landlords in Mariput village under Potangi Police Station of Koraput district, Odisha
- 21-01-2012 In an ambush PLGA targeted a MPV near Bargarh village with a powerful mine under Bandaria PS limits of Garhwa district, Jharkhand. 13 policemen including an SI and an ASI died and two policemen were severely injured. All their weapons were seized
- 24-01-2012 Police attacked Ralegadda village of Malkangiri district in Odisha at midnight and fired smoke bombs. This village was at the forefront of the struggle for seizing land of government coffee plantations. The police came to the village to arrest the leadership of the movement. The people resisted with traditional weapons. Eight villagers and four policemen were injured in the ensuing

clash. Next day the people surrounded Annavaram police station to protest against the policemen

- 27-02-2012 One-day Jharkhand Bandh called by CPI(Maoist) against the proposed amendments to the Chotanagpur Tenancy (CNT) Act and demanding strict implementation of the Act protecting the rights of the state's tribal people
- 27-03-2012 In an ambush, PLGA blasted an IED targeting a bus carrying CRPF's Cobra forces near Pusutola village of Kasansur, Dhanora taluq, Gadchiroli district, Maharashtra. They were going to Gatta village to carry out Civic Action Program. 13 jawans died and 27 were injured.
- 05-04-2012 PLGA attacked a helicopter in Latehar district of Jharkhand in which a policeman died and another was seriously injured
- 09-05-2012 Four comrades including Siddhartha Buragohain, member of the Upper Assam Leading Team of CPI(Maoist) are martyred in a fake encounter in Deopani village of Sadiya, Tinsukia district, Asom
- 13-05-2012 PLGA conducted a night ambush on a CISF vehicle near Kirandul, Chhattisgarh. Six CISF jawans died. The guerillas seized six weapons
- 16-05-2012 Bharat Bandh called by the Party against the fascist National Counter-Terrorism Centre (NCTC) set up by the central government to crush people's movements and to intensify the 'War on Terror' in the country
- 27-06-2012 24-hour Bandh called by Eastern Regional Bureau (ERB) of CPI(Maoist) covering the eastern states of Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Odisha and Asom against the ongoing Operation Green Hunt the 'war on people'
- 28-06-2012 Sarkenguda Massacre. 19 villagers martyred when CRPF fired indiscriminately upon an assembly of unarmed villagers from Sarkenguda, Kottaguda and Rajupenta who gathered to discuss about the upcoming *Bija Pandum* (sowing festival) in Sarkenguda village, Bijapur district, Chhattisgarh
- 11-07-2012 Rally in the Bastar district headquarter Jagdalpur by thousands of Adivasis demanding punishment for the culprist of Sarkenguda massacre. In Bijapur district headquarters too, rally was organised against the massacre where thousands of people participated
- 18-10-2012 Barha ambush. PLGA guerillas blasted a MPV in which CRPF jawans were traveling in Sakarbandha forests near Barha village of Gaya district, Bihar. Six jawans belonging to the CRPF's 159th Battalion died and eight including a deputy commandant were injured
- 09-11-2012 PLGA carried out a daring daylight attack in Giridih town of Jharkhand and freed eight party comrades including three SAC members and one Regional Committee member from the clutches of the enemy. An ASI, a constable, the driver and a prisoner died in the attack, while six policemen and three prisoners were injured. PLGA guerillas and the freed comrades retreated to safety after seizing ten weapons from the enemy
- 24-11-2012 International Conference successfully conducted in Germany's Hamburg in support of the Indian revolutionary movement by International Committee to Support the People's War in India (ICSPWI). Over 300 delegates representing 28 parties and organisations from different countries participated

- 07-01-2013 PLGA forces laid an area ambush near Amvadiha village in Katila area in Latehar district of Jharkhand and attacked the approaching enemy forces from hilltops. A total of 17 jawans died and the guerillas seized all of their weapons. In this way, a major operation launched by the enemy against the CPI (Maoist) suffered a big blow at the hands of the PLGA
- 19-01-2013 Six comrades martyred in an ambush by the C-60 commandos of Maharashtra Police in Govindgaon village, Gadchiroli district, Maharashtra
- 22-02-2013 Majhauli ambush. PLGA conducts an IED blast near Majhauli village under Roshangunj PS located in Serghati sub-division, Gaya district of Bihar targeting a police vehicle. One ASI, five policemen, a SPO and a village sarpanch died. All the weapons were damaged
- 28-03-2013 10 comrades martyred in Lakarbandha village, Kunda PS in Chatra district of Jharkhand when state-sponsored TPC counter-revolutionary gang members with the support of the CRPF and the police attacked a group of party members and PLGA cadres resting in the village. A few comrades got martyred valiantly resisting the attack, while the others were caught and killed after brutal torture
- 04-04-2013 PLGA conducted a surprise attack on a police patrol jeep near Chaipur bus stand in Gumla district of Jharkhand and wiped out five policemen. The guerillas seized five weapons as well
- 12-04-2013 Sindesur encounter. Seven comrades martyred in a fierce encounter with the enemy forces in Sindesur village, Dhanora tehsil, Gadchiroli district, Maharashtra. One C-60 commando killed in the exchange of fire
- 16-04-2013 Puvvar encounter. Nine comrades including Comrade Marri Ravi (Sudhakar), NTSZCM and KKW Secretary, martyred in an encounter in Puvvar village of Sukma district, Chhattisgarh
- 22-04-2013 Beginning of solidarity week with the Philippines revolution and to oppose the counter-revolutionary Oplan Bayanihan operation launched by Filipino government against CPP. Thousands of people participate in programmes conducted in movement areas and several cities
- 29-04-2013 Seven comrades martyred in Katiya forest, Latehar district, Jharkhand in an encounter with the police
- 17-05-2013 Edesmetta massacre. Eight comrades including three minors (two of them members of the village children's organisation) martyred in indiscriminate police firing in Edesmetta village of Bijapur district, Chhattisgarh
- 25-05-2013 PLGA ambushed Congress party's pre-election Parivartana Yatra at Jeeram Ghati in Darbha division of Bastar district, Chhattisgarh. The notorious Salwa Judum founder and Congress leader Mahendra Karma was annihilated. Ten police personnel providing security were wiped out and 23 weapons were seized. Chhattisgarh state Congress president Nand Kumar Patel and former MLA Uday Mudaliar were also killed. V C Sukla, senior Congress

leader and former union minister succumbed to his injuries a few days later. 15 Congress activists, a driver and a cleaner also died in the ambush for which the party tendered an apology. The end of Mahendra Karma, the most notorious leader of fascist counter-revolutionary campaigns in DK including Salwa Judum, was celebrated by the people of Dandakaranya. It was a response to the fascist Salwa Judum, Operation Green Hunt and the recent Sarkeguda and Edesmetta massacres carried out by the government forces

- 27-05-2013 The masses of Chintagupha area in Sukma district in Chhattisgarh forced the CRPF to withdraw their newly established camp at Minpa village after eleven days of militant armed resistance where hundreds of people's guerillas and thousands of people participated. Five CRPF men died and five were injured in a series of attacks during these eleven days
- 02-07-2013 Pakud ambush. PLGA fighters attacked a police convoy in Katikund forest area, Bihar-Jharkhand. Pakud district SP Amarjit Balihar and five policemen died on the spot while two policemen were injured
- 04-07-2013 Comrade Ganti Prasadam, senior activist and mass organisation leader, martyred after being seriously wounded when the plain-clothed SIB murderers and mercenaries attacked him in Nellore town, Andhra Pradesh
- 27-08-2013 PLGA guerillas attacked a convoy of BSF vehicles with IED on the NH-26 in Ralegadda village of Koraput district in Odisha. One vehicle carrying 16 jawans was targeted. Four of them died on the spot. Among the dead were an ASI, two head constables and a constable
- 14-09-2013 13 comrades of the Jan Militia martyred in Silakota village under Padia PS of Malkangiri district, AOB, when the police surrounded their camp and shot them dead in a premeditated bloodbath
- 21-09-2013 Ninth anniversary of the formation of CPI(Maoist). Initiation of the party's Bolshevisation programme in the run up to the party's tenth anniversary
- 05-10-2013 Bharat Bandh in protest against the brutal massacre of 13 People's Militia members including a woman comrade in Silakota forests on 14 September by the Naveen Patnaik government's SOG policemen
- 17-10-2013 PLGA attacked a vehicle in which Ranvir Sena goons were travelling near Pathara village of Aurangabad district, Bihar. Seven Ranvir Sena goons including a commander and a Zila Parishad member died in the ambush
- 30-11-2013 Dekunpani opportunity ambush. A small team of PLGA guerillas conducted a daring opportunity ambush on a cavalcade of motorcycle-borne CRPF and District Voluntary Force jawans near Dekunpani village under Sunabeda panchayat, Nuapada district, Odisha. Two jawans died and the guerillas seized an AK-47, an Insas rifle, a revolver and some ammunition. The action was significant as it was carried out in the expansion area of the movement soon after the enemy forces opened a new camp in Sunabeda and began atrocities on the people of the area
- 30-11-2013 PLGA guerillas in civilian attires conducted a surprise attack on Bihar Military Police jawans travelling in Sultanpur-Danapur Intercity Express train. Three policemen died and three were injured. The guerillas seized five weapons

- 03-12-2013 Chandgarh ambush. PLGA exploded a police patrol vehicle near Chandgarh under Tandwa Block of Aurangabad district, Bihar. Tandwa police inspector and seven policemen died in this attack
- 25-12-2013 Comrade Akula Bhumaiah, President of Telangana Praja Front (TPF) and senior revolutionary mass leader, martyred in Hyderabad in a murder orchestrated by the police which was given the appearance of a 'road accident'

### 2014

- 02-01-2014 One-day Telangana Bandh called by CRB is observed in protest against the murder of TPF President Comrade Akula Bhoomaiah by AP police
- 07-02-2014 CPI(Maoist) called a 24-hour Jharkhand Bandh to press for the release of Maoist prisoners who have completed their prison terms but are still held behind bars
- 09-02-2014 Comrade Rawoof, veteran leader of Indian revolution and founder secretary of CPI(M-L)NAXALBARI is martyred after prolonged illness
- 19-02-2014 Seven comrades martyred in a fake encounter in Betkathi village, Korchi taluk, Gadchiroli district, Maharashtra
- 28-02-2014 Sangdi-Kuttepal ambush. PLGA guerillas conducted an ambush on a road opening party in Syamgiri forests near Kuvvakonda in Dantewada district, Chhattisgarh. A12-member police patrolling party was engaged in road-opening to provide protection to road construction works going on between Nakulnar and Palnar. Five policemen including a TI died in the attack, while three were seriously injured. The guerrillas also seized six weapons and 400 rounds of ammunition
- 11-03-2014 Tahkawada ambush. PLGA guerillas conducted an ambush on a CRPF roadopening party on the Jagdalpur-Sukma NH-221 at Tahkawada, near Tongpal, Sukma district of Chhattisgarh, prior to the parliamentary elections. A total of 44 jawans from the CRPF's 80th Battalion and District Police forces were on their way to visit a site where PLGA burnt down some road construction vehicles. The exchange of fire went on for two hours leading to the death of 11 CRPF and 4 district police personnel, while ten were injured. A total of 20 weapons were seized
- 12-04-2014 Kamanar ambush. PLGA blasted an ambulance in which a Road Opening Party of ten CRPF personnel were returning to their Kamanar camp in Sukma district of Chhattisgarh. The jawans stopped the ambulance on its way to bring a patient and forced the driver to take them to their camp. Six CRPF jawans died, including an SI, an ASI and a head constable. The driver of the vehicle and a medical technician also died, for which the party tendered apology
- 24-04-2014 PLGA guerillas blasted mines targeting a bus carrying police forces near Farsagaon under Sikaripada PS limits of Dumka district of Jharkhand after they were returning from polling duty during parliamentary elections. Five

policemen were wiped out. Five rifles and hundreds of rounds of ammunition were seized. Three employees on election duty were also killed in the attack, for which the party expressed its regret

- 01-05-2014 CPI(M-L)NAXALBARI unites with CPI(Maoist) on the May Day, marking another milestone in the unification of genuine revolutionaries in India
- 11-05-2014 Murmuri ambush. PLGA guerillas exploded an IED targeting a vehicle carrying C-60 commandos at Murmuri village, Chamurshi taluq, Gadchiroli district of Maharashtra one day before the final phase of polling for the Loksabha elections. Seven C-60 commandos died on the spot while four were seriously injured
- 18-06-2014 Comrade Sushil Roy (Barunda), Politburo member of CPI(Maoist) and veteran leader of Indian revolution, martyred due to serious illness caused by the inhuman treatment meted out to him by the Indian state during nearly eight years of incarceration in the prisons of Paschim Banga and Jharkhand
- 21-09-2014 CPI(Maoist) completes ten years of its formation



### Glimpses of a few Historic Actions by PLGA

[Mukaram Ambush (1, 2); Silda Attack (3); Jehanabad Jailbreak (4); Murkinar Ambush (5); NMDC Raid (6); Nayagarh Raid (7,10,11,12); Ranibodili Attack(8); Balimela Ambush (9)]

# Pages from International Communist Movement

# Message of the CC, CPI(Maoist) to the Milan International Meeting in Solidarity with the People's War in India

To all the delegates who have gathered in this Conference,

To all the parties, organisations and individuals who have worked to organise it,

To the International Committee to Support the People's War in India that is leading this Conference,

Warmest revolutionary greetings and heartfelt Lal Salam from the CPI (Maoist) and the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA), Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs), Revolutionary Mass Organisations and revolutionary people of India, it leads.

We greet you especially with the joy of celebrating the momentous 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the foundation of our party and with deep appreciation of your organising this Conference in conjunction with these celebrations exactly in the condition of great turmoil in the world. The formation of the CPI (Maoist) which united the two major revolutionary streams in India realised a dream long cherished by the revolutionaries and masses. In its 10 years of its existence 2332 comrades, including members of the Politbureau, Central Committee, State, Region, District, Sub-zone, Area and Village level party committees, primary party members and many more of the PLGA and the United Front, have made the supreme sacrifice to fulfil the revolutionary tasks it had set itself. We pay homage to these martyrs, to the revolutionary masses who have willingly suffered loss of lives and unimaginable repression to participate and support the people's war, and to all those who laid down their lives for the great cause of communism throughout the world. For us the celebration of the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of our party is an opportunity to take stock of our achievements and shortcomings. The PLGA, People's Militia and revolutionary masses led by it have waged heroic political and military battles against a heavily armed and trained enemy, guided and backed by imperialism, particularly US imperialism. Our comrades in jail have written splendid tales of resistance. We celebrate these achievements, aware of our shortcomings, in order to forge ahead along the path of protracted people's war.

#### Comrades,

Allow us to first place an account of the past ten years.

During this period our party, the PLGA, RPCs and all the revolutionary mass organisations led by it have striven hard to realise the tasks we shouldered at the time of its formation. In 2007, defeating the persistent attempts made by the enemy to thwart us, we successfully convened our long cherished Unity Congress, the 9<sup>th</sup> Congress. This enabled us to further deepen and enrich our ideological, political unity. An exhaustive review was made of the achievements and drawbacks, successes and failures, of the two and half years since the merger. Along with central and principal task other important tasks were set. The leadership was further strengthened. Thus, our party emerged from the Congress, more sharp in its ideological-political positions, more consolidated in its unity, more steeled in its determination and fighting spirit, to fulfil its tasks as the vanguard of the new democratic revolution of India, as a contingent of the international proletariat.

Since 2004, and more so after the Congress, the PLGA took major strides through arduous efforts and carried out heroic raids and ambushes. It advanced from company level formations, is taking initial steps in forming battalions, and improved its capacity of command and coordination of its primary, secondary and base forces. This has allowed it to attack and completely annihilate the Indian state's mercenary para-military forces, in general at the platoon level, and in particular at the company level in the Mukaram battle. It has built up a broad People's Militia, numbering in the thousands. This has been instrumental in defeating counter-revolutionary vigilante groups such as the Salwa Judum and Sendra, etc. where the enemy tries to 'turn the people against the people'. The People's Militia and the revolutionary masses have also been of great importance in the PLGA's successes in major battles.

New forms of struggle and organisation emerged, such as those in Lalgarh and Narayanpatna. Conducive ground was laid for the consolidation of an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist front. In many other parts of the country big struggles broke out where the masses came forward to defend their land. They fought against plans to displace them for the sake of opening big mines, dams and other pro-imperialist, pro-ruling class projects

This period also gave important lessons in revolutionary mass struggles and coordination between armed and mass struggles. We must particularly note that this was done under conditions where almost all open mass organisations linked to our party, or even suspected to have relations to it, are banned and its members hunted, murdered or imprisoned. In the midst of this persecution, fully aware that the 'masses are the real creators of history and we communists are mere children', we have persisted in building mass organisations suited to the conditions and mobilising the masses in the hundreds of thousands. We led some major mass struggles that took the form of mass upsurges. New forms of struggle and organisation emerged, such as those in Lalgarh and Narayanpatna. Conducive ground was laid for the consolidation of an anti-feudal, antiimperialist front. In many other parts of the 0th anniversary of the formation of CPI(Maoist) Special Issue

country big struggles broke out where the masses came forward to defend their land. They fought against plans to displace them for the sake of opening big mines, dams and other proimperialist, pro-ruling class projects. We supported these struggles and led some of them. This gave us rich experiences in leading mass struggles, uniting a wide variety of forces. These struggles brought out the leading role of the party and the people's war it leads. They were of immense help in extending the war zones and expanding the party and the PLGA through winning over new forces.

Another important arena of struggle is gradually expanding inside the prisons. Several thousands are in jail. Several Central and District and sub-jails in about 20 States have reverberated with the hunger strikes, at times indefinite, on the demands of political prisoners. Through their activities our comrades in jail have succeeded in mobilising ordinary prisoners to fight for their rights. Democratic organisations and forces are also playing a key role in this even amid severe countrywide repression. Support activities and struggles demanding release of all political prisoners have spread out across the country and internationally. The solidarity activities you have taken up in support of political prisoners in India were specially important and we cherish them as a glowing example of internationalism.

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Over these ten years the party has further developed its capacities in different fields. It has actively engaged in ideological struggle against various deviations within the country and at the international level. It played a key role in the formation and functioning of the Coordination Centre of Maoist Parties and Organisations in South Asia (CCOMPOSA).

The party has paid attention to raise its ideological level through systematic study classes and rectification campaigns. Study material and magazines are published in various languages. Special effort was taken to develop study/propaganda material in adivasi languages. Syllabus and texts prepared for basic education were further enriched. These are used in the schools run by the RPCs and for the education of PLGA combatants and members of the mass organisations.

