



## **Maoist Information Bulletin - 34**

**July- December 2016**

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**Central Committee  
Communist Party of India (Maoist)**

## **Una struggle marks a turning point in the democratic movement of the Dalits**

Dalits, accompanied by a large number of democratic organisations and individuals, carried out a series of protests against the brutal caste violence on four Dalit youths by a gang of Hindutva-fascist ‘cow protectors’ in Una Taluka of Gir district, Gujarat on 11 July 2016. This included a march to Una – the site of this heinous crime – from Ahmadabad covering a distance of nearly 350 kilometres. Militant protests were carried out throughout Gujarat, including bandhs, rasta rokos, mass rallies, boycott of caste-based degrading professions, and so on. Several Dalits tried to commit suicide in protest. This expression of collective anger by the indignant Dalits of Gujarat and outside following the Una violence has been termed by some as a social revolt.

The movement has distinguished itself from other Dalit struggles to erupt in recent times. Not content at asking only for the punishment of the culprits of caste violence, the Dalits during the Una movement went further and challenged the very foundations of casteism by refusing to perform their caste-based traditional occupations. In place of these occupations – which were not of their choice but were imposed on them by the Brahmanical feudal society – the Dalits raised the demand of sufficient cultivable land for every household which would enable them to raise crops with their family labour, make them independent peasants and liberate them from the humiliating dependence on the big landholders and proprietors belonging to the so-called Upper Castes.

In this way, Una struggle has inaugurated a new phase of Dalit struggle by not only challenging caste-based violence, inequality, discrimination and humiliation but by going beyond it to challenge the very foundations, i.e., the economic base, of the Brahmanical feudalism that perpetuates the hated hierarchy of castes. What makes Una struggle immensely significant – and not only for the Dalits but for all democratic classes, strata and sections of the Indian society – is the fact that in addition to reaffirming the demand for the right to life, livelihood, dignity and equal opportunity promised by the Indian Constitution, it has raised the demand for the right over the principal means of production, particularly land. Thereby it has raised the concerns not only of the Dalit petty bourgeoisie but also of the vast landless Dalit masses of the countryside.

It is undeniable that just like all opportunities and avenues of social progress such as public education and jobs have been monopolised by the upper strata of the so-called Upper Castes (leaving the degrading jobs for the Dalits), in the same way, the principal means of production – the most important of which is land for an agrarian country like India – has been monopolised by the landlords belonging to the upper strata of the dominant castes. This monopoly has been maintained at the expense of all other classes and castes, the Dalits being placed at one of the two extreme ends of this social polarisation. The breaking of the monopoly over the means of material production through a revolution, therefore, is no less important than the breaking of the monopoly over means of mental production through reservation and other reforms. In fact, unless the very basis of caste is destroyed, any amount or kind of reforms, no matter how important they may be in themselves, will never be able to accomplish the aim of annihilation of caste.

By addressing this question, the Una struggle has established a new landmark in the democratic movement of the Dalits for social and economic emancipation. By doing so, it has upheld the militant tradition of Dalit struggles from the days of Mahad Satyagraha

and Samata Sainik Dal led by Dr. Ambedkar to the Dalit Panthers movement on the one hand, while alluding to the tradition of revolutionary struggle of the landless and poor peasants for land and political power inaugurated by Naxalbari armed agrarian revolutionary uprising on the other. Therefore, even though what the Dalits are demanding in the wake of Una is within the framework of democratic reforms, these reforms – and the democratic struggles to achieve these reforms – have the potential to aid and ally themselves with the Indian revolution at its present new democratic stage.

Una struggle has once again demonstrated that the toiling Dalit masses of the country are ready to struggle for their emancipation. But their aspiration for putting an end to the present degrading social system which keeps them enslaved can only be realised by following the correct path of struggle. Therefore, it is the duty and the task of all revolutionaries to take the message to the Dalit masses that it is only the democratic revolution – led by the proletariat and guided by the proletarian ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism that follows the path of protracted people's war – that can uproot the present semi-colonial and semi-feudal system and accomplish the historic task of annihilating caste both in the economic base and the superstructure.

It is therefore necessary to ensure that the flame of struggle lit up by Una is not extinguished and the unity of the revolutionary, democratic, progressive and secular forces exemplified by the Una struggle is carried forward with redoubled initiative. Just like the Dalits and other democratic sections have challenged the Brahmanical Hindu-fascist forces at their very stronghold Gujarat through the Una struggle, the united struggle of all the exploited, oppressed and humiliated people of India, by pursuing the correct path of struggle, not only can challenge but finally overthrow the regressive, reactionary and counter-revolutionary social forces along with their reprehensible social system in order to usher in a truly democratic, egalitarian and just society.



## Homage to Martyrs

### Homage to the Martyrs (July-December 2016)

In a bid to eliminate the Indian Revolutionary movement the exploitive ruling classes are unleashing the offensive in the third phase of Green Hunt in a much more severe manner. Especially in 2016, in the name of Mission 2016 they unleashed massacres and attacks in a serious manner. Brave comrades of PLGA, People's Militia and revolutionary masses laid their warm blood and took up the war of resistance to defeat this offensive, in the leadership of our Party. This People's war is inspiring not only the oppressed people of our country but of the world too. It is instilling the masses with confidence in our Party. Democrats across the country are agitating against the fascist suppression of the Indian exploitive classes under the direction of the Imperialists, mainly the US imperialists.

In this path of People's War/Struggle, nearly 150 comrades became martyrs all over the country in a period of six months from July to December 2016. Our comrades heroically resisted the attack of the AP Greyhounds in Ramaguda of the Andhra-Odisha border area, laid their lives and protected the leadership. Thirty-one comrades have been martyred in this incident. On the whole in this period, a CC member and an SZCM in the Western Ghats, 81 comrades in DK, 20 in BJ, 32 in AOB, 6 in Odisha and 1 in West Bengal were martyred. Ninety of the martyred

comrades including 15 villagers were murdered in fake encounters by the government mercenary armed forces. Member of BJSAC, Comrade Ashish was killed in a covert action. Eleven comrades were martyred in enemy ambushes. Comrade Ajit Yadav, a member of Zonal Committee was killed along with three comrades in the attack of the counter revolutionary TPC gang in Palamu district of Jharkhand. Nearly 20 comrades out of the martyrs laid their lives in encounters with the enemy forces putting up a heroic fight. The police forces murdered 4 in Jharkhand and five in Odisha in the attacks on the activists of anti-displacement movements.

Member of the Central Committee of the Party Comrade Kuppu Devaraj (Yogesh), SAC/SZC/SC members Comrades Raghunath Mahato (BJ), Himadri Roy (Bidhan, Somen, West Bengal), Vijendra Yadav (Ashish, BJ), Bakuri Venkataramana (Ganesh, AOB), Chamala Kishtaiah (Daya, AOB), Ajitha (Kaveri, Western Ghats) are among the martyrs. In the DVC/ZC level, there are Comrades Prabhakar (Gangadhar, AOB), Suvarnaraju (Kiran, AOB), Jagath (Kursam Ramamurthy, West Bastar, DK), Ajit Yadav (Palamu, Jharkhand). There are 22 AC/PPC comrades, 34 PMs/PLGA warriors, 2 RPC leaders, 6 leaders of mass organisations, 23 people's militia



**Com. Kuppudevaraj  
(CCM & WGSZCS)**



**Com. Raghunath Mahato  
(former BJ SACM)**



**Com. Himadri Roy  
(WB SCM)**



**Com. Vijendra Yadav  
(BJ SACM)**



**Com. Bakuri Venkataramana  
(AOBSZCM)**



**Com. Chamala Kistaiah  
(AOBSZCM)**



**Com. Ajitha  
(WGSZCM)**

commanders and fighters and 25 revolutionary sympathisers and masses. The leader of civil rights Comrade Bojja Tarakam and the founder president of RYL and RWA member of the first generation Comrade Vardhana Rao died due to old age. Their martyrdom illuminated the path of New Democratic Revolution. Let us pay a humble homage to all the martyrs. Let us pledge to dedicate ourselves to achieve their aim.

A leader of Indian Revolution and Member of CC Comrade Devaraj was murdered in fake encounter along with Comrade Ajitha, SZC member in WG on the 24th of November 2016 in Neelambur forest area of Keralam. Comrade Devaraj was 62 and Comrade Ajitha 45. With the martyrdom of Comrade Devaraj our Party and Indian Revolution lost a great leader. This is a heavy loss to the development of the movement in Trijunction. His services to the development of Indian Revolutionary movement for more than three and a half decades stay embedded in the present movement. The CC calls upon

the comrades of the whole party, especially the comrades in the three states of the South West region to learn from his ideals and to advance with his great spirit in a firm manner. It conveys deep condolences to his family, comrades and friends who had a lot of love and respect towards him. The Central Committee pledges to achieve the aim of our beloved martyr Comrade Devaraj. This would be the actual homage to the great martyr.

Comrade Himadri Roy (Somen) is a most senior comrade in the revolutionary movement of West Bung state. In 2002 he took up the responsibility of the secretary of the state committee of the erstwhile PW party. After the formation of united party he continued to be a member of the state committee and served the revolutionary movement. He was arrested and spent a long time in the jail. His health deteriorated in jail and he passed away soon after release. His martyrdom is a big loss to the movement in the state in the present condition. Let us pay humble homage to the



**Com. Jagath  
(DVCM, DK)**



**Com. Prabhakar  
(DVCM, AOB)**



**Com. Suvarna Raju  
(DVCM, AOB)**



**Com. Madhu  
(ACM, AOB)**



**Com. Latha  
(ACM, AOB)**



**Com. Simhachalam  
(ACM, AOB)**



**Com. Boddu Kundanalu  
(ACM, AOB)**



**Com. Prithvi  
(ACM, AOB)**

martyr Somen. Let us pledge to take forward his aspiration.

A member of the Bihar-Jharkhand Special Area Committee (SAC) Comrade Vijendra Yadav (Ashish) was injured in a heroic fight with the enemy in a covert operation (ambush) in the Gogadih forest area in the limits of Raidih police station in Gumla district of Jharkhand on the 11th of September. He was caught, severely tortured and murdered. Comrade Vijendra was born in a lower middle class family in Bigaha village of Jehanabad district where there was a spate of anti-feudal struggles. The landlords killed his father and this created the wish in him to join the anti-feudal, anti-state struggle right from his childhood. He joined the party through the Revolutionary Student's movement. Step by step he developed as a member of BJSAC in 2013. He was working in Koel-Sankh zone in BRC. Comrade Vijendra was a good communist worker, an exemplary leader for the cadres. He is a good communication person and doctor too. He was one among all

helping each and everyone. Though the movement was in a difficult condition, though many were leaving the movement and some turning traitors, he stuck to the Party, the Party line and the movement. His martyrdom is a big loss to BJSAC. Let us pay humble homage to martyr Vijendra. Let us pledge to fight to fulfil his aim to the end.

Comrade Bakuri Venkataramana Raju (Ganesh, Prasad) was born in a middle class tribal family in Bakuru village of Hukumpet mandal of Visakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh. He was born, brought up and studied when 'tribal revolts were raising high' in Manyam (the area where Alluri Seetharamaraju fought with the British, the struggle known as 'Manyam Pithuri' (pithuri means struggle). Manyam is the forest area of Visakhapatnam and East Godavari districts of North Coastal Andhra Pradesh where the erstwhile PW and the present CPI (Maoist) continues Armed Struggle). With the inspiration of the struggles Comrade Prasad joined RSU and actively participated in its activities. When he completed



**Com. Rajesh  
(PPCM, AOB)**



**Com. Manjula  
(ACM, AOB)**



**Com. Naresh  
(PM, AOB)**



**Com. Sadhuram  
(PM, AOB)**



**Com. Korsu Santu  
(Cy-5 PPCM, DK)**



**Com. Kovasi Linga  
(ACM, WBT, DK)**



**Com. Pottam Lacchu  
(ACM, WBT, DK)**



**Com. Tirupati Miccha  
(Akash), (PPCM, DK)**

graduation he was one of the founders of 'Organisation for Protection of Girijan Rights' (OPGR) in the beginning of 1990s. When government banned the party and the mass organisations it banned the activities of OPGR too. Then Girijana Vidyarthi Sangham (GSU-Girijan Students Union) was formed in which Comrade Prasad had a key role in organizing students and others.

Comrade Prasad joined the guerrilla squad as a member and developed as a member of SZC in the Third Conference of AOB in 2006. When the East division was divided into the Visakhapatnam and the East divisions in 2002 and when in 2008 both the divisions were reunited as the East division Comrade Prasad was the secretary. Thus Comrade Prasad's life was intertwined with the movement of the East Division. He guided various struggles and gained the confidence of the people. Until 2013 he looked after the responsibility of the joint division in the status of SZCM. Later he took the responsibility of guiding mass organisations. With his military skill he worked as a member of SMC for some time and led many armed

attacks against the enemy. He also looked after the cultural field for a while. Thus he took up many responsibilities according to the necessity. As the division secretary he coordinated the United Front struggles. He guided the other comrades working in UF. Comrade Prasad wrote articles on government repression, bauxite struggle and other issues with the pen names of Marri Kamayya, Nagamani and others in various social magazines. He also wrote to the organ of AOB SZC, 'Bolshevik'.

Comrade Prasad is a revolutionary leader who rose from the ground level. Enemy pressurized him and his family to surrender, playing many tricks. But he never thought otherwise. He held aloft the politics of class struggle and fulfilled his responsibilities until his last breath. He faced many difficulties in the process of advancing the revolutionary movement but marched forward. He was exemplary in sharing love, fondness, freedom and assurance with his fellow comrades. AOB movement lost a great leader and a big support with his martyrdom. Let us pay homage to



**Com. Janaki Korram  
(Vimala), (PM, DK)**



**Com. Batti Kashyap  
(Sunita), (PM, DK)**



**Com. Karam Kallu  
(PM, DK)**



**Com. Hemla Supa  
(PM, DK)**



**Com. Ramlal Korram  
(Lokesh), (PM, DK)**



**Com. Jainu Salam  
(Vishwanath) (PM, DK)**



**Com. Baman Veko  
(PM, DK)**



**Com. Santi Kashyap  
(Pramila), (PM, DK)**

Comrade Prasad and pledge to fulfil his aspiration.

Comrade Chamala Kishtaiah (Daya) was born in a very poor family as the son of Chamala Chandramma and Ramayya in the village of Dasireddygudem of Valigonda mandal in Nalgonda district in the state of Telangana. This was the place that played a heroic role in the past Telangana armed struggle, in the Maoist movement in the South Telangana and in the separate democratic Telangana struggle. He was 45. When Daya was in graduation he was attracted to the activities of Radical Student's Union (RSU). He joined the revolutionary movement as a full time activist in 1990. He worked in South Telangana for four years. In 1994 Party transferred Comrade Kishtayya with the objective to reorganize the Srikakulam movement. Since then Comrade Daya's life was entwined with Srikakulam-Vijayanagaram-Koraput movement.

Comrade Kishtayya worked as the Deputy Commander of the Uddanam (the

area of the past Srikakulam Armed Peasant Struggle) squad of Srikakulam district with the name of Daya. He played an important role in organizing thousands of people in the struggle to occupy the Coconut plantation of 100 acres of the landlord Punjab Singh of Uddanam area, in the struggles to seize the Cashew plantations of hundreds of acres of the government in Rettikonda and Metti, with the demand for remunerative prices for the peasants and so on. After the heavy loss to the Party in 1998 Koperdang encounter, he was transferred to Nagavali area. In this area he played a vital role in the land struggles in Gotta, Mukundapuram, Pandrathala and other such villages, in the land seizure struggle of a 600 acre landlord Viswa, in the struggle for remunerative prices for tamarind, organizing Kuvvi people in Koraput, Raigarh and Vijayanagaram districts (Koraput and Raigarh are in Odisha while Vijayanagaram is a district of North Coastal Andhra Pradesh).

The Sondi (a trader caste of Odisha origin and seen mostly in the tribal areas of



**Com. Dasmu Yadav**  
(Militia Member, DK)



**Com. Kaveri**  
(Militia Member, AOB)



**Com. Jamli**  
(Militia Member, AOB)



**Com. Jayaram**  
(Militia Member, AOB)



**Com. Kamala**  
(Militia Member, AOB)



**Com. Samala**  
(Militia Member, AOB)



**Com. Laxman**  
(Militia Member, AOB)

Srikakulam and Vijayanagaram districts) hierarchs and landlords habituated the people to liquor and illegally occupied their lands in illusive methods. They indulged in many kinds of deception and deprived the people of food, clothing and shelter. In this process the people initially organized against liquor and stopped its preparation by the Sondies. Later the well known Narayanapatna land struggle broke out. The vast masses of the area were armed and a people's militia, Ghenua Bahini was established. Due to the severe enemy offensive in Operation Green Hunt the land struggle temporarily stepped back since the last of 2012. Anyhow it is on the rise again since 2015. Comrade Daya led this movement.

Comrade Daya had an important role in raising the consciousness of the people of Mali, Devamali, Rakthakhandi and other areas on the problem of displacement and led the struggle through various United Fronts. He had an important role in organizing agricultural labour, peasantry and women widely in liquor struggles, struggles for

remunerative prices, in struggles against displacement. He was active in establishing mass organisations, militia, solving the people's problems in the people's courts and other such things.

Comrade Daya also played a prominent role in the military field. He had direct and indirect participation in many attacks.

Wherever Daya worked he learnt the local language. He had the initiative to mingle with the local masses and was one among them. Wherever he went he gained good command on the terrain. He was exemplary in loving the masses and in maintaining lively relations with them. Not only the people and the cadres but he too wished his presence in any meeting. He inspired the masses with his speeches and songs. When the police arrested the people, he met their families, consoled them, gave them the courage and explained them politically. He took care that they stood with revolution. He paid attention to comrades released from jail and sustain them in the revolutionary practice.



**Com. Sinda**  
(Militia member, AOB)



**Com. Komulu**  
(Militia Member, AOB)



**Com. Dasu**  
(Militia Member, AOB)



**Mahasweta Devi**  
(Writer, West Bengal)



**Bojja Tarakam**  
(Democrat, Telangana)



**Vardhana Rao (former  
RYL President, AP)**

He had as much hatred towards the class enemy as his love towards the masses.

He helped the woman comrades who were lagging behind. He helped those who lost their life-partners. He was good in developing the new comrades. He was close with comrades facing problems and extended cooperation for their political development. Comrade Daya was exemplary in his marriage too. He constantly struggled against himself to rectify his shortcomings. He put forth his self-criticism and strived to overcome them. The loss of Comrade Daya who had the Communist ideals and experience in mass movements is a serious loss to the AOB movement. Let us pledge to struggle till our last breath for New Democratic Revolution and later Socialism-Communism that Comrade Daya dreamt.

Comrade Ajitha (Kaveri, 45) was born in a poor family in Chennai, the state capital of Tamil Nadu. She entered the revolutionary student's movement in the end of 1980. As a student she joined a woman's organization,

'Tamil Nadu Pennurimai Kazaghham' and developed into its leader with her active, militant work. She led many struggles against violence on women and tried to bring the women into the path of revolution. She worked as an advocate in Chennai for some years as a part of urban movement. Since the state repression in Tamil Nadu became intense she went underground and led the urban movement and the mass organisations. She also led Trade Union struggles as a part of the urban movement.

She firmly stood in the Party line in the fight against the right-opportunist line in the Tamil Nadu party in mid-2000 decade. Her life partner adopted opportunist line, left the party and formed a small clique. But she stood firmly with the revolutionary line. She fought against male domination in the society and also in the Party with a Marxist understanding. She was elected into the SZC in 2012. After the Coimbatore arrests in 2014 May the police tried to arrest

*(Continued on p.20)*

## Revolutionary salutes to Comrade Kupp Devaraj, beloved son of the proletariat, courageous leader of the Indian revolution, member of the Central Committee and Secretary of the Western Ghats Special Zonal Committee

Comrade Kupp Devaraj (Manju, Ramesh, Yogesh, Prasad) (62), a member of the Central Committee (CC) of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) and Secretary of Western Ghats Special Zonal Committee (WGSZC), along with Comrade Ajitha (Kaveri) (45), a member of the WGSZC, were martyred in a fake encounter near Karaikulam village of Malappuram district in Neelambur forest area in



the state of Kerala on 24 November 2016. The CC pays its humble red homage to the two martyred leaders. It takes pledge to fulfil the aspirations of the martyrs and calls upon the whole Party to go forward with a strong will on the path of People's War to achieve their cherished aims.

The Hindutva-fascist Modi government at the Centre and the Pinarayi Vijayan-led state government of social-fascist CPI(M)

collaborated in launching an attack with hundreds of police and paramilitary commando forces near the village of Karaikulam. In this attack they caught hold of Comrades Devaraj and Ajitha, cruelly tortured them and murdered them in cold blood. We call upon the people of the country, the democrats, patriots and the masses to condemn this cruel murder. The CC conveys its deep

condolences to the families, relatives and comrades of the two departed comrades.

### Initiation into revolutionary politics

The revolutionary journey of our beloved Comrade Devaraj traversed many twists and turns and was inseparably linked with the ups and downs of the Indian revolution in the last four decades, and particularly of the three

South Indian states of Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. Inspired by the Naxalbari armed agrarian revolutionary struggle in the 1960s, the peasantry and intellectuals of Karnataka initiated the revolutionary struggle in the state. One such person was Comrade Koganuru Gonappa of Sirahatti village. He started arousing the poor peasants with the politics of Naxalbari struggle and led them in the struggle against the feudal forces. He was martyred in an attack by the goons of the landlords. After Naxalbari struggle, in Dharmapuri, North Arcot, Bidar-Raichur areas anti-feudal struggle against the landlords were taken up, while against landlords and moneylenders in Panavalli-Ambukutti-Mutthunga land struggles came up in a big way. Malnad peasant struggle also came up. These revolutionary peasant's struggles are continuing in the trijunction as waves since then. These are in succession of the historic anti-colonial and anti-imperialist tradition of people's struggles. The fundamental issue was of land for which the people got organised and armed. The movement got a boost after the formation of CPI(ML)(People's War) in 1980 and recruitment of new cadres from the state. Consequently, part time activists developed in Karnataka and they were consolidated into party cells. Comrade Devaraj too came in contact with the party in 1980 and became an active member of one of these cells. He along with the others started political and organizational work among workers, students and youth. In fact, even before he came in touch with the Party, he was working among the workers with revolutionary politics along with some other comrades.

Comrade Devaraj belonged to an urban poor family of Bangaluru in Karnataka. His forefathers had shifted to Bangaluru from Tamil Nadu. He had a family consisting of his life partner, children, brothers and sisters. He was well educated. He completed his engineering degree and started working in the L&T Company. Comrade Devaraj got inspired by the Naxalbari struggle which was led by Appu, Verghese, Balan, Ravindran and other revolutionaries in the South Indian states. After his induction into the revolutionary movement, his home became a

centre of revolutionary activity. When the activities of CPI (ML)(PW) started in 1980 in Karnataka, Party cells were formed in that state. In the leadership of the then in-charge of the Karnataka State Committee Comrade Cherukuri Rajkumar (Azad), comrades Devaraj, Saketh Rajan and a few others became full-time activists. Comrade Devaraj actively participated in the struggles in Bangaluru, Mysore and Kolar in the 1980s. He worked among the peasantry in Bidar and Raichur districts. He and other comrades mobilised the peasantry, started the peasant organisation and took up anti-feudal, anti-state struggles.

### **Role in internal struggle and election into the State Committee**

In the internal struggle against the disruptionist clique in the CC that broke out in 1985, the leading team of Karnataka including comrades Devaraj and Saketh Rajan led by Comrade Azad played a vital role. This leading team of the State Committee in the leadership of Comrade Azad advanced the movement in various fields. It emerged as a theoretically and politically strong and united leadership team. It developed a few more party activists in Karnataka and conducted the first State Conference of the Party in 1987. This Conference elected Comrade Azad as the Secretary of the Karnataka State Committee and five comrades including comrades Devaraj and Saketh Rajan as State Committee members. The Conference decided to build the peasant movement in the rural area. As per this decision, this movement was extended to the plain areas of Raichur and Bidar (adjacent to undivided AP). Comrade Devaraj played a leading role in this rural movement.

### **Laying the foundations of revolutionary organisations in Karnataka**

When the struggle against the Kaiga Nuclear Plant came up, Comrade Devaraj took initiative to extend the movement among the students and formed student organisations in the districts of Bidar, Raichur, Chitradurga, Shimoga and Dharwad. The struggle in Kaiga and the work among the students all put together made the party known across the state. He initiated and led peasant movements in

Raichur, Bidar and Hyderabad of Karnataka. By 1985, widespread propaganda was carried out in these areas about the revolutionary struggles in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and other places.

He propagated revolutionary politics among the students of Bangaluru, Chithradurga, Sivamogga, Mysore, Dharwad, Raichur and Bidar, led the efforts in the formation of Pragathipara Vidyarthi Kendra (Progressive Student's Organisation), a revolutionary students' organization. He guided this organization.

When the nationality question came forth in Karnataka the state committee of the Party realized its importance and formed an organization, 'Kannada Vimochana Ranga'(Kannada Liberation Forum) to build movement on this problem.

Comrade Devaraj was an accomplished revolutionary cultural activist as well. He was a good singer of revolutionary songs which he rendered with emotion. When a cultural organisation was formed in the state in the early 1980s to propagate revolutionary politics, he became one of its founding members and leading artists. The cultural organisation travelled to different parts of the state and disseminated the message of revolution among the oppressed masses. It became a part of the All India League of Revolutionary Culture (AILRC) which was formed at that time as an all-India body to lead the countrywide revolutionary cultural movement. Com Devaraj worked as an Executive Member of AILRC from 1983 to 1985. He played an active role in the AILRC.

### **Standing firm on the Party line in the second internal struggle**

In 1990, the Second Conference of the Karnataka State Committee was held. At the same time the Party held the Central Plenum. A second crisis erupted in the Party in 1991. The State Committee of Karnataka released a document exposing the wrong trends of the Minority Group and called upon the cadre to fight against this opportunist clique. They tried to ensure that the cadre understand the ideological deviation of the disruptionist

clique and wage a theoretical struggle against it.

The State Plenum of Karnataka was held in 1993. The third State Conference was conducted as a part of the All India Special Conference in 1995. This Conference elected Comrade Devaraj as the Secretary of the newly elected State Committee. In the All India Conference of the CPI(M-L)(PW) held in 1995, Comrade Devaraj was elected as an Alternate Member of the CC. In 1997, the CC co-opted him as a full-time CC member.

In the Ninth Congress of the CPI(M-L)[PW] held in 2001, Comrade Devaraj was elected into the CC. He was also elected to the Party's South West Regional Bureau. Comrades Devaraj and Saketh Rajan firmly stood against the opportunist, disruptionist clique when it tried to liquidate the movement in the perspective area of Karnataka in 2002.

Karnataka State Plenum of 2003 accepted the Malnad Perspective. The CC later accepted this perspective. The Secretary of the Karnataka State Committee Comrade Saketh Rajan along with Comrade Devaraj studied the social and economic conditions of Malnad area. Both the comrades played an important role in the development of the movement in this Perspective Area. As the movement was taking root in the area, the police launched a vicious attack in February 2005, in which Comrade Saketh Rajan and another comrade was martyred heroically facing the enemy.

After the martyrdom of Comrade Saketh Rajan, the disruptionist opportunists of Karnataka opposed the formation of CPI(Maoist) and brought forth their revisionist line in November 2005. Comrade Devaraj continued the struggle against this revisionist line. In the fifth State Conference in 2006, a majority of the comrades stuck to the Party line and opposed the opportunist revisionist clique. In this way the crisis came to an end. The opportunist, revisionist clique left the Party.

Due to the internal crisis of the Party in 1985, theoretical and political confusion prevailed in the Tamil Nadu Party. In this difficult situation, Comrade Devaraj reorganized the sincere, new comrades and led

the efforts to form a new State Committee. This effort by Comrade Devaraj to build the movement is very crucial and his role in it is unforgettable. He also took over the responsibility to guide the Tamil Nadu Party. In 2002, the Party came up with the perspective area for Tamil Nadu and a military camp was held as a preparation to develop the armed struggle in the state. The enemy got information about the camp and attacked it. Many comrades including the State Secretary were arrested in the attack. As a result, Comrade Devaraj had to take the responsibility of the Secretary of Tamil Nadu State Committee in the beginning of 2003. At the same time, talks were held with genuine revolutionary elements that left CPI(M-L) Janashakthi and other Rightist parties and helped in their merger in the Party. A State Organising Committee (SOC) was formed in Kerala and Comrade Devaraj fulfilled the responsibility of guiding it. The Maoist movement strengthened in the state.

In 2007, Comrade Devaraj along with the Tamil Nadu State Committee prepared the perspective for building the revolutionary movement in Madurai and Dindigul areas. The armed squad that went to these areas to implement this perspective was arrested in no time. The police attacked the second squad too and the commander was martyred. The forces had to be withdrawn as a result and the strategic perspective could not be realised.

### **Opening a new battlefield in the Western Ghats**

The enemy carried out severe repression in the Western Ghats as a part of Operation Green Hunt countrywide counter-revolutionary offensive. Braving this intense repression, the comrades of Karnataka and Kerala completed the theoretical, political and organizational preparations to build the movement in the Trijunction area (the junction of the three states of Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu) in the leadership of Comrade Devaraj. The comrades walked for months together from Malnad fighting the enemy attacks and reached the Trijunction area. Comrade Devaraj oversaw the formation of the Western Ghats Special Zonal Committee

(WGSZC) and took up the responsibility of the Secretary of this new SZC. He remained in the field with the armed squads facing all the challenges posed by the difficult terrain, went to the oppressed masses of the area, conducted social investigation (class analysis) and wrote a document based on it.

Under his leadership the SZC formed armed guerrilla squads and widely propagated the politics of Protracted People's War among the tribal masses of the Western Ghats. In the forests on the banks of the rivers Kabani, Bhavani and Avinasha and on the tributaries the movement developed. The poor peasants and the Adivasi masses facing centuries of exploitation and oppression, impoverished coffee and tea plantation workers, the urban poor and the middle classes were drawn to the movement. The movement is fighting to ensure land to the tillers, their rights over *Jal-Jangal-Zameen*, ownership of workers and Adivasis over the plantations and to end all forms of exploitation and oppression. Under the leadership of the WGSZC of the CPI(Maoist), various oppressed classes and social sections are uniting in struggle. Strikes for hike in daily wages of the plantations workers, struggles against moneylenders, fair prices for forest produce, resistance to atrocities on Dalits and women; fight against forest department, Hindu organisations and missionaries, struggle of the landless peasants to occupy forest land for cultivation, opposition to mining in the Western Ghats and to protect the environment of the Sahyadri Range, etc. are going on.

The PLGA successfully conducted the Politico-Military propaganda campaign in 2013-14 in the leadership of the Party. As a part of this campaign, some properties owned by the multinational companies, comprador big bourgeoisie and the government were targeted and destroyed. Since the movement in the Trijunction area had to fight the entrenched revisionism of the CPI(M), the campaign turned out to be a big exposure of the revisionists of Kerala. PLGA squads became more closely integrated with the masses and the influence of the Party spread far and wide. Comrade Devaraj was actively involved in guiding all these struggles and campaigns as a

part of expanding the revolutionary movement in the Western Ghats.

### **Fulfilling the diverse needs of the revolutionary movement**

Comrade Devaraj was proficient in many South Indian languages. Apart from Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada, he was fluent in English as well. This helped him in undertaking extensive study and carrying out wide-ranging revolutionary propaganda work. He was good in writing circulars, articles for the Party magazines and for the education of Party cadres. Comrade Devaraj contributed to the bringing out of state-level Party magazines and organs of the revolutionary mass organisations. He was good at writing polemical documents against the opportunist elements. A document was released to counter the opportunists with the title 'Opportunists never Understand Revolutionary Dialectics'. Devaraj played the main role in preparing the document. He wrote for the central Party magazines including the *Vanguard* and *People's March*. Under the pen-name of 'Ravindran', he wrote a detailed and incisive article in the *People's March* analysing the reasons for the defeat of the Tamil national liberation struggle led by the LTTE in 2009.

He played a key role in conducting Leadership Training Program (LTP) for the leading comrades of the South-West Region, in rectification campaigns of the Party and in developing new leadership. With these and other efforts, he strove to theoretically and politically develop the Party activists.

Comrade Devaraj played an important role in meeting the production and supply of arms and ammunition, grenades and other war material for a long time to aid the developing people's war in the country.

Devaraj was part of the unity talks held with revolutionary Communist Parties on behalf of the CC of the CPI(Maoist), particularly with CPI(M-L) Naxalbari. He played a crucial role in the merger of CPI(Maoist) and CPI(M-L) Naxalbari on 1 May 2014 and was present at the final meeting of the CCs of the two parties that concluded the merger.

### **Imbibing the qualities of a proletarian revolutionary**

Comrade Devaraj was a communist leader with ideological, theoretical and political maturity. He never compromised with his principles and ideals. His death was a confirmation of his lifelong commitment to the ideology of revolutionary Marxism. He conducted and participated in many internal struggles and these struggles steeled him. He worked with great courage and a strong will even with limited subjective force and resources. He became one with the cadres and the masses. He inculcated a democratic spirit in the Party activists. He gained the confidence of the activists and the masses. He was very modest and humble in his interactions. He always tried to help his comrades and the people as best as he could. He was concerned for the wellbeing of his comrades and took care of their health. He created a good comradely atmosphere and spirit. When he toured the guerrilla zones he highlighted the positive aspects of the movement and instilled confidence among the Party cadres. He paid attention to the negative aspects of the movement as well and provided political and theoretical guidance to rectify them. He was always keen to tell others what he knew and ready to learn from others what he did not know. He personified simple living and proletarian thinking. Though Party contact was lost on some occasions and the movement faced many difficulties, he faced the situation with great confidence and led the Party. He displayed exemplary selflessness in his practice. He accepted and tried to implement to the best of his ability whatever the Party Committee decided as his task and whatever responsibility he was entrusted with. He could never remain silent in the face of injustice. He sacrificed his life in the struggle for a new and just society without inequality, oppression and exploitation.

### **The revolutionary legacy of the martyrs is immortal**

The ruling classes of the country are carrying out a massive multi-pronged war on people since 2009 in the name of Operation Green Hunt with the aim of wiping out the

Maoist movement in the country. It is in this context that Comrade Devaraj led the efforts to open a new revolutionary front in the Western Ghats. This made him a coveted target of the country's reactionary ruling classes and they pursued him relentless, finally managing to murder him in a dastardly manner. With his selfless sacrifice, Comrade Devaraj has become a proud inheritor of the revolutionary legacy of Comrade Verghese. The oppressed masses of Trijunction dearly wish to keep alive the flames of struggle lit by comrades like Verghese who were martyred for their sake fifty years back. When our beloved leader Comrade Devaraj went to the masses following the same path traversed by Verghese, they actively came forward to embrace him. They are mourning the loss of comrades Devaraj and Ajitha and are hailing their martyrdom. They are taking pledge to advance on the revolutionary path and achieve the goals for which the martyred comrades have laid down their lives.

The martyrdom of Comrade Devaraj is a big loss to our Party and the Indian revolution, and particularly for the Trijunction movement. With his demise, the Indian revolution has lost a good leader and the Indian masses a devout son. The Indian revolution and the comrades of Western Ghats, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana and Dandakaranya who knew him personally will always remember him and cherish his memory. His dedication, hard work and

sacrifice will contribute in taking the Party forward. The unwavering determination and strong will of Comrade Devaraj will always inspire the cadre to overcome the twists and turns, ups and downs of the revolutionary movement.

The CC calls upon the entire Party to highlight the proletarian ideals and the revolutionary life of Comrade Devaraj. It calls upon the Party rank and file to continue his communist qualities including his great revolutionary spirit, strong willpower, utmost courage and determination in difficult conditions. The CC enjoins the Party cadres to dare to swim against the tide in the path of revolutionary struggle and fill the vacuum left by the loss of Comrade Devaraj. This would be a true homage to him.

The exploitive ruling classes daydream that they can stop the revolution by snatching away our beloved Comrade Devaraj from amongst us. Though his martyrdom is a blow to the revolutionary movement, his inspiring memory will forever remain among us. Let's advance on the path of revolutionary struggle imbibing his proletarian communist spirit. Let's fight with determination and dedication to fulfil the great aspirations of the martyrs. Let's take pledge to keep alive the memory of Comrade Devaraj by continuing on the path shown by the immortal martyrs till our last breath.

**Central Committee  
CPI (Maoist)**



## On Ramguda Encounter

Starting from the morning of 24th October 2016 till the 27th, the fascist mercenary armed forces of the central and state governments (with their most loyal running dogs - the AP Greyhounds - at the forefront) shot down 22 leaders and cadres of CPI(Maoist) and PLGA along with 9 members of the People's Militia in a brutal offensive in Ramguda village, Malkangiri district, Odisha. Many of our comrades were martyred while valiantly taking on the enemy, while some others were caught by the enemy forces in an injured or unarmed state, cruelly tortured and executed in cold blood. With their unparalleled courage and self-sacrifice, the martyred comrades safeguarded the Party secrets and protected the Party leadership at the cost of their lives. It was a triumph of their revolutionary spirit and a defeat of the fascist enemy who could extinguish their lives but could not conquer their undying commitment to their Party, their class and the oppressed masses. MIB pays its red homage to these heroic martyrs and presents this section 'On Ramguda Encounter' as a tribute - MIB

## Ramguda: Before and After

The martyrdom of 31 comrades of the CPI(Maoist) including nine people's militia members in an attack in Ramguda village of Malkangiri district have generated deep resentment among the people across the country. It has revealed the intensity and cruelty of state repression in the third phase of Operation Green Hunt (OGH). This attack was a part of the repressive measures of the exploitative ruling classes of India and their imperialist masters to eliminate the revolutionary movement. A look into the background of the attack, the attack itself, and the response from various sections of the society reveals many aspects of the revolutionary movement and state repression on it.

### **The background of the attack**

Ramguda is a hamlet with just ten households. It falls under Ondrupalli panchayat of Gumma block in Malkangiri district of Odisha. Malkangiri district is flanked on one side with Chhattisgarh and on the other with Telangana. Seven panchayats out of the total nine are in the 'Cut Off' (*Vicchinnanchal*) area since it is cut off from the mainland of Odisha by River Sileru. The CPI(Maoist) entered the area as a part of its expansion in 2009. Incidentally, that was the year of the initiation of OGH. Multi-pronged enemy offensive was launched as a part of it in this area too. The fact that OGH is nothing but a 'war on the people' for crushing the

embryonic forms of people's political power established through the Protracted People's War and the exploitation of natural resources is revealed once more from the acts of the country's governments in this area.

Much before 2009, the governments of Odisha and Andhra Pradesh built several hydropower projects on Rivers Jolaput and Sileru as a part of their 'development' plan, displacing lakhs of tribal people. The displaced people received not a single penny of compensation. They were scattered across the land and a considerable number of them got settled in the Cut Off area and built new villages. But they were continued to be exploited, oppressed and attacked by the government administration, non-tribal landlords, the bureaucratic gentry, the panchayat system, religious institutions and imperialist-funded voluntary organisations. They were once again displaced, now in a different manner. Every year hundreds of acres of land were drowned by the backwaters of the Balimela dam, resulting in heavy loss of crop. But the people did not question the government for their woes as they believed that they had to bow to the government since it was mighty. On the other hand, the non-tribal landlords forcibly occupied hundreds of acres of the people's lands. In some villages the tribal elders too seized the lands of the people and dominated them utilising certain traditional customs. The people faced the atrocities of the forest department. Education, health and transport provided by the government have been only nominal. The people have to cross the river to go anywhere in Odisha in the only boat that comes in the morning and returns in the evening. However, the political leaders visit the place once in five years as a part of their drama of 'democracy'.

When the Maoist Party entered the area, the people naturally welcomed it. Within no time the people brought forth the problem of crop loss due to the rising backwaters and proposed to destroy the Balimela dam. The Party understood their anger but explained to them of the inexpediency of this course of action and showed them an alternative way out. Thus, the people took up struggle and consequently the government gave them lands

in Chitrakonda. Thousands of people got organised under the banner of Vicchinnanchal Struggle Committee. On two occasions, they *gheraoed* the administration in Chitrakonda for three to five days. At the same time, the people also took up struggle for seizing hundreds of acres of land that the landlords had forcibly acquired. In Gurrasettu village alone, people occupied 300 acres from a non-tribal Sundi landlord and started a social boycott of him in the village. They fought against the domination of the tribal elders and took up developmental activities like collective farming. They discouraged *ganja* (hemp) cultivation. They conducted panchayat-level peasant conventions and tried to solve the problems of cattle, land erosion, seeds, fertilisers, remunerative prices, high interest rates, etc. This inevitably led to a confrontation with the local socially dominant forces and the government armed forces (for a detailed report of these struggles, refer to the last issue of MIB).

This struggle is not only a struggle for solving the day-to-day problems but is a class struggle. In the process of this struggle the fascist repression by the state has intensified. Ramguda attack is a part of this attack.

### **The attack**

The cadres of CPI(Maoist) were engaged in organisational work when they were suddenly attacked by the police at 6 am on 24 October 2016. The cadres retaliated and tried to retreat. By that time the police had surrounded their camp on all sides. So the cadres had to retreat amidst heavy firing. While a few members got scattered on different directions, most of them were together. In their attempt to retreat by fighting back the police, the cadres had to cross an open place between two hillocks. The police were firing rapidly and many of the comrades were injured in this open place. Most of the martyrs laid down their lives for the sake of protecting the Party leadership that was present at the spot. The police caught the injured, tortured them in the utmost cruel manner and killed them. Few were killed in various spots around this place while they were injured and were hiding in the bushes. The killings continued for four days.

Nine local villagers who were in the people's militia too were killed in this incident. The police circulated the same old story of an encounter. They took all the dead bodies with them and kept them each tied in plastic sheets.

### **Dead bodies 'spoke' of the state's cruelty**

The news was on the TV, newspapers, internet and other media through which the family members of the martyred cadres came to know of it. They rushed to Malkangiri district headquarters accompanied by the leaders and activists of various people's organisations. The officials and the police department violated all the rules in handing over the dead bodies. It was a painful experience for all who were there and also for those who saw the situation from afar. Some of the dead bodies were found without the brain inside the skull, without the intestines, without the head too. The bodies of the woman comrades were without breasts. There were lots of injury marks all over the dead bodies and they were in a decomposing state by the time the kith and kin received them.

Devendra, an activist of a revolutionary women's organisation in AP and Telangana had heard the news of the death of Bharathi (Latha), her friend and former colleague in the women's organisation. She accompanied Bharathi's son and daughter-in-law to Malkangiri to receive the dead body. She was in shock when she found out that her life partner Comrade Prabhakar (Gangadhar) too was among the dead. Earlier, Gangadhar was a member of a revolutionary cultural organisation working in AP and Telangana. This people's artiste had left his job as an engineer and joined the armed ranks three years back. Devendra later wrote about her experience in an article that when he tried to lift the body of Gangadhar, different parts of the body started falling down. She wrote, "I could not bear to see the body parts of my dear comrade falling away. How could the mother bear it? So we did not untie the body when we brought it home. We only kept the face exposed."

Komalamma is the elder sister of Comrade Mamatha who was among the

martyred. The family belongs to Bathupuram of Uddanam, the plain area of Srikakulam district that was a hotbed of the earlier Srikakulam armed revolutionary struggle. After identifying Mamatha's body, Komalamma lifted the sheet on her sister's body. There was not a single cloth on the body. She found that the breasts had been cut. She could not take it anymore. She burst into tears.

One of the activists of the peoples' organisations who went to receive the dead bodies was going around all the bodies which were brought out of a van after prolonged arguments with the officials. He suddenly broke out shouting 'There is no head to the body No.20!' "All the bodies were given numbers and since we could not identify them immediately owing to the condition of the bodies, we were forced to talk about our beloved in terms of numbers. It was very painful for all of us present there", wrote one of the activists present there.

The number of the family members gathered was more than one hundred. All of them had to stay without food, without rest and without proper facilities even to sit. There were old and young among them. The police behaved in a high handed manner with all of them. Though the police had already identified the martyrs, they kept on playing for a while with the members of the aggrieved families. With great difficulty they received the mutilated and damaged bodies of their beloved, tied them together inside plastic sheets, brought them to their homes and conducted the last rites. People and activists attended the funerals in large numbers and memorial meetings conducted to condemn the incident and remember the martyrs.

### **The response**

The Ramguda attack was widely condemned by the country's oppressed masses, civil liberties and democratic rights organisations, various political parties and social organisations, democrats, intellectuals and well-wishers of the revolutionary movement in the country and abroad. Many civil liberties organisations, university students, intellectuals, democrats and journalists visited

the site of the incident at Ramguda, talked to the people and released their fact-finding reports. Daily newspapers published editorials and columns. Several intellectuals wrote in magazines.

Protests and public meetings were organised at several places. In this way, the fascist attack on the Maoists and the people in Ramguda drew widespread condemnation and protests. Immediately after the incident a team of thirty activists belonging to various civil rights organisations, women's organisations and individuals visited the place and conducted fact-finding. Other civil rights organisations too conducted fact-finding visits. A protest was organised by the Left and democratic forces on 31 October in Bhubaneswar demanding a high level judiciary inquiry monitored by the Supreme Court. Various civil and democratic rights organisations demanded withdrawal of all government armed forces from the struggle areas where the Adivasis and the local people are struggling for the lives and livelihoods, stop to criminalisation of people's movements including the Maoist movement, stop to fake encounters and the appointment of a judicial commission of Supreme Court judges and civil libertarians to look into the Ramguda killings. Similarly, a protest demonstration was organised by Left and democratic organisations in New Delhi on 2 November. A procession consisting of advocates, activists,

students and workers was taken out in Mumbai on 8 November in protest against two recent encounters – the killings of eight alleged SIMI undertrials on 31 October in Bhopal and the Ramguda encounter of 24 October.

Prof. Kathyayani Vidmahe, member of one of the fact-finding teams, recalled what the people of Ramguda told them, "We too are human beings, and we love those who love us. The Maoists are thinking about us. They are serving us and our village. They told us about land. They extended medical service. They were moved seeing our travails. They are our people who stayed with us for us... we have to go to Chitrakonda for our daily necessities or any government work. It takes two to three hours. More than the difficulty in the journey we are always seen as suspects. The police constantly harass us allegedly for making errands for the Maoists and helping them. We are jailed or killed. We are afraid to go into the forest because our men are caught alleged to be Maoists and women assaulted. We are deprived of moving freely in our own place. How can such persons who put us in such difficulties belong to us?" It is clear that with the people on its side and integrating closely with the oppressed masses, the Maoist Party and the revolutionary movement will certainly overcome the loss in Ramguda and taking inspiration from the supreme sacrifice of the valiant martyrs, it will boldly advance on the path of protracted people's war.

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*(Continued from p.10)*

Com. Ajitha many times. As per the decision of SZC she joined the guerrilla squads and led the movement in Trijunction. Comrade Ajitha was keenly interested in study and class struggle. She had a Marxist perspective towards the woman's question. She emphasized the importance of women's participation for the success of revolution and worked with great will for more than two and a half decades. She suffered with ill-health right from the beginning. But she was enough active, dynamic and strong willed to lead the movement relentlessly. She was a daring communist fighter. Comrade Ajitha is a great communist of the Indian revolution. Let us pledge to make the NDR success with the aim of establishing Communism as Comrade Ajitha aspired.

The exploiting ruling classes of India are day dreaming of eliminating revolution by murdering the revolutionaries. They are adopting many schemes. In the people's revolutionary war against the enemy's reactionary war, in the third phase of Operation Green Hunt many comrades starting from the revolutionary masses to the leaders of the village, area, division, state and the central leadership and being martyred. The martyrdom of all these comrades is a serious loss to the mass movements and the party. But they stay forever among us and the masses. Let us instil their revolutionary spirit in our hearts and advance. Let us work with dedication to achieve the aims of the martyrs. Let us fulfil the ideals of the martyrs.

## **Ramguda Encounter: Through the Eyes of Five PLGA Comrades**

*We present here the accounts of five PLGA comrades about their experience in Ramguda encounter. Two of them had sustained bullet injuries in the firing but have fully recovered and rejoined their ranks. These accounts show the tremendous courage and determination of our comrades in the face of extreme adversity as well as the unlimited brutality of the government armed forces towards revolutionaries and the oppressed masses. This is a translated, edited and shortened version of their accounts which they shared with us - MIB*

**Comrade Ramesh:** When the firing started at six in the morning of 24 October, we started to look for a way to retreat. It was still a little dark – no clear daylight yet. One comrade who saw the enemy approaching came running to the place of roll call and some of our comrades fired. The policemen stopped their advance and we started to retreat. The policemen kept shouting, “Don’t let them escape! Shoot them! Shoot them!” Many of the comrades who went towards the enemy side were hit and injured. We at the end of the retreating party started to fire towards the police who were pursuing us even though we could not see them. We were hemmed in from three sides – from the right, the left and behind.

A few of us were at the end as the rearguard. Some comrades ahead of us who were advancing were hit by bullets and one after another fell at the same spot. Some other comrades fired towards the direction of the enemy from prone position and in this way crossed the stream and went out of the range of the enemy firing. I could hear the policemen shouting to each other, “Look, look, some of them are running away, shoot them down!” From my position I could see the policeman who was firing from his LMG taking cover behind a mango tree a little distance away. He was not looking anywhere else but was aiming and firing at the same spot through which our comrades tried climb the hillock on a single line. I aimed my AK-47 towards him and pressed the trigger, but it did not fire due to some technical snag. It was a big problem.

Intense firing continued. I saw the body of Manjula lying on this side of the watercourse while some others fell on the opposite side. I was left all alone – some of our comrades moved ahead and crossed over to safety by firing while others were hit and fell down. I could recognise Madhu lying in an injured condition on the other side of the stream. I decided to turn back instead of trying to cross the stream where we suffered most of the casualties. So I started to climb back on the hillock from which we had climbed down earlier. After going a little distance I met Chini, one of our woman comrades. Both of us continued climbing up the hillock when suddenly we heard someone shouting, “Whoever you are, surrender!” We realised that the police were already there. We immediately lied down and took position, and so did they. We were looking at them, and they at us. When I acted as if I were going to lay down my gun hearing their instruction, they opened fire. We understood that their call for surrender was just a trap. So we got up and ran avoiding the two directions in which the policemen were present. After running for some distance we hid ourselves under some shrub and remained concealed there. A militia comrade too was hiding behind a nearby shrub. We spent the whole day there, aware that the policemen did not go away but were looking around for survivors.

Next day in the morning, we saw from our hideout a policeman bringing a militia comrade at gunpoint. Perhaps he too was

hiding somewhere like us nearby and went out in search of water as it was over twenty four hours since the encounter when the enemy caught him. They came walking towards the direction where we were hiding. The policeman was addressing him as “Brother! Brother!” but the militia comrade was looking extremely scared. Though they reached very close to us the policeman did not notice us as we remained absolutely still. The policeman, addressing the militia comrade as “brother”, pushed him to the ground in front of us. Then he called other policemen and three of them came running. They asked him where he had hidden his weapon and who else was hiding with him. The militiaman, who was shaking with fear, said that he had no weapons. The policeman then asked, “Why did you all join the ones in the forest? Now you are going to be dead.” Saying this, the policeman opened fire, killing him instantly. A few of the bullet shells even fell near us. After shooting him dead, they kept saying to the body, “Lie down well, lie down well! You people are with the *dadas* and that’s why you die in this way.” Then the four policemen sat on the nearby stones and one of them commented, “In Telangana we kill them in this way.” Then they fell silent. I kept thinking that I would have shot them like birds if only my gun had not let me down.

Just at that time, some other policemen came running and shouted, “We have got another one! We have got another one!” Shortly we heard gunshots a little down the hillock but we did not see whom they had killed. We only heard the policemen telling each other, “We have got two more bodies”. They must have caught some more comrades in hiding and killed them. Then all of them climbed down the hillock and went away. But soon we heard footsteps of people walking towards us, making their way through the shrubs. The policemen had returned to take the dead bodies away. The policeman who had killed the militia comrades was the one who brought a polythene sheet from our camp, wrapped the body in it and told the others, “It is one thing while killing, it is another thereafter... Come, help me a little... can’t you bear a bit of hardship?” They then tied the body and carried it away.

A few hours later, at around 10 or 11 am, the policemen left the campsite and took the road towards Gusumpadar village. They returned between 3 and 3.30pm. We could hear them telling someone, “Jamli! O Jamli! Will you run away? Jamli! Will you drink water? Look, look, don’t run away, or else we will shoot... Are you scared? Don’t be scared! We will leave you at your village...” In this way, they kept talking to her for around three hours that day. Then they took her towards the road and asked her to show the way in which our comrades had run away. They told her that if she cooperated with them, they would not do anything to her. But what they did to her I did not know at that time. It seems that it was our militia comrade named Jamli who was in their hands and was killed by them later.

At around 2 pm, we heard the noise of a helicopter landing nearby. We thought that they might come again to search around our hiding place. So we got up from there and went some distance to hide ourselves. From there we could observe the policemen taking their officers who came by the helicopter to the place where most of our comrades were martyred. Later I saw some of the policemen climbing the hillock overlooking our campsite and observing all around. Their kits were lying at the campsite. I was perplexed thinking what they were doing on the hillock. Then I realised that they were trying to detect any movement or noise made by our comrades who might have survived and were in hiding nearby.

In the evening they left the campsite and went towards the place of the firing. Observing their position, three of us slowly got down the hillock in the opposite direction. On the way we found water bottles and some boxes. We thought they might be close by. Nevertheless, we carefully started to climb down towards the village road and after landing on the road, walked away from the place. We reached a small village. It was quite dark. We called the villagers and asked for some food. But they did not respond or come out of their houses due to fear as they could not identify us. But finally they understood that it was us and gathered some rice. Each of us ate a little mixing it with water. We left that village and reached another one, where we met another comrade Shanti.

When we asked her where she was, she said that she too was hiding and escaped. After searching for our comrades for two-three days, we finally met them on the 28th.