An exceptional contribution of the party is that of arousing the women who are half the sky and developing their capacities in political, organisational, military, cultural and other spheres so that they can lay claim to their share in struggle. Today around 40 percent of the fighting force of the PLGA consists of women, though the percentage varies in various guerrilla zones. Women are commanders at the platoon level and members of company level party committees.

The party has paid a lot of attention to develop revolutionary cultural activities. Mass cultural organisations exist in many States from village to State level. They spread the message of revolution and promote democratic and scientific values through multifarious cultural forms that learn from and develop national, ethnic cultural traditions and styles. They motivate the people to struggle for radical change. Their cultural messages also play the role of an instrument of rectification that attacks the reactionary values of the old society gripping the minds of the masses. These organisations are powerful weapons linking the party with the broad masses. Apart from these mass organisations, armed cultural groups are formed within the PLGA too, at the company and battalion levels.

Most importantly, through the planned work taken up after the formation of the united party, we could expand some guerrilla bases as a transitory step towards the establishment of liberated areas. We succeeded in consolidating Revolutionary People's Committees (RPC) in several villages in these bases. The guerrilla bases enabled us to carry out strategic tasks to further consolidate and expand them to advance the revolutionary war. More people's political power organs emerged in the period after the Congress. In Telengana and Andhra Pradesh several RPCs had been formed in the past. Though there had been a setback in these States, the people who had enjoyed political power are fighting to overcome the situation with that inspiration. In Dandakaranya (Chhattisgarh), several Area level revolutionary people's governments were formed earlier. A few Division (District) level people' governments have also started functioning. This is a new experience in the history of the revolutionary movement in our country. They are placing an alternative political, economic and cultural model in front of the Indian people by rejecting the fake democratic system and the pseudo reforms of the exploiting governments. These people's governments are striving to increase the agricultural production of the people through their cooperative and collective labour while working very hard to march forward to achieve self-sufficiency for the economic development of the people and to support the party and the PLGA. Thus we march forward to realise the central task of our revolution, the seizure of political power through armed struggle.

Following the formation of the united party in 2004, the enemy has redoubled its efforts to destroy the revolution by expanding the US imperialism guided 'Low Intensity Conflict' strategy to the entire country. It now acknowledges us as the 'greatest threat' to its security.

Through this strategy the enemy has paid special effort to attack and destroy our leadership. As you know it has succeeded in this to a significant extent, causing heavy losses. In 2009 it launched its even more ruthless, intensive and extensive suppression strategy, the 'Operation Green Hunt', the notorious 'War on the People'. A grand plan was prepared to wipe us out, employing fascist methods. Huge forces, including special forces, were trained and concentrated. Thousands of crores of rupees were spent. Massive propaganda targeting us as anti-development and a bunch of terrorists was carried out. Intense combing operations, surprise attacks on our forces, attacks on our mass base in the war zones were conducted by mobilising a huge number of forces in every operation. Large scale arrests of activists of all people's organisations in rural and urban areas and militia in all guerrilla zones, burning and

Through the planned work taken up after the formation of the united party, we could expand some guerrilla bases as a transitory step towards the establishment of liberated areas. We succeeded in consolidating Revolutionary People's Committees (RPC) in several villages in these bases. The guerrilla bases enabled us to carry out strategic tasks to further consolidate and expand them to advance the revolutionary war

destruction of houses, properties and crops, mass murder of people and mass raping of womenfolk and killing and taking away a large number of livestock had become a routine one, fake encounter killings continued, destruction of our urban networks, destruction of the infrastructure built up through the collective labour of the masses were combined with reform activities meant to sidetrack the people. In the face of this fascist onslaught we did suffer serious losses. Led by the Central Committee, the whole party, PLGA, People's Militia and revolutionary masses led by the RPCs and mass organisations, stood firm, learnt from our mistakes, redoubled efforts and hit back. Simultaneously we waged a political battle. We struck back exposing the enemy's propaganda. This paved the way for a favourable political polarisation within the country. Progressives and democratic forces came forward along with revolutionaries to denounce the enemy's Operation Green Hunt as a 'War on the People'. Internationally too a broad movement came up to build world public opinion against this assault of the Indian state. This reaffirms the capacity of our ideology to counter the enemy's psychological war and gives us rich lessons.

In the wake of the severe mauling they suffered at the hands of the PLGA in a few tactical offensives where they were wiped out in large numbers, the enemy started taking up operations with even larger forces. The enemy who was successful in damaging the leadership and cadre in the urban and plain areas is now targeting the leadership in forest areas. The enemy has already engaged its 500,000 Central and State troops in these war zones and is planning to increase it by several thousands. Drones are employed. The Air Force is involved in a supportive role and the Army is being readied.

Facing these attacks the PLGA has gained rich experiences in battling and breaking the enemy's 'cordon and search' campaigns, deploying at times a force of 10,000. The PLGA, with the full support of the people and with exemplary initiative, bravely fought hour long battles, even for three days, to break the enemy's cordon and successfully defeated its plans to capture leadership comrades. PLGA forces and people's militia also fought back the tactics of the enemy of deploying the police and paramilitary forces through helicopters by firing on and damaging them with ordinary rifles.

Central Committee has issued a call to Bolshevise the party aimed at becoming capable of overcoming the present difficult condition and achieving it by educating the entire party in MLM, political and military line and basic policies, tactics, style of work of the party and fighting style of the PLGA, lessons learnt from practice, rectifying its mistakes and shortcomings and thus strengthening the party, PLGA and mass base and paving the way to advance the movement

While the tightening blockades, combing and attacks brought out the steel in the vast majority of our ranks, it has also exposed the rotten elements that had remained hidden among us. Liquidationists who pretend that protracted people's war is not suited to our conditions, cowards who flee under different pretexts hopelessly trying to cover up their defeatism, traitors who sell out the people for the pittance thrown to them by the enemy – these trying times have uncovered them, one after the other. Among the masses some have "surrendered" under enemy brute force. Repeated and heavy attacks have caused great harm to the party structures in the villages and consequently to the RPCs and mass organisations too. A section of the masses have become passive.

In the first quarter of 2013, assessing the situation we face, the Central Committee had noted that the weaknesses in our subjective condition were uneven. It assessed that our countrywide movement is facing a very difficult condition. The reasons for this situation to arise are both objective and subjective. The Indian ruling classes, with the complete support and guidance of the imperialists, have launched an unprecedented multi-pronged countrywide strategic offensive to suppress our developing movement. We suffered some losses, lost some ground temporarily while withdrawing in the face of superior forces. The other reason for this is subjective, the mistakes we made in rising up to the demands of changing conditions of the revolutionary war and leading the PLGA and people, continuing remnants of non-proletarian tendencies in ourselves and failure in avoiding serious loses. The Central Committee has formulated the basic tactics to overcome this situation. It issued a call to Bolshevise the party aimed at becoming capable of overcoming the present difficult condition and achieving it by educating the entire party in MLM, political and military line and basic policies, tactics, style of work of the party and fighting style of the PLGA, lessons learnt from practice, rectifying its mistakes and shortcomings and thus strengthening the party, PLGA and mass base and paving the way to advance the movement. Whatever may be the situation, we have a mighty weapon to tackle it. This is our ideology, MLM.

10th anniversary of the formation of CPI(Maoist) Special Issue

Grasping it deeply and taking up this weapon ever more firmly; this is the crux of Bolshevising the party. This campaign is going on and the party and all the forces led by it are striving to develop their capacities to defeat the enemy's onslaught.

During the past 15 months we put efforts to preserve our movement and leadership amid intensified enemy offensive. In the recent period the PLGA, with the support of the people, conducted tactical counter-offensive campaigns and several armed actions, annihilated enemy forces and seized arms and ammunitions. Thousands of people and people's militia led by the PLGA destroyed road building equipment, vehicles, guest houses, and camp offices of the government and the big construction and mining companies. Along with starting Bolshevisation campaign in the entire party, PLGA mass organisation and United Front organisations, we could achieve some positive experiences in some parts and extend into some new strategic areas. We are striving hard for revival of the movement in some of the areas from where we had to retreat. In areas where we have weakened the party is trying to face the situation with Bolshevik spirit. Facing heavy odds and losses, we are opening up a new war front in the Sahyadri (Western Ghats) border region of Karnataka-Keralam-Tamilnadu.

Our party's efforts to rally the vast masses in both secret and open forms against the proimperialist policies that served the interests of the ruling classes implemented by the Central and State governments continued. Thousands of people held rallies and vented their ire demanding the withdrawal of the Central and State forces. They protested fake encounters, massacres, illegal arrests and atrocities on women, attacks on villages, loot and destruction of people's properties and demanded the release of political prisoners. Revolutionary land reforms and people's welfare programmes were conducted by RPCs by mobilising the masses and PLGA also participated in these programs. The capture and execution of the hated Mahendra Karma, the main person responsible for the brutal Salwa Judum atrocities was a major achievement. Responding to the call of the party the people in rural Dandakaranya (DK) boycotted the Chhattisgarh assembly and parliament elections and some rural areas of Bihar, Jharkand, Odisha and Andhra-Odisha Border (AOB) people successfully boycotted parliamentary elections by resiting thousands of additional state forces and their brutal suppression. In areas where movements of adivasi peoples against mining and displacement are going on, majority of the people boycotted the Loksabha polls and expressed their protest against the these destructive projects.

Through guerrilla actions conducted constantly by the PLGA in the various guerrilla zones the enemy forces had to disperse their forces in a vast area and so were forced into a situation where they could not deploy their forces as they wish in our crucial areas

As part of the election boycott campaign the PLGA forces successfully conducted tactical counter-offensive actions on the enemy forces that came to force people to vote in most of the war zones of Central and Eastern India. Some of these actions took place in areas which the enemy had claimed to have 'cleared' and taken control of. Within the first five months of 2014, spanning the election period, 63 enemy forces were annihilated and 122 injured in 31 actions. One PLGA combatant was martyred in these offensives. We could seize 36 weapons and 3366 rounds. It is noteworthy that these actions came in the wake of and during two massive country-wide special 'cordon and search campaigns' conducted by the enemy. Through guerrilla actions conducted constantly by the PLGA in the various guerrilla zones the enemy forces had to disperse their forces in a vast area and so were forced into a situation where they could not deploy their forces as they wish in our crucial areas. Due to lack of additional forces the enemy couldn't carry out these campaigns more intensively in all areas at once except in Bijapur (DK) and some other parts of the country.

security' strategic network where heavily fortified camps with hundreds of troops are put up at short distances of 2 to 6 km from each other, steadily encircling our guerrilla bases and other war zones. In two instances, the masses, along with the PLGA or on their own with its support, have engaged in armed harassment or besieged such camps for days together and forced their shut down. The role of women in these struggles was exemplary. We have also seen instances where the masses either rejected the free goods distributed by the enemy mercenaries as part of Civic Action Programs or made a bonfire of them. In this period an important achievement in last 15 months was the merger into one party of CPI (Maoist) and CPI (M-L) NAXALBARI. This was another turning point in the effort to achieve unity of genuine revolutionaries in our

country. As pointed out in the merger declaration, this gives a boost to the capacity of our party to better fulfil its role as the vanguard of the Indian revolution. The unity of Maoists in the face of intense enemy attack has greatly encouraged our entire party, PLGA and the revolutionary masses. It has been enthusiastically welcomed at the international level too.

New forms of struggle are being

developed to counter the enemy's 'carpet-

Overall the situation we face is still very difficult. But we are firmly holding on, boldly facing up to it, and pushing forward to overcome it. Needless to say, the solidarity you extend immensely helps us in this task. We are glad to see that you agree with us on the need to vigorously take forward the campaign to end Operation Green Hunt. This campaign and the solidarity movement in support of people's war in India complement each other. Defeating this counterrevolutionary multi-pronged countrywide offensive of the enemy is an immediate task before us.

Every revolution advances in a wave-like manner. That is a law of history. In times of difficulties we should heighten our ideological level, keep politics in command, take the message of revolution deeper and wider among the masses, creatively apply the line of protracted people's war and develop our tactics, be 'red and expert' in our political, military, organisational, propaganda, training, cultural, production, technical and other tasks, be more determined, dedicated and ready for sacrifice. Only thus can we emerge from this situation more united, more disciplined, courageous, stronger, more consolidated and more dynamic. This is the lesson we learn from the great revolutions of our class, summed up in the teachings of our great teachers. They have also taught us the need to reforge our ties with the masses on a deeper and higher level at each turn of the revolutionary war. At each crucial juncture the task of deepening the politicisation of not only ourselves but simultaneously the politicisation of the masses also poses itself afresh. We resolutely take up this task to unleash the revolutionary energy and initiative of the masses in an even more powerful manner.

In times of difficulties we should heighten our ideological level, keep politics in command, take the message of revolution deeper and wider among the masses, creatively apply the line of protracted people's war and develop our tactics, be 'red and expert' in our political, military, organisational, propaganda, training, cultural, production, technical and other tasks, be more determined, dedicated and ready for sacrifice

Such is the brief account of our successes and failures, of the people's war in India, over the past ten years. Such is the main way we have been contributing to the advance of the world socialist revolution.

#### Comrades.

During the past decade a number of important developments have taken place at the international level. We wish to draw your attention to some salient features.

The initial years of the last decade saw huge outpourings of the masses against globalisation policies that destroyed their lives and a strengthening of people's wars and armed liberation struggles. The ideology of the proletariat was more sharply posed through the establishment of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Its wider adoption strengthened the grounds for closer unity among Maoist forces, internationally and in different countries. Stirrings of a new wave of revolution could be seen in the world. Mainly in response to this, imperialism, particularly US imperialism initiated and launched a massive, worldwide counter-revolutionary offensive, directed against the people. This was the main content of the so-called 'War on Terrorism' which all imperialists and reactionaries joined or supported. Wars of aggression against Afghanistan and Iraq, curtailment of democratic rights, attacks on people's struggles, growing fascicisation throughout the world, step up of suppressive campaigns against armed struggles, people's wars and Maoist parties - such were its main features. But the arrogance of US imperialism, the sole superpower soon got soundly rebuffed. The challenge was met. A worldwide struggle emerged against the war on Iraq and continued after the launch of the war. Powerful resistance in Iraq and Afghanistan bogged down the aggressors and upset their plans. Masses throughout the world refused to be cowed down and continued their struggles against the ravages of globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation. People's wars continued to advance. As a result of all these factors, US imperialism was forced to change tactics within a few years. Bush was replaced with Obama. Talk of 'decades of war' was replaced with hurried plans for disengagement and withdrawal of troops. This is a stark indicator of the favourable situation that has emerged in the world. This period also saw a growth in the contention between imperialist powers as Russian imperialism began to assert itself in the context of the US getting bogged down.

As we all know, the global crisis of the imperialist system that broke out in 2008 has further exacerbated the situation world over. In both imperialist and oppressed countries, millions took to the streets and fought pitched battles with reactionary state forces, workers Our party believes that it is the need of the hour for the communist forces to strive to mobilise the broadest possible anti-imperialist, democratic and revolutionary forces to strengthen the campaign to end OGH and with a view to build a broad worldwide antiimperialist front that is in process. And the further strengthening of the unity of communist forces world over would lead to stronger support for the Indian Revolution

seized factories, masses occupied squares and shut down governments. Students, youth, women, workers, immigrants, pensioners — all have come out in struggle. The heady days of the Arab Spring are still live in our memories. Several hated dictatorships were brought down by the persistent struggles of the people. This blooming of the masses didn't arrive at realising their aspirations for a genuine democracy, exploitation free system and people's rule. But it has stirred up these societies in a deep way. It gave hope to the world peoples. The results will surely appear.

This is the world today. It shows a situation of great potential for a powerful new wave of revolution. But there is another side to this, a bitter side, one of betrayal. Once again in the history of the international communist movement revisionism has blocked it from gaining the most of a favourable situation. The betrayal of the people's war in Nepal by the CPN (Maoist) leadership, particularly the Prachanda-Bhattarai clique, was the most damaging of its acts. The possibility of forcing the enemies of the people to drop their guise as saviours of democracy fighting obscurantist fanatics and bringing them into direct confrontation with a revolutionary people, of raising the banners of a people's war led by Maoists as a rallying centre against imperialism and reaction, of winning over broad sections of the people to the cause of communism, was destroyed. From another end we see a liquidationist attack on our ideology that seeks to pull down the banners of a MLM and replace it with the hollow claims of

Avakianism. This has already destroyed some Maoist parties, who once had an honourable place in the ranks of the ICM. Both of these deviations have been confronted by the Maoists and the struggle continues. Efforts are on to consolidate Maoist parties and build new ones. But the loss is evident. There is a considerable drop in the subjective forces of world proletarian revolution, caused not by enemy suppression, but by the enemies emerging from within it.

Thus we see the contradiction, the glaring gap between the potential of the objective situation and the subjective capacities of the Maoist forces. This is what we must confront. All our activities must be directed to overcome it. This is the deepest need of the oppressed and exploited throughout the world, the demand of these times. As Mao would say, "We must seize the hour, seize the time". Our party believes that it is the need of the hour for the communist forces to strive to mobilise the broadest possible anti-imperialist, democratic and revolutionary forces to strengthen the campaign to end OGH and with a view to build a broad worldwide anti-imperialist front that is in process. And the further strengthening of the unity of communist forces world over would lead to stronger support for the Indian Revolution too.

In the present situation, the objective potential of the world situation is far outstripping the subjective capacities of the individual parties. Yet much can be done to win over a large section to the cause of communism through their united effort. The recent years have seen collective activities in the form of joint May Day statements, seminars on important developments, conferences of Maoist parties for summing up experiences of international organisation and strengthening the struggle against neo-revisionism, joint forums such as the International Support Committee organising this Conference and the solidarity activities it has initiated. We have welcomed these efforts and continue to support them. We must now explore the possibilities of making the closer ties born out of these activities and growing unity of thinking on ideological, political issues the basis for further advance.

Just as the Indian revolution serves the world proletarian revolution so too is its future vitally linked to how best the Maoists throughout the world can make the most of the world situation and advance world revolution. We take confidence from the burning desire for revolution expressed in the proceedings of the Hamburg Conference, seen in its motto that advancing the revolution in our respective countries is the best way of expressing solidarity to similar revolutions in other countries.

Our party which carries forward the legacy of Naxalbari had always considered the new democratic revolution that we are waging in India as an integral part of the world socialist revolution, the party a vanguard contingent of the world proletariat. The invaluable and incredible sacrifices that are being done by the people and comrades in our revolution are also an integral part of the great sacrifices done by innumerable beloved martyrs of world socialist revolution in each and every country.

Finally, before we conclude, we wish to speak about the great efforts you are doing in support of the people's war in India. The news of your campaigns, its vivid images, are being taken to our ranks, PLGA combatants and revolutionary masses as widely as possible through our open and secret magazines and several other means. When they know that their sisters and brothers in far off lands stand up in militant solidarity with them, when they see images of protests before Indian embassies, of wall writings taking the message of their revolution to masses in those countries, their hearts swell with pride — we are not alone. our people are there, we are everywhere. Your acts have inspired us; they have made us more determined. We will strive our utmost to fulfil the confidence you have reposed in us. Our future, the future of the world revolution, the future of the world proletariat, oppressed nations and oppressed people is certainly bright but the path is a thorny, arduous and full of zigzags. The future of our enemies, the imperialists and their lackeys the world over, is dark and their doom is inevitable.

> With revolutionary greetings, Central Committee CPI(Maoist)

> > September 2014

[An International Meeting to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the formation of CPI(Maoist) was held on 27-28 September 2014. Organised by the International Committee of Support to the People's War in India (ICSPWI), participants from Germany, Brazil, Turkey, France, Galicia, Austria, Italy, Tunisia and Netherlands attended it, while messages from fraternal parties and organisations of Afghanistan, Greece, Wales, Ireland, Spain, Canada and Sri Lanka were sent. The following is a report of the International Meeting released by ICSPWI after its successful conclusion - MIB]

# Success for the International Meeting Organised by ICSPWI on the Occasion of the 10th Anniversary of CPI(Maoist)

The International Meeting in support to people's war in India on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the formation of the CPI(Maoist) has been successfully held. It was attended by delegates and representatives of political parties and organizations from Brazil, Turkey, Germany, Galicia, France, Austria, Italy, Netherlands. Messages were sent from Canada, Spain, Afghanistan (Party and organization), Sri Lanka, France (another organization), Greece.

A report about the action of Maoists in Tunisia in support to the PW in India has been presented. The joining the International Committee by the Network of Communist Blogs and another celebrating initiative in Ireland have been announced. The meeting realized a large unity in support to the people's war in India and resounded a strong Lal Salaam! To the Communist Party of India (Maoist), the Indian masses, the People's Liberation Guerilla Army, the leaders and cadres of the CPI(Maoist). It expressed a strong appreciation for the initative taken by the International Committee, important in the world, in conjunction with the celebrations in India, in the fire of people's war against the suppression campaigns by the Indian regime and imperialism.

The meeting took place over two days. It was first opened with a salute to the martyrs of the Indian revolution and the Communist Party of India (Maoist). After a brief introduction of the Committee and the singing of International, there was the reading of the great message addressed to the meeting by the CPI(Maoist), welcomed with applause and excitement. Then the International Committee, in its report, explained how the support to the people's war is broadening and deepening the popular support for the war, from its birth to the International Days, to the successful International Conference in Hamburg, organised with the League Against Imperialist Aggression (BGIA) and participation and support of political parties, organizations, solidarity committees; how this initiative continued and how it contributes to oppose the Operation Green Hunt, to the solidarity with political prisoners, to the support of the people's war, by understanding hoe important the PW in India is in the struggle between imperialism and proletarians and peoples and how it affects the balance of power in the world, how much it contributes and shows the way for the anti-imperialist and liberation struggles of the peoples and how it helps the unity of the Maoist communists, anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive forces; and, finally, how it is delimiting expression of proletarian internationalism.

For this reason, the action of the Committee and the international support for the PW, are today under attack by the Indian government and imperialism and considered an important "external enemy" along with the "main internal enemy" represented by the people's war led by the CPI(Maoist). This meeting was necessary for us supporters of the People's War, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the formation of the Party leading it.

At the same time, the Committee has strongly condemned the state repression in India, that, now with Modi regime aims to wipe out any form of political opposition and expressed solidarity with Varavara Rao and all the participants at the Forum for an Alternative Politics, who were prevented to participate a meeting for the 10th anniversary of the Party. Then all the attending committees, parties and organizations present made their speech, expressing their support to the Meeting and the People's War and the salute to all fighters in India, the Indian masses and the CPI(Maoist). In the speeches, this support has been connected with the burning issues of the international situation, from Ukraine to Kurdistan, from Brazil to Europe.

A strong solidarity has been expressed to the political prisoners locked up in the jails of imperialism in India and around the world. The detention of Abimael Guzman, the chairman Gonzalo of PCP, whose "speech from the cage" occurs in these days the 22nd anniversary, has also been remembered. In the speeches there were information and assessment about the stage and problems of the support campaigns in the different countries of the world.

Particularly significant were the messages from the comrades in very far parts of the world, from Canada and Afghanistan, who although did not succeed, despite their efforts, to attend the Meeting, reaffirmed their support and especially their commitment to make their contribution, to provide suggestions and proposals, to strengthen their international impact of the support to the people's war and the role of the International Committee of being a centre of initiative and the vehicle for promoting and coordinating the campaign with other forces which, although are not part of the Committee, are engaged in the forefront in supporting the people's war, the CPI(Maoist) and the Indian revolution.

The International Meeting – said the Committee – does not close, but indeed opens the initiatives on the occasion of the 10th anniversary and from this podium ICSWPI has expressed together with all the attending forces greeting and support to all initiatives, messages, meetings that are held or will take place in these weeks. The first day ended with the exciting and deep speech by the comrades of the Proletarian Revolutionary Feminist Movement, who

saluted and appreciated the role of women in the People's War, the revolution, the development of the movement, the construction of genuine revolutionary parties, suggesting that women's organizations around the world take a front-line role against imperialism and the Indian regime, the regime of feudal-capitalist oppression and mass rapes against women.

The second day has seen a free debate between the participants in which they addressed issues to deepen the development of people's war, the meaning of the unity of the Maoists in the CPI(Maoist), the problems of the best political and organizational forms to develop the support to the PW. Then the discussion turned on the current state of preparations and the function of the International Delegation that is going to challenge the regime in his home and the need that it helps at the best to expose the regime of social oppression and repression and to isolate and stop the Operation Green Hunt, the repression that now hits even prominent democratic personalities of Indian and the Forum for an Alternative Politics.

That which is going to India is a Delegation of solidarity activists of different nature, within an international campaign that will make strongly feel its representativeness among the masses in solidarity around the world. The majority of the participants committed to intensify their efforts to realize such a Delegation. In an atmosphere of unity and enthusiasm "with revolutionary spirit and fervor" meeting has gone to the conclusion, hearing again the words of the CPI(Maoist) and the final part of its "call to the people of India", which makes very clear the nature and the stage of the great battle going on in India.

Finally, to the words of CPI(Maoist): "...we wish to speak about the great efforts you are doing in support of the people's war in India. The news of your campaigns, its vivid images, are being taken to our ranks, PLGA combatants and revolutionary masses as widely as possible through our open and secret magazines and several other means. When they know that their sisters and brothers in far off lands stand up in militant solidarity with them, when they see images of protests before Indian embassies, of wall writings taking the message of their evolution to masses in those countries, their hearts swell with pride – we are not alone, our people are there, we are everywhere

Your acts have inspired us; they have made us more determined. We will strive our utmost to fulfil the confidence you have reposed in us. Our future, the future of the world revolution, the future of the world proletariat, oppressed nations and oppressed people is certainly bright but the path is thorny, ardous and full of zigzags. The future of our rnmies, the imperialists and their lackeys the world over, is dark and their doom is inevitable."

The International Meeting replied: You are not alone! We are ready to fulfill all our duties in every field ...

Lastly, a strong Lal Salaam, the singing of International and the slogans:

Long live the CPI(Maoist)! Long live the People's War in India! Long live proletarian internationalism! have closed the Meeting and cemented the success of this two days.

Participating parties and organizations (in order of speaking): International Committee to Support People's War in India League Against Imperialist Aggression (BGIA, Hamburg, Germany) Revolutionary Front to Defend People's Right (Brazil) Communist Party of Turkey / Marxist-Leninist (TKP/ML) Bloc Rouge (Unifications des Maoistes) (France) Committee of Construction of Maoist Communist Party of Galicia Revolutionary Construction, Austria Revolutionary Proletarian Feminist Movement (MFPR, Italy) Maoists from Tunisia Maoist Communist Party – Italy (PCm-Italia) Mass Line (Netherlands)

#### Parties and Organizations which sent messages (in alphabetical order):

Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan Communist Party of Greece (Marxist-Leninist) Democracy and Class Struggle, Wales Irish Republican Socialist Party Long March Towards Communism (Madrid, Spain) Network of Communist Blogs (Spanish language) Organization of Workers of Afghanistan (M-L-M, principally Maoist) Revolutionary Communist Party, Canada Voice Proletarienne (Marxist-Leninist Communist Organization – Proletarian Way, France) Yr Aflonyddwch Mawr (Wales)

### The following decisions were taken in the International Meeting:

The International Committee of Support to the People's War in India has taken three tasks: – Publication of all the speeches and messages to the Meeting, as soon as possible

- A new International Day in support of the people's war in the coming months
- Intensify the preparation for the International Delegation

Other decisions:

- To connect the campaign for political prisoners in India to all campaigns for political prisoners ongoing in the world
- To develop specific initiatives in the factories of Indian multinational companies, particularly in Europe, to create an internationalist tie between workers in the imperialist countries and Indian workers
- To accept the proposal to support a call for women a bridge between the women's movement and the struggle of women in the People's War.

### International Committee of Support to the People's War in India

September 28, 2014

# Greetings and Congratulations to ICSPWI and CPI(Maoist) from the Network of Communist Blogs (RBC)

Communist Blogs Network (RBC) sends fraternal greetings to the International Committee for the Support of People's War in India (CIAGPI) and congratulations on the success of the International Conference on the 10th Anniversary of the Communist Party of Indian (PCI m). We are pleased by the attendance of many militant and revolutionary organizations, and expressions of solidarity of many revolutionary groups who, like us, were unable to attend.

RBC must recall the importance of the ten-year struggle of the Communist Party of India (PCI-m) and their struggle to defeat capitalism's savage government of New Delhi, at the service of foreign multinationals and the local oligarchy and to build for the good of the working class, the peasantry and the oppressed masses of India – a socialist society, through a People's War and towards a New Democratic Revolution.

We believe that the PCI-m and the Naxalite movement is today, and example for the international working class, and therefore stand as an indispensible support. We must disseminate and explain it, make it known to the exploited of all people and the working class of the world. India is a country with rich natural resources, sold by the propaganda media as the "largest democracy in the world", as an alternative to neoliberal capitalism, as if the criminal regime of the bourgeoisie could be at odds with their criminal and exploitative nature of people and the working class. However, in reality it is a country that applies a cruel and merciless dictatorship of capital at the expense of misery, slavery and domination of workers and peasants.

In fact, the enormous and immeasurable riches of India are still in the hands of a parasitic minority and available to large investors in foreign corporations, leaving the people of India excluded from its enjoyment, benefit and, above all, of any capacity decision on its use. In short, we thank PCI-m for their struggle for emancipation of the workers and peasants in the villages of India, and indeed of all workers, peasants and people of the world, which has led the way for release, the seizure of power and the start of construction of a socialist society, steadily without ever abandoning the class struggle against the capitalist class, with the goal that marked Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto: a world without exploiters and exploited, a communist society. Along the way you want to go together ICP-m, explaining, supporting and spreading the struggle and its vanguard role, Communist Blogs Network, which reiterates its firm support and solidarity to the people of India led by the Communist Party of India (Maoist), in their ongoing struggle for national and social liberation.

Red Greetings to Communist Party of India-Maoist! Long live the Naxalite Revolution! Glory to the people of India in their struggle against imperialism and capitalism! Long live the World Proletarian Revolution!

### Communist Blogs Network (RBC)

### 'Day of Action' for political prisoners in India held in Europe

Protest demonstrations and other programmes were conducted several in European countries to observe the 'Day of Action' in support of the political prisoners in India and demanding their release. Programmes were organised in many cities of France, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Netherlands, Spain and Denmark, including demonstrations in front of Indian embassies. The 'Day of Action' was initiated by Rouge', 'Secours an organisation working for the release of political prisoners internationally, in coordination with fraternal organisations in different European countries. Along with demonstrations, meetings and propaganda campaign too were carried out.

### International campaign for the release of G N Saibaba continues

Galicia Committee of Support to People's War in India and the Committee to construct Maoist CP of Galicia carried out propaganda in several cities demanding the release of Delhi University professor and RDF Joint Secretary GN Saibaba, who is kept behind the bars by the Indian government since May. Other international activities raising the demand of his release also continue. It is to be noted that Saibaba has been denied bail by the Nagpur bench of Bombay High Court, while the Aheri sessions court rejected the bail plea of his coaccused Hem Mishra on flimsy grounds by upholding the lies and fabrications presented by Gadchiroli police in the name of 'evidence'.

### Struggle against state repression and arrest of activists in Brazil

The dictatorial Brazilian government intensified its persecution of democratic movements by arresting 23 political activists associated with various people's movements. False cases based on trumped-up charges have been registered and legal proceedings have been initiated against them with an aim to suppress, threaten and intimidate social activists and political workers who stand with the people and their struggles. The basic democratic rights of the prisoners, such as freedom of speech and expression, are curtailed. being The government has even targeted people's lawyers who are defending the protestors and activists. The intimidation and surveillance of Julio Moreira, president of International Association of People's Lawyers (IAPL) and his partner lawyer Clarissa, is a case in point. Revolutionary and democratic forces of Brazil are raising their voice against the

government's persecution of political opposition and curtailment of people's basic rights.

### Struggle for the release of elderly and ailing political prisoners in the Philippines

The demand for the unconditional release of the aged political prisoners in the Philippines intensified after the recent death of a senior activist Benny Barid on 18 September at the New Bilibid Prison in Muntinlupa City, the Philippines. The detainee died in the prison hospital in the third year of his imprisonment. He was suffering from severe health problems including chronic asthmatic bronchitis and did not get adequate medical treatment in the prison. Keeping him imprisoned even in serious illness, the Benigno Aquino III government wilfully deprived him of proper healthcare. It is therefore directly responsible for the premature death of Barid.

This is not the first incident of the death of political prisoners under the Acquino III fascist regime which is returning a counterrevolutionary military campaign against the movement led by the CPP, and is putting revolutionary activists behind bars. Ailing political prisoner Alison Alcanta who was incarcerated in the same prison died last year without timely medical

attention. Democratic organisations of the country are demanding the release of 53 elderly and ailing activists out of a total of over 500 political detainees in the Philippines. We express our solidarity with their struggle and demand the release of all political detainees, particularly those who are old and suffering from serious illness.

In India too, the lives of several political prisoners were cut short in the dungeons of the Indian state in the last few years as they were deprived of proper treatment. Comrade Sushil Roy's prolonged incarceration and death this year due to severe illness in state's custody is a glaring example of this. Comrade Swapan Dasgupta, editor of Bangla People's March, too was martyred in prison as he was deprived of medical treatment. A number of revolutionary masses have lost their lives in prison for the same reason. At present, many senior revolutionary leaders and political activists are going through serious health problems and age-related illness in prison. We must intensify our efforts for the immediate and unconditional release of India's senior political prisoners on health ground so that they can avail proper medical care.

#### (contd. from page 107)

### Successful propaganda action conducted in Wayanad of Keralam

PLGA guerillas burnt down a motorcycle belonging to a 'civil police officer' posted at Mananthavady police station at Mattilayam under Veellamunda police station limits in Wayanad district of Keralam on 24 April. It was meant to be a warning against his acts of spying against the movement and guiding police teams in combing operations in the area. In the posters put up by the squad, the Maoist party appealed to the masses to isolate those who are helping the police as informers or in other ways, thereby working as accomplices in the subjugation and repression of the tribal people of the area. The incident was a significant propaganda action as a part of the renewed efforts to build the revolutionary movement in the Western Ghats.

### (contd. from page 112)

ABVP has also singled out some students' and cultural organisations, accusing them of promoting Maoism among the students. These Hindu fascists consider the growing influence of the Maoist movement on the students and youth of the country as a major threat to their designs. Therefore, such a canard is being spread by ABVP in order to facilitate more arrests, bans and other forms of state repression on the country's student movement. Wherever these reactionary fascist forces bear their fangs, they must be given a fitting rebuff by the united action of all democratic, progressive and secular forces within and outside campuses.

# News From Behind the Bars

# Anup Roy's fast unto death for political prisoner's status

Maoist political prisoner Anup Roy's fast unto death earlier this year highlighted the denial of political prisoner's status by the country's governments even in the states where there are legal provisions and a history of recognising it. Paschim Banga is the only state in the country which have had the statutory provision of granting legal recognition to political prisoners as per the West Bengal Correctional Services Act, which was a result of people's movements and prisoner's struggles. Though this legal provision existed, the erstwhile 'Left Front' government led by CPI(M) was against granting political prisoner's status to the hundreds of detainees associated with people's movements, including the revolutionary movement. Only after prolonged political and legal struggles could a few of them win the status of political prisoner and the rights that come with it. At a time when the demand for extending a similar status and rights throughout the country was picking up strength, Mamata Banerjee's government in Bengal amended the act to make it ineffective. The Bengal government has also challenged the Calcutta High Court judgment granting political prisoner's status to some of the detainees. In this way the TMC government is continuing the policy of its predecessor in suppressing the democratic rights of various sections of the people.

### Paranoid Kerala Police arrests Swiss national Jonathan Baud

A senior member of CPI(Maoist) Comrade Sinoj alias Rajan was martyred in the forests of Wayanad district in Keralam on 16 June 2014. This is a loss to the revolutionary movement and particularly of the Western Ghats. The martyrdom of comrade Sinoj has saddened the revolutionary and democratic sections of Keralam. To commemorate his untimely death, democrats and intellectuals formed a Sinoj Memorial Committee and organised a memorial meeting at Thriprayar in Thrissur district in July this year. Several speakers addressed the gathering and remembered the revolutionary life of comrade Sinoj.

It is natural that martyrs like comrade Sinoj would inspire the people who aspire for a new society - the cause for which thousands of revolutionaries have shed their blood. But the government is keen on suppressing any memorial programme by the masses to keep alive the memory of revolutionaries. As a part of this, the Kerala government has been using its police, intelligence and its other organs to terrorise the revolutionary and democratic forces of the state in the name of countering Maoism. The central and state governments are also concerned about any expression of solidarity and support for the ongoing revolutionary movement, be it within the country or outside. The central home ministry's communication to the governments of different countries requesting them to stop their citizens from expressing solidarity to the people of India and their revolutionary movement is a case in point.

Swiss national Jonathan Baud's arrest by the Keralam police for his participation in the memorial meeting in Thriprayar as a student of politics is symptomatic of Indian government's fear for any international solidarity to the just struggles of the Indian masses. Using the violation of the Foreigner's Act as a pretext, Kerala government wrongfully kept Baud behind bars for more than ten days as the lower court refused him bail. Kearla High Court had to finally grant him bail after finding no substance in the police's allegations. Previously, the Indian government had banned renowned Swedish writer Jan Myrdal from visiting India and forced US citizen David Pugh to cut short his tour of the country for similar reasons.