It is quite apparent from the accounts of our comrades and the villagers that comrades Gangadhar, Gautam, Naresh, Gangal, Dasuram, Silka, Jamli and a militia comrade are among those who were caught and killed by the police in fake encounters. In the spot where most of our comrades had fallen, some of them did not die instantly and were lying there injured. The policemen interrogated those who were in a condition to speak, tortured them and then killed them. Similarly, they found and killed Silka who was injured and was hiding near a water hole close to the village. A village woman had come to fetch water on 26th when Silka tried to draw her attention and tried to seek help by shaking the branch of a tree. The policemen who were a little distant away and were observing the village woman observed this. They came to the place of her hiding and shot her dead. We later found some of her belongings lying at that spot.

On 27th the police killed Gautam and Naresh. They must have got injured and could not escape. They said that two Maoists were killed in an encounter in Sirlimetta, but in reality they killed our two comrades there in a fake encounter. Hearing the police claim of recovering an AK, our comrades thought that the enemy might have killed me along with another comrade. They were relieved to find that I was alive when we reunited.

**Comrade Kishore:** We were standing on attention at the time of roll call at six in the morning on the 24th. We heard the policemen speaking in Telugu and loading their guns. We too started loading ours. Some of our comrades fired in the direction of the enemy. The militia comrades who never had an experience of firing and had no firearms became nervous and started running. Our people too started to run and got mixed up with the militia. It happened so suddenly that nobody seemed to be in control of the situation. There was a small stream near the roll-call ground. We retreated towards that side but it was not possible to climb the steep hillock on the opposite side. We got into the

stream and retreated through it. But when we started to climb out of it the police fired at us. We were fired at from above too. So instead of trying to climb the hillock, we came down and rounded it on the left and went to the other side. By that time the police arrived from the right side of the hillock and started calling for others to come fast. We stopped there thinking which way to go. Hearing our voice the policemen at the top of the hillock who must have been hiding there from before started advancing towards us. A batch of policemen arrived from the left side too. So we were surrounded from the right flank, the left flank as well as the rear.

Our comrades decided that if we delayed any further it would be difficult for us to retreat safely. So we decided to stop the enemy from advancing by firing. So some of us fired towards our rear, where others fired to the right and the left. As we fired on three directions the enemy stopped on their way. But it was obvious that more enemy reinforcement would arrive soon. Prasad said that we should try to move out. So we decided to break through the encirclement and selected one direction. Rakesh, Ramesh, Erral and I remained at the end as a rearguard team to stop the enemy forces pursuing us. Some of our comrades in front started to advance with Hari in front. We heard our comrades saying, "Hari is advancing, let's go". Hearing this we opened fire to our rear to give them cover fire.

The enemy forces which had already taken position to our left opened fire as our comrades were climbing down, crossing the stream and climbing up again. They used machinegun fire as our comrades started to cross the few metres of this difficult spot. There was hardly any cover for us; even the shrubs were only a couple of feet high. We were in plain sight of the enemy and they continuously showered bullets on us. Most of our losses took place here. Prasad was the first to be hit. He fell down while trying to climb down on this side of the stream. So was Manjula. Others were hit while crossing the stream or climbing the hillock on the other side. We were at the back and saw them falling. I started to advance by firing at the enemy. But the bullets in my SLR got over. So I lied down on prone position. All around me were the bodies of our fallen comrades. Lata, Madhu,

Hari, Jyoti, Kamla... were all lying there. Madhu was hurt and was writhing in pain.

Watching so many of the comrades being hit at that spot, Daya, Rajesh, Ratna, Mahita, Budri and some other comrades did not try to climb the hillock but turned left by walking along the watercourse. But there was no way to get out as their path was blocked by a steep incline a little ahead. The policemen too were positioned nearby and were firing from there. So they turned back and again reached the place where our comrades had fallen and where I too was lying on the ground. I did not notice them at first. When I was replacing the empty magazine of my gun they came near. Rajesh was immediately hit by a bullet in his hand and his SLR fell down. He too went down. He told me, "I will not be able to come... You take away my gun". The policemen were continuously shooting from an LMG in the automatic mode targeting that place. I could hear the sound of empty shells ejected by the LMG hitting the ground. Then his life partner Ratna reached there. He told Ratna to lift him holding his hand. She tried but could not. So she sat down beside him. I loaded the new magazine and continued firing. A grenade exploded behind Ratna. As she could no longer stay there, she got up and ran. Then Budri, who was behind us, came forward. She came near us, told that I was hit in my chest and then fell down dead with one of her hands falling on me. I looked for her gun but did not find it. She was hit while in the stream and might have left it there.

I was thinking what to do – either try to get up and run or stay down firing. Just as I was getting up another grenade exploded in front of me and the place was filled of smoke and dirt. At that moment there was a slight break in the enemy firing. Hidden by the smoke, I ran and moved out of the range. I was the last one to retreat. Later, I noticed that two bullets had passed through the jacket I was wearing and another had grazed the skin of my hand.

**Comrade Kiran:** We came to the area on 18th October. I along with some comrades went for some work elsewhere and returned to the squad on the night 22nd October. We reached Ramguda camp early in the morning of 23rd.

That day we were supposed to vacate the present encampment and we got ready after lunch to shift after eating the food brought by the villagers. But for some reason we remained there as it was decided that we would shift the next morning. In the evening, one comrade saw some light on top of the adjacent hillock for a few seconds. It was hardly five minutes climb to the top of the hillock. The comrade informed some other comrades and after some deliberation, they concluded that it must have been starlight. Just to check, a few comrades went to the village. All this was happening in one section only and others had no information about it and the matter was dropped.

I was standing on roll call at six in the morning of 24 October. Then we heard some people shouting in Telugu "Catch! Catch!" At first we could not understand who they were; we thought they might be our people. But soon our comrades understood that they were policemen. Immediately, some of our comrades opened fire and started to retreat. I started to run behind the militia comrades. I and Comrade Gangadhar approached the makeshift bridge on the path towards Ramguda village. But before reaching the bridge, Gangadhar stepped in a hole dug for planting *ganja* saplings and fell down. His gun fell from his hand. I picked up his gun, took him by his hand and helped him to his feet and started running holding his hand. The policemen were firing at us from behind. While climbing up an incline after crossing the bridge and going a few steps Gangadhar told me that his foot had become numb and he was no longer able to run. He had been hit by bullets. I told him "let us keep going". He replied, "You go, I will come later", but then said, "I think I will die". There was very little I could do. Reluctantly, I left him and went away.

After some distance I met our squad member Kamala (she was later martyred). Then we met a militia women comrade. Soon we met comrades Talso and Jyoti as well. We got together and climbed down the hillock on the other side. We thought that we would take the footpath that went to another village. Five of us started climbing the hillock to go to the other side. Two of the women comrades found it difficult to carry their guns. So I carried their

guns as well my own and moved ahead of them. After reaching the top, I gave them their guns and asked them to load them. I told them, "No matter whether we live or die, we should remain firm and open fire if we come face to face with the enemy". They loaded their guns; I had already loaded my Insas. I, Kamala, the militia comrade, Jyoti and Talso – in this formation we started climbing down. But as we reached the footpath below, the police arrived. I saw one policeman advancing towards us with his AK pointing at us. I turned open the safety knob of my gun and fired. The policemen in front fell to the ground. I turned back to retreat but my sweater got stuck in a creeper. I tried hard to wriggle out but could not. Unable to free myself I lied down where I was. But the policemen who were behind saw me. I again fired a couple of shots. As I tried to get up holding my gun in one hand, I was hit by a bullet near the stomach. I fell down and also lost grip of my gun. Thinking that I was dead the other comrades ran back.

I felt that my life was slipping out. But minutes later I collected all my strength, got up and freed myself from the creepers, retrieved the gun, fired a few rounds and retreated. Blood was oozing out but I managed to run back. A little further I saw someone hiding and asked who they were. They were Kamla and the militia comrade. I and the two women comrades climbed back on the hillock on the top of which we met our comrades Prasad, Daya and others gathered together. I was in great pain and told them that I would not be able to carry the gun. Saying this I gave it to my commander. I was standing holding my wound and was without a gun. After some time I asked DCM comrade Kiran (later martyred) to give me a gun and told him that I would be in the front. He told me, "You are injured. You will not be able to fight". I went to comrade Madhu (he too was martyred) and asked him for his gun. He immediately gave me his rifle. It was 8.50 am by then. I fired ten rounds in the direction of the police. But the bullets were exhausted and asked Prasad for more. Prasad was telling us that if we remained there any longer many of us would be killed and there would be much loss. He proposed that we break through the encirclement. We started to

advance making way amidst intense fire. Kamala was behind me. I heard her telling me that Prasad dada and Kiran dada has fallen. But later she too was no longer behind me. Amidst heavy firing I only saw one comrade falling but who that was I could not make out.

Things were not clearly visible to me as I was in a semi-conscious state and did not notice who had fallen where. I and some other comrades kept up the firing and moving, evaded the enemy bullets and came out safely from the danger zone, reaching the top of the hillock where there was no police force or firing. We could escape because we kept firing on the direction of the enemy. The first batch of comrades who broke through the encirclement could escape by using fire-and-movement technique and so did most of the comrades who were at the end. Those in the middle were hit the hardest. Meeting our comrades on top of the hillock, we retreated towards a village. I was holding my wound all through this period but the blood did not stop – if I held it back at one place, blood came out from the other side (the bullet entered from one side of the abdomen and went out without harming the vital organs). I rested after some time as there was loss of blood but with the help of the comrades I slowly moved away. At the foot of the hill there was water. We drank and filled some water and again climbed another hill and reached near the village where we met a villager grazing his cattle late afternoon. Later we crossed the rivers, and next day in the morning I and other injured comrades were given treatment. Even though the wound has healed, I at times feel pain while lifting weight.

The villagers helped us a lot. They gave us food and guided us away for two hours to a safe place. If there was some news of the movement of the enemy they helped us shift to a different location. Militia comrades also remained with us all through. The villages which lost their people too were sympathetic; only the people from one village were a little miffed at the Party for the loss, but they understood after they were talked to. They said that both our people and the party people too were lost so the loss is equal. The police killed the last comrades on the 27th and left on the 28th. Till the 27th, helicopters used to make

sorties everyday. The police also fired on the villagers when they were running away. The body of a militia member was found near the place where the police encamped. His family members came and cremated it there itself.

**Comrade Talso:** On 24 October in the morning my sentry duty was over at 6 am. I came to the roll-call site when the policemen arrived from the direction of Gusumpadar village. The police reached the camp of the 1st PL (Platoon No.1) and noticing that our comrades were proceeding to the roll they thought that we were running away. So they started pursuing us towards the roll-call ground. As we were standing in attention, there was no other noise and we could hear the policemen's voice clearly. Daya, Rakesh, Hari, Munna and Dasuram ran to the cover of some trees near the headquarters, loaded their guns and fired towards the enemy. The police also fired and the encounter ensued. Everyone at the roll-call retreated in the opposite direction.

Another batch of policemen advanced rapidly through the path along the river towards Ramguda village. I retreated by crossing the bridge on a small brook towards the village. Some militia members ahead of me ran towards the village but I did not go in that direction. On the bridge I met Gangadhar. I started climbing the adjacent hillock while Gangadhar went further towards the village and started climbing the hillock. Just then he was hit on his foot by a bullet fired by the policemen coming along the road. He said, "I would not be able to come, you run away, I will not be able to run". The policemen were running after us along the road. I continued climbing the hillock, and met Jyoti. Then I met a woman militia comrade and also Kamala. Four of us climbed further and met Kiran. We climbed further and reached the top of the hillock.

The policemen below on the path saw us as there was hardly any vegetation on the hillock. So they tried to encircle us as the hillock was a small one. We started to climb down the hillock but the police tried to encircle us from that side too. So we changed direction and reached the foot of the hillock. There was

a dry stream and we tried to retreat by moving through it. But the policemen who were ahead of us saw us and started firing. I got down to the ground. The policemen ran towards us and started firing from a close range. I ran back and they kept firing. At that time three of us – I, Jyoti and Kiran – were hit. I was hit by a bullet on the thigh. My gun slipped away from my hand and I fell down to the ground. The policemen shouted and called others, "Come running, someone has fallen!" They opened heavy firing when I fell. The policemen ran towards us from different directions. Other comrades escaped. I could not pick up my gun, could not run away and hid behind a shrub nearby and remained silent. They reached where I had fallen, saw the blood and looked for me but passed by without noticing me. After they had left, I climbed back the same hillock and met Daya, Prasad, Kiran and other comrades who had also reached there by then.

Our comrades decided to break through the encirclement at one point and started climbing down the hillock as more delay would reduce the chance of retreat. I also climbed down accompanying them. Kiran gave the command to fire upon the police and advance. But in the process of descending to the small dry stream at the foot of the hillock, crossing it and again climbing the incline on the other side many were hit one after another by enemy bullets coming from our left. Some of them were martyred where other were injured. Seeing them fall, I abandoned the idea of crossing the stream and moved along the watercourse towards the right and away from the enemy fire. There I tried to make myself invisible by remaining hidden under the shrubs.

The policemen left with the dead bodies of the comrades a few hours later. I emerged from my hiding place and went to the spot where most of our comrades were martyred. Then I started walking along the stream, reached the pathway to the village and climbed up the nearby hillock. As I was climbing, I saw a helicopter landing near the village on the bank of the river. It was around 2 pm. The policemen had climbed down the hillock and were not in the village. I noticed a trail of blood and understood that our comrades might have retreated in that direction. I followed the trail

and reached the periphery of another village some distance away.

A village woman was working on her field which was being prepared for shifting cultivation. I called her and asked if our comrades had come in that direction. She told that she did not see anyone. I told her what had happened. Hearing me and looking at my condition – I was injured and covered with blood and mud – she started crying. I told her not to cry. She brought me some gruel and water from her home along with some clothes. She told me to change my uniform and put on the civilian clothes she brought so as to protect me from the enemy. She told me, “You are like our daughter. We will hide you somewhere and take you across the river to your comrades whenever we hear from them, be it today evening or tomorrow”. Other village women also started assembling there. Some of them stood guard while others bathed me. While cleaning my wound and seeing the blood they started crying. I told them not to cry as the enemy was not far away and they would come if they heard the sound of crying. The village women dressed me in fresh clothes and kept me hidden outside the village. Two women stood on guard to observe the enemy all the time. Our comrades were on top of a nearby hill and the villagers contacted them. Soon I met them and all of us retreated to a safer place. In this way, the help and support of the people gave us confidence and courage to face the difficult situation even after such a heavy loss.

**Comrade Rame:** I went to the sentry post just before six to relieve Comrade Gangal and two militia comrades who had finished their sentry duty. After I reached, Gangal went up the hillock to relieve himself. I could hear the roll-call whistle at 6 am. I was yet to keep down my kitbag and settle myself when I heard a gunshot coming from the direction of our campsite. I thought that it was an accidental fire. But soon it was followed by a volley of automatic gunfire. I saw the two militia comrades trying to run away. I asked them not to panic or run away as the enemy was targeting our comrades and we should not think of our safety alone. But they did not stop and I was left all alone.

I felt that some policemen were up on the hillock as well. So instead of climbing up, I climbed down a little and walked across the face of the hillock to the other side. After some time, I took cover and sat silently trying to see where our comrades were. Then I saw someone approaching. I decided that if it were the policemen I would open fire. But it turned out to be a woman comrade. She was not carrying her 12-bore gun or her bullet pouch. She also did not have her shoes which she was wearing earlier. I called her and asked about her gun but she said that she had lost her gun, pouch and shoes. I asked her to remain firm and fight the enemy if they came our way, but she said that she could not fight as she had no weapon. I could see none of our other comrades.

Both of us remained concealed there the whole day. At around ten at night we decided to climb down and go to a village as we were thirsty and hungry. So we approached the village a little further. The whole village was silent. We called them but nobody responded as they were quite scared. We remained in the open holding our guns, thinking that if the policemen arrived we would fight. But soon the villagers came out and gave us food. They hid my kitbag and gave some clothes to change since we were in guerrilla uniform. But there were enough clothes only for one person. So the comrade with me changed into civilian clothes while I remained in uniform. The villagers hid us in their house where we remained for a day.

During our stay in the village, the villagers asked where and how far was our home. Observing our hardship and the constant danger to our lives in the people’s war they advised us to go back to our homes. They asked why we should undergo such difficulties. I replied that I had come prepared to fight in this war and there was no question of leaving it and going back midway, no matter how difficult the circumstances might be. I got the news of our loss but did not know who all were dead. I was very sad thinking about so many of our martyred comrades. In the meantime, the villagers contacted our comrades in the East Division of Andhra Pradesh. Finally, I and the comrade with me were reunited with our squad on 4 November – ten days after the incident. I was the last one to regroup following the encounter.

## **“A heavy loss... but the volcano will erupt”**

### **Interview with Comrade Ramakrishna** Central Committee Member, CPI(Maoist)

*Kranthi, the organ of the Central Regional Bureau (CRB) of the Central Committee of the CPI(Maoist) recently published an interview with Comrade Ramakrishna (Akkiraju Haragopal), member of the Central Committee and in-charge of Andhra-Odisha Border Special Zonal Committee (AOBSZC) of CPI(Maoist) regarding the incident. Comrade Ramakrishna was one of the four representatives of the erstwhile CPI(ML)[PW] who participated in talks with the AP government in September 2004. He lost his son Munna (Prithvi, 27), a commander of PLGA in this incident. This interview has been translated from the Telugu original – MIB*

**Question: Ramguda encounter is a very big incident in the history of CPI(Maoist). Can you explain how it happened?**

**Answer:** As you said Ramguda incident is a very big one in the history of our Party. You must have seen that a few bourgeois magazines have described this attack as the government’s ‘surgical strike’ on us. Along with the Greyhounds and SOG Commando forces of AP and Odisha, the central paramilitary forces too participated in this attack. According to the statement of the AP DGP, a total of 800 enemy forces were involved in this attack. We were surrounded at 6 in the morning of 24<sup>th</sup> October when we were conducting roll-call. There was fierce fighting between the government forces and our PLGA forces for nearly one hour. In this battle we suffered a big loss. On our side we lost 31 comrades out of which two were members of AOBSZC, two were District Committee members, twelve Area Committee cadres, six Party members and nine belonged to revolutionary mass organisations and the people’s militia. A senior commando of the government forces died and another was severely injured. Four others were slightly injured.

We need to know some more things to understand this incident. I shall explain this in two parts. The first one would analyse the situation before the attack and the second one would explain the way of the attack.

Coming to the first part, this attack mainly targeted the leadership comrades of our Party. Such attempts were going on since January 2015 in the third phase of Operation Green

Hunt. We were attacked in Bhejji area in January, Jenthri area in August and in Nandapur area in the December of 2015. Hundreds of government armed forces conducted these attacks in a planned manner. Our PLGA forces fought back these attacks in a heroic manner.

Enemy took lessons from these failures. So now they planned in a more secret, more conspiratorial way. We could not understand this scheme and the ongoing changes deeply. We completed our organisational work and all our forces in the area reached the Ramguda camp on the morning of 23<sup>rd</sup>. We were to leave in the evening and so we called back all the forces engaged in protection in the outer layer. We were to plan and disperse. We were aware that the place where we camped was geographically unfavourable. The river flows in ‘L’ shape around the camp. In fact, this is how it is in all the villages in this area. We cannot get out of this area without crossing the river. This is an inevitable position. However since a few batches of our forces reached the camp late we could not complete our work that day. We planned to vacate in the evening of 24<sup>th</sup>. We enquired about the enemy movements and came to know that the situation was safe. This too led to the decision to stay for one more day.

After we decided to stay, two lights were seen on a hill on the southern side at 7 in the evening. But we thought they were stars and could not confirm them to be lights. The same day the mother of an informer of Ramguda village tried to go to Chitrakonda but was stopped by the people. She sent her grand-

daughter and returned. Though the people informed us about her we did not perceive any danger. Moreover, we sent word to a journalist a few days before. We asked him to come to another village on the 22<sup>nd</sup> evening. But instead of going there he enquired our whereabouts and came to Ramguda at 10 in the night of 23<sup>rd</sup> and met us. Though this was abnormal we did not take it seriously. In fact, these three things that came to our notice from the morning till the night of the 23<sup>rd</sup> suggested danger. If only we had analyzed these things we would have taken additional precautions. But we did not do it. This was our failure.

Another failure was that since a few of our forces were to be dispersed that day, the arrangements for protection were slackened. Sentry and patrolling were not conducted as per the military rules. This failure of ours helped the enemy. So the enemy's commando forces could enter the area overnight without being seen by the people.

Coming to the second point, this is how the attack was launched. The police forces surrounded our camp by 6'o clock in the morning and one batch entered our camp straightaway. We were conducting roll-call at that time. Our comrades observed the police and though surprised, they started firing. By that time the police surrounded our camp and so our forces did not retaliate for some time. They retreated towards the hill where the lights were seen the previous night. The police started firing from up the hill as well. Then we understood that the lights seen in the night were of the police. Fighting this back our forces went towards another hill. The police already surrounded us and started firing from all sides. Our forces tried to break the encirclement and many were martyred in this heroic fight. Injured comrades were caught, cruelly tortured and killed. On the morning of the 25<sup>th</sup> four unarmed militia comrades hiding in the bushes were killed. On the 26<sup>th</sup> one injured woman comrade who hid in a breach unable to retreat was murdered. Two more comrades who could not move out due to injuries were caught and killed on the 27<sup>th</sup>. On the whole the massacre went on from the 24<sup>th</sup> to the 27<sup>th</sup>. New police forces were coming to replace the old in helicopters all through these four days. The

DGP of AP and many police officers came to the place of the incident and supervised the whole program. During this time the police surrounded Ramguda village too and fired. They even fired upon the people escaping in small boats in which a farmer was injured. On the whole, our forces were 85 in number. But many of them were unarmed members of mass organisations and the militia. Fifty-four comrades retreated safely.

**Q: Why do you think there was such a big incident?**

**A:** Here lies the reality. The police try to describe us as those violating peace and order. They say they attacked us in order to protect peace and order. This is a stark lie. The people would never believe this. In fact, the exploitive governments have economic and political interests in this attack. The governments representing the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and feudal classes are working as middlemen to the imperialists. They are not only looting the property of the country for the sake of the imperialists but are also filling their own coffers. The exploitation intensified in a bid to overcome the intensified crisis of world capitalism. This neo-colonial exploitation is going on indiscriminately against the masses of the country in the veil of 'reforms'. They are keen on exploiting the mineral resources. They started large-scale bauxite exploration in Visakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh and Koraput district of Odisha. The tribal people are being displaced indiscriminately. The people are fighting back these bandit attempts through militant struggles under the leadership of our Party. They are organising against the exploitive governments to protect their resources with the slogan "*Jal, Jangal and Zameen are ours!*" The exploitive governments are unable to digest these consequences. The ruling classes are unable to bear the economic and political resistance of the people. So they took up fascist suppression. This fascist suppression is now unleashed under the third phase of Operation Green Hunt. They attempt to totally eliminate our Party, PLGA and the revolutionary masses and try to pave way for exploitation. The Ramguda incident occurred as a part of this. They named it Operation All Out-2.

**Q: What are the reasons for such a large-scale offensive of the enemy specifically in this area?**

**A:** Their main target is to eliminate the higher-level leadership of the Party. Accordingly, they launched this big attack since our leadership was moving in this area. Militant people's struggles against bauxite mining are going on in the whole of this border area. Specifically, local tribal peasantry of the 'Cut-Off area' has imbibed the understanding of the Armed Agrarian Revolution and took up militant struggles against the landlords. They occupied hundreds of acres of lands and are advancing in the direction of forming organs of state power through the path of armed struggle. So the central and the state governments specifically concentrated on this area.

**Q: What was the impact of this incident on the local people?**

**A:** People make history. But the journey would not be simple and straight. It would be protracted and go through painful experiences, advances and retreats. They would be steeled in the process. Presently the people of the 'Cut-Off area' are being hardened in revolutionary war. During this incident, they acted in a highly responsible manner to protect the Party and the PLGA. Before the encounter the people of only one village saw the police. They hurried to pass the information to us, but the police caught them on the way, beat them up and sent them back. After the encounter, the people made all attempts to protect our forces that retreated from the site of the incident. The Party cannot sustain in the area without their cooperation. In fact, the term 'cooperation' would only understate their participation in this incident.

Though they were aggrieved by the loss of their leaders and children, they are not ready to lose the victories they have achieved. They are prepared to advance the class struggle. Another important factor worth mentioning is that the support from the people from other areas – the democrats and intellectuals of the urban and the plain areas – has enhanced the confidence of the people.

**Q: What do you have to say about the response of the people and intellectuals across the country after the incident?**

**A:** Like earlier, this time too the people, democrats and intellectuals protested the massacre of our comrades by the government in a big way. This response is a good manifestation of the growing democratic environment in the society. This time the specialty was that students from twelve universities across the country visited the site of the incident, met the tribal peasantry, exposed the facts through their Fact Finding Report and stood in support of the people. Civil liberties organisations and other mass organisations visited Ramguda in phases, met the people and highlighted the facts. They stood in support of the local people.

**Q: Tell us about the impact of the incident on your Party cadres.**

**A:** Earlier when such big incidents took place, a few of our comrades lost morale. But this time none have become weak. So we feel that our Party has become stronger. In the recent times, we have conducted Bolshevisation campaign in the Party, Army and United Front. Due to this campaign our Party became better theoretically, politically and militarily. So we feel that there is no negative impact of this incident as such on the Party ranks.

**Q: Some intellectuals commented PLGA to be an army of death and that your Party does not enjoy the support of the people. What is your response?**

**A:** Those who are making foul propaganda against the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary leadership have directions from the imperialists. They cannot and do not understand that history would not advance without sacrifices. Of course, as they say, we climb the steep mountains, we remove the hills and swim against the tide. Without such will and practice, no one can change this exploitive system simply with tall talks. Such intellectuals intentionally attack us. They do not wish to recognise the changes brought in the society by the revolutionary movement and the

increasing people's support to it. The invincible People's Army seems to be a death Army to such people. They have lost political legitimacy long back. They are professional opportunists. They utilize their 'intellect' with convoluted logic to serve vested interests for the sake of the exploitative ruling classes. We can see that with the intensification of the economic policies of imperialist globalisation on one hand and the political fascist policies on the other, the number of intellectuals in the country being sold off for their vested interests to the moneybags is on the rise. This situation would definitely draw a line of demarcation between the revolutionary and the sham intellectuals. This would bring forth a clear polarization.

**Q: The government and the police are propagating that they have dealt an irreparable blow to the AOB movement. What do you say?**

**A:** This is a part of false propaganda by the police. They try to dampen the morale of the people through such foul propaganda. Indeed, this is a heavy loss to us. But our comrades are prepared for redoubled hard-work to fill up the vacuum left by our martyrs. New forces are emerging from our deep revolutionary mass base. This loss is a small hurdle in our long journey and in the fulfillment of our objective.

**Q: The police argue that there is a big difference in the balance of strength and armed training between themselves and the Maoists. Is this true?**

**A:** There is no truth in their argument. Large forces and armed training do not decide final victory in war. The dynamic role of the masses would be decisive in any war. Starting from Vietnam, Korea to the present West Asian countries have proved and are proving this fact. The people of those countries have shown that imperialism is a paper tiger. But the final victory of the people would take a prolonged process involving many difficulties, hardships and painful experiences. A change in the balance of forces would occur in this process. Their strength and situation will not remain as they are now. Gradually the people's armed forces would gain an upper hand in all things and reverse the situation.

**Q: What shortcomings have you identified in this incident? What lessons have the Ramguda incident imparted?**

**A:** Sacrifices are inevitable in war. But our policy is to avoid unnecessary sacrifices. There were shortcomings on our side in the Ramguda incident. We underestimated the strength of the enemy on this occasion. We were lenient in implementing the rules of guerilla war. These deficiencies turned as opportunities for a temporary victory for the enemy. It was a heavy loss to us. If we had avoided the mistakes we could have avoided the losses to some extent. There are changes in the war situation everyday. The Indian ruling classes concentrated their full-fledged attack on us in order to eliminate us and intensify their exploitation. It is the third phase of Green Hunt. In these conditions, we will become even closer to the people to defeat the government offensive. This is our actual strength in this war. We will maintain proletarian discipline consciously. We will practice the rules of guerilla war more conscientiously and be prepared to take on the difficulties of any scale. These policies would take us towards victory. Our Party has earlier experience in overcoming such difficult conditions.

**Q: How would this incident influence the revival of the revolutionary movement in AP?**

**A:** The states of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh are like volcanoes. In both of these states the people's anger is boiling like lava. The people of these states have a long history of class struggle. They have a history of sacrifices. They have seen ebbs and flows in revolution. They will not become despondent due to such incidents. They will take up political struggles against the ruling classes basing on such incidents. Now they are exposing the inhuman and barbarous methods of the ruling classes and their murderous, mercenary police on the revolutionaries and the masses. They are taking up political programs in various forms to criticise the rulers. On the question of revival, we must remember one thing. The stream of revolution has never stopped flowing in the two states. It is continuing in various forms. This revolutionary stream is creating another spate of mass movements in its own, new methods. It will erupt like lava splashing out of a volcano.

*Message of the Central Committee on the  
12th Anniversary of the Formation of CPI(Maoist)*



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

**Defeat policies like Bastar Mission-2016, Saranda Action  
Plan carried on under the third phase of  
Operation Green Hunt!**

**Celebrate with revolutionary enthusiasm the  
12th anniversary of the formation of the Party from  
21 to 27 September 2016 throughout the country!**

**Move ahead by strengthening the Party,  
PLGA, Revolutionary Mass Organisations and  
Revolutionary People's Committees at all levels  
according to the present conditions!**

*28 July 2016*

Dear comrades,

We are going to celebrate the 12th anniversary of the formation of the Party with great enthusiasm. 21 September is a very important day for our Party and the revolutionary people. Twelve years back on 21 September 2004 the two main revolutionary streams merged and CPI(Maoist) was formed. On the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the formation of the Party, our Central Committee appeals to various levels of Party committees and rank and file, commanders

and fighters of the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA), revolutionary mass organisations and the struggling masses to celebrate with revolutionary enthusiasm by organising public meetings, meetings, seminars, rallies and processions using various mediums of propaganda. On this occasion it conveys hearty revolutionary greetings to them. Our CC extends its revolutionary greetings to the Maoist parties and organisations of different countries involved in building a

movement of solidarity at the international level to the ongoing people's war in the country under the leadership of our Party.

More than 150 of our dear comrades and the masses have sacrificed their invaluable lives since the 11th anniversary of the Party in the revolutionary movement going on throughout the country under the leadership of our Party. They include leading comrades of Special Area/Special Zonal/State Committee members like comrades Chirag (Eastern Bihar-Northeastern Jharkhand Special Area), Basant (Odisha), Lacchanna (SZC Alternate Member, DK), from Divisional Committee Secretary Ravi (East Division, AOB), Zonal/Divisional Committee Member Comrade Satish (South Zone, BJ), Rama (Sindri Lingo, Kalinganagar Division, Odisha), Sunil (Maad Division, DK), Rajita (North Gadchiroli Division, DK), Soni (South Bastar, DK) to common members, PLGA platoon commanders and fighters. During this period, leaders of the Party's mass organisations like comrades Kanakaiah Mastar (Andhra Pradesh) and Maddileti (Telangana), senior comrade Satnam (Punjab) have been martyred. Similarly, from tens of people's militia commanders to militia members, from leaders of revolutionary people's governments and mass organisations to the masses have been martyred. Friends like Comrade B D Sharma who kept close relation with the new democratic revolution going on for the liberation of our country and our Party and wished for the victory of the revolution too passed away. On the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the formation of our Party, we remember and pay our humble red homage with bowed heads to the great leaders, fore-founders and teachers of the Indian revolution Comrade Charu Majumdar and Comrade Kanhai Chatterjee and thousands of heroic martyrs since the Naxalbari revolutionary armed agrarian struggle till the present as well as those comrades who laid down their lives in the people's war this year while valiantly fighting the enemy with us shoulder to shoulder in order to achieve the aims.

Our Central Committee pays red salutes to the brave fighters who have laid down their lives in the movements under the leadership of Maoist parties, organisations and groups

in different countries with the aim of the victory of the world socialist revolution.

The self-sacrifice of the heroic fighters who have given their lives in the last ten months since the 11th anniversary of the Party in the defensive war being waged by the Party ranks, PLGA fighters, revolutionary people's committees, revolutionary mass organisations and the people of the country, particularly by the people of the struggle areas, under the leadership of the Party against the pro-imperialist, anti-people social, economic, political, military, cultural and environmental policies of the central and state governments, particularly against the extremely barbaric and cruel Operation Green Hunt conducted by the fascist ruling classes based on the strength on the imperialists, is very valuable, selfless, ideal and worthy of emulation. They laid down their valuable lives for such a new and just society in which inequality, discrimination and exploitation of man by man will be impossible. On the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the formation of our Party, we take pledge to fight daringly with firm determination and spirit of self-sacrifice to follow the path shown by the martyrs and fulfil their dream of establishing a new society. On this occasion the CC offers its condolences to the families and friends of the heroic martyrs and promises to extend the possible assistance to them. Similarly, our CC hopes that the comrades who were injured in the people's war will recover soon and all of them would once again become active in the revolutionary movement.

On the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the Party's formation, we place before the rank and file, PLGA forces and the vast masses the achievements earned through the sacrifices of our heroic martyrs in order to increase their active and militant role in the people's war. Our achievements:

The People's Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA) is continuing the struggle under the leadership of the Party to complete our central task of transforming DK and BJ into base areas, developing the PLGA to PLA and the guerrilla war into mobile war and to win more achievements in fighting the police and paramilitary forces of the exploitative ruling

classes to safeguard the Party, the movement, the masses and the revolutionary people's committees. On the other hand, the enemy forces are continuing various kinds of state violence and white terror as per the LIC strategy to "win the hearts and minds" of the people. They are carrying out large-scale attacks on the villages and the masses and are committing massacres and atrocities on women, destroying people's property and crops. They are trying to drive wedges among the people. They are trampling upon the people under iron heels in order to crush the new democratic and socialist aspirations and the collective spirit among the masses. Independent journalists who are trying to bring the incidents of state violence and police raj in the struggle areas to the notice of the world are being labelled as 'Maoists' and arrested under fabricated charges and arrested in a conspiratorial manner or are being chased out. Against this counter-revolutionary war being carried out by the enemy forces under Operation Green Hunt, PLGA under the leadership of our Party and with the help of the revolutionary masses are conducting various tactical counter-offensive campaigns and actions. The enemy forces have been dealt significant blows in places like Kala Pahad (Palamu, Jharkhand), Dugmarka-Potong (Sukma, Chhattisgarh), Mailawada (Dantewada, Chhattisgarh), Chakkarbandha (Aurangabad, Bihar). Our PLGA fighters are continuing their resistance struggle through hundreds of small, medium and big actions were carried out in states like Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Bihar, Jharkhand, AOB, Odisha, Telangana, Paschim Banga and Western Ghats. More than 60 policemen were wiped out and nearly 140 injured in the last one year in PLGA's tactical counter-offensive campaigns and actions in various guerrilla zones and red resistance areas in the entire country.

Party committees at various levels have reviewed in their plenums that the two-year long Bolshevisation campaign taken up by our Party (to study and to connect it with practice) has brought favourable results to some extent along the expected lines. It has been decided in some places to extend the time period of

the campaign by one more year. During this year principally the higher level leadership has taken the decision to conduct social investigation in order to raise their theoretical and political level and Bolshevise themselves in conformity to the rapidly changing situation. The task of conducting comparative study of the changes in the production relations in the last one decade was carried out in the field. The leadership discussed among themselves the area-level class analysis reports that were prepared there. It was concluded that the people's standard of living in the struggle areas has gone up in the last ten years.

Under the leadership of various levels of revolutionary people's committees (Krantikari Janatana Sarkars) in Dandakaranya, the co-operative movement to "increase production through land levelling, building embankments and irrigation facilities" has been conducted since 2011. This campaign is being conducted every year for 15-20 days. Where RPCs are active, campaign is continuing on the basis of class and it has won the hearts of the masses as a revolutionary tradition. The police and paramilitary forces intensified their attacks in January-February 2016 to disrupt this campaign. Two villagers were killed in police firing and two injured in the workplace where this campaign was going on. In spite of this, the revolutionary masses with their firm determination achieved their objective of completing this campaign by the formation day of the organs of people's power (10 February). The fact that on average 1.5 lakh peasants (men and women) took part in it daily even amidst fierce enemy attacks demonstrates its mass character. This campaign is continuing in AOB, Odisha and other struggle areas as well.

The enemy has been making efforts for the last few years to ensure that the revolutionary struggle cannot procure any kind necessary supplies. In spite of this, our Krantikari Janatana Sarkars have concentrated their attention in the last three years (2013, 2014 and 2015) mainly on agriculture, public education, public health, defense of the Janatana Sarkars and small-scale industries. Similarly, attention was also paid to public welfare works such as the release of persons arrested by the enemy,

forestry and self-defense and providing financial aid to poor families. In the last two years, the revolutionary mass organisations and RPCs took up the task of providing relief to the people of the places in our struggle areas which are suffering from serious drought situation. Along with this, they are collecting various kinds of contributions from all sections of the people, particularly from employees, democrats and sympathisers of the revolutionary movement and distributing among drought-affected people.

People's resistance and resistance movements are continuing at an intense level against the hundreds of MoUs signed by the central and state governments with comprador corporate houses like the Tatas, Essar, Mittal, Jindal, Neco, etc. and multinational companies like Vedanta, Posco, etc. for the construction of many heavy industries and infrastructural projects such as mines, big dams, wildlife sanctuaries, mega steel plants, thermal power plants, open cast mines, railways, etc. by displacing lakhs of people, particularly the Adivasi people, in the areas of revolutionary struggle, particularly in eastern and central India as well as against the thousands of armed forces deployed in these areas for their construction. As a result, the many MoUs have remained unimplemented. Anti-displacement movements are emerging on the border regions of the south Indian states of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala. The problem of displacement in the country is the problem of people's existence, and is a life and death problem particularly for the indigenous people of the forested regions. In the final instance, it is the problem of land. That is why the masses actively jumped into the movement in the entire country to demand the withdrawal of the anti-people land acquisition bill introduced by the Modi government. This is the reason why the mercenary armed forces of Odisha government are cruelly killing the people with the aim of crushing their anti-displacement movements. Our Party is leading these people's movements by uniting with the democratic forces and organisations on a wide scale.

Democratic organisations, religious minorities, Dalits and Adivasi masses have

come out to conduct united movements against Brahmanical Hindu-fascism in our revolutionary struggle areas during this year. The murderous politics of saffron terror by the Sangh Parivar which sets aside all the laws promulgated under the Indian Constitution and openly uses the coercive power of the state is facing the opposition of the masses in the revolutionary areas. On the other hand, students, workers, women, revolutionary writers, artists, singers, progressive journalists, etc., are trying to mobilise the people in the whole country against Brahmanical Hindu-fascism. Our Party is making efforts to develop these movements as joint movements by giving them assistance.

The exploitative ruling classes of India declared one decade back that Maoism is the biggest threat to the country's internal security and they imposed a war on the people in the Maoist movement areas. Nearly five lakh police and paramilitary forces were deployed in 16-17 states of the country. Drones and more than two dozen Indian air force helicopters are patrolling the skies. This can be marked as a turn in the attacks by the government on the revolutionary movement of India. Garuda commandos of the air force are terrorising the people by conducting exercises for aerial attack. Incidents of killing the struggling masses by the police in fake encounters are on the rise. Police atrocities on women are going on unabated. The mercenary police goons are subjecting the people whom they can lay their hands on to cruel torture by using salt and chilli powder in the struggle areas. They are binding the people with ropes and pulling them by vehicles on the roads. They are humiliating the women by squeezing their breasts to milk them. They committed inhuman atrocities on women in the villages like Chinnagellur, Peddagellur, Burgin, Pegadpalli and Kunna in Dandakaranya's South Bastar. The commando and police forces of the central and state governments are committing brutal and heinous crimes in Chhattisgarh's Bastar region under the leadership of Bastar IG SRP Kalluri. The central and state governments are not paying any heed to the complaint made by Amnesty International that even the information of the arrested persons are not

given to the concerned family members. Democratic forces are uniting at the domestic and international level for some time against these fascist acts. The intellectuals, democratic forces, human rights activists, well-wishers of the Adivasis, journalists, writers, advocates, women's organisations, various parliamentary parties working in these areas except BJP are condemning these acts. Modi, Raman Singh and their police are not being able to tolerate the fact-finding reports they are presenting before the people. Police goons attacked AAP leader Soni Sodi and smeared her face with chemical substance. DG Naxal Operation DM Avasthi is not only labelling anyone taking the side of the people as 'Maoists', but he is rejecting their allegations and fact-finding reports by terming them as false propaganda to break the morale of the police forces. Not only that, Sukma Sessions judge Prabhakar Gwal who questioned and stopped police atrocities within his powers was dismissed from his job by the state government on the allegation that he was not pronouncing judgments as per the orders of the District Collector. Gwal came public with the allegation that his life was under threat from the police and the administration.

State violence and white terror is going on at an unprecedented level in all struggle areas of Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Bihar, Jharkhand, Paschim Banga, Assam, Odisha, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. The third phase of Operation Green Hunt is preparing the objective ground for uniting the people's forces. Depending on this unity and by uniting with workers, peasants, students, women, revolutionary intellectuals, democrats and patriotic forces, our Party made efforts in the last one year to build peoples resistance-resistance movements and people's movements against Operation Green Hunt.

### **Comrades,**

US imperialism, the no.1 enemy of the world, is reeling under more serious problems inside and outside the country than before. As the most debt-ridden country, US imperialism is trapped in a debt of 20 lakh crore dollars. It

is facing the ire of the people of many countries for hundreds of its military bases with lakhs of American soldiers in 70 different countries of the world, particularly in the strategic areas by spending one billion dollar every year in order to maintain its global hegemony as the gendarme of the world. The US is making serious efforts to counter China which is emerging as its competitor at the international level. It has continued the tension in the South China Sea by carrying out several military measures. Contention is growing among the US, China and Russia as well as other imperialist powers for the plunder of natural resources in more than twenty Arab countries of North Africa and West Asia (Middle-east). The armed forces of the US, France and NATO are devastating these countries with the flames of war for many years in the name of protecting the people of the region, regime change of dictators, control of 'extremist' organisations, etc. According to the figures released by the United Nations, more than three lakh people have lost their lives in the war in Syria which is continuing since 2011. Lakhs of Syrians have been forced to flee to Europe and refugees due to the policies adopted by the imperialist countries in this war. They are suffering many kinds of problems in the process. Many people are losing their lives in accidents in the Mediterranean Sea. Hundreds of people have been killed in drone attacks by the US and other imperialist countries in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Palestine, Yemen, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Syria and the Philippines. In this way, due to the policies it is adopting, the US is facing anger of the world people even more seriously which is growing day by day.

The US is carrying out cuts in public welfare expenditures on a big scale in order to come out of its economic crisis. Similarly, the country's workers and people from various social sections are organising strikes on their problems due to the policies against the workers and the middle classes in the interest of the big corporations. Four crore people (nearly 12 percent) are living on food coupons provided by the government. It is forced to take new loans in some situations to pay its employees. The American-Africans who are living in the

country for centuries are facing serious racial discrimination. Nearly 600 Black people have been killed by the police in 2015 alone. This is the reason why the feeling of retaliation is spreading like fire among them. The American people in their thousands are organising rallies in a number of cities condemning this racial discrimination. They are doing armed attacks on the US police officials. In this way, unrest in the American society is daily increasing.

The condition of other imperialist and industrial countries too is no better than the US. Greece has not been able to come out of its debt crisis. People are facing problems in France due to the cuts in unemployment benefits, pension and public welfare funds. The people losing their trust on government policies due to the worker's strikes on the one hand and the attacks by the ISIS on the other. While it is true that the exit of Great Britain from the European Union reflects the aspirations of the people, it is also true that this demonstrates the growing strength of the rightwing forces. People getting organised and carrying out movements are growing in the entire Europe.

As a result, the crisis in the world imperialist system has become more acute and it is taking the imperialist powers towards intense struggle. It has intensified the contention for the redivision of the world market. This contention among the imperialists is creating favourable conditions for another upsurge of the revolutionary forces of the working class, oppressed people and oppressed nationalities.

### **Comrades!**

The economic crisis in the imperialist countries which is continuing since 2008 is creating havoc in all the countries of the world including our country and giving rise to serious social unrest. In order to crush the movements of the working class, oppressed people and oppressed nationalities that are growing across the world, the imperialist powers are instigating fanaticism with a heady mix of fascism, religion and patriotism. While the ruling Hindu fundamental forces are resorting to fascist acts by fanning up cultural chauvinism on the one hand, and destroying

the country's economy on the other by implementing 'Vision-2020' in the interest of the corporate forces.

The way the previous BJP-led NDA government introduced the slogan of 'Shining India' while in power at the centre, in the same way Modi government launched the propaganda of 'Make in India' immediately after coming to power. Modi clique has brought forward policies like Smart City, Start-up India, Stand-up India, Mudra policy, Digital India, Skill India, Rurban, etc., under Vision-2020. To implement it effectively, NITI (National Institution for Transforming India) Ayog was formed in the place of Planning Commission with the aim of serving the interests of the imperialists, comprador big capitalists and big landlords as a part of its efforts to completely transform the outline of the country's economy. Inseparable from the policies carried out with its funds are the "policies for freedom from Maoism". The funds allocated for these policies are being utilised to wipe out the revolutionary movement going on in the leadership of our Party. Modi has signed hundreds of agreements with corporate bigwigs for the unbridled loot of the country's resources by travelling to over 40 countries till now. After Modi came to power, the efforts to more closely tie the Indian economy with the US imperialist economy is going on rapidly.

After the BJP captured government power at the centre, the Hindu fundamentalist forces are behaving in the country as they wish. They are bringing severe pressure on everyone in the country to unhesitatingly agree to the 'national heritage of Hindu tradition', no matter of whichever religion they may be. Saffronisation of education is going on quite some time in the BJP-ruled states. In the schools of Gujarat where Modi ruled as the Chief Minister, the lesson that "Indian civilisation has originated from Vedic Hinduism" is being taught to the students of the fifth class based on Savarkar's theories. The students of the tenth class are taught that the country's caste system is "an important gift by the Aryans". Vidya Bharati, an organisation affiliated to Sangh Parivar, is making serious efforts to propagate the Hindutva ideology. Hindutva forces are

engaged in the last two years to saffronise education by using state power, their various organisations and forums. By instilling a wrong interpretation of history in the minds of children, they are moulding the coming generation with fundamental Brahmanical ideology. Its danger is growing day by day even more in the Adivasi areas.

Saffron forces are making deadly attacks on Dalits, Adivasis and minorities who constitute 40 percent of the country's population to make them accept Brahmanism. Murders are increasing under the protection of the state. People from other religions are being converted to Hinduism through the sophisticated process of 'Ghar Wapasi'. Many organisations of the Sangh Parivar are working for this. New organisations are being formed from time to time. All of them are raising the slogan of 'social harmony'. After Modi came to power at the centre and Devendra Fadnavis in Maharashtra, they are propagating themselves as the messiahs of the Dalits by upholding B R Ambedkar in order to hide their Hindu fascist face. Dalits in Gujarat are getting organised and agitating for social justice and self-respect throughout the state against the attacks by the people belonging to the dominant castes. People from all sections are condemning and expressing serious opposition to these attacks. The return of government awards by Dalit writers in Gujarat has started.

There has been an intensification of eviction drives to displace the Adivasis from their forests. The way Modi government is completely privatising all the public sectors, in the same way the process of selling the forests too is going on. The present government is setting aside all the Schedules of the Indian Constitution and the acts introduced by various governments like Prevention of Atrocities against SCs-STs Act, PESA, the new forest act, Chotanagpur Tenancy Act, etc. and bringing new laws like the law (in Jharkhand) to give non-Adivasis who have resided for over 30 years the identity of Adivasis and thereby plundering the natural resources after displacing the Adivasis from the forests.

The process of Hinduisation of Adivasis is going for many years. At present the

Hindutva forces have intensified cultural attack in order to assimilate them. Even before Modi rule in Gujarat, Hindu has been added before the names of all the Adivasi communities like Chaudhary, Bheel and Gamit. The suffix 'ram' is being added to the names of Adivasis on a mass scale. Students in the government residential schools built in Adivasi areas are being forced to have food only after chanting Hindu hymns. Vanavasi organisations are being formed with the aim of connecting the Adivasis with Sangh Parivar. A section of the Adivasis was widely used in the massacre perpetrated by the saffron brigade against the Muslims in Gujarat in 2002 or in the widespread killing of (Adivasi) Christians in Kandhamal in 2008.

In the present times too, the Adivasis are being recruited to the commando forces, Sendra and Salwa Judum in the struggle areas and placed at the forefront of suppression campaigns. Recently the NDA government has taken the decision to form special battalions of Adivasis within paramilitary battalions. The Adivasi people are opposing these kinds of measures throughout the country. Well-wishers of Adivasis, intellectuals, democrats, genuine secularists are taking the side of the Adivasis and are standing in support of their movement.

The attacks of the Hindutva forces on the country's Muslim masses are continuing since the partition of the country in 1947. The main reason behind many of the growing number of communal riots in the last two years is principally the Hindu fundamentalist forces.

After Modi came to power, all the criminals related to Hindu fundamentalism are proudly coming out of jail after pronounced innocent. Starting from Sadhvi Pragya Thakur to the acquittal of the main accused in the recent judgment on Gulbarg Society case of Gujarat in 2002, it has been proved that the state definitely protects the dominant castes and the Hindu communal forces.

Many state governments have banned beef. Making this a pretext, Hindu fundamentalist forces are carrying out serious attacks on Muslims at a number of places on false allegations. Many Muslim youths are

being put behind bars after foisting fabricated cases by terming them as extremists, separatists and ISIS agents. It is really getting clear to the people today that a situation is emerging where 'saffron terrorism' is becoming the serious threat to the country's internal security.

The ruling classes of India, particularly the Brahmanical Hindu fundamentalist forces under the cover of parliamentary democracy on the strength of the imperialists are unleashing state terrorism and saffron terrorism in a highly aggressive manner in order to completely wipe out democracy in the areas of revolutionary struggle in the last two years. One of the objectives of the police state is to eliminate political opponents and terrorise the people in the name of Maoists and Maoist supporters. We will be able to establish genuine democracy by destroying state violence and overthrowing this state when the revolutionary movement will strengthen as a correct political alternative in the country.

### **Comrades!**

Who are the terrorists at the international level – when this is asked, the people point at warmongers Bush, Blair and Obama. It is getting day-by-day more clear to the people in our country that the ringleaders of saffron brigade like Modi, Amit Shah and Mohan Bhagwat are the terrorists. These forces are not tolerating progressive-developing ideas even a little bit. Central and state governments are conducting large-scale campaigns and special missions to wipe out the revolutionary forces. They are cruelly shooting down the youths in Kashmir who are raising the slogan of 'Azad Kashmir'. The number of the dead is growing daily. Curfew is imposed continually for weeks in the entire Kashmir valley in an unprecedented manner. The country's students, many intellectuals, artists and writers are demonstrating their opposition to the government in various forms against the intolerance of the Hindu chauvinist forces.

The masses are facing serious problems in the country in the last two and a half decades due to the neo-liberal policies implemented by the governments. The poor and the middle classes are suffering from price rise.

Unemployment is increasing in the country. Lakhs of workers have lost their jobs due to the 100 percent privatisation in many public sectors including the defence sector. From the times of Indira Gandhi to Modi at present, the rights won by the workers through many decades of struggles are being crushed in the name of 'Shrameva Jayate'. Price rise of health services and daily necessities like food grains, withdrawal or cuts in welfare policies are intensely affecting the workers and peasants.

Recently the Prime Minister has talked sweet about the country's peasants and promised the doubling of their income by 2022 compared to today. Responding to this promise the peasants of Marathwada (Maharashtra) has brought the reality of their lives by asking that since their present income was zero, whether by 2022 would it become two zeros. Agricultural experts are showing with statistics that even if one were to go by Modi himself, if the twenty thousand rupees of average annual income of the peasants today were made forty thousand rupees, it would be no more than two month's salary of a fourth grade employee as per the recommendations of the Seventh Pay Commission.

Advocates, doctors, students, government employees, Anganwadi workers, labourers, peasants, women, etc. – all these sections are struggling against the neo-liberal economic policies being implemented by the government.

The central government celebrated its second anniversary with much fanfare throughout the country. On this occasion, the Home Minister of the country Rajnath Singh appealed to our Party from Chhattisgarh's Bilaspur to give up arms and participate in talks. He also warned that if this is not done the government would not remain a mute spectator. Another Cabinet Minister Venkaiah Naidu said that there would be no talks with those who do not believe in the Indian Constitution. This is the attitude of the government about talks. Our Party will not back away from talks with the government when it will be favourable to the revolutionary movement. We have already declared that our

Party will consider any invitation by the governments for talks by putting an immediate stop to the suppression campaigns of the government armed forces in the struggle areas, withdrawing the ban on our Party and agreeing to release our comrades in jails. Recently, FARC of Columbia in Latin America has concluded an agreement with the government by ending its armed struggle of the last fifty years. In this context some forces in our country suggested to our Party that we too should follow the same path. When in 2006 the Maoists of Nepal gave up armed struggle and took the path to the parliamentary pigsty, the revisionist parties of our country, government, some liberal intellectuals presented it as an ideal in front of us. But what did history made clear to us? What did the people of Nepal gain? We have before us the negative experience of peace talks conducted for many years by the struggling organisations of the Northeast with the Indian government. In fact, the people of various classes and sections are taking to the path of struggle for the resolutions of their problems without keeping faith on any bourgeois or revisionist party. The crisis in the world imperialist-capitalist system and the country's semi-colonial and semi-feudal system is growing rapidly. The situation is becoming more favourable to revolution. We believe that we will achieve more successes in the coming years. We will struggle with firm determination and a sense of self-sacrifice for this.