Through Jonathan Baud's arrest, the Indian rulers seek to send a warning to any foreign national against expressing solidarity with the just struggles of the people of India, particularly if they chose to do so while in India. However, Baud's arrest and incarceration had the opposite effect in India and abroad. It has once again exposed the Indian government's autocratic measures internationally and generated wide condemnation of it. It is the same Indian state which protects billionaire industrialists like Warren Anderson and his associates responsible for the death of thousands of Indian people. As true compradors, Indian rulers guard the economic interests of their foreign masters at the expense of the vast working masses. They enthusiastically welcome foreign big capitalists to come and loot India, while those foreign nationals who side with the exploited masses and stand with their struggles are deprived of their basic democratic rights. Undoubtedly, such authoritarian acts are ineffective in stopping the friends of the Indian people from expressing their solidarity in the true internationalist spirit.

### Illegal re-arrest of comrade Gopanna

Comrade Madkam Gopanna, a senior member of the Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee (DKSZC), was released from jail after he was acquitted of the last of the pending charges by Dantewada Sessions Court. He spent nearly eight years in incarceration during the prolonged trials of the fabricated charges foisted on him by the police of Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh. The conspiratorial role of the police in framing him under false criminal charges became apparent during the trial. None of the allegations made by the police withstood judicial scrutiny even in the courts of the exploiters which are heavily tilted against revolutionaries, democrats and the oppressed people. When the prosecution failed to substantiate their charges and it became apparent that Gopanna could no longer be kept imprisoned under the present charges, the police brought up new cases which were in the cold storage for decades. The police executed seven arrest warrants against Gopanna on several cases in Bijapur district, including a charge of murder and arson dating back to 1991.

So he was rearrested soon after he was released from Jagdalpur central prison and produced in the court. While sending Gopanna to judicial custody, the sessions judge admonished the police for not executing the warrants for so many years. Gopanna's advocate said that all the cases of the accused must run simultaneously and it is patently illegal and unconstitutional to rearrest a person based on old warrants who has been acquitted of all charges. Such deceitful acts by the police to keep revolutionaries imprisoned permanently must be strongly protested.

### Acquitted in 120 cases, but still no end in sight out of enemy prison

It is a record of sorts that the Chhattisgarh police has implicated a Maoist leader in 149 criminal cases registered in different districts of Dandakaranya. Comrade Nirmala has already spent more than seven years behind bars in Jagdalpur prison, during which the courts have rejected prosecution's charges in 120 cases and acquitted her. Though the police failed to prove even a single charge of over a hundred that were brought against her, she still continues to remain imprisoned since the hearings of 29 more cases are still to be concluded. This exposes the reprehensible method of foisting a barrage of false charges on Maoist activists by the police to keep them imprisoned for long periods. Even when these preposterous charges have no real basis, the prolonged process of trial becomes a handy tool for the police. The judges religiously follow the unwritten rule of not granting bail to Maoist prisoners, particularly in states like Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand. This results in their long incarceration while fighting a plethora of legal battles. It is also a common practice to foist fresh cases on the accused when older cases fall through at the trial. Rearrest of Maoists after their acquittal too is a common practice. Comrade Nirmala's is a glaring example of this, but almost all Maoist prisoners face a similar situation where the police resort to such blatant illegalities and violation of their own much-vaunted statue books to keep revolutionaries in their dungeons.

### Maoists observe 'Political Prisoner's Week' in Malkangiri

Observing solidarity week for the political prisoners from 13 to 19 September, Maoists conducted public meetings in various places of Malkagiri district in Odisha. In one large meeting held in Raleguda village in Chitrakonda area, more than a thousand adivasi peasants gathered from 25 to 30 nearby villages. Speakers from different people's organisations, the Maoist party and the PLGA talked about adivasi prisoners of Koraput, Malkangiri, Gajapati, Rayagada and other AOB districts who have been behind bars for years after being framed by the police on the allegation of aiding the Maoists. According to an estimate, 63 adivasis are presently in prison in Malkangiri district, with hundreds more locked up in the jails of Koraput, Ganjam and Vishakhapatnam. Speakers castigated the Naveen Patnaik government for violating the agreement made during negotiations for the release of Malkangiri Collector Vineel Krishna, according to which the government promised to release all wrongfully incarcerated adivasi prisoners in the state. The meeting also demanded a stop to the atrocities committed by government forces against the people during their frequent combing and mopping-up operations.

As part of the political prisoner's week, PLGA distributed grain and other food items, agricultural implements and other relief material to the families whose relatives are in jail. Cultural troops of CNM performed songs and dance highlighting prison conditions and the struggles behind the bars. Journalists were invited to the meeting and horses were arranged for those journalists who were unable to make the arduous journey through the forested hills on foot. [Comrade Janu, a party activist working in East Bastar Division of Dandakaranya (DK), narrated her jail experience to MIB in May 2014, a few months after her acquittal and release. We present here an abridged version of her account in her own words - MIB]

# *Surviving the enemy dungeons:* Comrade Janu's prison struggle

I was in class VI when my family wanted to stop my schooling as there was pressure of work at home and since my brother too was in school. I had no other way but to give up my studies, though I wanted to study further. It was at that time that I came in touch with the party. Comrades used to visit our village from before as well, but I was not acquainted with them. Then a woman party leader called me for a talk. She told me about the problems faced by women in our society. In 2007, I joined the village militia.

I come from a non-adivasi peasant family. We speak *Halbi* at home. My community was opposed to the idea of my joining the party because it was seen as a party of the *Koya* Adivasis and there was some casteist prejudice against the *Koyas*. A meeting was called in the village to oppose young women joining the militia, because two or three women from my community in the village had already joined the regular militia. I ran away from that meeting, but I was caught and kept locked up at home for two days to stop me from joining the party. I stopped eating in protest. After that they had to release me. I rejoined the militia and worked for another seven months. On 8 March 2008, on the day of International Women's Day, I became a party member.

Things have changed for the better since then. Many people from my community – around fifteen to twenty in the whole panchayat – have joined the party by now and have even reached the rank of commander. Now there is no prejudice towards the *Koyas* or the party in the village. Now our village has party organisation, Janatana Sarkar and a militia. Even marriage relations between adivasis and non-adivasis are taking place if boys and girls chose each other as life partners. These changes are because of the influence of the revolutionary movement. In 2010 the party sent me for medical training. After completing training, I took the responsibility as a doctor under an Area Committee of East Bastar Division of DK in August 2011. I was very happy to be asked to serve the people as a doctor, to take care of them and be amongst them.

After I had worked for about eight months in the area, I had to take a sick comrade named Vinod outside the guerrilla zone for advanced treatment. We were in a village and was about to move out when the enemy came to know about our whereabouts through an informer. Around eight hundred policemen from four nearby police stations surrounded us. We escaped from our shelter and hid in an adjoining house, but we were encircled and overpowered. Police seized our mobile phone and money. This was in September 2011. After the arrest, the police bound my hands and interrogated me. They asked me to reveal my name and village. I did not tell them my real name and address. I thought that even if they kill me or send me to jail, I would not reveal any party secret. To save myself I said that the sick comrade was my husband. I asked them why they have caught us even though we did not commit any crime. I did not get an answer but the SHO told me that we would be taken to the police station. On the way I was slapped twice. They also threatened me to kill me in a staged encounter there and then if I did not cooperate. In the police station they beat me severely. I was very scared that I would be raped, because I heard that the enemy uses rape as a means to to humiliate captured women comrades and break their resolve. They asked me to tell the truth and to admit that I was a Naxalite. The SP threatened that he would ask his men to strip me naked and take photos. I vehemently protested. I said that I would tell the court if anything of that sort is done to me and would also tell the name of the officer who would order such inhuman and humiliating treatment to a woman detainee. After this, they did not proceed. They kept us in the police station, interrogated and beat us up till the next morning.

From there we were taken to a CRPF camp and from there to Lohandiguda police station. There we were kept for seven days. For the first four days I was beaten with belt and twice given electric shock. Vinod was also beaten up and interrogated separately. Though he was very sick, Vinod was tied to a mango tree inside the police station and beaten mercilessly. He was hit on his knees. They pierced his neck with an arrowhead. He was bleeding profusely. Seeing him in that condition, I cried very much and wanted to help him, but the police did not allow me to. Rather, they took me to another room and beat me too. The police did not care to give him any medical help although he was suffering very much. In spite of this none of us divulged anything to the enemy.

In Lohandiguda police station we were kept separately. I was handcuffed and even my feet were bound with chains, although I was in lock-up and two women guards were always on duty. The first two days they did not give me any food. They interrogated me repeatedly, asking me which guerilla squad I belonged to, the names of the commanders and leaders I worked with, etc. I told them that I was never in a squad and that I did not know them. They brought some villagers from my village to identify me. Some did not even know me, but due to police pressure and threats, they were forced to give it in writing that they knew me and that I was a Naxalite.

In Lohandiguda, six policewomen were brought to search and interrogate me. They were told that I was not cooperating, and were ordered to beat me. But none of them really beat me – only the male police beat me. Police officers and other investigating officers came from different places to interrogate me. To all of them I answered the same thing – that I was innocent. They told me to accept that I was a Naxalite. They asked me to surrender and said that my family would be brought to the town and rehabilitated. On the other hand, they said, not admitting my guilt would lead to imprisonment and even 'encounter' death. They once brought a pair of olive dress and told me that this was my last day – that I would be made to wear the dress and shot and thrown into the Indravati River.

On the sixth day of custody, a police officer thrust the barrel of his 9mm pistol in my mouth and said that if I did not relent he was going to pull the trigger. I did not respond. The police wanted me to admit that I was involved in the Chitrakoot mine attack of 2010 (A new police station was being built at Chitrakoot. The masses of the area demanded that it be demolished since the police would wreck havoc and harass the people. PLGA carried out the demand and blasted a mine) and Kakkanar attack of 2011(in which a postman working as a police informer and a bad gentry were annihilated by the PLGA). This was what the informer told them. He also told that Vinod was injured during Kakkanar attack and that we were going outto treat him. The police officer who threatened me with his pistol was injured in that incident and held a grudge against the Maoists. But as I denied any involvement in the incident, he tortured me. He forced me to keep my fingers on the table and then hit them with his pistol butt. I told him that I would not confess even if they kill me in a fake encounter branding me a Naxalite as they had done with some many innocent villagers. The police too did not tell me whether we would be produced in court or killed.

On 5 December I was beaten the most, and the next day both of us were produced in a court in Jagdalpur. Before taking us to the courtroom, I was presented to a group of reporters. The police displayed some weapons which they claimed they had recovered from us, though they found no weapon on us at the time of our capture. The police warned me beforehand to tell the journalists that I had surrendered and would cooperate with them. But I told nothing that they tutored me. The police were very angry with me for defying them.

The police booked me in four false cases, accusing me of looting and carrying explosives. The judge sent me to jail and I was taken to the Jagdalpur central prison. Previously, only Jagdalpur jail had a women's ward, but later women's jail was Kanker. constructed at Prisoners from nearby region are kept there, whereas women prisoners from Bastar. Narayanpur, Bijapur and Dantewada are kept in Jagdalpur.

Till that time I had only heard about prison but now I was experiencing it myself. I met many comrades about whom I had heard much. Comrade Nirmala and others in jail were very helpful. They told me about jail life, court procedure etc. and helped me to familiarise myself to the new situation. Apart from our comrades, women implicated in different kinds of cases were also there. At least twelve inmates had kids with them. I made many acquaintances. Some prisoners were lodged for five to seven years. I thought that I too would have to serve a long term. Gradually I learnt about the rights of the prisoners and how to fight for them.

There are about 112 women lodged in the women's ward of Jagdalpur prison. Almost all of them are Adivasis. 55 of them are implicated in Naxal-related cases. Others had cases of murder, liquor and narcotics (ganja) sale, theft, etc. 20 of the prisoners are serving life term. One of them is Rajmati, who along with three other villagers were given life sentence in February 2013 after the police framed them in a murder case. All of them were in the village militia. She is from Dantewada and quite young – of my age. Now she has to spend 23 years in jail.

All the women prisoners are lodged in three rooms. Each room has a capacity of 20 inmates but 40 to 45 prisoners are kept in each of them. A separate room for entertainment and a small kitchen is provided. The food is horrible. There was no adequate provision for treating the sick and no doctor on night shift. Discrimination against Naxal prisoners is evident. I asked older inmates whether they ever protested against these conditions. They said that any protest is responded with beatings. Moreover, after Dantewada jail break in 2007, prisoners were kept locked up inside their cells for almost twenty-four hours. Even when allowed to come out, they were kept under the shimmering sun. Meeting one another and using Koya to talk to one another were prohibited. Naxal prisoners were kept separate from other prisoners. At that time Salwa Judum was also going on and intimidation by the jail authorities increased which made protest more difficult. Even cattle are treated better.

In 2009, Naxal inmates got united and decided to protest against the prevailing jail conditions and to fight for prison reforms as well as against deliberate delays in trials. In December 2009 all the inmates refused food in protest against the prison timings, because all day they were kept in the cell without a chance to spend time in the open. Even morning ablutions were to be done in the cell itself. The inmates presented their own timetable. With this one act of protest led by the women Naxal inmates, prison authorities decided to open the cells at 5 am and to keep all the inmates in the open courtyard till 12 am, and then from 3 pm to 6 pm. Yet, every day there was struggle to implement the timetable. They closed the inmates exactly on time but for opening, the inmates had to shout, make noise and draw attention of the prison guards.

The jail manual was not followed. Soap and oil was not given as per the quantity mentioned in the manual. Even only half a piece of bathing soap was given for a month. They were not given proper clothes to wear or cover themselves in cold. But some improvements brought after the struggle.

Government high officials and people from different organisations used to visit the jail. But they never listened to the complaints made by the prisoners. Every Monday, the prisoners had to attend a parade in which they were forced to sit either inside or outside under the sun the whole day, even if no dignitary was visiting – this was done by the jail staff to harass the inmates. This stopped after the struggle in 2011.

Bail is denied to women accused of even minor offenses such as theft or selling of illicit liquor. It takes six to eighteen months for charges to be framed. It takes even a longer time for court appearance, and the jail authorities are reluctant to take prisoners for court appearance. The lower officers do not allow any complaint to be made to the jailor or other higher officers. Written complaints are also not forwarded.

All the inmates in the women's wing decided that no amount of pleading and petitioning would work, and an agitation was launched. 26 Naxal prisoners started an indefinite hunger strike on 18 February 2013. Comrades Nirmala and Padma led the struggle and Soni Sori, who was lodged in Jagdalpur jail at that time, also participated. Other non-Naxal prisoners also supported it and wanted to join, but did not do so due to the pressure from jail authorities. The following were the main demands: (a) Regular court appearance, (b) A separate kitchen for the women's ward and grocery supplied instead of providing cooked food from men's ward,

(c) Immediate medical help for the sick.

Till three days no jail official visited us. There was great pressure from some jail inmates, jail authorities, prison guards etc. to withdraw the agitation. Some prisoners were scared and told us that due to the agitation all would be victimised by not taking for court appearance, etc. Even before starting the agitation we talked about the possibility that the enemy would try its utmost to break the agitation by transfer of prisoners, putting pressure, intimidating and isolating us. So we decided to be together, not to inform the jail authorities beforehand about our course of action, to talk to the authorities only in a collective and not individually.

After three days, the Jailor then the Jail and Superintendent came to meet us. They asked us to withdraw our hunger strike and threatened that we would be charged with attempted suicide. We replied that we would demand the removal of the jail officials and the doctor who would never talk without hurling expletives and never treated inmates in a dignified manner.

A woman police officer tried to influence two inmates and to dissuade them from associating with the struggle. The two returned and informed us. We called the officer, and told her that what she did was wrong. She had to admit her mistake and apologised for spreading canards against the agitators. The judgment pronouncing life term to Rajmati was also delivered when the agitation was going on. To scare us the jail staff used to tell us that she was given such a harsh punishment because of our agitation. Government legal aid people also visited us and told us to withdraw our strike, which we refused.

The jailor maintained that our demands could not be fulfilled. We asked him to give this in writing and say that he was not responsible for providing what we had been demanding. As we refused to budge, the authorities accepted all the three demands on 26 February. But the same rotten and insect-ridden food was provided the next month. Five inmates took the food to the jailor and asked him to taste it himself. He admitted that the food was bad and arranged a kitchen for the women's ward. On 5 April the kitchen was inaugurated. The Naxal prisoners cooked that day. We distributed kitchen duty amongst ourselves. We demanded green vegetables and special food during festivals which was accepted.

The inmates were forced to do all the cleaning of the premises themselves. In May, we refused to do this work. We also demanded two more teachers (there were already two teachers) and a longer time for study (which was half an hour). We also demanded a change of teachers as they were not teaching well.

On one of those days, a sick prisoner's hand and feet were shackled while taking her to court. She was anaemic and very weak. We protested such treatment. Jail authorities promised not to do so in the future. But next time too, she was shacked. We decided to file a complaint for violating the Supreme Court order against putting handcuffs. We wrote to the SP and the DC. SP replied that she was shackled because she tried to escape. We wrote to the court saying that the SP was lying and that she never tried to escape. The court ordered that it was wrong to handcuff an accused while transferring them for appearance. While taking us for court appearances, the jail staff used to threaten and intimidate us, calling us Naxals. We protested and said that we would complain to the court. After our successful agitation this also stopped.

Previously, we were not allowed to watch news and newspapers were censored. But after our struggle such practices were stopped.

The other inmates did not cooperate on the question of separate kitchen initially, but later they joined the kitchen. They also admitted that conditions have improved after the agitation. There was no adequate provision for the children such as vegetables, fruits, biscuits, etc. Now this is supplied. After the agitation, now even a single prisoner can meet the jailor and express her grievances. Previously only close relatives were allowed for *mulaqat*, but after the agitation others too were allowed.

We had to fight at every step in the prison, even for such

things as the dead body of a martyred comrade. Comrade Ramlal was martyred in Jagdalpur jail due to the negligence of the jail authorities in giving him proper healthcare. We had to struggle for two days so that his dead body was handed over to his family. For two days all the Naxal women inmates were on hunger strike, without which the body would have been disposed off by the police. The authorities were forced to bring his body to the prison premise where we selected a few of our comrades to pay him last respect and red salutes on our behalf as per party tradition. They did this even as the police looked on.