### **Comrades!**

In order to serve the interests of the imperialist, comprador bureaucratic capitalist and big landlord classes, the central and state governments in India are busy conducting repression, encirclement and suppression campaigns and spreading white terror on the revolutionary movement and the people as per such a basic policy that it is not limited to any common form of repression. Attacking theoretically and politically is a very important form of it. They know that they cannot achieve expected results through repression, encirclement and suppression campaigns and white terror without coordinating with theoretical and psychological war.

The only aim behind whatever method the imperialists and their comprador ruling classes of India adopt to repression and terrorise the revolutionaries and the masses or whatever pressure is brought theoretically is this: to defend their power, to crush the people's movement against their domination, to finish off people's movements and to compel the masses to consent or surrender to their semi-colonial and semi-feudal system. This is the only essence of the LIC policy of the exploitative classes. They implement many types of policies under it. But whether they can implement their policies effectively or not, whether it leads to some results or not – ignoring this we can clearly say that these policies implemented by them would not be decisive. On the contrary, the theoretical and political strength as well as the strong policies of those whom they wish to wipe out (the revolutionaries and the people) will alone be decisive. This can be clearly seen in their style of practice and worldview. That is why, not the policies of the enemy but the policies of the revolutionaries are decisive.

In reality the class enemy is not so powerful – because this is a class war. Yes, this is a class war. This is the war between the exploiters and the oppressed, the looters and the common masses, the rich and the poor, the overfed and the underfed, imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalist classes and the oppressed masses such as the workers and peasants. This is a war between justice and injustice. This war has started because of private property, exploitation and the division of society into classes. This war will end only with the end of private property, exploitation and classes. It has nothing to do with the liking or disliking of the classes. Class war is an objective reality. No class can stop this war. Only those who understand this reality can get prepared to establish a classless communist society, mould their ideology, politics and practice according to this and end all wars. This is the meaning of class awareness and class consciousness. The exploitative ruling classes will continue to declare prior to every stage that “We will clear the hills and forests, we will build a Naxal-free state” and “Maoists can never win”. But they

will never be successful in this. On the contrary, victory or defeat will depend on the decisiveness, aims and aspirations of the oppressed masses who are fighting in the forests, hills and the plains. MLM tells that it is the era of revolution. Declaring that “the 21st century is the century of rebellions”, the ruling classes too are trying to conduct activities to suppress the revolutionary movements by keeping the initiative in their hands. That is because they have the people only given hunger, poverty and injustice. Their exploitative economic system is the main reason for this. The ruling classes know well that the masses will certainly raise the banner of revolt. Apart from misleading the people, their “democratic” governments cannot resolve any of the basic problems of the people in the present modern society. Their aim is to protect the present exploitative system, to crush the rage and the revolutionary violence of the oppressed people. For this they always study the weaknesses of our Maoist forces and based on this wish to cause damage to the revolution. The ruling classes are well aware of their own weaknesses too. They try to overcome these weaknesses but they will never be successful in this. Their exploitative policies are the reason for this. We know well about ourselves, about whom we are fighting against. We can certainly rectify our mistakes. That is why we say that they can never defeat us and the vast masses, cannot wipe out the people’s war going on for liberation and we can certainly win victory. Only people’s war has the strength to face the multi-pronged war waged on the oppressed peoples such as workers, peasants and the middle class in the ideological, political, military, social and cultural spheres in India by the imperialists and their lackeys big landlords and comprador bureaucratic capitalists to continue their exploitation, oppression and domination. No matter how severe a war is imposed by the class enemy, this people’s war will continue till this war is eliminated and the oppressed masses achieve liberation.

Citing Lenin, when Mao said, “Dare to fight! Dare to win!”, he said that it is not enough to “dare to fight” but is also necessary

to “dare to win”. To “win”, we must have a kind of decisiveness and patience within us. For this a special willpower is required. We will have to advance till the revolution is taken to the destination of victory, till all the coming aspirations are fulfilled including the unknown things and challenges, till the establishment of the new democratic revolution and thereafter socialism and communism from the ashes of this exploitative system. Decisiveness and patience – both of this should be such that it is not only capable of foreseeing the entire path till the revolution is made successful but is also capable of uprooting and wiping out the imperialist system which threatens to end the very existence of invaluable human life on earth and the semi-colonial and semi-feudal systems in the backward countries like India.

We will have to implement the following tasks in the coming year to overcome the present difficult situation of the revolutionary movement of India and to take advantage of the domestic and international situation which is becoming increasingly favourable for revolution:

### **Tasks**

- Defeat the third phase of Operation Green Hunt and polices like Bastar Mission-2016, Saranda Action Plan carried out under it! Advance with the aim of achieving more successes in the people’s war as a part of implementing the central task!

The people’s war carried out under the leadership of our Party in the last one year against Operation Green Hunt and policies like Bastar Mission-2016, Saranda Action Plan conducted by the exploitative ruling classes. By properly collating and analysing our experiences in this, we will have to learn positive and negative lessons. We will have to adopt correct tactics, policies and tasks to advance by achieving more successes. We will have to select adequate methods of mass line to gather the promises and capabilities of the people’s war.

- Consolidate Party committees at all levels through Bolshevisation campaign!

- Celebrate with revolutionary enthusiasm and spirit the fiftieth anniversaries of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the historic Naxalbari armed agrarian uprising, centenary of the earth-shaking October Socialist Revolution and the bicentenary of the birth of Karl Marx – the great teacher of the international proletariat!

- Concentrate your attention on revolutionary land reforms as the main essence of new democratic revolution!

Revolutionary land-reform programme is the main essence of democratic revolution. It will liberate the peasant masses who are the vast majority among the people economically, socially, politically and culturally. This is the path to receive firm and militant help from the peasant masses and to take the new democratic revolution to victory through protracted people's war. In a situation when the reactionary ruling classes are unable to conduct any drama of land reforms in any form, without giving the agricultural labourers who are unable to bear even a small amount of expense to buy land the slightest opportunity to think over, by enacting the shameless drama of extending assistance to them, without giving them a chance to breath freely and in the background of their encirclement through neo-liberal policies, our revolutionary land reform programme will create favourable conditions for the revolution.

- Unite the people in political movements on a large scale on political, economic, social problems like against imperialist neo-liberal policies, displacement, etc.! Connect them to people's war! Build vast and strong people's movement by mobilising the revolutionary and

democratic organisations, forces, individuals and the vast masses!

- Build a strong and militant movement against Brahmanical Hindu-fascism by uniting the revolutionary forces, democrats, progressive forces, organisations, religious minorities and secularists!

- Build vast people's movements by organising the people on joint forums by concentrating attention on the problems of Adivasis, Dalits, women and religious minorities!

- Defend democracy! Punish the uniformed enemy forces and those in mufti belonging to their counter-revolutionary organisations involved in serious violation of human rights!

Our Party upholds democracy and human rights and defends and encourages them. It respects all kinds of basic freedoms and primary rights, particularly the freedom of expression of opinion, freedom of assembly, freedom of forming organisations and freedom of adopting any just process.

- Mobilise the masses in support of the movements of the nationalities of Kashmir, Nagalim, Manipur, Assam, Bodoland, etc. for the right to self-determination including secession.

- Mobilise the masses in support of the anti-imperialist movements going on throughout the world! Gather support from them for the Indian revolution!

**With revolutionary greetings,**

**Central Committee  
CPI(Maoist)**



Message of the Central Military Commission on  
the 16th Anniversary of the Formation of PLGA



**COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)  
CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION**



**Intensify and Expand the Guerrilla War - People's War  
throughout the Country!**

**Defeat Operation Green Hunt!**

*Message of the Central Military Commission (CMC), CPI(Maoist), to  
all the Party committees and members, PLGA's red commanders and  
fighters, people's military forces, representatives of the revolutionary  
people's governments and the leaders and activists of the revolutionary  
mass organisations and the toiling masses to enthusiastically celebrate  
the 16th anniversary of the formation of the PLGA from 2 to 8 December!*

**Dear comrades and friends,**

On 2 December 2016, PLGA is going to complete 16 years of its formation. On behalf of the Central Committee of our Party, the Central Military Commission (CMC) conveys red salutes to all the Party committees and members, PLGA's red commanders and fighters, people's military forces, representatives of the revolutionary people's

governments and the leaders and activists of the revolutionary mass organisations. CMC extends revolutionary greetings to all of you for the victories you have achieved in the last one year in the service of the Indian people through hard work and valiant struggles against imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalist and big landlord classes to make the

new democratic revolution successful. CMC calls upon you to enthusiastically celebrate the 16th anniversary of the PLGA from 2 to 8 December in the vast rural areas and in the cities and suburbs with revolutionary spirit with the aim of mobilising the masses in a large scale in political movements and resistance struggles to defeat the enemy's multi-pronged attack – Operation Green Hunt – by intensifying and expanding the guerrilla war – people's war throughout the country.

### **Comrades,**

Our PLGA is marching forward on the path of protracted people's war shown by the fore-founders and teachers of our Party and great leaders of the Indian revolution Comrade Charu Majumdar and Comrade Kanhai Chatterjee. It is making tireless efforts to mould itself under the leadership of the Party to adequately respond to the challenges on the path of the Indian new democratic revolution as a detachment of the international proletariat in the world socialist revolution. It is advancing on the path smeared with the blood of thousands of martyrs by making efforts to fulfil the dreams of our beloved leaders and immortal martyrs comrades Shyam, Mahesh and Murali.

The armed forces of the fascist central and the state governments are creating white terror through brutal attacks on the revolutionaries and revolutionary masses in the revolutionary areas as a part of the third phase of Operation Green Hunt. They are being killed by perpetrating a large number of fake encounters and massacres. Village women are gang-raped and killed. 183 of the best sons and daughters of this land and the masses have sacrificed their invaluable lives in the last one year (from last December till the present) with the aim of making successful the new democratic revolution of India by fighting against these fierce enemy attacks (CRB – 3, Dandakaranya – 132, Bihar-Jharkhand – 19, AOB – 10, Odisha – 11, Telangana – 7, Punjab – 1). This includes 42 women. 21 comrades were martyred in fake encounters carried out by the mercenary police forces of various states. Four comrades were killed by the enemy after poisoning them (Charles, Dinesh and Mukesh

of Adilabad in Telangana, Arjunamma of Malkangiri district in AOB). One comrade was martyred in the attacks by the counter-revolutionaries (Muslim Ansari, Lohardaga, Jharkhand). 71 comrades were martyred in encounters with the enemy forces. 5 village-level presidents and members of revolutionary people's committees, 16 militia platoon commanders, deputy commanders and members, 4 members of the mass organisations and 54 of the revolutionary masses were martyred in nearly 45 massacres perpetrated by the mercenary police forces. One of the leaders of the Niyamgiri anti-displacement movement comrade Drika Kadruka committed suicide under pressure of the torture by the police. 9 comrades were martyred in accidents while one died due to illness. In total the loss this year has been very heavy. We have not suffered such a heavy loss in recent times.

During this period, among the State-level comrades, Comrade Ramchandra Mahato (Chirag) and Comrade Asish Yadav of Bihar-Jharkhand (BJ) Special Area Committee, Comrade Kumaraswamy (Basant) of the erstwhile Odisha State Organising Committee (SOC) and alternative member of the Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee (DKSZC) Comrade Gottimukkala Ramesh (Lacchanna) were martyred. Among Zonal/Divisional/District-level committees, comrades Nagesh (Khammam, Telangana), Bihari Yadav (Madhya Zone, BJ), Sanjay Yadav (Gumla, BJ), Rama (Kalinganagar, Odisha), Charles (Adilabad, Telangana), Soni (South Bastar, DK), Chandu (Platoon-22 commander), Sunil (Maad, DK), Kudumula Venkataramana (Ravi) (Visakha, AOB), Rajita (North Gadchiroli, DK) were martyred.

Within this period, 10 Section-level commanders/ACMs/PPCMs including comrades Lalsu (Company-5, DK), Arjun (North Bastar), Ganesh (Company-5, DK), Joga (Darbha), Ukkas (West Bastar), Raju (Company-2, DK), Kudam Kosa (Budhra, South Bastar), Comrade Muslim Ansari of BJ (Lohardaga), comrades Azad (Area Committee Secretary, Visakha), Anand (Visakha), Jayaram (Koraput) have laid down their lives. Apart from Rama and Rajita,

among the women comrades who went down fighting in the people's war are ACM/PPCM comrades Lacchi (Platoon-22), Minko (Platoon Deputy Commander of CRC Company-2) in the Central Region; comrades Aarti, Nirmala and Sarita (Gadchiroli), Ramshila (Company-5) and Navatha (Press Department of Telangana State Committee). While taking on the enemy forces in battles, comrades Devki Bhuiyan (Madhya Zone) and Alisha (South Zone) of BJ, comrades Kudiyam Kamala (South Bastar) comrades Korsa Soni (Battalion-1), Bhime Kunjam, Somri Ramvati (Darbha) and Roshni (Maad) of DK, comrades Parvatakka and Arjunamma (Malkangiri) of AOB, Comrade Anita of Telangana and Comrade Kanki (Darbha) of mass organisation, among the village women Vanjam Shanti, Sidiyam Pojje and Madkam Hidme of South Bastar, Tulsi of West Bastar and Hurre of Darbha in DK, and two women in Gumarmaha (Kandhamal) massacre in Odisha lost their lives.

Democratic intellectual and well-wisher of the Adivasis Comrade B D Sharma and well-known revolutionary writer and well-wisher of Adivasis Comrade Mahasweta Devi passed away within this year. With the death of the two, the country's Adivasi masses have lost a strong pillar of support. Revolutionary, revolutionary writer and intellectual Comrade Satnam (Gurmeet Singh) died suddenly during this period.

Many heroic fighters have sacrificed their lives in the movements going on in various countries under the leadership of Maoist parties, organisations and groups with the aim of making successful the world socialist revolution.

These immortal martyrs have given up their invaluable lives in the interest of the oppressed masses. Their martyrdom is higher than the Himalayas. There has been irreparable damage to our movement due to their martyrdom. CMC, CPI(Maoist) conveys its red homage to these immortal martyrs with bowed heads. The path of India's people's war has become even more crimson with their sacrifice. We pay the highest honours to the immortal martyrs and the heroic fighters and women comrades. CMC calls upon the entire

Party ranks, PLGA forces and revolutionary mass organisations to take forward the path and the ideals held up by them, struggle till the last breath to achieve the goal, take pledge to advance the revolutionary movement to the next stage.

Many PLGA commanders and fighters were injured during this year while taking on the enemy forces by putting their lives on the line with a sense of self-sacrifice. CMC hopes that they would soon recover and reposes tremendous trust in them that they would once again jump into the arena of war.

Thousands of comrades are today locked up in jails after being caught by the enemy. They are holding high the banner of struggle by fighting shoulder to shoulder with their co-fighters. With the hope that they would keep up this enthusiasm, in this context the CMC once again calls upon the Party, PLGA and revolutionary mass organisations to build a vast mass movement for their release.

### **The progress achieved in the political-military field:**

The progress achieved by the PLGA forces under the leadership of the Party particularly in the political-military field in the last one year is as follows:

Under the leadership of the Party and with the help of the vast masses, PLGA forces this year fought back through various tactical counter-offensive campaigns and actions and the cruel and brutal enemy offensive carried out by the exploitative ruling classes as per the third phase of Operation Green Hunt with the aim of completely wiping out the revolutionary movement. The people's war was continued in Bihar, Jharkhand, Dandakaranya (Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra), AOB (Andhra - Odisha Border area), Odisha, Telangana, Madhya Pradesh, Paschim Banga, Uttar Pradesh, Assam and tri-junction (of Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala) in the Western Ghats by mobilising the masses against the enemy attacks. PLGA conducted 229 guerrilla actions in various guerrilla zones and red resistance areas this year (from December till the present) defying the enemy's tactics to stop the revolutionary

guerrilla war by closing all types of the supply routes and thereby preventing the supply of any kind of war material by sealing the revolutionary areas. Of these, 104 were carried out directly on enemy forces, which included four big actions (Kala Pahad, Palamu district, Jharkhand; Dugum-Potong, Sukma district, Chhattisgarh); Mailawada, Dantewada district, Chhattisgarh; Chakkarbandha, Aurangabad, Bihar), five medium-sized actions (Markanar, Kanker district, Chhattisgarh; Baipariguda, Malkangiri district, AOB; Murliguda, Sukma district, Chhattisgarh; Topchanchi, Dhanbad district, Jharkhand; Jamui, Bihar) and 95 small actions. The significant aspect of these small actions is that 24 actions were booby-trap actions. In all these actions in total, 75 paramilitary and police jawans were wiped out by the PLGA and 176 were injured. The relatively big number of small actions this year has temporarily stopped the 'encirclement-and-suppression' and 'Area Domination' operations carried out by the enemy from time to time. In this way, it has once again been proved that small actions carried out on a vast scale will play the main role in the revolutionary guerrilla war – people's war in stopping the enemy by harassing them.

In the same way, PLGA conducted 75 actions against state-sponsored counter-revolutionary secret gangs, networks of police informers and covert, anti-people politicians and class enemies, in which 80 persons were eliminated. Many anti-people elements were injured or given physical punishment as per the decision of the masses in this type of actions and in the people's courts. Among them, single targets like the manager of Pallemaad iron ore mines Shreekumar Nayak (Rajnandgaon, Chhattisgarh), BJP district president Krishna Reddy (Bhairamgarh, Bijapur), BJP leader and Zila Parishad member Ramsai Maddi (Bijapur, Chhattisgarh), Salwa Judum leader Sunnam Muka (Sukma, Chhattisgarh), Mahendra Chaudhuri and Guddu Singh of TPC (Palamu, Jharkhand), TDP leader Venkataramana (Visakha, Andhra Pradesh), five CIDs in Niyamgiri (Odisha) were wiped out by the PLGA. Along with this, our red commanders and fighters and people's

militia members shed their blood and valiantly fought back tens of operations carried out by the enemy during this year in various guerrilla zones and red resistance areas.

People's resistance movement was carried out at an intensive level during this year against hundreds of MoUs signed by central and state governments with comprador corporate houses like Tata, Essar, Mittal, Jindal, Neco etc. and multinational corporations like Vedanta, Posco, etc. for heavy industries like mining projects, big dams, wildlife sanctuaries, mega steel plants, thermal power plants, open-cast mining projects, railway line construction etc. that are threatening to displace lakhs of Adivasis in particular due to the pro-imperialist policies of economic liberalisation carried on by the central and state governments, against the thousands of armed forces deployed in these areas for this and against the Operation Green Hunt conducted with the aim of wiping out the country's revolutionary-democratic movements and particularly our Party. Many MoUs could not be implemented as a result of this. For instance, they were forced to withdraw the proposed Tata steel plant in Lohandiguda and Essar steel plant in Dhurli-Bhansi areas in Bastar region of Chhattisgarh. In spite of reopening the mining projects of Pallemaad, Kuvvemari and Surjagarh, these had to be stopped again. Under the influence of these struggles, anti-displacement struggles are also emerging on the borders of the South Indian states of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala. In order to deal a blow to the anti-displacement movements of the country and particularly to those in our movement areas, the government forces cruelly killed five villagers in Odisha's Kandhamal in July 2016 and four protestors by firing on an anti-displacement demonstration in Hazaribagh district's Badkagaon of Jharkhand recently on 1 October. PLGA played an active role in organising these people's movements under the purview of vast united fronts and in leading them under the leadership of the Party.

This year, thousands of people hit the road to carry out movements against the Polavaram mega dam of Andhra Pradesh that is threatening to displace lakhs of people, Mali-

Deomali and Visakha bauxite mining projects in AOB, Niyamgiri, Khandwalmali and Sijumali-Kutrumai bauxite mining projects, Lanjigarh and Sirigumma refineries in Odisha, Raoghat railway line, Bodhghat dam, Chargaon, Kuvvemari, Amdaighati and Surjagarh projects, Dilimi ultra mega steel plant in DK; against various mega projects like Dalma eco-sensitive zone, Greater Ranchi, Saraikela-Kharsawan-Icha dam, Chakra-dharpur, Manoharpur (West Singhbhum), Saraikela steel plants and Deoghar power plant in Jharkhand, on the demand of saving their fertile land from the damage done to the environment by the effluents flowing down to the low-lying areas due to the large-scale mining by multinational companies. Many protest demonstrations, people's resistance movements were conducted against attacks on villages, destruction of property, illegal arrests, torture, forced surrender, fake encounters, gang-rape and killing of women, deployment of thousands of special police and paramilitary forces, against the setting up of police camps, against the brutal attacks on democrats, women activists, advocates and journalists, against the fake reform programmes of the government and against the permission given by the central government to aerial attack in Maoist areas. Bandhs were called several times on many occasions by different Party committees. Our PLGA, people's militia forces and revolutionary masses destroyed the property of multinational corporations, enemy classes and the central and state governments worth crores of rupees on these occasions.

This means that we have been able to sustain the revolutionary movement in the very midst of enemy repression by conducting an action in every one or two days through the PLGA, people's militia forces and the revolutionary masses under the leadership of the Party and by actively uniting the masses and the people's militia on various economic and political struggles and by organising resistance struggles against state violence. In short, the following are the successes we have achieved in this period:

1) The revolutionary movement was sustained by damaging the police, paramilitary

and various commando forces through the small, medium and big counter-offensive actions conducted by the collective efforts of the Party committees, PLGA and united front forums, by putting a stop to their aggressiveness and by organising the masses and the people's militia and uniting them in various economic and political struggles and in resistance struggles against state violence. Efforts were made to counter the enemy's psychological war with revolutionary propaganda.

2) The leadership forces and cadres as well as red commanders and fighters of the Party, PLGA and united fronts were Bolshevised in some areas to a certain extent by making successful the Bolshevisation and field training campaigns taken up in order to advance the revolutionary movement and thereby relatively strengthening the Party, PLGA, various levels of RPCs and revolutionary mass organisations.

3) Social investigation was carried out by the leadership cadres with the aim of developing the tactics of the people's war according to the changing social conditions.

4) Starting from the state-level to the area-level, plenums were organised, in which the movement was correctly summarised, the situation was correctly analysed and appropriate practical plan was made.

5) The exploitative ruling classes are hatching many conspiracies to re-establish their power in our guerrilla bases (GBs – the areas where the power of the exploitative ruling classes have been overthrown and RPCs have been formed at various levels as units of people's power) in the class war going at an intense level in the third phase of the Operation Green Hunt. Various levels of RPCs were defended and rebuilt by fighting them. RPCs were built and run when the people were prepared to take power into their own hands, no matter how small the area might be. The standard of people's life was raised based on work in the important fields of defence, agriculture, education and health under their leadership through co-operation of the people. Land levelling (improvement) programme was successfully concluded in some areas under the leadership of the RPCs. New forces were

recruited into the revolutionary movement – PLGA in considerable numbers in some areas.

6) The masses in their thousands carried out many movements in the red resistance areas, guerrilla zones and guerrilla bases for *jal-jangal-zameen-izzat* and *adhikar*, on economic problems, against state violence and Operation Green Hunt, displacement and Hindu fascism.

In spite of unleashing fierce repression under the third phase of Operation Green Hunt and even amidst serious losses, the people's war is advancing by fighting back the exploitative ruling classes in social, economic, political, military and propaganda spheres by preparing appropriate new tactics. As a result, they have prepared and are implementing one more serious attack on the revolutionary movement through plans like Maha-abhiyan, Mission-2016, Saranda Action Plan, etc. by expanding and deepening their attack.

#### **The plan and tactics of the enemy:**

Modi government, which has entered its third year, is launching fascist attacks on the people with redoubled energy, at an intensive level and in an aggressive manner under the third phase of Operation Green Hunt. It is being directly led by the Modi-Amit Shah-Mohan Bhagwat fascist clique. Union Home Minister Rajnath Singh and internal security adviser Vijay Kumar who are directly leading the unified commands of states of revolutionary movements are continuously reviewing their activities. Particularly, Modi and national security adviser Ajit Dobhal are concentrating their attention on it.

They have deployed 143 paramilitary battalions in 88 districts by now with the aim of wiping out the revolutionary movement spread over 17 states of the country. Along with them, nearly five lakh police, paramilitary and commando forces are participating in suppression and destruction campaigns against the revolutionary movement throughout the country. On the other hand, the centre and the states are forming new battalions. The central and state governments are concentrating their attention on recruiting local Adivasi youths from our movement areas to special police and paramilitary forces as well

as the Indian Army. Bastariya Battalion on the model of Naga Battalion with local Adivasi youths is in the process of formation.

Based on these armed forces, carpet security system is being organised and expanded in all revolutionary areas. Carpet security is being expanded into the interior areas in order to take the guerrilla bases into their hold by starting carpet security from roads which they keep in their control. The task of fortifying police stations and camps is going on a war-footing. In the same way, carpet security is being organised by deploying thousands of additional forces on and around mining areas to start projects like bauxite mining.

Paramilitary, police and commando forces have together intensified their joint operations since 2015 on the border areas between different states. With the aim of wiping out the Maoists within a year, 'Mission-2016', 'Maha-abhiyaan', 'Operation Monsoon' etc. are being conducted in Dandakaranya; 'Operation Finish', 'Operation Mahadev', 'Operation Hill Vijay', 'Operation Break' etc. in Bihar-Jharkhand; 'Operation All Out', 'Operation Blue Moon', 'Operation Viswas' etc. in AOB; many 'Action Plans' like 'Parasnath Action Plan' in ten districts of Bihar-Jharkhand on the model of 'Saranda Action Plan', 'Civic Action Programme' in the name of 'reform programmes' and similar machinations are being adopted.

According to this, one operation starts immediately after one ends. The enemy is conducting operations for 3-5 days in the interior areas, strategic areas and guerrilla bases at present. After one operation of five days ends, another begins on the sixth or seventh day so that the enemy can carry out attacks continuously on our Party, PLGA forces and the people. In this way, the enemy is making serious efforts to crush our Party, PLGA and the local leadership by separating them from the masses, putting tremendous pressure, disrupting and limiting our political, organisational (in mass work and in the work plans of the RPCs) and military work and weakening the organisational structure.

The enemy's army, paramilitary and police forces are strengthening and expanding their intelligence network to gather information about revolutionary activities from the rural and urban areas of all the Special Areas/Special Zones/States. The enemy is utilising those elements as counter-revolutionaries who have surrendered to it after getting politically and morally degenerated by recruiting them to police forces and counter-revolutionary organisations in considerable numbers. These betrayers are preparing informers from among their friends, family members and relatives. The enemy is forming special forces like the District Reserve Group (DRG), District Voluntary Force (DVF) and counter-revolutionary forces like home-guards, auxiliary police, Nagar Suraksha Karmi, Gram Suraksha Committee with these betrayers. These forces remain at the forefront as scouts, guides and assault forces during counter-guerrilla operations under the control of district Superintendents of Police. The enemy forces are profiting much from this in their counter-guerrilla operations as they have knowledge of local language, terrain and relation with the people. Likewise, the enemy is trying seriously to prepare some elements in the Party and PLGA as coverts who have become weak politically and morally. An integrated intelligence system of the enemy as part of the intelligence departments of the centre and the states with unlimited powers with informers of rural and urban areas; coverts in the Party, PLGA and local organisations and renegades who have surrendered to the enemy and who have been educated in the most cruel, barbaric and deceptive forms is getting strengthened in the interest of the ruling classes and the imperialists.