After spending two years and three months in prison, on 26 December 2013 I walked free as I was aquitted of all charges. Vinod, the other arrested comrade, also got released at the same time. After release, I immediately rejoined the party. I lost my father when I was in jail. So when I went home to see my family, they wanted me to leave the party and return home. I said that I went to jail for the party and the masses and not for my family, and I was released because of their efforts. I told them that I would continue in the party. Thereafter I resumed organisational responsibilities. The experience of prison has steeled me further and strengthened my conviction in our movement for a new society which will have no need for police and prisons.

[While we were listening to comrade Janu, another PLGA combatant comrade Rame joined us. She too had been imprisoned for over four years and was lodged in Jagdalpur central prison along with comrade Janu. The following is a summary of what comrade Rame shared with MIB]

# "I want to avenge my humiliation and torture by rooting out the rotten system"

0th anniversary of the formation of CPI(Maoist) Special Issue

I am from Dornapal area of Sukma district. I joined the party in 2002. I was working as a member of Company-1 which was formed in 2004 in Maad, the first company of the party. I was suffering from nerve-related illness, for the treatment of which I went to Dhamtari in February 2009. On 5 February I was coming out of a hospital with medicines when I was picked up by the police. My brother who joined as an SPO and was at Dhamtari identified me. Another patient from the area and a villager were with me. Both of them were detained and later released.

I was taken to Dhamtari police station and beaten up. Next day I was taken to Kanker police station and beaten there as well. From there I was taken to Bande police station and thence to Bhanupratappur police station. I was then taken to Narayanpur police station where SPOs of Maad beat me mercelessly. Three of them previously worked with me in the squad. became unconscious because of the beating. I refused food and water in protest. One woman SPO tried to stop them from beating but other male SPOs told her to back off and threatened her with suspension. Then I was once again taken back to Bhanupratappur police station and locked up in a toilet. I started to cry. A woman police officer then kept me with her.

Subsequently L was produced in the court. Eight cases were foisted on me, including attempt to murder, carrying explosives, etc, three of which were in Kanker and five in Kondagaon districts. The police instructed me to tell the judge that I was carrying an automatic rifle when captured but I refused. I was then sent to Jagdalpur jail where I met some acquaintances from Dantewada. Μy prison experience too was similar to comrade Janu's. I participated

in the hunger strike and the other jail struggles which comrade Janu has already described.

On 5 December 2013 I was released. After release I came back to the party and joined the PLGA. I last went home to meet my family in 2003. In 2006 too I went home but did not meet my family because they were all confined in Dornapal Salwa Judum camp. My two brothers were forcibly admitted as SPOs and they were told that they would be released only if I was caught. Now they have come back to the village. None could come to meet me in jail as all were in the camp. My wish is to avenge the torture and humiliation I went through in the hand of the police by overthrowing the existing rotten system which produce and protect these khaki goons.

# **News from the Battlefield** *July - September* 2014

# Bihar–Jharkhand (B-J)

On 4 July, the second-in-command of Jamui CRPF base was killed in an ambush by PLGA near Lakharia village of Jamui District, Bihar. A PLGA fighter was also martyred in the encounter.

On 4 August, a police chowkidar Mahesh Karmali near Gomia railway crossing at Ravidas Tola under Gomia police station limits in Bokaro district of Jharkhand was annihilated.

On 9 August, 14 cadres of the counter-revolutionary gang Tritiya Prastuti Committee (TPC) were wiped out by PLGA at Choti Kauriya village under Vishrampur police station limits in Palamu district, Jharkhand. It is worth noting that TPC has been murdering revolutionaries and the masses in cohorts with the police, including the massacre of 13 Maoist cadres in Chatra last year.

On 7 September, PLGA mounted an attack on Bareysarn police station in Latehar district of Jharkhand. This action was carried out to harass the enemy and to resist the attacks on the people of the area

BJSAC of CPI(Maoist) called a 24hour Bihar–Jharkhand Bandh on 18 September protesting against the killing of three Maoists in Giridih district on Jharkhand-Bihar border. On 12 September, three members of the CPI(Maoist) comrades Dinesh Pandit, Jeeblal Murmu and Shahdev Rai were martyred in a three hour long fight with the government forces. The Bandh was successful in many parts of the guerilla zone.

On 17 September, one CoBRA commando was killed and a Deputy Commandant injured in an encounter with PLGA at Chiklam village in Ghatshila sub-division of East Singhbhum district, Jharkhand. Government forces had launched a joint operation to cordon off the village and trap PLGA cadres, but failed due to the resistance of the red fighters.

A daylong Santhal Pargana bandh was called by CPI(Maoist) on 11 October against the arrest of Maoist leader comrade Pravil Da from Harwadangal village in Ramgarh Block in Dumka district of Jharkhand on 27 September.

## Dandakaranya (DK)

On 6 July, two CoBRA personnel were injured in an encounter with PLGA cadres near Karikunda forests of Bhejji region in Sukma district.

On 28 July, the government armed forces attacked Ramaram village of Pidimel RPC in south Bastar region. They caught Madkam Hidma, DAKMS president of Pidimel and Vetti Hidme, KMS president of Ramaram. Both of them were tortured and killed in front of the villagers. This was a part of targetted attack on the leadership of the revolutionary mass organisations, aimed at terrorising the villagers and destroying the organisational structures of the people. The police managed to take away the dead body of Hidma but the village women fought with the policemen and did not allow the body of the KAMS leader Hidme to be taken away. Receiving the news, units of a PLGA battalion pursued the police forces and attacked them, in which three policemen were injured. Some ammunition too were seized from the enemy.

On 25 July, militia members attacked two policemen and injured them in Basaguda weekly market in Bijapur district of Chhattisgarh. An AK-47 and an Insas rifle were seized.

On 9 August, one CRPF personnel was killed in an exchange of fire with PLGA at Murdanda village under Awapalli police station in Bijapur district. On the same day, a CoBRA jawan was injured in an encounter with PLGA near Reddy village in Mirtur area under Gangalur police station in Bijapur district when the forces were on a search operation.

On 10 August, PLGA attacked the police forces in Pawurgudem village near Awapalli in Bijapur district, in which six policemen died. However, the enemy suppressed this news. Some papers wrote that two policemen died in the attack.

On 15 August, PLGA exploded a landmine and fired upon the convoy of the CRPF IG, travelling to Tadimetla under Chintalnar police outpost limits in Sukma district to hoist the tricolour flag on August 15 - 'independence day'. Two CRPF personnel suffered critical injuries.

On 18 August, a Chhattisgarh government helicopter was attacked by PLGA while it was flying between Pamed and Bhadrakali in Bijapur district. It sustained minor damage. The news of the incident was suppressed by the government "for security reasons".

On 19 August, three CoBRA jawans were injured in an encounter with PLGA in the forests of Kodanar under Aranpur police station in Dantewada district. On the same day, four CoBRA commandos were injured when three of their fellow personnel accidentally put their feet on a pressure bomb in forests of Kodanar under Aranpur police station limits in Dantewada district. Two paramilitary personnel were attacked with sharp weapons and injured near the Tongpal police station in Sukma district.

On 20 August, a police constable was killed in an encounter with PLGA cadres in Hekli forests under Mardapal police station limits in Kondagaon district. The government forces were ambushed when they were returning after a search operation in the evening.

One policeman died in a PLGA attack on in Lingapuram village on 24 August.

On 9 September, one policeman died and one was injured in a PLGA attack on the enemy forces in Elimedi weekly market. Two SLRs and ammunition were seized

On 10 September, a police Head Constable was killed and another constable was seriously injured when militia members attacked a team of paramilitary forces in Ilmidi village near Awapalli in Bijapur district. The two were attacked by plain-clothed militia members with sharp weapons and two SLRs, two hand grenades and 80 bullets were seized from the enemy. On 12 September, PLGA triggered two landmine blasts in Kanker district, injuring a BSF personnel, when a BSF unit was taking election officials to Antagarh. One blast took place near Nagaldand village around noon, injuring the BSF man, while the other took place at Belodi village in the district.

On 15 September, three CRPF personnel including an assistant commandant, an inspector and a constable of the 168th CRPF Battalion were injured when an IED planted by PLGA went off while they were trying to defuse it near Timmapur village of Bijapur district.

On 27 September, two CRPF personnel were injured when a pressure bomb planted on the roadside went off near Murdunda village on Basaguda road in Bijapur district. The policemen on duty to provide security cover for an ongoing road construction work.

### Enemy attacks West Bastar and Maad to disrupt 10th anniversary celebrations

With the aim of disrupting the tenth anniversary celebrations of CPI(Maoist) in West Bastar and Maad divisions of Dandakaranya, government forces consisting of CRPF, Cobra and district forces conducted joint operations targeting Pidia, Kutul, Pusnar and Gattekal villages. C-60 teams from Gadchiroli too approached West Bastar and Maad in coordination with the Chhattisgarh forces. Altogether, three thousand forces combed the area. They damaged a school run by the Janatana Sarkar, looted people's money and seized some guns. One policeman was injured in PLGA retaliation, while one PLGA comrade was injured. They once again conducted search operations in Maad between 8 and 10 October.

### Odisha

On 15 August, an SPO, identified as N Munda, was annihilated by PLGA at Bandhagaon near Rourkela in Sundergarh district of Odisha.

On 10 September, a police officer was injured during an exchange of fire between the police and PLGA near the Barimunda area bordering Ganjam, Gajapati and Kandhamal districts of Odisha. The police was conducting a joint combing operation in which government forces from the three districts participated.

# Anti-Maoist operations in Odisha continues

Even before Tenth Anniversary celebrations of our party on 21 September, the State started a repression campaign in Bargarh, Bolangir and Nuapada in Odisha and Gariaband, Dhamtari and and Mahasamund districts of Chhattisgarh falling under Odisha State Committee. The enemy concentrated the forces in these areas for two to five days. In an exchange of fire with the enemy near Mohanpali in Bargarh district, an ASI was injured.

The Odisha and Chhattisgarh forces have been conducting regular combing operations targeting the Udanti area on Chhattisgarh-Odisha border. The Chhattisgarh and Odisha governments are trying to close the old Mainpur-Deobhog road and pave a new road for facilitating better troop movement. They are also planning to include Amamora panchayat in the Sonabeda Sanctuary so that it would be contiguous with the Udanti Sanctuary. This threatens to displace the inhabitants of this vast forest tract.

### (contd. on page 95)

# **People's Resistance**

# State repression fails to curb the celebration of ten years of united revolutionary movement

The two newly formed governments of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh led by TRS and TDP that have been at constant loggerheads before the bifurcation, showed uncanny unity and commonality of purpose to stop a series of public events organised in Hyderabad on 21 September. 'Pratyamnaya Rajakeeya Vedika' (Forum for Political Alternative), which has many well-known intellectuals, social activists, lawyers, journalists and prominent persons engaged in public life as its members, had organised a series of events on that day in the Twin City. The occasion was the completion of ten years of united revolutionary movement, through which the oppressed masses of the country are building a new society as an alternative to the existing one. A seminar, a rally and a public meeting was organised to commemorate it.

The ruling classes are increasingly becoming more wary of this emerging alternative. The proof of this is visible in its desperate attempts to crush the organs of revolutionary political power sprouting in various guerrilla zones of rural India and in its eagerness to browbeat any meaningful discussion among the masses or any expression of solidarity towards it. The ruling-class lackeys Chandrababu Naidu and K Chandrashekhar Rao became so alarmed by the prospect of an enthusiastic response from the people to the events that they made elaborate police *bandobast* to forcibly stop these events.

The authoritarian measures that were adopted for it by the two state governments and the centre reminded many of the dark days of Emergency. Speakers and participants were picked up by the police in Hyderabad. Many were arrested even before they could start their journey from their hometowns to Hyderabad. Twenty passenger trains running to the city was cancelled to prevent the masses from reaching


managed to enter the city were detained at the railway station. Roads leading to the venue were barricaded and more than thirty organisers were arrested while on their way to the venue. Participants from other states were also taken into police custody. In all, around 300 persons were detained for the whole day across the two states to thwart the gathering.

The denial of permission by the police for the event with the claim that the Forum is a frontal organisation of the Maoists and the High Court's condoning of this spurious claim goes to show the extent of basic democratic rights that are 'permitted' by the ruling classes of the country to the citizens. In the vast countryside and in the struggle areas in particular, such rights are almost nonexistent. In contrast, the facade of democracy is maintained to some extent in the urban areas, only to be conveniently set aside whenever any genuine opposition to the existing system is put forward. Any revolutionary and democratic voice demanding social change is considered by the Indian state as a threat to its existence. The undivided Andhra Pradesh has a notorious legacy of bans and censorship, fake encounters and imprisonment, etc. to trample on the revolutionary movement. The two newly formed states emerging from it are carrying on this legacy, showing that no basic change has come about with the bifurcation and creation of separate Telangana that was achieved through a prolonged mass movement.

The fight therefore is to establish genuine democracy in the country in place of the fake parliamentary democracy. It is this alternative that the rulers want the masses to opt for. That is why such a vicious attack on an event to highlight this alternative. But precisely for the same reason, the need is to discuss, propagate, support and participate in the building of this alternative by resolutely withstanding and fighting against all forms of white terror unleashed by the oppressive state.

#### Villagers protest the arrest of two persons on the allegation of Maoist activities

The police arrested two village youth Sujesh Kumar Nagesh and Ramshingh Yadav from village Turparas adjacent to the district headquarters of Dantewada, Chhattisgarh. They were accused by the police of destroying railway property. The villagers called a meeting in their village and protested against the police for falsely implicating the two in trumped up cases and arresting them. Sujesh's sister Sunita said that early in the morning, the police arrived in their house when everyone was asleep. The police asked Sujesh to come with them to the police station. When his mother protested, the police said that he is being taken for inquiry and would be released after it was over. But later they came to know that the two have been arrested for removing railway tracks. Ramsingh's daughter similarly said that her father was a mason and he was being framed by the police. The meeting demanded their immediate release.

#### Protests in Bacheli against arrest of youth

On the night of 14 August 2014, the police arrested a youth Sukhram Karma from his home in Bacheli's Patelpara. The police alleged that he was involved in Maoist activities, and was arrested on the basis of inputs provided by a police informer. The police claimed to have found some incriminating material during search. Hundreds of villagers came out in protest against Sukhram's arrest, saying that the police has falsely implicated him and that he has no connection with the Maoists. The protestors also blocked roads. Under pressure from the unrelenting protestors, the police had to release Sukhram within twenty hours of his arrest for "lack of evidence".

#### Work on eleven main roads in Bastar stopped due to Maoist resistance

Contractors are not coming forward to build or repair 23 roads covering 1039 kilometres in Bastar range, for which Raman Singh government has sanctioned Rs. 1500 crores. These include five roads in Sukma district, three in Bijapur, two in Naravanpur and one in Dantewada. Government's public works department has issued tenders 4-5 times in the past but not many have come forward to take up the works. 11 roads in the 'Highly Naxal-affected' areas have been divided into 236 smaller segments to encourage contractors, but without any takers. Some contractors came forward to build parts of the rest of the 12 roads, but they built only 162 kilometres in the last one year due to the opposition of the Maoists. In fact, the government is keen on these road projects to facilitate the movement of troops in these forested areas inhabited by the Adivasi people. The deployment of troops in the interiors is the precursor to the plunder of Bastar's natural resources, particularly its minerals by domestic and foreign corporations.

#### Protest against the pollution of rivers by NMDC

The people affected by Bailadila mines of the NMDC organised a protest demonstration under the banner of *Bailadila Khadan Prabhavit Sangharsh Samiti* (Struggle Committee of the Bailadila Mine Affected People) and *gheraoed* the NMDC's administrative building at Kirandul. Thousands of people from more than 50 villages participated. They complained that the earlier promises given by the management to the 55 villages affected by the effluents of the mines which are released into the rivers polluting them badly, have not been fulfilled.

They reminded that a few months back around five thousand villagers protested at the same place with a 33-point charter of demands which included the demands of adequate compensation for the people affected by polluted water, education for children, jobs in NMDC for the unemployed of the affected villages, better healthcare for the affected, etc. No agreement could be reached between NMDC management and the protestors. Ramesh Tamo, the Secretary of the Committee said that the administration and management tried to deceive the people with their false promises made during the last two protests, which were never fulfilled. He vowed to intensify the struggle if the demands are not met.



**Protest against NMDC** 

## *News from the Counter-revolutionary camp*

## Modi government launches OGH -Third Phase: Prepares for scaling up repression and white terror

Days after coming to power in May this year, Modi government has intensified the ongoing OGH – the countrywide, multipronged, counterrevolutionary war on people. Union Home Minister Rajnath Singh declared on 9 June that around ten thousand additional armed forces personnel will be sent to bolster the "counter-Left Wing Extremismgrid" in Bastar of Chhattisgarh . The environment and forest ministry is asked to 'tweak' prevailing environmental norms which restrict infrastructural projects in forested regions such as Dandakaranya, so that government may build roads, etc. to help force movement. Since private contractors and construction companies are not coming forward to take up infrastructural work commissioned by the government in strongholds of Maoist movement, Chhattisgarh CM Raman Singh has requested two technical battalions of the central paramilitary forces comprising of engineers and technicians to carry out such work on a war footing.

In addition, discussions are on for the more extensive use of helicopters for rapid troop movement in the battle zones, particularly to drop and airlift commando forces engaged in anti-Maoist operations. Plans are being made to introduce improved technology for IED detection, augmented UAV deployment, enhanced air mobility for troops in operations and secure encrypted communication. The Air Force is shifting its UAV operational base from Hyderabad to Durg so that it can do quick surveillance, send intelligence inputs to the forces and attack the Maoists immediately. New airstrips are being prepared in several places.

In a high level meeting conducted by Rajnath Singh on June 27 with Air Force, police and top officials of Chhattisgarh, Odisha, Bihar and Jharkhand, the Home Minister appreciated the role of the fascist Grey Hounds force of AP Police in countering the Maoist movement and urged the State governments to train and restructure their Special Forces (STF in Chhattisgarh, SOG in Odisha, C-60 in Maharashtra, Jharkhand Jaguars in Jharkhand, Thunderbolts in Keralam, etc.) on a similar model. The Grey Hounds model means that they take intelligence inputs from police headquarters and directly go for offensives, at times ending in the brutal murder of revolutionary activists and masses in cold-blooded extrajudicial killings. Plans are being drawn to augment the numbers and widen the intelligence wings of the special forces. After Modi government was sworn in, it has decided to send 27 additional battalions of paramilitary forces to join the 120 battalions already deployed in the nine 'LWE-affected' states.