The central and state governments are instantaneously training their forces in Counter-Insurgency and Anti-Terrorism schools, Jungle Warfare schools, Counter-guerrilla Warfare Schools and National Police Academies to increase their fighting capacity. Their aggressive capacity has increased as a result.

As a result, these forces are shunning the roads and marching through the forests while

intensifying their counter-guerrilla warfare operations. They are marching secretly in the day as well as in the night. They are adopting tactics like flank attack, one batch helping out the other in front and rear, to lie in ambush to face the pursuing guerrilla forces and cause damage, one batch remaining openly while other forces remaining in secret; to march in one direction after pretending to march in another, to use the formation of frontal, flank and rear attack simultaneously, etc.

The exploitative ruling classes are spreading white terror by posting extremely cruel and diehard police officers like SRP Kalluri (IG Bastar Range, Chhattisgarh) in the revolutionary areas. The towns in the states where our movement is active are being converted into centres of white terror. Nearly a hundred revolutionaries and people have been killed in fake encounters and massacres during the last one year. Rewards worth lakhs of rupees have been announced by police officers for the forces involved in these incidents. Gang-rape and physical torture is continuing in a systematic way as per a plan to crush the growing participation of women in the Party, all the mass organisations and the revolutionary movement. They are being paraded naked on the streets. Their torture and humiliation is continuing. They are being thrust into jails in big numbers. They are making inhuman videos of these atrocities. They are taking photos of the bare bodies of raped women including women fighters and circulating them. Incidents like arrest of the masses, custodial torture, forced confessions, fabricated charges, forced surrenders, forced recruitment of people in the mercenary forces and gangs, arson and destruction of house, property and crops, loot, mass beating, forced displacement from villages in the areas of revolutionary struggle have grown. The police is threatening and assaulting democratic organisations and individuals, intellectuals, journalists, advocates, judges, civil rights activists, etc. to cover up this fascist state terror. They are being chased out of the movement areas or put behind bars after foisting illegal cases on them. Chhattisgarh High Court has dismissed First Class Judicial Magistrate of Sukma district Prabhakar Gwal who had

become an eyesore for the police officers. State repression is being unleashed almost at the same level on revolutionary-democratic mass organisations and individuals in the cities/towns working openly and within the legal framework. The Indian government is building diplomatic pressure on concerned foreign governments to rein in the Maoist parties and organisations which are part of the international solidarity movement in support of the people's war in India.

The decision to carry aerial attack on the Maoists has been taken after National Security Adviser Ajit Dobhal and Internal Security Adviser Vijay Kumar visited Bastar region in the first and second week of October 2015 respectively. That very month, the Air Force, Chhattisgarh Special Task Force (STF), Telangana Greyhounds and CoBRA commando forces jointly conducted firing practice drills with three helicopters on Karre Hills on the Chhattisgarh-Telangana border. The use of helicopters and drones by government forces in all the movement areas has now become common. In fact, Air Force helicopters are being used in combat role by building several new helipads in the movement areas of the whole country in the last few years, establishing command-control centres of the strategic places of these areas, giving special training to Air Force commandos, fitting helicopters to be used in anti-Maoist operations with machine guns, deploying commando forces to operate them, etc. The enemy is ready to carry out ground and aerial attacks on revolutionaries based on information received from drones.

There has been further increase in the attacks carried out by the enemy in the last two years to cause harm to the local leadership in our movement areas. In this they are killing the local leadership in DK in fake encounters and firings. Hundreds have been arrested after framing them in illegal cases and throwing them in prison. Many local leadership comrades have already been imprisoned in Bihar-Jharkhand, AOB, Odisha and Bengal. In every case where militia activities have increased in the movement areas the enemy is attacking them and wiping them out and are propagating their surrender after arresting them.

The enemy is building roads and railways on a war-footing to ease the movement of police, paramilitary and commando forces to intensify the attack on the revolutionary movement and to loot the immense natural resources of these areas. 3,279 km of roads have been built by December 2014. Bridges are being built in many places over the rivers in the strategic areas.

The construction of hundreds of mobile towers in revolutionary movement areas is going to be finished in many places. The central government has recently decided to set up a hundred AIR radio stations with the objective of constantly spreading poisonous propaganda against the revolutionary movement.

The central and state governments are implementing many reform programmes as an important aspect of Operation Green Hunt. 1000 crore rupees have been sanctioned this year by the Union Home Ministry for 'development' programmes and for the planning of necessary facilities for fighting the Maoists in 35 'extremely affected' districts in 7 "Naxal-affected" states. The enemy is encouraging counter-revolutionary elements by depending on a section of the people who have been separated from the masses by creating divisions among them in the name of 'development' in the movement areas. The police is forcing school children and women to carry out demonstrations and making them give slogans for not damaging bridges, hospitals and roads in order to bring 'social pressure' on the Maoists. It is trying to conduct counter-revolutionary campaigns like Salwa Judum and Sendra by forming counter-revolutionary organisations like Grameen Ekta Manch in Jharkhand, Dalma Anchalik Suraksha Samiti, Samajik Ekta Manch in Chhattisgarh, presently AGNI (Action Group for National Integration), Naxal Violence Resistance Forum (Koraput) in Odisha, etc. The enemy is forming and strengthening state-sponsored counter-revolutionary secret gangs particularly in Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal. 17 gangs are active there.

The enemy is continuously conducting psychological war to damage the revolutionary movement ideologically and politically.

Recently, it has propagated through the media about 'Naxal-free state' with much fanfare. "Maoists can never win"; "they have no capable leadership"; "Naxalism is breathing its last in Bihar and Jharkhand"; "we will transform Jharkhand and Bastar region of Chhattisgarh into a Naxal-free region – in this way they are indulging in hideous machinations. They are misleading the people by propagating on a large scale that the Maoists in Jharkhand are recruiting tens of boys and girls through 'lucky draws' or 'lotteries'. The government is using propaganda tools and the corporate media on a large scale.

To fight back the multi-pronged attack (LIC) tactics of the exploitative Indian ruling classes for wiping out our people's war and to give adequate response to it, PLGA's commissions and commands under the leadership our Party should concentrate their attention on formulating the tactics of multi-pronged counterattack by depending on our achievements till now, by taking lessons from the losses and according to the special conditions of the areas and states of our movement. This counter tactic should be implemented with firm determination, a sense of self-sacrifice and responsibility.

With its advancement the PLGA will certainly carry forward the protracted people's war!

Our Party CPI(Maoist) leads the PLGA as the principle tool of the toiling masses including the workers and peasants to carry forward the new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. The Party leads the people's army in coordination with the revolutionary united front. It connects the revolutionary armed struggle with correct land reform programme and the anti-imperialist movements with the efforts of building the mass base.

PLGA strengthens itself by wiping out and injuring the enemy and seizing its weapons by intensifying its tactical counterattacks, through training and by recruiting youths. It constantly grows and expands by achieving successes through an intensification and expansion of its defensive war by depending on the mass

base. The red commanders and fighters will advance to develop the strategic defensive war throughout the country year by year.

Our limitations and shortcomings are creating hurdles in our practice at various levels in spite of our attempts to fulfil our tasks and advance while achieving successes in a series. We should try to rectify them. We should be aware of them. We should certainly keep in mind the reviews and summing-ups by the Central Committee, Regional Bureau, SAC/SZC/SC and commissions and commands of that level. We must understand more deeply the reasons behind the uneven development of the people's war apart from the successes and failures in practice, the inactiveness and stagnation we are facing and the reasons the weaknesses in fulfilling the long-term aims for taking forward the people's war.

Some Party committees, PLGA commissions and commands are facing failures in implementing the reviews and summing up, and in significantly attacking the enemy. They are not being able to resolve the problems for being unable to understand the problems correctly. As a result, they are not being able to prepare reports in time and are not being able to receive the help of the higher committees by keeping proposals before them. The higher committees too are not giving or are being unable to give them timely guidance and help. They are keeping things pending year after year. They are not thinking correctly as to how to take forward our effort and how to conduct tactical counterattacks to seize weapons from the enemy.

The chief task of the PLGA is to fight wars and defeat the enemy. But it also carries out many other main tasks such as propaganda, movement, organising the masses, implementing revolutionary land reforms and to conduct mass campaigns to increase production, education, health, cultural efforts, training up the people for self-defence, resolving disputes among the people, etc. We can pull out the people's war from today's difficult situation and advance it by another step by organising the mass base, intensifying the tactical counterattacks, advancing the agrarian revolution, raising the people's

standard of living and increasing production for the PLGA (people's war) and expanding the revolutionary movement and the guerrilla war into new areas.

### **Tasks of the PLGA:**

It will be our immediate task to transform the new expansion areas into red resistance areas, red resistance areas into guerrilla zones, developed guerrilla zones into base areas in order to implement the central, main and immediate task formulated by the Unity Congress – Ninth Congress of our Party – to transform DK and BJ into base areas, guerrilla wars into mobile wars and PLGA into PLA.

The PLGA under the leadership of the Party will have to implement the following tasks:

1) Defeat the third phase of Operation Green Hunt and plans like Bastar Mission-2016, Saranda Action Plan etc. which are being run as a part of it! Advance with the aim of achieving more successes in the people's war as a part of fulfilling the central task:

A review should be made of the people's war conducted under the leadership of our Party in the last one year against the Operation Green Hunt run by the exploitative ruling classes and plans like Bastar Mission-2016 and Saranda Action Plan under it. We will have to learn positive and negative lessons by correctly collecting and analysing our experiences in them. We will have to adopt plans, tasks and appropriate tactics to advance by achieving more successes. We will have to choose the necessary methods of mass-line to unite the promises and capacities of our People's War.

Our guidance and plans should be capable of bringing flexibility and through which we can keep the initiative in our hands according to the constantly changing war. The PLGA should deploy its forces to attack the weak places of the enemy. We should carry out only such attacks where the victory is guaranteed. We will have to apply all the main tactics such as centralisation, decentralisation, change of place etc. according to necessity and as per the situation.

PLGA forces have demonstrated many a times the tactics of attacking the enemy at one place and destroying the enemy's paramilitary, Cobra commando and special police forces (DRG, DVF, SAP, Jharkhand Jaguar) which come there by exploding mines and remaining prepared to ambush them. We can apply this tactics as per the situation to wipe out the enemy forces, to attack them and to attract them. Another tactics is to carry out dummy attack at one place and to concentrate the real attack at the weak point of the enemy at another place where reinforcements could not be sent immediately.

When the enemy takes initiative to concentrate and attack any of the guerrilla zones or red resistance areas, then in such places along with the basic guerrilla tactics the PLGA should also apply the various guerrilla tactics which have already been developed by the PLGA in the process of people's war through many experiences. It should apply the tactics of counter-encirclement and counter-offensive particularly when the enemy's deployment, capacities and weak points become exposed.

Every PLGA commission, command and unit that faces the centralised attack of the enemy should always have an aggressive spirit. When the enemy enters a terrain which is favourable for our guerrilla forces, then they should be attacked after they reach the interiors or by attracting them.

2) Strengthen the Party committees at all levels through Bolshevisation campaign! Strengthen the PLGA through a programme of Bolshevisation programme and development of the political-military leadership!

3) Celebrate with revolutionary enthusiasm and spirit the fiftieth anniversaries of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the historic Naxalbari armed agrarian revolutionary movement, the centenary of the earth-shaking October Socialist Revolution and the bicentenary of the birth of the great Marxist teacher of the international proletariat Karl Marx!

4) Unite the people on a vast scale in political movements on political, economic and social problems like imperialist neo-liberal policies and displacement! Connect them with the

people's war! Build vast and strong people's movements by mobilising revolutionary and democratic organisations, forces and individuals!

5) Build a strong and militant movement against Brahmanical Hindu-fascism by uniting the revolutionary forces, democrats, progressive forces, organisations, religious minorities and secularists!

6) Defend the democratic values! Punish the uniformed enemy goons and their counter-revolutionary organisations in mufti who are brutally crushing and violating the human rights! Struggle against them by mobilising the people and democratic forces!

Our Party upholds the principles of democracy and human rights, protects them and encourages them. It respects all kinds of basic freedoms and primary rights, particularly the right to expression of ideas, hold meetings, form organisations, stand up for justice and struggle for it.

7) Organise the PLGA!

The Party leadership should assure the PLGA and make efforts so that the red commanders and fighters develop as Party members within a definite timeframe, acquire not only political-military training within a definite timeframe but also have daily political education, so that they can develop high revolutionary morale and understand the changes in the present conditions according to the revolutionary line.

PLGA should be strengthened by ambushing enemy units, raiding enemy's weak points and armouries. Combat units of the PLGA should be formed after the seizure of arms. They should be given political-military training. These combat units should be used in various combat operations and mass work.

There should never be any relaxation in military work in the name of mass work. On the contrary, this mass work is a favourable aspect in order to gain the initiative to attack the enemy, to make the enemy inactive and to keep the guerrilla forces away from purely defensive actions. Guerrilla war should be developed towards completing the stage of strategic defensive.

Fulltime fighters of the PLGA should be prepared to the maximum from the people's militia, mass organisations and RPCs and other self-defence units in spite of giving primacy to recruit youths to the PLGA from the various Party committees. The youths should be given political-military training regularly and whenever necessary, so that they can be prepared for recruitment as fulltime red fighters.

8) Develop the entire commission and command system at every level!

Under the guidance of the Party's Central Committee, the CMC issues guidelines to develop the stage of people's war in the entire country, coordinates with the Eastern and Central Regional Bureau-level (operational) commands and SAMCs/SMCs, helps in strengthening the units by sending cadre and material wherever they are lacking.

If the commissions and commands are not properly conducted in the field of military field, i.e., there is no regular meetings and if they do not properly conduct the responsibility of their department independently, they can neither understand the enemy's strategy and tactics by studying them nor can they prepare their fighters for counterattacks to effectively fight back the enemy's offensive by adopting their own strategy and tactics. In one word, the war cannot be conducted correctly. Since it is this institution or department which formulates and implements the policy of war, the military commissions and commands will certainly have to be conducted correctly. The responsible members of the commissions and commands will have to conduct the responsibility of their department by giving priority to it.

9) Give political-military training to PLGA forces!

We should educate the new recruits and the red commanders and units of the PLGA in political-military syllabus in a timely manner so as to enhance their knowledge, technical level and skills. These will have to be conducted regularly and from time to time. New recruits can be given primary education through the district/zonal committees or they can be trained as per the syllabus to be

conducted by the commissions and commands to teach the red fighters the required discipline and skills. Commands at all levels will have to be given political-ideological training by preparing special syllabuses. Women comrades will have to be given political-ideological training by making special syllabus to prepare and develop them.

All red commanders and fighters will certainly have to be provided with the primary knowledge of theory (Basic Military Course – BMC, Field Training Guide, Explosive and Improvised Explosive, Fire and Movement, Night Combat, Urban Combat, Ambush, Raids and Short Surprise Attacks), principles of people's war-guerrilla war, PLGA's constitution, PLGA Handbook.

10) Always be alert!

We will have to be always alert; we should not become careless by immersing ourselves in routine programmes. We have declared that we will certainly defeat Operation Green Hunt. We will have to defend ourselves from all aspects related to it – carpet security, fortified camps, psychological war, intelligence, fake reform, military attacks and counter-revolutionary gangs. We should be even more alert after successfully conducting one tactical counteroffensive attack. This is because the enemy seriously tries to carry out counterattacks to take revenge even when we are celebrating our victory.

We will have to be alert about the conspiracies and deceptions of the enemy, about their armed attacks, against all kinds of sugar-coated bullets and betrayals. It is a very important task of the PLGA to protect the people's interests, Party's aims and the Party leadership in a systematic manner from any kind of enemy attack or deception.

The people from the enemy classes, the surrendered people, anarchic forces and the unreliable elements in our movement areas are very naturally the source for recruitment into CoBRA, Adivasi battalions, commando forces, army, paramilitary, police forces, for utilisation as enemy spies, for preparing coverts to carry out the assassination of leaders and cadres of the Party and PLGA, for

gathering real-time intelligence and for carrying out sure-shot attacks.

On the other hand, we will certainly have to pay attention with foresight to stop the attempts to damage or weaken the revolutionary firmness of the red commanders and fighters by diverting them, threatening the families of the youths to prevent them from participating in the armed revolution, to corrupt them by paying money, the 'social pressure' campaigns run by the enemy to attract in other deceptive means.

We will have to show patience and courage in fulfilling our political, organisational, military and cultural tasks and take precautions so that no unwanted element infiltrates.

### **Comrades,**

The global capitalist crisis is becoming more intense and causing havoc in the world. The economic and financial crisis that emerged in 2008 is creating a depression and is reminding of the Great Depression of the 1930s. This crisis is continuing due to salary cuts, large-scale lay offs, cuts in the welfare policies-services, liberalisation of commerce and investment, privatisation of public property, relaxation in social and environmental norms, etc. and the continuous implementation of neo-liberal policies for increasing the profits of the imperialists through inclusion of the economies of the backward countries in the globalisation policies.

The industrial capitalist countries are dependent on inflation (printing and utilising unlimited amounts of money) and borrowing to face this crisis and are adopting cuts. But through these measures, they are actually once again dealing blows on production and the purchasing power of the people and are further intensifying the crisis. Production and employment is not increasing in the imperialist US and other imperialist countries. They have only strengthened the financial markets at time and increased the production of military wares through the military-industrial complex.

The bubble that had been caused by inflation and particularly by the dependence on borrowing for private and public constructions in China is beginning to burst as the local governments and corporates are being unable to serve their debts that are growing like mountains. It has caused an unfavourable impact on the worldwide economic growth rate. Government debt crisis is deepening in the European Union, the rate of which is not getting reduced due to inflation and borrowing. The dollar-based debt of the backward countries is growing as a result of the increase in the US interest rate that has made the dollar more expensive.

The US has become politically, economically and strategically weaker because of its expansion exceeding its strength, increase in the financialisation in the country, drastic reduction in production, large-scale long-term unemployment, cuts in welfare programmes, increase in poverty, allocation of unlimited resources for war-related production, setting up of military bases in foreign countries and waging offensive wars.

Due to the policies implemented by the US to serve the big corporations and against the interests of the workers and the masses of the middle classes, the workers and the people of various sections of the country are carrying out strikes highlighting the problems they are facing. The African-Americans who are living in the US for centuries are suffering from serious racial discrimination. The police have killed more than 600 Black persons there in 2015 alone. This is the reason why the feeling of revenge is spreading like wildfire among the Black people there. The people of US in their thousands are conducting rallies in many cities to condemn this racism. They are also carrying out some armed attacks on US police officers too. In this way, unrest is daily increasing in the US society.

The people are facing difficulties in the whole of Europe due to unemployment, cuts in pension and welfare funds resulting from the crisis of imperialism and the policies adopted to come out of this crisis. The people are losing confidence in the government policies due to the workers' strikes on the one hand and the attacks by the ISIS. The exit of

Britain from the European Union is reflecting the aspirations of its people. There has been an increase in the mobilisation of the people and their undertaking movements on their problems. The imperialist forces are fanning fanaticism by mixing fascism, religion and patriotism to crush the growing movements of the working class, oppressed people and the oppressed nationalities, the people and people-oriented politics.

There had been an increase in the production of war material, state terror, militarisation of the police system, deployment of the US forces in foreign territories and in wars of aggression. The contention between various imperialist countries including the US, Russia and China to loot the natural resources of over 20 Arab countries of North Africa and West Asia (Middle-east) regions. The armed forces of the US, France and NATO are devastating these countries in the flames of war for many years in the name of protecting the people of these regions, ousting tyrannical rulers and controlling 'extremist' groups. Syria has become the centre at present for the war between anti-Assad forces supported by the US and Russia in support of the Assad government. According to figures released by the UN, more than three lakh people have lost their lives in the Syrian war going on since 2011. There has been no benefit from the deceptive peace agreements conducted between the US and Russia in the name of ending the war that has become the cause of death and displacement of lakhs of people. The US is hell-bent on destroying Syria too in order to oust the Assad government as it had ousted Milosevic, Saddam and Gaddafi governments from power. The Turkish government is continuously attacking Syrian Kurds and the country's Maoist movement. Hundreds of people are losing their lives in drone attacks by the imperialist countries with the US in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Palestine, Yemen, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Syria and the Philippines.

There is no sign of an end in the near future to the flames of war lit by the US imperialists, Israeli Zionists and NATO forces in West Asia. They are constantly trying to overthrow the governments of Syria and Iran.

They are giving a free hand to the Zionist Israel to crush the people of Palestine. They are instigating secessionist and religion-based wars in Iraq, Libya, Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen, Sudan and Mali at the same time to damage the anti-imperialist struggles there.

There has been a deluge of refugees in their lakhs towards Western Europe and other imperialist countries as a result of the series of aggressive wars and proxy wars conducted by the US and NATO in West Asia and Africa. Neo-fascists, national chauvinists, racists and regional fundamentalists are mistreating the refugees while serving the big capitalists; they are being made the sacrificial lamb in the capitalist crisis.

The US and other imperialist forces are adopting methods in the entire world that are extremely exploitative socially and environmentally. Neo-liberal economic policies and global warming are destroying the lives of crores of people, creating social tension and are forcing large-scale displacement and migration. In this way, due to the policies of the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists, they are facing the daily growing anger of the people.

The US and other countries in the G7 are putting pressure on Russia by imposing sanctions and expanding NATO to the borders of Russia by depending on the anti-Russia governments around Russia, particularly Ukraine. The US is making efforts to stall relations between Russia and energy-starved Germany and the development of the Eurasia economic block. But the US instigations are clearing the way for the strengthening of the ties between Russia and China.

The US has brought forward Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement and shifted its strategic centre to the Asia-Pacific region to encircle China. The US is increasing its armed forces in East Asia after making its claims over South China Sea. At the same time, China has established Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank to raise funds for its much-awaited Silk Route and Belt projects and to establish its hegemony by strengthening its grip over Asia.

China and Russia are conducting BRICS as an economic block and Shanghai Co-

operation Organisation as a defense block. They are working in a thoughtful manner towards a multi-polar global system against US hegemony. They are challenging the US daydream of a uni-polar world in the 21st century. It is reminding that the US is becoming strategically weaker no matter how much aggressiveness it displays. It is very clear that along with the complete transformation of Russia and China into capitalism the crisis of the world capitalist system is becoming more acute and increasing their problems even more.

As a result, the crisis in the world imperialist system which is becoming more intense is taking the imperialist countries towards sharp conflict. It is intensifying the contention for the redivision of the world market. This contention among the imperialists is creating favourable conditions for another upsurge of the revolutionary forces of the working class, oppressed people and oppressed nationalities. This is a favourable aspect for revolution.

The alliance of state power and Brahmanical Hindu-fascist ideology in our country – politics, culture, organisation and armed force – which is being led by the present National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government (and the small fascist clique of Narendra Modi-Amit Shah-Mohan Bhagwat guiding it) has prepared the grounds for an unprecedented all-round and multi-pronged attack on the country and the people in the last two years. Under the leadership of Modi government, the Hindutva-fascist gang not only wants to maintain the existing exploitative and oppressive social-economic-political system by using the political power it has gained and on the basis of cruel violence and use of force but also wants to further consolidate the existing system through open fascist methods by transforming India into a neo-fascist Brahmanical Hindu nation. It is presenting an unprecedented challenge to all oppressed social classes, sections and their militant organisations.

They have given a free hand to imperialism – particularly US imperialism – for unrestrained loot to fulfil their interests by implementing neo-liberal economic policies at the all-India level. They are mortgaging the

country to US imperialism by concluding many agreements with the imperialism – particularly US imperialism – in sectors like defence, nuclear energy, civil aviation, insurance and rail in the country. They have transformed our country into a market for the US armament companies. They have mortgaged the country to the US in all forms. For instance, the US has been given full rights to utilise the military bases of Indian army and air force as per the strategic military logistics agreement concluded by India with the US in April. Indian laws will not be applicable to these military bases when the US army personnel are stationed there. While the US is taking care of its strategic interest to pit India against China in South Asia through this agreement, at the same time India is actualising its nefarious expansionist design to get recognition as the heroic warrior in South Asia. In this way, it is only to serve the imperialist interests that the ruling Hindutva-fascist gang has intensified its all-round attack throughout the country.

The series of recent events in the country clearly shows that none of the oppressed social classes or sections and none of the aspects of the society have been left untouched or unaffected by this Hindutva-fascist attack. Attacks have intensified against Muslims and Christians (particularly on Muslims who are being targeted in the name of ‘war on terror’, ‘cow protection’, ‘uniform civil code’, etc.). Casteist murders, oppression, rape, humiliation, social boycott, discrimination by the ‘upper’ castes against the Dalits in the entire country under the patronage of the state and Hindutva forces. Many democratic writers and intellectuals have been murdered and these kinds of efforts are being continuously made to crush the democratic voices.

The growing state repression on Kashmiri people in recent times is demonstrating the intensifying oppression of the minorities. As a result of it, nearly 90 persons were killed and over 20,000 were injured during the curfew that continued for almost three months. Making the Uri incident of 18 September as the excuse, the exploitative ruling classes of India, particularly the ruling Hindutva-fascist gang (and all other ruling-class parties following the lead of the ruling party) are making claims of

‘surgical strike’ on the border by violating the sovereignty of Pakistan. Apart from being unable to resolve any of the problems in the country and as a result of the people taking to the path of struggle against the growing attacks of the Hindutva-fascist gang on all classes and sections of the country, Modi government is drumming up national chauvinism by making use of the Uri incident to divert the people and to take advantage of it in the coming UP elections. It is challenging Pakistan to a war. Suppressing the national liberation struggle of Kashmir in an extremely fascist way on the one hand, it is shedding crocodile’s tears for the liberation of Baloch nation. The ruling classes of both India and Pakistan are hell-bent on fulfilling their interests by misleading the people of their countries.

In the same way, it is unleashing brutal police repression on the protesting masse who are fighting for their democratic demands including reservation in many states. There has been an increase in the incidents of violence against women including gang-rape throughout the country. There has also been an increase in the attempts to crush or control the way of life, culture, traditions and beliefs of the Adivasis and other communities whose worldview, social system, culture and practice are not according to Brahmanical Hindutva through conversion, ‘Ghar Wapsi’, etc. As a result, they are facing redoubled attacks on their way of life.

Along with this, Modi government is taking away the rights and facilities won after long struggles by amending laws connected with workers and employees. The government is trying to promulgate a new land acquisition law to facilitate the capture of the peasant’s land by the imperialists, big capitalists and landlords. It is taking many steps to devastate the vast peasant and urban and rural poor. The future of the peasants has become dark due to the government’s neo-liberal policies. It is encouraging unemployment and imperialist enslavement by inviting foreign direct investment in sectors like retail trade which gives employment to crores of people. It is concentrating power in the hands of the centre by passing the Goods and Services Tax (GST) by weakening even the country’s namesake

federal structure. The incidents in FTII, IIT Chennai, Hyderabad Central University, Jawaharlal Nehru University and many other educational institutions are showing the growing saffronisation of education and educational institutions. Wielding the stick of pseudo-patriotism, pseudo-nationalism and sedition, Hindutva gang is being given a free hand to launch open attacks on the people's basic democratic rights. In fact, there has been a daily intensification and expansion in the number and methods of attack. In such a worrying situation all democratic forces will have to make united efforts to fight back and defeat this fascist attack. This is the demand of the times that all the democratic forces of the country get united in facing this fascist attack and give it a fitting reply.

### **Call of the Central Military Commission:**

#### **Dear comrades and friends!**

The task of achieving real independence for our country is still incomplete. Only the organised people and a strong people's army under the leadership of CPI(Maoist) who has a correct understanding about securing the country's interest, implementing genuine revolutionary land reforms in a predominantly agricultural country like India, achieving real independence, democracy, self-reliance, self-respect and development by industrialising the country based on agriculture can achieve it, protect and sustain it. A country which wants to fight for it and defend it primarily has to depend on a powerful people's liberation army for it which is strengthened by the people and is ready for struggle. That is why, we can achieve them only by making armed agrarian revolution as the axis, by overthrowing imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and big landlord classes through protracted people's war and by making successful the new democratic revolution. There is no other way for this. No basic change is possible through the parliamentary path – history has proved this many times. The daily deepening crisis in the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system, the fascist character of the ruling

system is ensuring the victory of the new democratic revolution and is creating the material basis for it.

By organising the workers-peasants, petty-bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie under the leadership of the proletariat, by taking armed struggle as the main form of struggle and the people's army as the main form of organisation, by coordinating all other forms of struggle and organisation and thereby burying the Indian semi-colonial and semi-feudal system, we can implement the programme of new democratic revolution, establish the democratic government of these four classes and fulfil the aspirations of all the oppressed classes, nationalities and sections. To achieve this objective, concentrate and put all our efforts to defeat Operation Green Hunt which is being carried out by the enemy to completely wipe out our Party and the people's war as per the LIC strategy directed by imperialism today! Make efforts with firm determination and the consciousness of self-sacrifice to over every aspect that becomes hurdle before it. Workers-peasants, middle classes and the oppressed people! Students-youths, intellectuals-artists, women, Dalits, Adivasis, religious minorities! Democratic-progressive forces! Well-wishers of the people, patriots! Come, fight valiantly under the leadership of CPI(Maoist) to break the shackles of imperialist and feudal exploitation which remains as big barriers to the development of the country! Strengthen our Party and the PLGA by recruiting thousands and lakhs of youths! By fighting against all types of revisionism and counter-revolution, advance the new democratic revolution towards victory by further developing the line of Indian people's war which is already enriched with many past experiences! People, and the people alone, are the makers of history! The people are invincible! The people's war is invincible! The fascist exploitative classes cannot escape their final defeat and destruction in this just war! If the oppressed masses rise up, they can completely smash the fortresses of exploitation. Their defeat, and the victory of the people, is inevitable!

- *Defeat Operation Green Hunt! Advance towards the central task by achieving more and more victories in the people's war!*
- *Wipe out the enemy and seize their weapons with the aim of organising and expanding the PLGA to a vast area!*
- *Consolidate Party committees, PLGA formations and mass organisations at all levels through Bolshevisation campaign!*
- *Mobilise the vast peasant masses in the armed agrarian revolution!*
- *Unite the vast oppressed people including workers and peasants in anti-feudal and anti-imperialist class struggle!*
- *Build a strong and militant movement against Brahmanical Hindu fascism!*
- *Enrol youths in large numbers to develop PLGA into PLA!*
- *Long live Communist Party of India (Maoist)!*
- *Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!*

**With revolutionary greetings,  
Central Military Commission  
Communist Party of India (Maoist)**

**4 October 2016**



**पीएलजीए की 16वीं वर्षगांठ को  
2 से 8 दिसम्बर 2016 तक  
जोरशोर से मनाओ!**





**पार्टी, पीएलजीए और संयुक्त मोर्चा को  
बोल्शेवीकरण करने के अभियान को  
सफल करें! जन आधार को मजबूत करें!**

**पूर्वी रीजनल कमान, भाकपा ( माओवादी )**

**“Take pledge to Bolshevise the entire Party, confront all the challenges of the future by taking lessons from the glorious achievements won through struggle, completely defeat the war on people - ‘Operation Green Hunt’ - and the surrender policy imposed by the enemy and win ever new victories to take the ongoing people’s war to a new height”**

**- Comrade Kishan**

*Excerpts from an interview with **Comrade Kishan**, Political Bureau Member and Secretary of the Eastern Regional Bureau (ERB), CPI(Maoist) to **Laal Chingari**, mouthpiece of Bihar-Jharkhand Special Area Committee (BJSAC) on the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the formation of the Party - MIB*

**Q: The tenth anniversary of the Party was celebrated with great enthusiasm in a good political atmosphere. However, what is your assessment about the result of the tactics and tasks taken up by the Party during the last two years to come out of the present situation of setback?**

**A:** You know that our Central Committee (CC) had deeply analysed the Party and the ongoing movement (armed struggle) in the entire country as well as in all the Regional

Bureau (RBs) areas during the CC-4 meeting held in 2013 and reached this conclusion that our countrywide movement is presently going through a difficult situation. As far as the area under Eastern Regional Bureau (ERB) is concerned, here too the Party and the movement are in a condition of setback. CC-4 had also formulated certain tasks for implementation in the next two years, i.e., by 2014-15, to come out of this setback.

We started the process of implementing the tasks to overcome the situation of setback

from 2014. Thereafter, in the Eighth meeting of the ERB held in June 2015 we reviewed the Party and the movement in the entire ERB region to what extent we have been able to overcome, or whether we have further slid into a more precarious situation, and to discuss and debate all the important points by depending on this review an Extended Meeting of the ERB was called in December which was successfully completed.

It was assessed during the Eighth meeting of the ERB that instead of coming one step out of the setback situation, we have taken a step back quantitatively. The Extended Meeting of the ERB was held in order to formulate some necessary tasks for coming out of this situation in the real sense by depending on this review and by analysing and reviewing the reasons for the setback. Serious debate and extensive discussions took place on the political-organisational review report in the Extended Meeting and it was ultimately passed after adding several suggestions and some more necessary political-organisational tasks were formulated within the framework of the tasks set by the CC-4 meeting. Through all these processes we concretely outlined our positive achievements as well as negative aspects.

**Q: No doubt the ERB is making a serious attempt to overcome the setback. However, if you mention some of the specific positive and negative aspects of the Party and the movement we will get a clear idea about the concrete assessment and our tasks. Can you elaborate a bit more on this issue?**

**A:** After the CC-4 meeting, the Seventh meeting of the ERB was concluded in January 2014, through which along with taking some other decisions to implement the CC-4 resolutions, the important decision of forming Unified Command was also taken. When the decisions taken by the Seventh meeting of the ERB was reviewed in the Eighth meeting of the ERB, it became evident that though some superficial attempts have been made to implement the decisions of the CC-4 and the ERB to bring the BJSAC movement out of the setback situation, but these attempts did not prove to be particularly effective. The seriousness with which the CC-4 and ERB-8 assessed the

movement and formulated tactics for two years, we did not show that kind of seriousness in implementing and actualising these tactics. As a result, the shortcomings-weaknesses of the BJ movement remained as they were while the enemy's attacks became even more intense, and instead of coming out of the setback the BJ movement took one step back.

The reasons for the movement taking a step back instead of overcoming the setback were deeply reviewed. From the facts that emerged from the review, one of the main or primary reasons was the coming of the leadership comrades from the ERB-level to the AC-level under enemy attack. When our Party CPI(Maoist) was formed on 21 September 2004, the enemy took it as a challenge and the incumbent UPA-1 government declared that CPI(Maoist) was the biggest internal security threat. With this, it made the Party's leadership the target of attack as per its strategy with the wicked intension of crushing the revolutionary movement. The CC alerted the entire leadership about this attack by the enemy and made some suggestions for taking several technical (tech) precautions for safety and to evade this attack. However, we in a way ignored this guidance by the CC, violated the tech-precautions and continued our activities as per our old work-style without bringing any change to it, and as a result our leadership comrades from ERB through various SAC/ SC to AC leadership comrades became the victims of enemy attack one by one. This has led to considerable damage to the leadership in ERB and BJSAC and the Party had to suffer considerable loss. Along with this, on the one hand Operation Green Hunt – the barbaric war operation by the enemy – got intensified while our subjective forces got greatly reduced on the other; moreover, the necessity of adopting some new tactics and tasks by investigating the socio-economic changes that have come during the last thirty years too was ignored. For this reason, activities were continued according to the old understanding. The Party and the movement were bound to get weakened due to these reasons. In this way the BJ movement reached the situation of a setback. Now it has taken a step backward even from that. In spite of all this, we have with us the multifaceted revolutionary traditions of

glorious struggle including the fight against oppressive landlords, feudal forces and their armies (i.e., Sunlight Sena, Bhumi Sena, Brahmarsi Sena, Ranvir Sena) etc. in Bihar-Jharkhand in the 40-50 years as well as the historic Lalgarh mass uprising of West Bengal. Moreover, the PLGA and the revolutionary masses are continuing the BJ-West Bengal revolutionary movement by boldly facing and fighting back the fierce enemy attack. For instance, there have been many glorious attacks on the enemy, which include the Jhajha Raid on SAP camp in Aurangabad district, glorious Amvatikar counter-offensive attack and the action on a prison vehicle in Giridih to free an important comrade. Several heroic battles by the jailed comrades such as the Chaibasa Jail Break-2, the blowing up of an MPV in an ambush only a small distance away from Imamganj Police Station in Gaya district of Bihar where two-three CoBRA jawans and five-six were injured; wiping out of many goons and several ringleaders of murderous gangs like TPC-JJMP-PLFI operating under the direct guidance of the police-administration; many encounters with the paramilitary forces in which the heroic PLGA fighters boldly took on the enemy forces and eliminated several CoBRA commandos and injured dozens of them. Along with these, many significant movements have been conducted and sustained for the rights over *jal-jangal-zameen* and against displacement. Moreover, programmes of mass movements are being carried on regularly on many other burning issues of the people.

**Q: You said that we will have to advance by facing a challenging situation in the coming period. But the Party is in a quite weak position at present. What is the plan of ERB to strengthen the Party?**

**A:** I have already mentioned that the Party and the movement has faced setback in recent times in almost all the areas under ERB. That is why we need to give maximum attention to the task of strengthening the Party in all spheres so as to come out of the present situation of setback and once again advance the movement. In the process of doing this we have adopted the Bolshevisation campaign of the Party. This

means that the Party has to be Bolshevised only by ceaselessly maintaining and developing the proletarian class-character of the Party by remaining firm on the class line. For this, our main tasks in brief are – to adopt dialectical materialist outlook in place of idealist or metaphysical outlook, to connect theory with practice, to maintain close relation with the masses, to adopt the process of criticism – self-criticism, to imbibe a plain and simple way of life in the Party, and so on and so forth.

Under these main tasks, the points of attention for us are:

1) Regularly carrying out the task of imparting theoretical-political education in the form of a campaign in order to raise the level of political-theoretical understanding of the entire Party in a phased manner; implementing the process of selecting the comrades capable of leadership and educating them in both theoretical and practical aspects so that some comrades can be prepared who can give effective and competent leadership; along with this, we have to be regularly informed about the contradictions that are sharpening and becoming intense at the international and domestic level, their impact on the domestic situation and how are all the contradictions are intensifying at the domestic level as a result of this and the latest data and facts related to them; we will also have to investigate and gather information about the changes that are taking place in the economic-political spheres so that we can formulate the necessary tactics.

2) To continue rectification movement as a campaign at every level from top to bottom in order to completely eradicate various non-proletarian trends and practices raising their head in the Party including petty-bourgeois and bourgeois trends.

3) To continue ideological and political struggle against all forms of revisionism, whether it is in the right or 'Left' guise, against post-modernist ideas and thinking and against the line or thinking that capitalist development has taken place in all spheres of India; to adopt the process of Bolshevisation as a part of the process of equipping the Party with proletarian philosophy and proletarian

character and to constantly strive to gain deep understanding about the method of dialectical materialist analysis and about the principle of viewing everything as “the unity of opposites” in the Party and of considering every issue as “one divides into two”.

4) To protect all leadership comrades from the highest committee, i.e., the Central Committee up to the Area Committees; to protect the members of the Party committees in all the formations of the PLGA, i.e., Platoon Party Committee, Company Party Committee and Battalion Party Committee, all the commanders and deputy commanders and members of commands at various levels; to protect the leaders and cadres of the Revolutionary Party Committees, Krantikari Kishan Committees (K KCs) and other mass organisations.

5) In order to further strengthen the roots of the Party as per the class-line, we will have to take the Party to the masses by following the class-line and mass-line and make special efforts to build the Party, PLGA, K KC, RPCs and various other mass organisations by taking the village as the primary unit and considering it as the foundational basis of the Party so that its base becomes so strong that no matter how many blows it suffer it will be able to withstand them and remain intact. In this way, to consolidate the various forms of Party organisation on the ground and to prepare some comrades as professional revolutionaries and recruit them to the proper organisational level, etc. etc.

In brief, this is the plan of our ERB which we will have to make completely successful by giving it the highest priority.

**Q: Modi government has adopted the plan to completely crush the Maoist Party and the movement; it has announced lakhs and crores of rewards for information leading to the Party leaders dead or alive; it is running the surrender policy with much fanfare. What is the impact of all this on the Party and movement and what is the Party’s plan to face this?**

**A:** No doubt the plan of completely crushing the Maoist Party and the Maoist movement has emerged as one of the foremost tasks of

Modi government. But it is not the isolated decision of the government of any single party in India and it can never be so. This is because the ruling-class parties of India are lackeys of imperialism. Therefore, no matter whatever the colour of the party or the government may be, it has to fully implement the various aspects of Low Intensity Conflict (LIC) under the directions of imperialism, particularly US imperialism. This is what had happened during UPA rule and now it is happening during NDA rule. That is why it is not as if this has become the main task of the government only after Modi came to power. If we look back at the rule of UPA-1 and UPA-2, we will find that both had declared the Maoist Party and the Maoist movement as “the biggest threat to the country’s internal security” and took up the wiping out our Party and movement as its foremost task. The first and second phases of Operation Green Hunt were carried out by that government. But what was the result? History is witness to the fact that they were totally unsuccessful. On the contrary, the roots of the Maoist Party and movement went deeper into the masses and in spite of suffering the loss of thousands of comrades the Party strengthened by taking lessons from numerous experiences.

Now Modi government is implementing the plan of third phase of Operation Green Hunt with all kinds of help from the imperialists including US imperialists and all reactionaries with the aim of crushing the revolutionary movement entirely. Be it ‘cordon-and-destroy’ operations or other kinds of suppression campaign, surrender policy or the policy of conducting foul propaganda as part of psychological war, so-called reform programmes or the programme of trumpeting so-called development – in all these Modi government has brought quantitative and qualitative change. No sooner than Modi took the reigns of government, he announced that Maoists would be rooted out within six months; but since this did not happen and the reality turned out to be quite the opposite, they have been declaring that the Maoist Party would be finished off in one or two years, etc. It is going to be two and a half years of Modi government, but now that the Maoist Party or movement could not be crushed as announced, a barrage of false propaganda has

been unleashed. “The Maoist Party has almost become finished”, “it has got reduced from 120 districts to only 80 districts, and even that in a limited scale”, and such other misinformation is being spread. On the one hand it is said that “the strength of the Maoists has become very limited”, while on the other hand there is talk of raising a number of new paramilitary battalions for deployment in the Maoist areas. Are these two things contradictory? Under the highly reactionary policy of “using a thorn to remove a thorn”, “Bastariya Battalion” is being formed in some places and “local Adivasi Battalion” in others as per the reactionary LIC policy pitting the Adivasis against the Adivasis. Are the masses not seeing through the real aim of the extremely reactionary policy of instigating internecine war? Yes, the masses are wise; they understand it and are taking pledge to completely expose and defeat this dangerous “divide and rule” policy.

But the reactionary Modi government is not sitting quiet even after this. Rather, it is following to the hilt the other heinous and vile method adopted by the previous UPA government of ‘eliminate the leadership’ and is putting all efforts to actualise the policy of murdering the Central Committee members of CPI(Maoist) along with the members of other leading committees by any means. Not only that, they are announcing rewards worth lakhs and crores of rupees and extensively putting up posters and leaflets with photos to get the members of the highest committee of the Maoist Party and other members arrested.

As per the third vile method, the enticement of much more money than before is being offered to make the surrender policy adopted by the UPA government, in their own words, “more attractive”.

If you want to know what has been the impact of this surrender policy on the Party and its rank and file, I want to say that a few weak, corrupt, incorrigible, factionalist and conspiratorial individuals, for whom it was no longer possible to remain in the Party anymore, have gone and surrendered to the enemy, are surrendering and possibly a few more such surrenders will take place in the future as well. On the other hand, the news that are being seen or heard daily in newspapers-magazines and radio-TV that “larger and larger numbers

of Maoists-Naxalites have surrendered and are expressing their wish to return to the mainstream” in various states, excepting one or two, are all lies and deception sponsored by the government. In fact, if the number of all the people whom the government claims to have surrendered are added up, perhaps their number will be even more than the total membership of CPI(Maoist). However, some honest journalists have shown with facts and evidence how fabricated are these kinds of surrenders in places like Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar and Odisha. That is why I need not say anything more on this. If you want to ask about the states under ERB then it is true that a few degenerated persons like Dinesh or Vikas belonging to Special Area/ State level committees of places like BJ-Bengal-Assam-2U etc. have surrendered and joined hands with the enemy and a few opportunist, corrupt or rotten persons of regional, zonal, sub-zonal and area committees and the PLGA and mass organisations too have surrendered. Moreover, some comrades are being forced to say that they have surrendered after subjecting them to tremendous third-degree torture. They are behaving in a vulgar way with arrested women comrades. In fact, these are not surrenders but drama orchestrated by the government so that they can claim that their surrender policy is “proving to be successful”.

Now the question is how are we thinking of responding to the above-mentioned counter-revolutionary policies? First of all, we want that the extremely reactionary motive and conspiracy behind surrender policy, the objective of which is to “remove a throne with a throne”, i.e., involving the surrendered persons themselves in all the counter-revolutionary activities and the motive of directly pitting them against the Party, people and the revolution is extensively exposed, the vast masses of people and the Party ranks become aware enough to imbibe the mentality of hating the surrender policy, completely rejecting it and raising the slogan of “hate those who surrender”. To fulfil the above objectives properly and set everything aright, as I have already said, the first and foremost task is to safeguard the leadership of the Party from the CC to the AC level and that of the mass organisations, to Bolshevise the Party even

further, to educate the entire Party ranks and the struggling masses in all manner in order to fight back the enemy's multi-pronged attack with all-round counter-attack and give them training so that they can conduct the minimum resistance actions and transform the counter-offensive into the form of people's war in the real sense. On behalf of the ERB, we are engaged in giving these tasks practical shape, conducting classes as a campaign for the theoretical-political education of activists and selected comrades, carrying forward organisational and military preparations as a campaign, putting backbreaking efforts in counter-offensive attacks against enemy's armed attacks, counter-propaganda campaign against foul propaganda and building mass movements on the people's burning issues.

I am convinced that the vast majority of the responsible comrades of the Party will spare no effort to come out of the situation of setback and to realise the three tasks of transforming the guerrilla war into mobile war, PLGA into PLA and guerrilla areas into base areas by expanding and intensifying the ongoing agrarian revolutionary guerrilla war under the leadership of CPI(Maoist). In addition, they will intensify the efforts to completely defeat the wicked designs of the surrender policy. I am fully convinced that the enemy's vile motive of wiping out our Party will be thoroughly defeated; their evil wishes will be drenched in cold water.

**Q: The entire system is being fascisised – this analysis has been made in the report on the domestic situation. Can you elaborate on the factors based on which this conclusion has been drawn?**

**A:** Obviously, since the existing Indian society is based on exploitation and is a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country where the stranglehold of imperialism and feudalism is ever present, that is why there is the predominance of authoritarian, dictatorial or fascist ideas and practice within this society. We may say that fascism and dictatorship moves hand in hand and is in friendly terms and this is the social base of fascism and authoritarianism and all ruling-class parties politically represent these

ideologies. This is the reason why authoritarianism, tyrannical practices etc. are inevitably seen extensively in the ruling system of the Indian ruling classes and their parties. All the ruling parties in India including Congress and BJP politically represent the comprador big capitalists and big landlords.

Expressions of authoritarianism and tyranny have been repeatedly seen in the ruling system ever since the so-called independence and we are all well aware of particularly the extreme forms of tyrannical oppression and atrocities during the Emergency imposed by the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1975.

Now when we look back at history and observe the present activities of Modi government, then all the tyrannical activities of the Emergency period of 1975 become fresh in our memory. In fact, we are now witnessing authoritarianism and fascism in a quantitatively and qualitatively new and dangerous form in all fields such as economic, political, cultural, social, military, diplomacy, etc. The following are a few facts as example:

1) In the economic field: to make extensive attempts to implement the neo-liberal policies brought forward in the interest of imperialism and corporations more speedily than before in the name of economic reforms; give a free reign to foreign direct investment (FDI); to allow cent percent foreign investment in defence, insurance, banking and similar sectors; to complete almost all preparations for privatising banking and insurance, energy and electricity, etc.; to openly invite foreign investment in the name of 'Make in India', 'Manufacturing Hub', 'Digital India', 'Smart City', 'Start Up', etc.; to provide for nearly five lakh crore rupees of tax waiver for the corporates through central budget and GST (Goods and Services Tax) and announce huge concessions in other taxes too and allowing 8.5 lakh crore rupees of bank loans to remain in the hands of the corporations and to remove the governor of RBI for hesitating to implement the orders of Modi government in favour of corporate interests in the name of economic reforms; forcibly implementing the recommendations of the anti-worker Eighth Finance Commission in the interest of the corporates, and so on and so forth.

2) In the political field: What is most dangerous is the tremendous attack on whatever was going on in the name of freedom of expression in ideas and practice even as a showpiece, to begin attack whenever there is any kind of criticism of the government or opposition to its policies and functioning, to harass and castigate anyone who raises voices of opposition by putting the label of 'anti-national', to boast in the speech from the parapets of Lal Quila that poverty has been eradicated and to count thousands of achievements, to openly talk about expansionist intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, to keep harassing progressive intellectuals, journalists, writers, teachers and some honest officers by calling them sympathisers of extremists-terrorists; instead of recognising the right to self-determination of the people of Kashmir and Manipur, Nagalim, Assam, Bodoland, Meghalaya, Tripura, etc. of the Northeast to term the movements of these regions and places as 'law and order problem' and carry out tremendous attack and keep them under curfew for months, to implement the policy of 'killing anti-nationals with pallet-guns (which is prohibited internationally) and bullets' and to force the masses to live under the shadow of guns, to regularly take away even the formal rights given to the states by the centre under the country's federal structure, dismissal of council of ministers on the whims of the governors and appointment of another council of ministers of their choice, making MLAs and MPs shift parties through enticement and horse-trading, etc. etc.

3) In the cultural field: to deliberately create an atmosphere where jingoistic ideas of Hindu, Hindutva, Hindu nation etc. become dominant in all places and at all levels; to pressurise the imposition of Brahmanvadi-Manuvadi ideology and social practice in accordance with it and to compel changes in various social customs; to extensively propagandise metaphysical and idealistic ideology in order to counter the influence of anti-idealist and materialist ideology; to put various kinds of prohibitions in the observance of the customs of the religious minorities according to their religion; to issue diktats that what is to be eaten and what not, etc., has to be done according to the orders of the Hinduvadis and in case of non-compliance to

keep threatening a fate similar to Akhlaq Ahmad on allegation of consuming beef or like the condition of Dalits of Gujarat; apart from this to decide what is to be worn and what not, what s to be studied and what not, what is to be said and what not, to threaten with the label of 'anti-national' those who refuse to say '*Bharat Mata Ki Jai*'; to extensively instigate the feelings of extreme national chauvinism; to openly instigate for building temple in the place of mosque; to appoint only those persons imbibing the feelings and ideology of Hinduvadi RSS to the posts of VC, principal, professor, teacher etc. in all educational institutions such as universities, colleges and schools; to completely take away the right to conduct open debates and discussions on different issues in universities and to arrest and put behind bars the students and student leaders struggling for this (the latest example of this is the JNU incident); to give full support from the government to ABVP (Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad) to pressurise and carry out attacks on students' organisations upholding 'left' ideology, etc., etc.

4) In the judicial field: to continually introduce changes in the constitution and the laws with the intention of striking off even the namesake freedom of expression or minimal democratic rights, i.e., the right to hold meetings, rallies, conferences, demonstrations, etc., to redefine the definition of 'anti-national', to bring forward various oppressive and draconian laws after terming just struggles as 'law and order problem', to legislate laws to prohibit the activities of democratic and revolutionary organisations by citing frivolous reasons, to bring fundamental changes in the existing laws and procedures in order to appoint judges according to the wishes of the ruling party, to legislate new repressive laws to rein in those who use or consume beef, to compel the government human rights commissions to act according to the wishes and orders of the ruling party, to put various kinds of restrictions on the independent human rights organisations and to make various allegations against them, to continuously bring some change or the other to put complete ban on CPI(Maoist) and revolutionary mass organisations and to declare them as proscribed organisations, to bring up new issues and

arguments to retain draconian laws like 'AFSPA' (Armed Forces Special Powers Act), to introduce amendments to NSA (National Security Act), UAPA (Unlawful Activities Prevention Act) to add more repressive aspects to them, to deprive the people of all their rights including the right to move out of their homes, right to free movement and the right to work by keeping the people of various villages up to one or several areas under the confines of prisoners' camps in the name of 'Operations Green Hunt', to give legal sanction to state terror by giving a free hand for rape, gang-rape, indiscriminate arrests and fake encounters, etc., etc.

5) In the field of foreign policy: the clear visibility under Modi government's rule of the trend of developing very close ties with US imperialism which boasts of being the most powerful country and of acting according to its directions; being a country with a vast population, utilising India for implementing the 'Act East' policy formulated by the US to encircle China (which we have now identified as social imperialist) and to push it as an expansionist power in East Asia and Southeast Asia region as well as Indian Ocean region. It is only as per this plan that the bilateral relation of Modi government with the US has got upgraded to a higher level strategic relation, which has been portrayed as a big achievement. The attitude of the Indian government toward the neighbouring countries has been like an expansionist power from much before, etc., etc.

6) In the military field: to make Operation Green Hunt military operation even more extensive and intensely aggressive in its third phase by bringing quantitative and qualitative changes under the direct conducting of Unified Command to root out the Maoists Maoist by terming the Maoist Party and the Maoist movement as the biggest internal security threat; to unleash a war on people in reality in the name of 'war on terror' or "war on terrorism-extremism", to expand the network and number of army, air force and navy as well as BSF-CRPF as part of the paramilitary forces and state armed police and SPOs (Special Police Officers); to import newer weapons, combat aircrafts and logistics and to equip all the forces with them; to arrange

advanced military training and training of paramilitary forces; to directly appoint US military experts for training; to resort to advanced technology or technique to impart the most modern training to 'RAW' and all other intelligence departments ; the US getting the free hand to use various military, air and naval bases of India as per its wishes through the agreement signed by the Indian defence minister with the present defence secretary of the US; to maintain a warlike atmosphere by increasing the tension between India and Pakistan with the collusion of both Indian and Pakistan governments, etc., etc.

From the very brief discussion above we can reach the conclusion that these are some recent examples of the practical form of the existing fascism.