As a part of the efforts to intensify OGH, Rs. 150 crores have been released for building 75 attack-proof police stations in 'naxal-affected' districts of Chhattisgarh. Additional funds were released for Special Infrastructure Scheme (for building bunkers, toilet bunkers and morcha points for the government forces). Following the Andhra model, an SP level OSD has now been appointed in all districts and the OSD was given all powers to conduct attacks on Maoists. Moreover, Bastar Range of Chhattisgarh will be divided into four parts as part of the 'counter-LWE grid system' with one camp established for every five kilometers. As part of this grid, 'crucial areas' (strong areas of Maoist activity) would be identified to form network, conduct attacks and wipe out the Maoists. This would be done along Chhattisgarh's borders with neighbouring states. This type of concentration would be also done in other tri-junction and quadric-junction areas of various states in the country. Hundreds of

retired military personnel of infantry are being deployed in Chhattisgarh since the last two years. This came to light when two of them were annihilated in March in Sukma in a counter-offensive of the PLGA forces. Raman Singh is demanding that they be given permission to appoint retired military personnel up to Brigadier rank.

In another decision taken with the aim of crushing the Maoist movement, the Union Cabinet on 20 August 2014 approved the extension of mobile telephonic services to 2,199 locations in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, Telangana, Uttar Pradesh and Paschim Banga.

Prices on the heads of the Maoist leadership right from the Central Committee/Politburo to the village level leaders have been increased almost five times to the tune of several crores of rupees by the central and various state governments. Killing leaders and activists or putting them in jail was announced as the two-pronged policy to crush the revolutionary forces, make the movement headless and to restrict or weaken the movement areas. At the same time, compensation to be paid for the counterrevolutionaries and informers/covert enemy agents who are punished by the people has been increased almost four to five times along with all kinds of rehabilitation packages for their families. Rewards for surrender have been enhanced with the aim of turning Maoist cadres into counterrevolutionaries and traitors who could inflict damages to the movement. Drama of 'surrenders' are being enacted on a regular basis by the police-administration as a part of psychological war. By launching the third phase of OGH with these and several other counter-revolutionary measures, the new NDA government under fascist Modi is preparing to take forward the 'war on people' from where the previous UPA regime had left off.

#### Development for big corporates, destruction for the masses

The so-called development projects carried out by the ruling classes are for the plunder of natural resources to enrich the international and domestic robber barons. But this is often done in the name of bringing 'development' to the people. When Adivasi areas such as Bastar of Chhattisgarh and Koraput of Odisha were connected to the country's railway network, it was done in the name of developing transport facilities for the people and with the claim that it would accelerate development. These lines, however, were laid for the transport of rich minerals and not for addressing the transportation needs of the people. Hundreds of goods trains run on the lines to and from Dandakaranya every day, with only a few passenger trains. Indian Railways has already stopped the Vishakhapatnam-Kirandul Express and Durg-Jagdalpur Express, both running from Jagdalpur. Subsequently in October this year, it has stopped Koraput-Vishakhapatnam and Koraput-Sambalpur Intercity Expresses running from Koraput of Odisha. The reason for docking the passenger trains is to clear the lines for the uninhibited running of goods trains laden with minerals. The hoax of government-sponsored 'development' is once again made apparant by these steps.

### Raoghat railway project pushed ahead sidelining protests

The second phase of the Jagdalpur-Dalli Rajhara-Raoghat railway project may begin soon. Acting on the instructions of the Railway Board, South East Central Railway has sent its budget proposal to the Board. The District Collectors of Narayanpur and Bastar districts have been asked to start the process of land acquisition. The Railways have decided to complete the first phase of the 235 km line early next year. According to railway officials, trains will start plying between Dalli-Rajhara and Dondi covering 17 km by February 2015. The plan is to extend it to 71 kms by 2017. Considering that the area is outside the Maoist stronghold, construction will be started from both ends to put it on fast track. This shows the desperation of the government to connect the Raoghat mines with the railway network so that the mines can start at the earliest

## Chhattisgarh first choice of capitalist sharks

Chhattisgarh is foremost among the states of the country when it comes to attracting foreign and domestic big capitalists in setting up natural resourcebased industrial projects. This can be gauged from the Industrial Entrepreneur's Memorandum (IEM) list maintained by the central government. It is worth noting that investments of more than 5 crore rupees is put in the IEM list. According to the list, Chhattisgarh has received the maximum number of proposals for setting up industries in the entire country. It says that 24 big investors have submitted proposals to the central government to establish industries in the state with a total investments of 61,836 crore rupees. In fact, of the total such memoranda received by the central government, 45% of them are for Chhattisgarh alone. The 24 investors who have made such proposals include DB Power, Adani Mining, Real Ispat and Power, Vedanta, Ecorex, Buildtech, etc. These proposals are mainly in the mining, steel, electricity/energy and fertilizer sectors.

#### Two 'ultra mega' steel plants proposed in Dandakaranya

The central steel secretary G Mohan has stated that four 'ultra mega' steel plants will be set up in Chhattisgarh, two of which will be in Bastar and Dantewada districts of Dandakaranya. The other two will be in Rajnandgaon and Bilaspur. He said that the work of selecting the sites has been completed. Bastar's Dilmili and Dantewada's Geedam have been earmarked for the projects. The usual claims of providing 'the modern' resettlement most and rehabilitation facilities is promised to the people to be displaced by the steel plants. Claims of bringing 'development' to the region and providing 'employment' to the affected people are also being made. Raman Singh said that the plants should be used for developing the infrastructure of the state. However, the people know from their experience that such mega projects only bring destruction and not development for the masses displaced or adversely affected in other ways by these projects.

#### Farcical 'public hearing' in Niyamgiri indicates the approaching bigger battle

In July last year, the Dongria Kondh adivasis of Niyamgiri in Odisha, who have been resolutely fighting for years under the banner of 'Niyamgiri Suraksha Samiti' against the plans of Vedanta Aluminium to take over their land for bauxite mining, had overwhelmingly rejected the proposed plant in public hearings conducted in a series of Gram Sabhas. As the government's efforts to push through the project by conducting farcical public hearings were defeated by the masses, the government once again conducted a public hearing this year to procure the mandatory 'approval' of the local people for the expansion of the Lanjigarh facility of Vedanta, now rechristened as Sesa Sterlite, in Kalahandi district of Odisha.

The Odisha State Pollution Control Board which held the public hearing on 30 July 2014 for the proposed expansion of the plant's capacity from one million to six million tonnes per annum, did not inform the local people beforehand as is the norm. The local people were thus kept out of the hearing in a planned manner, while activists of the ruling BJD, which is a known stooge of Vedanata, along with some Self Help Groups were trained and mobilised from all over the district by the local MLAs, the administration and the company to speak in favour of the project at the hearing.

Getting to know of the public hearing at the last minute, more than 1500 adivasis converged on the site of the meeting to oppose the project. The company goons and officials abused government and manhandled the protestors. They were initially not allowed to speak or to register their opinion, but they forced the organisers to allow them to address the public hearing, where they spoke strongly against the Vedanta refinery. But no voting was conducted to ascertain the opinion of the people gathered, the district collector simply declaring that the people have consented to the project. It is abundantly clear that corporate agents like Narendra Modis and Naveen Patnaiks are not the ones to respect the people's verdict against displacement and destruction. Their governments and the company were only waiting for the parliamentary elections to be over to pounce on the people's resources.

Apart from resorting to such outright fraud and manipulation, the central-state governments are continually subjecting the Dongria Kondhs to daily persecution and harassment. CRPF and other paramilitary forces comb the area almost on a daily basis in the name of anti-Maoist operations, creating terror among the people opposing the BJD-administration-Vedanta gang. They were particularly irked by the boycott of the last general elections by the Niyamgiri people as a mark of protest. Several persons from Lanjigarh area have been picked up and thrown into prison on allegations of helping the Maoists – a convenient way of targeting the people's movement. Now that the government and the company will try to go ahead with the project after the farce of 'public hearing' is complete, the struggle for Niyamgiri is likely to intensify in the days ahead.

#### Adivasi policewomen to be inducted into anti-Maoist operations

Bihar government has decided to recruit tribal policewomen and deploy them in the Maoist guerrilla zones as part of a twopronged strategy to 'provide employment' to tribal women and 'check the Maoist menace'. A proposal to this effect has been forwarded by the Police Headquarters to the State's Home Department wherein it was suggested that since tribal women were hard-working and well-versed with the topography of the difficult terrain, it would be advisable to create a separate battalion of tribal policewomen. The Cabinet meeting, chaired by Bihar Chief Minister Jitan Ram Manjhi, recently approved the proposal following which around 1,000 tribal policewoman would be recruited, trained and initially posted for maintaining 'law and order'. After they successfully complete their initial assignment, they would be placed in Champaran and Jamui districts in anti-Maoist operations.

# Government scales-up its forces for anti-Maoist operations

Jharkhand Police has started the process of recruiting 'reformed' CPI(Maoist) cadres from Ranchi, Khunti, Gumla and Lohardaga districts in its force by screening documents of 30-odd of them. They were asked to assemble at Ranchi Police line for verification. The 'reformed' Maoists, once recruited, will be trained at Jharkhand Police Academy.

Andhra Pradesh government has sent proposals to the Home Ministry seeking 12 billion rupees for establishing a full-fledged training centre for the Greyhounds similar to the one at Premavathipet near Hyderabad.

Odisha government has prepared a plan to set up six new BSF camps in Malkangiri, Koraput and Rayagada districts in order to contain the spread of Maoist activities on the inter-state border and in remote areas of these districts.

#### Jharkhand government demands additional central forces

Jharkhand government has asked the union Home Ministry to deploy seven additional CRPF battalions for the districts where the Maoist movement is active. Over 24,000 CRPF personnel (23 battalions) are already deployed in the state and are engaged in anti-Maoist operations. But Jharkhand police claim that several districts do not have enough central paramilitary force to fight the Maoists. The demand has already been forwarded to Home Minister Rajnath Singh, who had recently visited a CRPF camp in West Singhbhum district.

## Expansion of the State Task Force (STF) of Chhattisgarh police

After the formation of Chhattisgarh state, only a few companies of the Bhilai based 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion and Jagdalpur based 5th Battalion of Chhattisgarh police were given special training and designated as STF. Subsequently, in order to scale up anti-Naxal operations STF was made into an independent force and battalions were formed. . So far it had been used according to the operational needs of specific districts by the government. Now with its deployment in every district, STF is geared up to take lead in anti-Naxal operations. Two SP posts have been created in STF for the first time and a plan is afoot to augment the number of personnel to 1900, with the claim that these measures will change the face of anti-Naxal operations.

#### More forces for Bastar

With the aim of strengthening its carpet security, 20 more battalions are being deployed in DK, adding to the 24,000 CPMF already deployed. These new battalions include CRPF, SSB, etc.

According to the police, Maad of Narayanpur, Sukma's Tulsi Dongar on the Chhattisgarh-Odisha border, tri-junctions of Chhattisgarh-Odisha-AP and Chhattisgarh-Maharashtra-Telangana, Jagargunda and Bhadrakali are areas where operations have been carried out without much success. So the government hopes that these forces will augment future operations here. Six MI-16 choppers of the air force are also being deployed to support the ground forces.

Chhattisgarh government declared in September that CRPF will set up three hospitals in Bastar range. The establishment of these hospitals are being carried out as a part of the intensification of Operation Green Hunt. It is aimed at providing medical treatment to the troops injured in anti-Maoist operations while also acting as centres for carrying out its civic action programme in the area by providing namesake healthcare to the nearby villagers. Chintagupha, Chintalnar and Bhejji areas, which are strong areas of the Maoist movement in Dandakaranya's South Bastar region, have been selected as the sites for these three hospitals. Construction work for the Chintalnar hospital has already started.

### Four Naga Battalions to be deployed in Dandakaranya

The central government has sanctioned four battalions of Nagaland armed police for deployment in Dandakaranya. Chhattisgarh government had placed such a request before UPA-2 government, which has now been given a go ahead by Modi government. Naga battalion was deployed in Chhattisgarh for the first time in 2005, but was withdrawn after two years, during which it suffered heavy casualties at the hands of the PLGA. Strong protests opposing the atrocities of the Naga forces were made by the people of Dandakaranya. Naga people's organisations too demanded a withdrawal of these troops at that time.

Because of this experience, the Naga forces and the Nagaland government are opposing the Indian government's decision. The Home Secretary of Nagaland has said that his government was not consulted by the centre in making the decision to send Naga troops to Chhattisgarh and that no such decision has been taken by Nagaland government. Chief Minister T M Jeliang raised his government's opposition in a meeting with Rajnath Singh. Nagaland government had earlier decided against sending its forces to Chhattisgarh in future after they suffered serious casualties in its two years of anti-Maoist deployment.

## Expansion of mobile communication in Maoist areas

The central government headed by the Narendra Modi-Rajnath Singh-Arun Jaitley-Nitin Gadkari Hindutva fascist gang has approved the setting up of mobile towers at 2,199 locations in the Maoist movement areas ('Left Wing Extremism affected areas' in ruling-class language) spread over tens states. These states are Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, Telangana, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. The aim is to strengthen the communication and surveillance network as a part of the ongoing OGH, which would enable central intelligence agencies like the NIA to directly monitor these areas. The towers would mostly be installed in police stations and paramilitary camps. The project was initiated by the previous UPA government in 2013 after the Jheeram Ghati ambush in May 2013 (many Congress leaders including Mahendra Karma died in this ambush), for which over 3,000 crore rupees was approved. Public sector telephone company BSNL was entrusted with the work and was instructed to complete it before the parliamentary elections, i.e., within a year. But the work did not progress as per the government's expectations last year due to the armed resistance of the PLGA and the masses (as the government itself admits, PLGA carried out 245 attacks on mobile towers between 2008 and 2013). Last year, the which mobile towers could be installed only in 363 locations. Soon after coming to power, NDA government have approved additional funds for completing it within a short time. Prime Minister's office said that it wants this project to be completed without delay for its "national importance with security considerations".

#### Bounty on the heads of Maoist leaders enhanced

Intensification of OGH is carried out by Modi government not only in the military sphere but also in the sphere of intelligence gathering. Strengthening of intelligence network including human intelligence and electronic surveillance are part of this. UAVs are being used more extensively and mobile network is expanded in movement areas. The police and paramilitary forces are trying to build up and expand its informer network in the guerilla zones by using the allurement of money, jobs etc., to recruit some people. It is carrying out propaganda and dangling the bait of money and rehabilitation to encourage surrenders. As a part of its designs to damage the movement by targeting the movement's leadership, the central and states governments have enhanced the bounty on the leaders of various committees from the village level to the central level. In this way, the enemy is working on a heinous plan to turn a few among the masses against their own movement and their own people.

With the recent hikes announced by central government's intelligence agencies as well as various state governments, the bounties on the central committee members of CPI(Maoist) add up to more than 21 crore rupees. This is the highest bounty offered for any single organisation proscribed by the Indian government. After the recent increase in bounties by the Maharashtra and Chhattisgarh governments, a reward of 2.67 crores has been put on the party's general secretary. Likewise, each central committee member carries a bounty of over one crore rupees. Moreover, the central government is also considering a similar hike in the bounty offered by its agencies like the NIA. This is a part of the new government's "policy overhauling" to tackle the Maoist movement - the third phase of OGH by trying to bribe and corrupt a section of the people on the one hand - just as the colonial rulers did in the past - and stepping up repression on the fighting masses and their organisations on the other.

## New jails to be constructed in Maoist areas

The government is in the process of setting up new jails in the Adivasi areas of Chhattisgarh. Apart from building two subjails with an expense of 2 crore rupees each in Pakhanjur and Bhanupratappur, new barracks are being constructed in Dantewada jail to make room for more prisoners. At the same time, preparations are being made to reopen the jails of Sukma and Narayanpur which were closed after Dantewada jailbreak. Significantly, Adivasis constitute 90 percent of the prisoners in the Maoist movement areas of Chhattisgarh.

The security in the jails have also been enhanced with the appointment of jail guards in November. All the jails are presently overstaffed, and those in Dandakaranya are even more so. While Jagdalpur central prison has a capacity of 579 prionsers, 1507 prisoners are put there. Similarly, Kanker jail has 401 inmates whereas the capacity is merely of 65. Dantewada has 529 prisoners in space made for 150. In Ambikapur, Surajpur and Rajnandgaon there are 1927, 321 and 349 inmates respectively, whereas the provisions are only for 835, 90 and 116 inmates.

#### 17 Jawans suspended after PLGA's Tahkawada ambush

The CRPF carried out a major disciplinary action on its personnel after PLGA's Tahkawada attack where 14 CRPF jawans were killed. 17 jawans who survived the attack were suspended on the allegation that instead of trying to save the colleagues trapped in the ambush by giving covering fire, they fled from the scene to save their own lives.

All the suspended jawans belong to CRPF's 80th Battalion which is deployed in the Darbha area of Bastar. After receiving intelligence reports of the presence of Maoist cadres in the area, a joint team of 46 CRPF and district police personnel went out on a combing operation. CRPF's internal enquiry report claimed that 20 of them stepped into an ambush leading to the death of 14, while 17 ran for their lives without giving cover fire to their colleagues. The enquiry held these 17 jawans responsible and suspended them.

While the politicians and high-rank police officers display 'courage' by issuing orders from their high-security enclaves, the low rank soldiers on the battlefield are severely punished for the 'cowardice' of refusing to fight the 'war on people'. Many of them are aware that it is nothing but a war of the ruling classes in which the common soldiers have no stakes, and that they are being thrust as cannon fodder in it as dispensable mercenaries. They know, too, that they are fighting an unjust war. As the class struggle intensifies, the unwillingness of the rank and file of the government's police and paramilitary forces to fight will increase, leading to more incidents of desertion and disobedience which cannot be stopped through any amount of threat or disciplinary action.

#### Sangh Parivar bares its fangs against revolutionary and democratic forces

Encouraged by the electoral victory of BJP, various Sangh Parivar outfits have scaled up their attacks on Muslims, Dalits, Adivasis, women and other oppressed sections of the society. They are also targeting the revolutionary and democratic forces who stand by the exploited and oppressed people of the country in defiance of the ruling classes. One such Sangh Parivar outfit ABVP, the student wing of RSS which has a notorious history of unleashing violence on the country's revolutionary students' movement and murdering university teachers like Prof. Sabbharwal, has declared its decision to carry out a campaign for 'Naxal-free campuses'. ABVP's National Executive Council meeting held at Mangalore made the arrest of university teachers and students in Delhi for alleged Maoist links as a pretext to drum up a spectre of growing Maoism in the country's campuses.

#### (contd. on page 95)

10th anniversary of the formation of CPI(Maoist) Special Issue

## **CPI(Maoist)** Statements

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

30 July 2014

#### Condemn the Invasion of Gaza and Massacre of Palestinians by Zionist Israel! Hail the Heroic National Liberation Struggle for Independent Palestine!

The CC, CPI(Maoist) condemns Israel's military aggression against Gaza that has already led to the death of 1200 Palestinians, mostly women and children. It demands that Israel immediately cease its invasion and end the inhuman economic blockade of Gaza. It hails the heroic Palestinian armed resistance that is being carried forward with supreme sacrifice.

This latest Israeli onslaught is aimed at undermining the recent understanding reached by Hamas and Al-Fatah to form a national government encompassing all the Palestinian territories. Moreover, it wants to take advantage of the fissures in the Arab world that have sharpened in the wake of Shia-Sunni sectarian strife particularly in Syria and Iraq. Being the main prop of US imperialism in West Asia, Israel has the support of the US and European imperialist powers.

Foreign Minister Sushma Swaraj shamelessly declared in the parliament that the government will continue to support the Palestinian cause while strengthening its ties with Israel at the same time. This is tantamount to an open support of Israel's aggressive war and a betrayal of the people of Palestine. Indian ruling classes in general, and its Brahmanical Hindu-fascist faction represented by BJP in particular, find close ideological affinity with the expansionist, chauvinist and anti-Muslim policy of its Israeli counterpart. India has developed close ties with Israel, becoming the largest importer of Israeli military equipment. Joint military exercises, training of the Indian army and police, sharing of intelligence and expertise in combating 'Islamic terrorism' and the Maoist-led revolution is being regularly carried out by the two countries. Though the Congress is crying hoarse about NDA government's unwillingness to condemn Israel's actions, it was during Congress rule that regular diplomatic and economic relations were established with Israel.

All the revolutionary and democratic organisations, oppressed nationalities, organisations of Muslims and other religious minorities, freedom and peace-loving people belonging to all political parties and the people of our country must stand in solidarity with Palestinian people and strongly protest against the Indian government's conciliatory policy towards Israeli rulers. Our party calls upon the Maoist forces, anti-imperialist organisations, national liberation organisations and freedom and peace-loving people of all countries to unitedly oppose Israel's aggressive war and support the fighting people of Palestine.

(Abhay) Spokesperson Central Committee CPI (Maoist)

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

#### 28 August 2014

#### Immediately Stop Harassment of Veteran Maoist Leader Comrade Kobad Ghandy! Unconditionally Release All Senior Citizen Maoist Political Prisoners!

Veteran comrade Kobad Ghandy was abducted from a public place in Delhi by the Andhra Pradesh, Delhi Intelligence and Delhi police on September 17, 2009, kept under illegal detention for three days and subjected to severe mental torture in the name of interrogation. It was only after vehement protests and agitations from various civil rights and democratic organisations that he was produced in the court on September 21. The then Home Minister, Chidambaram lied shamelessly that he was arrested on September 20<sup>th</sup> night and was produced 'within 24 hours'. After the arrest, he was treated inhumanely by depriving medicine and medical treatment for his life-threatening health problems for several days.

It has been five years since this illegal arrest and detention but the State is stopping his release by denying bails and is keeping him in prison under flimsy and foisted charges. Comrade Kobad Ghandy (69) is a heart patient, with acute Irritable Bowel Syndrome (IBS), cervical and lower lumbar spondylitis, blood pressure and a protracted case of prostrate problem. In spite of his age and serious ailments the central, state intelligence officials, prison authorities and the judiciary are acting completely deaf and blind to his plight, ignoring his pleas for minimum facilities which he is entitled to even according to law. All this is being done with a conspiracy to deteriorate his health. He had to fight even to get the health supplements provided by his sister, a chair and a table to sit and write, a bed block and also access to books and writing pad but only after careful scrutiny by the jail authorities.

After the secret execution of Afzal Guru in February 2013, which in itself is a blot on Indian judicial system, all the prisoners were shifted from the High Risk Ward of Jail No 3 of Tihar Jail (Delhi). Despite severe protests from comrade Kobad, he was also shifted forcefully to Jail No.1. On top of it, the jail authorities callously made the ailing old man carry all his belongings without extending any help. Due to this he became bed-ridden for several weeks. Though he is not able to go through his daily chores and finds it extremely difficult to carry water in buckets and wash clothes by bending, he was not given any assistance.

Every time he is shifted from one jail to another, the whole process of requesting for minimum facilities starts and sometimes he gets some of these and sometimes he is not being provided any. They had rejected his request to be shifted to the senior citizen ward in Tihar Jail and instead started shifting him again to Jail No.2 in 2014 July. This they did in spite of his clearly stating that the shifting would take its toll on him. Left with no choice he started a hunger strike. But he was forcefully shifted to Jail No.2 on a stretcher on July 16.

In view of the way CPI (Maoist) Politburo member comrade Sushil Roy (Barunda), arrested in May 2005, was driven to death on June 18, 2014 due to the callous way the State handled his health problems there is every reason to be alarmed about comrade Kobad's situation. The State is behaving in the most inhuman, cruel manner with senior Maoist party leaders (in their 50s, 60 and 70s) and is conspiring to make them quickly breathe their last in the dungeons. Bails are denied and even when are granted, they are foisting new cases, arresting them in front of the jail gates and pushing them into the dungeons again. Comrades Narayan Sanyal, Bhupeshda, Pareshda, Sahebda, Chintanda, Sheela didi, Amit Bagchi, Pramod Mishra, Bachha Prasad Singh, Chandra Sekhar Reddy, LSN Murthy, Patit Pavan Haldar, Varanasi Subrahmanyam and several other senior party leaders are being harassed without an iota of empathy for their old age or ailments. Trampling every law under their iron heels, an intellectual like G N Saibaba with 90 percent disability is also being harassed by denying him any kind of facility. When this is the case, the plight of common adivasis, dalits and women who are incarcerated in the dozens of prisons all over the country can only be imagined. They are spending endless years in jails without any facilities and help, being subjected to the atrocities of the police-jail officials and becoming victims of the unjust judiciary. Some are dying in captivity unable to bear those harsh conditions.

Modi led NDA government is now directing the judiciary to give clean chits to bloodthirsty murderers like Amit Shah and providing them with Z plus security. Thus it is trying to legitimise all their gory deeds. On the other hand, even small cases of political prisoners and common prisoners are extended for eternity on flimsy excuses such as not having enough escort police. The prisoners are being denied any facilities they are legally entitled to and the State is acting with vengeance towards them.

The CC, CPI (Maoist) is appealing to all the revolutionary, democratic, civil rights organisations and forces and the lawyer community to put up a united and determined fight demanding a stop to all kinds of harassments by jail officials heaped on comrade Kobad Ghandy by specially targeting him and his immediate and unconditional release. It is appealing to all the people to carry on mass agitations and build up immense pressure on the governments and the judiciary to get all the senior party leaders mentioned above, incarcerated for years together, released and also for their right to be recognised as political prisoners.

(Abhay) Spokesperson Central Committee CPI (Maoist)

10th anniversary of the formation of CPI(Maoist) Special ISsue

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

29 August 2014

#### Red Homage to Veteran Communist and People's Leader Comrade M T Khan

Comrade M T Khan, who was one of the pioneering leaders of the civil rights' and revolutionary writers' movements of Andhra Pradesh (including the present day Telangana) breathed his last on August 20, 2014. With his death, the CPI (Maoist) and the New Democratic Revolution led by it have lost one of their long-standing and staunch fellow travelers and the oppressed masses have lost one of their most vocal well-wishers who stood by them till the end. Our CC, CPI(Maoist) is paying humble red homage on behalf of all its ranks to veteran comrade M T Khan and is sending its deepest condolences to his family, friends and all the democratic and revolutionary organisations that he was part of and to all his comrades-in-arms who grieve his death.

Mohammed Tajuddin, fondly called as *Khan Saheb* by all, was born in 1935 near *Purana Pul darwaza* in Hyderabad. He studied in City College till High School and completed his intermediate course in Vivekvardhani College. Though he joined the Osmania University for his BA course he could not complete it due to financial reasons. He was influenced by the communist, peasant and student movements raging in Telangana in that period and turned towards communism at a very young age. He joined the CPI and even worked as a courier to the legendary communist leader of Hyderabad and revolutionary poet comrade Makhdum Mohiuddin during the glorious Telangana Armed Peasant Struggle. Makhdum was a great influence on him that he cherished till the end. He joined the Progressive Writers' Association and contributed in the literary field too.

When there was a split in the CPI in 1964, he joined the CPM hoping that this would completely sever itself from revisionism and lead the revolution in India. His hopes were dashed when CPM leadership continued in the revisionist path. With the dawn of Naxalbari in 1967 and eruption of Srikakulam Armed Peasant Struggle in 1968 he left the CPM and unequivocally chose the Naxalbari path. Once he chose the correct path he neither wavered nor looked back and continued staunchly in that path till he breathed his last.

After the martyrdom of comrade Charu Mazumdar in 1972 and setback in the movement, there were attempts to reunite the party at an all India level and to revive the movement in AP by the party leadership. *Khan Saheb* was one of the handful of persons who stood steadfast by the party leadership and helped in these efforts. The Andhra Pradesh Provincial Committee decided to publish in 1972, a magazine named 'Pilupu' (The Call). *Khan Saheb* took up the responsibility as its printer and publisher taking great risks to his life and livelihood. The role of 'Pilupu' in rallying the genuine revolutionaries around the protracted people's war path by fighting back and defeating the right opportunists who were trying to malign comrade Charu Mazumdar personally and the great Naxalbari and Srikakulam revolutionary movements and proposing the liquidationist line was very crucial in that period. When we remember the number of persons who attacked the party/movement with right opportunism and their disruptive activities, we can correctly appreciate the role of persons like *Khan Saheb* in that period.

He was arrested under MISA in 1973 and was implicated in the Secunderabad Conspiracy Case in 1974. During the entire period of Emergency he was behind bars but he kept alive the

revolutionary spirit inside himself and his fellow prisoners. At that period prisons were centers of various kinds of ideological and political struggles, hot discussions and sharp demarcations on differing positions in the party/various splits that came up after the setback of the movement. Taking the correct line during those tumultuous years was not an easy task but he succeeded in that. He emerged steeled out of this experience.

He was a member of the Revolutionary Writers Association (Virasam) since its formation in July 1970 and was in the forefront in conducting its first conference in Hyderabad in 1971. Virasam played a crucial role in propagating MLM and upholding the Naxalbari and Srikakulam Struggles in that period and M T Khan played his role in this. *Khan Saheb* was also a founder member of the APCLC in 1974 and contributed to the civil rights movement in AP in particular and at an all India level in general. When severe repression was unleashed by the Vengal Rao government and fake encounters became the norm not to mention the countless brutalities heaped on the poor adivasis of Srikakulam and other movement areas, the formation and role of APCLC in fighting for the rights of the people is very important. M T Khan made his contributions to this. He also served as its President from 1992 to 1998.

Initially during the days of Naxalbari, mass organisations were not formed as they were bogged down in reformist practice under the revisionist CPI and CPM. Later this stand was reviewed and initiative was taken to form them in AP. So when the revolutionary writers and democrats of AP supporting the Naxalbari and Srikakulam movements decided to organise themselves into Virasam and APCLC, it was done by basing on committed activists, capable comrades who could lead them and were steeled in practice without becoming victims to reformism like the mass organisations of CPI, CPM and several other right opportunists. The role of these two organisations in raising the revolutionary and democratic consciousness of the Telugu people in all these decades needs no elaboration and the contribution of *Khan Saheb* as part of these should not be forgotten.

He also served in Indo-China Friendship Association for a few years till China remained a socialist country and disassociated himself after it turned revisionist. He was the leader of the forums that were formed against religious riots in Hyderabad and was in the forefront of the forums formed and the movements built against encounters, release of political prisoners, State's attacks on activists, in the movement for separate statehood for Telangana and several other agitations that were waged for people's democratic rights.

His contributions and interests ranged from civil rights and literature to arts and theatre. He wrote several poems and articles and translated several pieces into Urdu. He drafted and translated several pamphlets into Urdu to propagate revolutionary politics among the Muslim population, particularly in Hyderabad. He wrote to Urdu magazines like *Siasat* and English magazines like News Time expounding new democratic politics and analysing various issues with a historical materialist viewpoint.

For more than six decades he was active in public life, served in positions fulfilling the responsibilities the movements bestowed upon him during various crucial periods, all for realising the dream of communism. Till the end he stood as pillar of support not only to Virasam and APCLC but also to all the revolutionary and democratic organisations and movements in AP and Telangana and the younger generations in these organisations looked up to him as one of their mentors. Given the fact that some of his earlier companions and some of those who joined the work in the later periods could not withstand the various pressures (ranging from enemy repression to family constraints) or lost confidence on the ideology of MLM/the revolutionary movement or even became downright selfish and left the movement, his continuation till the end stands tall. After the setback of the movement in AP/Telangana after a series of encounters of top leadership, the past decade demanded a great amount of resilience and perseverance from the mass organisation leaders and cadres. *Khan Saheb* was one of those veterans who helped keep the red flag aloft

under such adverse conditions in the manners he was capable of. This should always be remembered as an ideal about such veteran comrades.

Even today the revolutionary movement has not made many advances in taking the revolutionary politics into the religious minorities, particularly into the Muslims, in spite of clearly articulating the need in theory. *Khan Saheb* had played a crucial role in fulfilling this responsibility to the extent he could. One of the ways to pay real homage to him would be to put earnest efforts to fulfill this unfinished task. His adherence to Naxalbari politics should be placed as an ideal before the religious minorities to emulate. This becomes even more necessary in a context when the State is increasingly becoming Hindu biased and fascistic and targeting them.

He led a simple life and was very humane in his approach. In an ambience of consumerism it is a high ideal to lead a simple life and not forget one's roots. He faced several financial problems throughout his life but he never let them dampen his revolutionary enthusiasm or divert him from his goals.

The CC, CPI(Maoist) once again vows to fulfill the dreams of martyrs like comrade M T Khan and the thousands of martyrs of the New Democratic Revolution in our country by smashing this exploitative system and establishing genuine democracy and freedom for our people. Ushering in a new democratic society where people enjoy civil rights and where people's literature and culture develop in full bloom would be a fitting homage to him as he held these causes close to his heart. His entire life and work have several important aspects that every young activist should know, grasp and emulate. We are appealing to all to propagate and keep alive the memories and ideals of our beloved *Khan Saheb*.

(Abhay) Spokesperson Central Committee CPI (Maoist)

## COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

25 September 2014

#### Unite, Fight Back and Defeat "OGH – Third Phase" of the Fascist Modi Government

The Sangh Parivar sponsored, Modi led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government that came to power by criticising several of UPA's policies is not only aggressively pursuing all the pro-imperialist and pro-corporate policies of UPA-1 and 2, but is also surpassing them, vying for the post of 'best comprador ever' from the imperialists. It is taking up aggressive moves to sell-out the country shamelessly in the name of developing it by bringing in as much FDI as possible (the goal being 100%) into several key sectors including defence, railways, insurance, banking, media and into those sectors that are still untouched directly due to resistance of the people and contradictions within the ruling classes. Pro-capitalist (or anti-worker) amendments to labour laws, hike in passenger and freight fares in railways, price hikes of daily commodities, petrol, diesel hikes and electricity cuts, transferring seven Telangana mandals to Andhra Pradesh against the will of the people, speeding up construction of the destructive Polavaram project as a national project, naked projection of Hindu chauvinism, saffronisation of education, attacks on dalits and targeting of Muslims in the name of 'communal riots' are just a few of its anti-people measures. These fascists amended several laws concerning economic, political, social, cultural and environmental fields that preserved the rights of the people and the country at least to some extent and threw several laws into the dust bin. They passed several anti-people and treacherous bills during the first session of the parliament. They did all this with their so-called brute majority and declared that they would do whatever they wish. Some people have euphemistically termed this government UPA-3; the continuity of the anti-people measures was too obvious to miss.

But Modi and Co. do make a difference. Otherwise the imperialists and the Indian ruling classes would not have spent thousands of crores of rupees to bring them into power at this juncture. The agenda hasn't changed. But the pace has reached an unprecedented haste. The imperialists need to overcome their economic crisis and the comprador ruling classes need to collaborate more with them. For that they need to loot the natural wealth, markets and labour power of countries like India, for that they need to exploit the working masses more, for that they need to establish more control and for that they need to crush the resistance of the people to their so-called development projects. For that they need to wipe out the Maoists who are 'the biggest threat' to their loot of this country, who are in the and leading the fight against them and building a new political power of the people and an alternative model of development with the aim of building our beloved country as a genuine independent, sovereign, self-reliant and federal democratic republic. The difference that No.1 traitors and fascists Modi and Co. could make would be in the scale of aggressiveness in pursuing these policies, the intensification of brutality that would be perpetrated on those who oppose them in any manner, in the overt acceleration of the saffron agenda and the speeding up of the sell-out of the country – all in the name of building a 'powerful India' and maintaining internal security and peace.

And this is all the more true in case of Operation Green Hunt (OGH), which is nothing but a war waged by the Indian ruling classes and its state on its own people. This brutal multi-pronged countrywide offensive on people's various resistances, particularly targeting the Maoist movement, has been raging unabated, since its launch in mid-2009 by the UPA-2 government till date. The preparations for this OGH (War on People)-Third Phase are going on at a rapid pace led by the

fascist Modi-Rajnath Singh-Arun Jaitley-Venkaiah Naidu-Sushma Swaraj-Amit Shah combine, with all the Chief Ministers, DGPs of the 'Maoist-affected' States, top officials of Army, Air Force, paramilitary and police playing a hyper-active role. Evidence of this is galore and glaring from the very first day of the NDA government.

All the Chief Ministers (CMs) of the States where Maoist movement is present made a beeline to the Prime Minister (PM) not only for funds for their States from the Centre, but also for reiterating their demands for more powers, funds, weapons, forces, vehicles and other paraphernalia for their forces and the entire executive in the name of suppressing Maoist movement. The Centre willingly obliged and promised more in a series of meetings conducted to deal with all kinds of 'terrorism', mainly Maoism. New governments formed after the recent assembly elections (2013 and 2014) in Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Odisha, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal have all announced plans to modernise their police forces which mean equipping them with more lethal weapons and gadgets that would more 'efficiently' wage war on people and terrorise and kill them. The 'promises' to Chhattisgarh are representative. Chandrababu Naidu, the CM of AP went a step ahead and started his rule by killing three Maoists in a fake encounter on the very first day.

The bloodthirsty home minister Rajnath Singh announced that an integrated and comprehensive strategy to root out the Maoist movement in the country would be soon finalised. On June 11, 2014 after a detailed review of the 'Left-wing extremism (LWE)' situation in Chhattisgarh with State Chief Minister Raman Singh, Union Home Minister Rajnath Singh promised around 10,000 additional paramilitary troops (10 battalions) within 3, 4 months, even while 37 battalions of CRPF, BSF, ITBP and SSB are already present. He also promised to send 2 technical battalions with nearly 2000 multi-skilled, engineering and technical personnel. Two more choppers would be inducted into the counter-'LWE' grid in Chhattisgarh. The helicopters are for 'troop deployment or sending reinforcements when State forces plan to attack Maoists or 'an encounter is on'. The special focus of the meeting was on Bastar region. The CM also sought improved technology for IED detection, augmented UAV deployment, air mobility for operations and secure and encrypted communication.

The meeting was attended by Minister of State for Home Kiren Rijiju, Union home secretary Anil Goswami, paramilitary chiefs, and senior officials of the Planning Commission, Ministry of Environment and Forests and Department of Telecom. If anybody is wondering what these bodies were doing at a meeting on LWE, the answer is here. Complaining that 'abysmal 25% telecom coverage in Bastar was affecting intelligence collection and timely response by the Central forces', the Chhattisgarh government sought to increase tele-connectivity and density. They Central authorities even promised to 'do what is best possible' 'to tweak forest clearance norms to exempt government projects' as requested by the State government. The nearly 2,000 multi-skilled personnel with technical knowledge (technical battalions) are 'for carrying out development work in Maoist-hit areas' as the CM lamented about 'shortage of contractors.' Collectors and SPs would now monitor this work using these battalions. Paramilitary battalions have already been deployed on a huge scale for the Raoghat and several other mines, building dams, roads, bridges and Raoghat railway line that not only aims to transfer the iron ore to the big comprador companies and MNCs but is also ecologically highly destructive. All these forces would serve 'multi-purposes' - to suppress the masses, attack the Maoists, to reinforce the camps of government force, to provide protection to so-called development which actually means building infrastructure to transfer the mining riches, and constructing several steel and other plants in the heartland of Bastar.

With BJP in power both at the Centre and the State the 'war on people' would be carried on more ruthlessly as a more centralised, coordinated, country-wide offensive. There would now be

more coordination between Central and State governments, between State governments, between Central and State forces, intelligence agencies and police force and between police and executive.

In a high level meeting conducted by Rajnath Singh with Air Force, police and top officials of Chhattisgarh, Odisha, Bihar and Jharkhand on June 27, the Home Minister praised to the skies the Grey Hounds of AP and urged the State governments to train and restructure their Special Forces (like STF in Chhattisgarh, SOG in Odisha, C-60 in Maharashtra, Counter-Insurgency Force in Jharkhand, Thunderbolts in Keralam) and build infrastructure for these forces. The efforts are on. Their numbers would be augmented and their intelligence wings would also be expanded.

Taking a leaf from erstwhile AP, a SP level OSD has now been appointed in all districts and the OSD was given all powers to conduct attacks on Maoists. The Grey Hounds model means that they take intelligence inputs from police headquarters and directly go for offensives. Rs. 150 crores were released for building 75 attack-proof police stations in 'naxal-affected' districts of Chhattisgarh. Additional funds were released for Special Infrastructure Scheme (for building bunkers, toilet bunkers and *morcha* points for the government forces).

On August 20, 2014, the Union Cabinet approved the extension of mobile telephonic services to 2,199 locations affected by 'LWE' in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, Telangana, Uttar Pradesh and Paschim Banga. The BSNL has already installed towers at 363 of these locations. The project implementation cost is approximately Rs. 35.68 billion.

According to the intensification of the 'war on people', Bastar Range would be divided into four parts as part of the 'counter-LWE grid system' with one camp established for every five kms. As part of this grid, 'crucial areas' (strong areas of Maoist activity) would be identified to form network, conduct attacks and wipe out the Maoists. This would be done along Chhattisgarh's borders with neighbouring states. This type of concentration would be done in all tri and quadric junctions of various States in the country. Already there are 120 battalions of paramilitary forces stationed in nine States. After Rajnath Singh was sworn in, he planned to send 27 battalions to be additionally deployed in nine States.

Prices for the heads of the Maoist leadership right from the Central Committee/Politburo to the village level leaders was increased, almost five times, to several crores of rupees, by the Central and various State governments. This is nothing but a counter- revolutionary measure that further fascises the State, encourages false encounters and mercenary killings and creates heinous selfish and criminal values in the society. Killing leaders and activists or putting them in jail was announced as the two-pronged policy to decimate revolutionary forces, make the movement headless and to restrict or weaken the movement areas.

On the other hand, the compensation for the counter-revolutionaries who are punished by the people and for being diehard informers or coverts has been increased hugely (almost four-five times) along with all kinds of rehabilitation packages. Terrorising activists of mass organisations and drives to make them and Maoist cadre surrender reached high-pitch with promises of freedom from cases and high rewards. The undercover agenda is to turn them into counter-revolutionaries and traitors who could inflict damages to the movement.

A six months campaign by joint Central and State forces was announced for all Maoist areas, starting with Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand. Both these States witnessed maximum resistance of People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA) and the people to the corporate ventures. They announced that the focus of their offensive would be Chhattisgarh as it is one of the main strong areas of Maoist movement and at the centre of almost all the movement areas (AP, Telangana, Jharkhand, Odisha, Maharashtra and UP) and as BJP is in power both at the Centre and the State. The main focus in the third phase of OGH would be on the Maad areas in Bastar. Another feature of this phase would be engagement of huge numbers of forces during operations in all the main areas.

The state is on the one hand destroying the Revolutionary People's Committees (RPC) that are enabling the people execute their new democratic power and striving to make them selfreliant. On the other hand it is flooding the people of movement areas with Civic Action Programs (CAPs) increasingly led by paramilitary and state forces, so-called reforms and countless schemes that make the people dependent on the government forever. Neither their basic needs are solved through this nor do they become self-reliant. They would be further ruined and thrown away while the fascist corporate and MNCs raj will reign.

100 'commandogs' (commando dogs!) are being trained to be deployed along with each paramilitary battalion in Chhattisgarh – one dog at present and four later to each. Hundreds of retired military personnel of infantry are being deployed in Chhattisgarh since 2 years. This came to light when two of them were annihilated in March in Sukma in a counter-offensive of the PLGA forces. Raman Singh is demanding that they be given permission to appoint retired military personnel up to Brigadier rank. The Air Force is shifting its UAV operational base from Hyderabad to Durg so that it can do quick surveillance, send intelligence inputs to the forces and attack the Maoists immediately. Air strips are being prepared in several new places. Several trees are being cut off and forests cleared for building camps and other infrastructure for the more than one lakh forces deployed in Bastar Range causing enormous damage to ecology too. The already insufficient school and health care facilities supposedly set up for the people are being used by these forces in spite of Supreme Court judgment to vacate them, thus depriving the people of even those meagre facilities.

The 'usual' encounters and fake encounters (of both revolutionaries and common people) are on with not a single day passing in the movement areas without cordon and search & combing operations, areas dominations, loot, destruction, mayhem, tortures and atrocities on people by the government forces. Attacks, political and physical, on any kind of opposition, trampling of civil rights, ban on CPI (Maoist) and revolutionary workers', peasants', students' and women's and children's organisations, threats and attacks on revolutionary and democratic organisations and severe repression in various forms on political prisoners incarcerated in prisons all over the country are continuing unabated. A large number of Nazi type (modern) jails are under construction.

Home Minister Rajnath Singh is openly baying for the blood of Maoists like bloodhounds; issuing threats of 'zero tolerance to violence' (read more fake encounters, arrests and tortures) while saying that he is 'ready to talk with the Maoists if they give up violence'. He is saying this after he declared like a feudal medieval lord that he would as happy as conducting a marriage if the security forces penetrate into the forests and kill the 'terrorists'! Here 'terrorists' mean Maoists as he is planning to change the name of 'Left-Wing Extremism' to 'Left-Wing Terrorism'. The huge number of troops, weapons, vehicles, military equipment and gadgets (not to mention the UAVs and the helicopters) of government forces deployed in the 'Maoist areas' are perpetrating endless violence on the people there. The violence of these forces can never be compared with the counter-violence put up by the CPI (Maoist) and the PLGA and the people led by it either in volume or quality. But the psychological warfare of the ruling classes is day in and day out drumming into the people's mind that 'Maoists are violent and anti-development' while the 'government seeks peace'. The psy-war targeting the CPI (Maoist) reached unimaginable proportions with corporate media leading it and the active participation of all the civil, police and military officials and all departments of the executive and judiciary in this foul exercise. The degenerated surrendered persons are also pushed to the frontlines to carry on this vicious war with all kinds of lies and fabrications.

The specific feature of OGH under Modi regime is that all the Hindu communal fascist Sangh Parivar constituents would participate in it at various levels and in various spheres. The National Executive Council of ABVP giving a call to its rank and file to ensure that 'there are naxal free campuses' during its meet in Mangaluru in May is an indicator.

#### **Beloved people of our country!**

Whatever we have mentioned above is just the tip of the iceberg of one of the most treacherous, anti-people, heinous, criminal and brutal offensives launched in political, economic, social, cultural, judicial, environmental and all spheres of our life and the country in the name of maintaining internal security for crushing dissent and wiping out the Maoists. We reiterate that Maoists and all other fighting forces are none other than the vanguard and organisations of the most oppressed people of our country and are comprised of none other than workers, peasants, students, youth, employees, intellectuals, middle class, dalits, adivasis, minorities and women who build the wealth of this country with their sweat and blood. They have chosen the path of struggle as they have been deprived of their *Jal, Jungle, Zameen, Izzat* and *Adhikar* and as their country is being enmeshed more and more in neo-colonial ties by the Indian ruling classes with the prodding of the imperialists. The 'War on People' is aimed at ending all types of this resistance

We are calling upon all the revolutionary masses in our movement areas to unite more determinedly under the PLGA to resist this round of fascist offensive launched as part of OGH-third phase.

The CPI (Maoist) and the PLGA, RPCs, the revolutionary mass organisations and the revolutionary massed led by it vow to defeat this round of fascist offensive of the Modi led NDA government too as they had defeated several previous counter-revolutionary campaigns. This could be done only by waging war of self-defense utilising every single opportunity and mobilising and uniting all the fighting forces (revolutionary, democratic, patriotic) and the people vastly in this just people's war, now directed against this fascist and treacherous Modi government.

In the past dictators like Mussolinis and Hitlers had similarly waged unjust wars, and heaped countless atrocities and brutalities on people and countries. But ultimately their mighty armies were defeated, their empires crumbled and they fell when people rose in fury. People had always fought against such fascists in the world and our country and they would do so now too. The more the people realise the real face of these fascists, the more unitedly they come together to fight them, the quicker would be their fall. The day when these paper tigers would be shred into pieces is not as far as they would like to think.

We appeal to all the organisations, forces, individuals and people who suffer from and oppose the Brahminical Hindu fascist, anti-people and anti-country regressive Modi government to unite and come forward to resist and defeat it. We appeal to one and all to build up solidarity with the fighting people both in our country and abroad.

Abhay

(Abhay) Spokesperson Central Committee CPI (Maoist)



26 September 2014

## Fight Back the Anti-Working Class Amendments to Labour Laws by the NDA Government! Vikas Model of Modi is Vinash for the People of India

and Vistar for the Imperialists and Compradors!

The Modi led NDA government has once again bared its anti-working class stance with the recent amendments to the labor laws. In the first week of September, 2014 it brought amendments to The Industrial Disputes Act, 1947; The Contract Labour (Regulation & Abolition) Act, 1970; The Factories Act, 1948; The Apprentices Act, 1961, and Trade Unions Act. Narendra Singh Tomar, the Central labor minister announced these without batting an eyelid as if he is a minister responsible for the welfare of the factory owners and not the laborers. These amendments were done with the single purpose of super-exploitation of the workers, to increase the super profits of the imperialist and Indian corporations that are pouncing like vultures for the blood and flesh of our working people.

These amendments now make existing rights for overtime extra wages redundant and would allow the factory owners to make the workers work for 12 hours instead of the eight-hour workday. They make night shifts for women legal. They now allow those factory owners employing up to 300 workers to retrench workers or shut down the factory without going through any procedures, according to their will. The Industrial Disputes Act would now favor the factory owners more in all labor related disputes. Now the Contract Labour Act would apply to firms employing more than 50 persons instead of 20 which means that units employing less than 50 contract workers would not get even the meagre protective provisions in the Act. Till now the principal employer was responsible for any violation of the law in case of contract workers though they are employed through a contractor. The amendments are letting off the hook now.

Now workers would be able to form a trade union only if they have 30% of the workers with them whereas previously seven workers could move an application for registering a union and could form one even if 15% of them came together. This is being done in the name of reducing the burden of dealing with multiple unions but it is nothing but a blatant attempt to prevent the workers from organising for their rights and allowing the capitalists to exploit, oppress and suppress them as they please. What kind of a democracy is this if the workers cannot even properly exercise their right to form a union? Given the fact that revisionist, bourgeois trade unions that are mostly hand in glove with the managements and work against the interests of the workers, have entrenched themselves dominantly among the working class, it would now become extremely difficult for the working class to free themselves from their shackles and form their own independent unions.

To be precise, these amendments have with a stroke of pen turned several illegalities regarding working conditions in factories legal, making a mockery of all the hard won rights of the workers of centuries old struggles, which are in a sense also a legacy to the struggles dating back to the slave rebellions against complete exploitation of human labor. The eight-hour workday, not making women work in night shifts and regulation of overtime and compensation for overtime work were all won through decades of class struggle between the capitalists and the workers. The above amendments would seriously affect the physical and mental health of the workers, would

lead to industrial accidents and have serious social impact too. In a context where women working in BPOs are being targeted for sexual attacks when they commute to their work places at night and several researches have established that the health of women is seriously and irreparably affected due to night shifts, this kind of legality to making women work in the night shifts would not only affect their physical and mental health, create gynecological problems but also put them at much risk at the workplace and on their way to work. On the whole this kind of work pressure would lead to workers ageing early and the capitalists would then mercilessly throw them out and employ new workers who would go through the same cycle of exploitation and get thrown out eventually.

Much blood has been shed to win these rights, in workers' struggles world over and in revolutions that aimed to end labor exploitation and oppression of all the toiling masses including the proletariat. These rights were won as a cumulative effect of both of these kinds of struggles as the whole. And now the NDA government is bent on turning the clock of history back by bringing in these amendments. In fact, it is following the path treaded by all the previous governments in power since the New Economic Policies were introduced in 1991 and LPG policies gained momentum, in bringing in these anti-working class measures with the prodding of the imperialists. In fact, Indira Gandhi tried to bring such changes in labour laws in 1982 itself but had to withdraw due to severe opposition to these. The UPA government has several such anti-working class measures in its account including some equally atrocious amendments to labor laws. All those measures not been possible for the coalition governments would now be made possible through the 'majority' government that claims to have the 'mandate' of the people. Did the people give them the 'mandate' to deny them their very fundamental rights?

In its 100 day rule the Modi led NDA government would go down in history for its record of bringing forth one or more anti-people measures during each day of its rule, this slew of antilabor amendments being the latest. Modi & Co is playing the archetypal comprador by opening hitherto unopened sectors and partially opened sectors to full entry of FDI. Already SEZs are functioning like countries within a country with their own set of anti-worker measures and not bound by the Indian Constitution. Not just the Centre, almost every State government has a dubious record of brutally crushing the struggles of workers and employees when they resorted to strikes or agitations for their just demands. The crushing of striking State government employees in Tamilnadu and the repression on workers in Gurgaon of Haryana are just stark examples. In fact, it was the BJP government in Rajasthan that cleared a Cabinet proposal to amend three key labour laws on 5th July itself. In face of severe opposition it retracted saying they were 'mere proposals.' The judiciary is doing its part in pushing the globalisation agenda by passing anti-labor judgments including the infamous judgment banning strikes. The corporate media is providing deceptive arguments to support such anti-worker policies saying they would 'provide employment', 'create jobs' 'increase share of manufacturing in GDP' etc.

With unemployment and under-employment reaching higher proportions in the context of the worldwide economic crisis and inflation soaring, the real wages of the workers are increasingly getting depressed. The people are increasingly finding themselves in the classic capitalist quagmire where the ones who manage to get work are made to work for extremely long hours under horrible working conditions and outside the factory gates the starving workers mill around without getting even one hour of work to feed themselves or their families. This huge reserve army of the unemployed is further pushing down the wages of the workers due to cut-throat competition for work. Coupled with the latest anti-labor amendments, the situation would become grimmer for the working people in our country.

Though the ruling classes juggle with figures of growth rate citing increasing investment of speculative capital in the stock market and try to pass it off as an indication for the development of the country, they very well know that real wealth comes from the labour of the workers. They know very well that only by exploiting the labourers to their last drop of blood, can they fill their

coffers to the brim and wallow in luxuries. Now the need of the hour is for the working class to realise this fact more clearly and organise and wage a bitter class struggle against their exploiters and the comprador politicians who lick their boots.

There has been a spurt in working class struggles all over the world particularly in the context of the worldwide economic crisis. Even the US and Europe have witnessed movements like Occupy Wall Street, not to mention the huge demonstrations and agitations all over Europe against layoffs, cutting down of welfare and the loss of savings due to bank crashes. The working class in India is also erupting in struggles for better working conditions and workers' rights like the right to form unions or even to hold meetings or *dharnas*. The workers and employees have not taken such amendments to labour laws lying down. There have been vehement militant and peaceful protests including a Bharat bandh by all the trade unions against such a previous attempt by the UPA government. Mainstream trade unions have also criticised the above amendments to labour laws. The need of the hour is for all the trade unions and employees associations to come together to fight back this ruling class offensive on the entire working people.

CC, CPI (Maoist) calls upon the workers of our country to unitedly rise against the latest anti-working class amendments brought forth by the Modi led NDA government and bring it to its knees through their militant struggles and protests. It appeals to all democratic and progressive organisations and individuals to stand by the workers in their struggles and lend their voice against the super-exploitation of workers by the comprador rulers of our country to feed the imperialist beast.

Unmask the *Vikas* model of Modi government which is country selling, treacherous and anti-people. It is nothing but a model of the imperialists aiming at exploiting, oppressing and repressing the toiling masses of our country. Let us unite and fight back this treacherous and pseudo *Vikas* model and build independent, self-reliant, people oriented development model.

(Abhay) Spokesperson Central Committee CPI (Maoist)

"In its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organisation. Disunited by the rule of anarchic competition in the bourgeois world, ground down by forced labour for capital, constantly thrust back to the "lower depths" of utter destitution, savagery, and degeneration, the proletariat can, and inevitably will, become an invincible force only through its ideological unification on the principles of Marxism being reinforced by the material unity of organisation, which welds millions of toilers into an army of the working class"

- Lenin, One Step Forward, Two Steps Back