**Q: The number of students and youths in Eastern Region is quite small. What would be your appeal to today's students and youths?**

**A:** It is true that apart from some organisational work among the students in West Bengal state under ERB, the number of students-youths who are joining is much less than required in all other places. Considering the stage which the ongoing movement has reached and from where it is waiting to go to the next higher level, the number of students-youths joining is worryingly small. In any great social revolution the contribution of the students-youths has been very important. The fact that thousands of students and youths joined the historic struggle of Naxalbari from various colleges throughout West Bengal including Kolkata is known to all. Everyone knows this too that students from many universities including that of Patna, Ranchi and Bhagalpur and different colleges of Bihar (including present Jharkhand) participated in the revolutionary movement.

Keeping in mind the necessity of successfully tackling the present situation and the next challenging period of the ongoing struggle in Bihar-Jharkhand-West Bengal-Assam and taking it to the next higher stage, I want to appeal to the students and youths who have played an important role in many glorious struggles of the past to make adequate

contribution to the building of a new society, i.e., a society with a people's democratic system by participating in large numbers and playing a leading role in the revolutionary movement while carrying forward the struggle against commercialisation, commodification and saffronisation of education and for the permanent solution of these problems.

**Q: The international and domestic situation is comparatively more favourable to revolution than before and all the policies of the Modi government is sharpening the mass disaffection and mass opposition along with the internal contradictions of the ruling classes – we are interested to know your analysis and comments on this issue in brief.**

**A:** Since I have already mentioned main points regarding the forms in which fascisation has been or is being carried out in all aspects including the economic aspect, that is why I will only mention very briefly some particular aspects about the domestic and international situation. These are:

Some particular aspects of the international situation:

It is obvious that since the so-called independence till today, whether it is Congress or BJP, they are ruling the country according to the directions of imperialism. BJP-led NDA's Modi government has come to power through the 16th Lok Sabha elections and the anti-people neo-liberal policies that were brutally implemented by the Congress-led UPA government, Modi government too is doing the same. In fact, Modi government is implementing all these anti-people policies in an even more brutal and fascist manner. Narendra Modi's slogan of 'Make in India' or 'Manufacturing Hub' is nothing but a way of encouraging foreign direct investment and to speed it up. And the slogan of 'Digital India' is actually nothing but a way of digitising the entire administrative system. Narendra Modi is regularly visiting the imperialist countries in order to invite foreign direct investment and he has broken the record of all previous prime ministers of India on the number of foreign visits. At the same time, he has already visited all the neighbouring countries of India to play

an expansionist role in the interest of US imperialism and under its direction. Whatever he may do, the country is trapped in a serious economic crisis as a result of implementing neo-liberal policies. All human activities are being brought to the market under neo-liberal policies. Neo-liberal policy is being emphasised in political and economic work and thinking at all places. The unprecedented world economic crisis is adversely affecting our country. Each and every person in India has to undergo its terrible consequences.

For instance, economic inequality is growing quickly in our country in the last two decades. The rich are becoming richer while the poor is becoming poorer. According to a recent report, 2.284 trillion dollar of wealth was generated in India between 2000 and 2015, of which 61% went to the top one percent of the population. 10% population got 81% of the total national wealth.

As a result of this, more than 77% of the people are living below poverty line. On the other hand, moneybags like Mittal, Jindal, Ambani brothers, Tata etc. have joined the world's billionaires. Not only this, black money worth thousands of crores of rupees is being deposited in Swiss banks and other foreign banks. The gap between the rich and the poor has become even wider as a result of this. Prime Minister Narendra Modi's boast that "Within hundred days of getting on the seat of power I will bring back thousands of millions of rupees worth black money deposited abroad" has got deflated by now.

The imperialists want that neo-fascist rule and Brahmanical Hindutva-fascist organisations like RSS should be brought to the fore so as the effectively implement the neo-liberal policies. That is why the Modi government which came to power by deceiving the people through illusions of "Acche Din" is implementing pro-corporate policies in a fascist manner through the enactment of the law to allow FDI in the insurance sector, amendments to the legislation for coal block allocation, company laws and labour laws against the interest of the workers, issuing of forest clearance and environmental clearance without the permission of Gram Sabhas, land acquisition bill, real estate bill, etc. As a result,

the condition of the peasants in the agricultural sector has become quite precarious, due to which a large number of them are forced to commit suicide. Suicides on such a large scale has given rise to militant struggles in different parts of the country by thousands of peasants against the anti-peasant polices of the government. Many such movements are going on in the country.

Many anti-worker legislations have been introduced after Modi government came to power. Workers and employees are carrying out movements against these anti-worker policies of the government, against the authoritarian mill owners, against the large-scale privatisation of industries and businesses as well as with the demand for wage hikes.

There is no sign of a stop to cruel repression and atrocities on women such as acid attacks, molestation and harassment, rape and gang-rape, murder which are growing under cover of the cry of 'Beti Padhao-Beti Bachao' during the two and a half years of Modi government's rule. In fact, these are growing by the day.

Education is being taken out of the reach of the common man by commercialising education and the unbridled increase in tuition fees in schools and colleges. Militant struggles are being carried out in various universities against the saffronisation of syllabus and education.

People are being told what they should eat, dress, study and see. That is why right-wing attack has grown through restriction on ideas, art, writings, dress, film, drama, food, etc.

Attacks on religious minorities, Dalits and oppressed nationalities have grown since the Brahmanical Hindutva-fascist Modi government came to power. Behind the talk of scrapping Section 370 in force in Kashmir, implementing common civil code, building Ram Temple in place of Babri Masjid, to call India a Hindu Nation is to establish the dominance of Sangh Parivar in government policies, in social, economic and educational-cultural policies, foreign policy, etc.

On the question of oppressed nationalities, movements are going on in states with oppressed nationalities Kashmir, Assam, Bodoland, Manipur, Nagaland etc. with the

demand of withdrawing Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA).

For instance, the just demand of the Kashmiri people for self-determination is being subjected to repression and atrocities for a long time. The forms of this repression have been made more cruel and fascist after the coming of the PDP-BJP alliance government. For instance, not giving the opportunity to the masses to buy their daily necessities from shops and markets continuously for months by imposing curfew, to throw pregnant women and the ailing persons into the jaws of death due to the inability to take to the doctor or hospital in time, to compel all the educational institutions including schools and colleges to close down indefinitely, completely prohibit the people's meetings, rallies, demonstrations, etc., banning mobile and internet services, even prohibiting prayers in mosques during the religious festival of Id, etc. – all these are proving that the entire people of Kashmir are being forced to live a life of prison camp and to exist under the shadow of the gun by depriving them of all the rights and freedom.

Similarly, the ongoing movements for the right to self-determination by the people of all the nationalities in Northeast India are being crushed under the jackboots from a long time through cruel repression campaigns. Now after Modi government has taken in its hands the reigns of power, the task of implementing various fascist steps and machinations is being speeded up to make these repressive activities even more cruel. For instance, after somehow laying its hands on the government in Assam by the BJP, it is trying to use various kinds of deceptions and enticements as well as buying up of legislators in other regions of the Northeast through crores and crores of rupees to bring them to its side so that by propping up BJP-led governments nationality struggles can be crushed completely through the tyrannical rule of the central government.

At the same time, in the name of cow protection Muslim masses are being beaten up in different states of the country, burning down of their houses, capture of all their land and property after chasing them out of their homes, putting various restrictions on observing their religious ceremonies, to create

a Hindutva-fascist atmosphere in order to realise the plan of RSS-BJP to build Hindu temples by pulling down various mosques including the conspiratorial plan to build Ram Temple in the place of the mosque in Ayodhya, etc.; similarly the cruel and barbaric beating up of the people from Dalit community in Gujarat's Una by Hindu fascist goons on the false allegation of cow slaughter when they were skinning a dead cattle, to attempt to put various kinds of hurdles so that Dalit masses cannot come to participate in large numbers in protest meetings and rallies against these atrocities, etc. are demonstrating the practical examples of the fascist ruling system existing in India.

On the other hand, the masses too are not acting as mute spectators. From minor protests to powerful movements, they are carrying out struggles against all forms of exploitation, oppression and atrocities; workers are organising all India strikes and huge demonstrations for wage hikes and against oppressive labour laws, against the problems emanating from the conspiracy to privatise all government industries and mines including banks, railways, factories, etc., peasants are waging struggles on the acute problems of agriculture, unprecedented price rise of agricultural inputs, agrarian crisis, proper price of land and agricultural produce as well as the painful problem of suicides, etc.; women, students-youth, social activists, journalists, intellectuals, teachers and para-teachers, engineers, employees – all are fighting on their sectional issues as well as on the problems of price rise and unemployment, etc.; progressive-democratic and radical forces are fighting against issues like the war on people, blatant violation of human rights, adopting different methods of intimidation and harassment by whipping up a fascist atmosphere in the whole country including the tagging of anyone who raises anti-establishment voice as 'anti-national'; at the initiative of respected personalities, many people belonging to various child's rights organisations are fighting against violation of the rights of children including the right to education and participation in sports activities, etc. and against various forms of child labour and exploitation of children; the persons from the third gender community are

fighting for a life with human dignity including their social security; people's movements carried out by many organisations opposing environmental pollution on the issue of grave adverse impact on planetary and human life due to the pollution created through the emission of various poisonous gases by the capitalist-imperialist countries for their profit including the setting up of nuclear reactors; the people are fighting on the questions of *jal-jangal-zameen-izzat-azadi-adhikar* and against serious issues like displacement; similarly, Adivasis-Dalits-toiling masses are fighting against problems of casteism and other kinds of social oppression and atrocities; the people of Kashmir and the nationalities of the Northeast are conducting powerful movements for the right to self-determination and against the encirclement of guns and compulsion to live their lives under the shadow of guns; the religious minorities too are carrying on widespread movements against the barbaric oppression on them; the contradiction between ruling-class parties against the growing intervention of the centre in violation of even the very little rights given to the various states under the federal structure by the centre and on issues like distribution of river-water and border dispute among various states; the people are carrying out a just resistance war in order to build a new society with a people's democratic system free from exploitation and oppression by defeating the war on people that is being waged against in the name of the barbaric Operation Green Hunt in the states influenced by the Maoist movement to maintain the existing rotten society based on exploitation and oppression, etc. etc. In one word, one can see dharna, protests, militant demonstrations, road blockade, prisoner's strike, resistance, armed resistance everywhere in the country which means that this has emerged as a particular aspect of present India. Certainly, this aspect is showing the more favourable situation for revolution than before.

The following are some of the particular aspects of the present international situation:

(i) the economic and financial crisis of US imperialism which boasts of being the strongest power in the world began in 2008 and gradually took Europe, Russia, Japan and

China into its ambit and an unprecedented situation of upheaval has been generated today after this crisis took the form of a great depression and engulfed the entire world;

(ii) Due to the gradually deepening financial crisis, contention for expanding imperialist hegemony in the world and for the division and redivision of the world market, competition for making economic to strategic military alliances have become common. Due to its extreme reactionary actions such as barbaric attacks in different countries of the world, military aggression, dropping thousands of bombs, to install one's own lackey or puppet governments in the place of old ones, etc. as a part of this contention, US imperialism has been identified as the no.1 enemy of the world people; it is obvious that US and its collaborator NATO alliance is already present as a pole (centre) on the world scale and on the other side powerful Russian imperialism along with China which has emerged as imperialist (or social imperialist) – the alliance of both too is playing its role as the second pole or centre at the international level;

(iii) As a result, the inter-imperialist contradiction over the questions of expanding their hegemony in the world, installing puppet governments in one country after another, increasing one's share in the world market, etc., has sharpened to an extent which has not been seen since the Second World War;

(iv) It is obvious that in order to come out of their intense crisis, the tremendous aggressive activities including military attacks that all the imperialist countries are conducting in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the aim of facilitating the unrestrained investment of capital, exploitation of raw material, market and labour-power, etc. have already converted Afghanistan and Iraq into rubble while countries like Iraq-Libya-Syria have been pushed to the brink of complete destruction by killing thousands and lakhs of people or making them refugees in order to keep the oilfields in their hands. Large-scale genocides are being perpetrated by instigating local wars in different regions and making various armed groups and gangs propped-up by the imperialists fight amongst themselves. Thousands of nefarious designs are being used

to crush the powerful anti-US imperialist feelings emerging observed on a world scale due to the attempts to create an atmosphere of mutual killing by instigating various kinds of fundamentalist ideas.

As a result, the contradiction of the oppressed nationalities and people with imperialism has intensified and became sharper. This contradiction is playing the principal and decisive role among the three major contradictions mentioned above;

(v) Widespread expressions of intense hatred and feeling of anger are to be seen on a world scale against imperialism, particularly US imperialism. As a result, anti-imperialist resistance movements can be seen in various forms in the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Resistance is going on in all forms starting from minor resistance to armed resistance and people's war;

(vi) As a result of the action and reaction of the three major contradictions that are today gradually intensifying at the international level, the world clearly seems to be getting divided into two camps. Within the first camp comes all the imperialist, reactionary and the comprador and puppet governments and in the second camp comes all the progressive, democratic and revolutionary forces including the anti-imperialist forces. The first camp is – international reactionary – counter-revolutionary camp and the other is – the international progressive, democratic and revolutionary camp. It is inevitable that the first camp gradually weakens and the second camp gradually strengthens.

From the very brief discussions above about the particular aspects of the international situation, this decision can be reached in the form of summing up or conclusion that the present international situation is more favourable to revolution than anytime in the past.

That is why to say that the domestic and international situation is more favourable for our revolution than before is not any exaggeration but is the truth, a conclusion based on concrete analysis. Taking advantage of this objective situation, we can overcome the reduction in the subjective forces and increase them gradually by adopting the line and work-style of the Party.

**Q: The present Modi government and all ruling-class parties say that “a civilised society has no place for violence”. What is your comment on this?**

**A:** There is nothing new in this statement. This has been continued to be said from years before, that is, since the beginning of the struggle against British colonisers to suppress the people’s struggle – the same hackneyed statement which all the ruling-class parties at the service of imperialism are today shouting from the rooftops. But history is witness to the fact that ever since classes, i.e., the exploiting and exploited classes have emerged in the society, the state machinery has also emerged to suppress the exploited classes by the exploiting classes; from that time the persons ruling in the interest of the exploiting classes are using the state machinery against the exploited classes. Obviously, the state machinery is such a repressive machinery that has police-military, jails, courts, etc. as the main organs and of which police-military is the principal organ.

In the process of social development, primitive communist society got destroyed and class-divided slave society came into being and thereafter as feudal society and capitalist society took shape the state machinery too continued to develop and the present highly repressive form came into existence through this very process. The existing state machinery is playing its role as an extremely repressive machinery in the semi-colonial and semi-feudal India too. It is clear that the principal organ of the state machinery is the police-military which is equipped with arms and ammunition from head to toe. And this is also clear that all the movements that are emerging in a majority of the states and regions on minor demands, on questions of *jal-jangal-zameen* and displacement, on agricultural-related problems including the suicide of farmers, against the amendments to the labour laws including minimum wages and the decision to privatise all industries and businesses, business centres, government mills, industries, mines, banks, insurance, defence industry, etc., on the questions of blatant violation of the human rights of minorities and Dalits, on the questions of the right of various nationalities to self-determination and on the question of barbaric military operation

on the Maoist movement through Green Hunt and imposing a war on people are being crushed under the jackboots of the police-military. In one word, the rule under the shadow of the gun is continuing in the whole country, which means that it is only the rule of the gun that is in existence. All the rest is merely for show, mere deception.

If it is true that “there is no place of violence in a civilised society” as has been loudly pronounced over and over again, then it needs to be first be applied to them. First they should apply it and then only should they tell or teach others. We think that if someone wants to get everything wished for by the rulers accepted by putting a gun on your head or compels to live a life under the shadow of the gun, then every person, every citizen or every individual has the full right to pick up weapons in turn for self-defence and it is the birthright of each person to keep weapons for self-defence.

To talk about the summing-up of the whole discussion, the violence perpetrated by the state should first be stopped, and only then the others too can think whether the path of violence needs to be adopted or not. That is why, it is our opinion that this statement by the ruling parties is not only meaningless, but is also useless and empty chatter.

**Q: Is there any call that you want to give to the Party’s rank and file?**

**A:** Briefly, I want to say only this that we can traverse the next period of the advancement of the Indian revolution only by successfully overcoming the extremely challenging situation. That is why we should complete all kinds of preparations to face all types of challenges. At the same time, all possible effort will have to be made to advance the Indian revolution by overcoming each and every difficulty. Only by doing this can we continually build and strengthen the three magic weapons of revolution – the party, army and united front. On the occasion of the 12th anniversary, the entire Party and its rank and file should make full efforts to Bolshevise the Party in all aspects and thereby complete the important task of transforming the guerrilla war into mobile war, PLGA into PLA and guerrilla areas into base areas – this is my call.

### **AOB - Telangana - Andhra Pradesh**

One AP Greyhound commando was killed and another was injured in Ramguda encounter in the Cut-off area of Malkangiri district in Odisha in which 22 members of CPI(Maoist) and 9 villagers laid down their lives.

One day bandh was called by CPI(Maoist) in five states of Odisha, Chhattisgarh, Telangana, AP and Maharashtra under the Central Regional Bureau on 3 November against the Ramguda encounter. The bandh was effective in Malkangiri, Koraput, Rayagada and other districts of Odisha.

On 18 November, PLGA destroyed a number of earthmovers, tractors and tippers engaged in road construction work between Sorisipotro and Bhitarkotta in Koraput district and eliminated the supervisor of the site.

### **Bihar - Jharkhand**

On 2 July, PLGA killed an SPO Deepak Hansda of Mohanpur village under Dumri Police Station of Giridih district. He was involved in working in close coordination with the Giridih SP and the police officials of Nimiyaghat and Pirtand against the revolutionary movement. He was produced before a people's court in the past with the presence of three hundred residents of Mohanpur. He had admitted his mistake and undertook not to co-operate with the police. He was warned to refrain from these activities, but since he persisted, PLGA eliminated him carrying out the people's verdict.

On 10 July, one jawan of CRPF's 209th CoBRA Battalion died in an ambush by the PLGA in Burha Pahar area of Garu block in Latehar district on Jharkhand-Chhattisgarh border.

## 10 CoBRA jawans wiped out in PLGA's daring Sondaha ambush

On 18 July, red fighters of PLGA carried out a daring ambush near Dumri Nala of Sondaha forest under Madanpur Police Station of Bihar's Gaya district, in which ten jawans of the 205th Battalion (Barwadih Battalion) of the CRPF's CoBRA commandos were wiped out and five were seriously injured. The meticulously planned deliberate ambush was carried out by enticing the enemy into a trap where a series of mines were already planted. When the paramilitary troops reached the spot, the PLGA blasted the IEDs and opened fire. In the ensuing fierce battle that lasted for several hours, while dealing serious blow to government's mercenary forces three of the brave PLGA guerrillas - Comrade Prince (27) (CC Company-1 PL Commander), Comrade Suday (38) (Madhya Zonal Committee member) and Comrade Vipin – laid down their lives in the battlefield.

On 21 July, Maoist guerrillas burnt down seven tractors, two earthmovers and two mixing machines in an under-construction solar power plant of a Maharashtra-based private company in Baksi Bigha village in Rafiganj under Kasma Police Station of Aurangabad district. Nearly two crore rupees worth machinery was destroyed in the action.

On 31 July, PLGA guerrillas burnt down a JCB machine near Charaiya village and a tractor in Ghutari village engaged in road construction work under Charkapatthar Police Station in Jamui district of Bihar.

One junior commander of STF was killed in an ambush by the PLGA on a joint team of CRPF and STF which entered Kanimoh and Ghogarhati forests of Lakhisarai district in

Bihar on 9 August in search of the Maoist guerrillas.

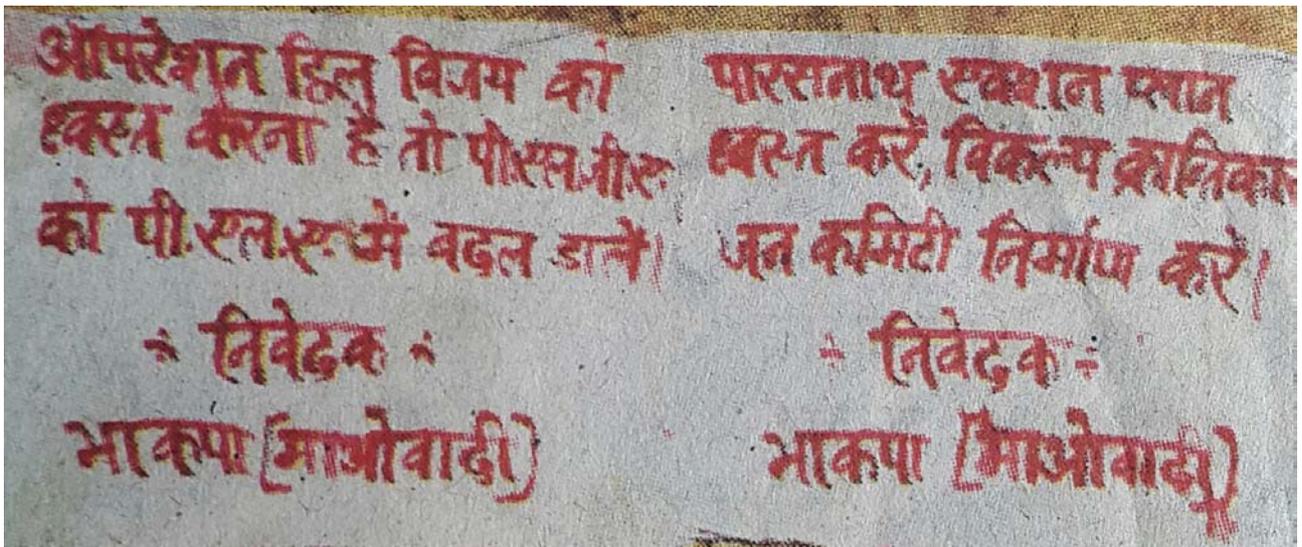
In the night of 30 August during a one-day bandh called by CPI(Maoist) PLGA cadres destroyed a solar-powered BSNL mobile tower and Base Transceiver Station (BTS) attached to it in Barheta village of Dev in Aurangabad district of Bihar. The bandh was observed in all the parts of Bihar and Jharkhand where the Maoist movement is active.

PLGA put up posters in the last week of August opposing the counter-revolutionary 'Operation Hill Vijay' being conducted at the Parasnath area of Giridih district as a part of the third phase of Operation Green Hunt. Posters were seen in several panchayats of Gumia block in the district.

CPI(Maoist) called a bandh of Chatra and Palamu districts of Jharkhand on 31 August. The bandh was total and all administrative and commercial activities including markets remained closed. There was little movement of vehicles on National Highway 75 and 98 passing through the districts. PLGA guerrillas burnt and destroyed the mobile tower of a private company in Tola Sathbigahwa in under Pandu Police Station of Palamu district during the bandh.



*JCB Machine burnt down in Jamui*



Posters put up by CPI(Maoist) against 'Operation Hill Vijay' and 'Parasnath Action Plan'

In the night of 4 September, PLGA fighters destroyed the machinery of a Kolkata-based construction company which was building a railway bridge over Paimar River near Burhi Paimar village in Manpur of Gaya district. The destroyed machinery included three cranes, one vehicle, one bike and a generator set worth over one crore rupees.



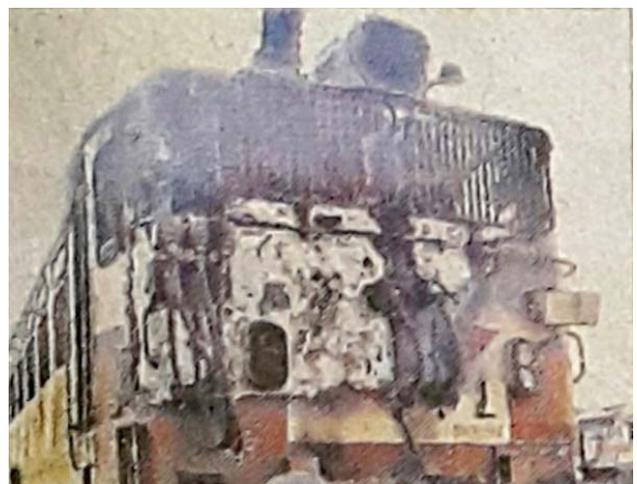
Jharkhand Regional Committee of CPI(Maoist) called a one-day Jharkhand bandh on 10 September against the loot of *Jal-Jangal-Zameen* by government companies and big corporates.

CPI(Maoist) called a daylong Jharkhand bandh on 30 September to protest against the killing of Comrade Ashish Yadav in a fake encounter recently. Transportation of coal in the coal mining areas remained suspended throughout the state. Petrol pumps, banks and business establishments, etc. remained closed and traffic remained mostly off the road in several districts.

Protest week called by CPI(Maoist) from 5 to 11 October was observed in Bihar-

Jharkhand. On 5 October, the first day of the countrywide protest week called by CPI(Maoist), PLGA guerrillas burnt down the engine of a goods train and blasted the railway track using explosives between Gomia and Dania Police Stations under Dhanbad Rail Division. PLGA fighters seized walkie-talkies of the loco driver. The train was transporting coal from Chandrapura to Barkakana. The route remained closed for the day. In the posters put up near the place of the incident, Jharkhand Regional Committee of CPI(Maoist) demanded the withdrawal of the anti-people ordinance amending the CNT-SPT Acts by the Raghubar Das government and appeal to the people to fight against it.

On 6 November, PLGA forces burnt down one tractor, one tanker, one mixer machine and one road roller in Hensakocha village under Chauka Police Station engaged in a road construction project under PMGSY.



## Chhattisgarh

A DRG jawan Paspula Tirupati posted in Cherpal Police Station in Gangalur area of Bijapur district was eliminated by the PLGA on 4 July on the demands of the people of the area. Tirupati had joined the police as an SPO in Lingagiri village of Bijapur at the beginning of Salwa Judum in 2005. He was involved in killing, beating up and torturing the people and burning down houses in several villages in Cherpal, Gangalur and Basaguda areas. He was also instrumental in the brutal killing of a number of leaders and activists of revolutionary maxss organisations in villages like Avnar, Pumbad, Peddajhojhor and Edsum.

One police jawan was injured in a PLGA attack near Basaguda in Bijapur district on 6 July.

PLGA attacked a vehicle carrying supplies for the CRPF from Dornapal to Jegurgunda in Sukma district on 8 July and seized the material. An SPO who was travelling in the vehicle was interrogated and later handed over to his family.

On 27 July, when CoBRA and DRG forces surrounded Gacchanpalli village of Konta area in Sukma district and beating up the villagers, PLGA launched an attack on them in which one CoBRA commando was killed and two others were injured. Taken aback by this

sudden attack, these mercenary forces started to run towards their camp and PLGA guerrillas chased them for three kilometres. On the same day, two CRPF jawans got seriously injured in a booby-trap blast when their batch was patrolling the road between Aranpur and Jegurgunda in Darbha Division under Dantewada district.

One policeman was injured in a booby-trap explosion in Burgil village of Gangalur area in Bijapur district on 28 July.

PLGA carried out a surprise attack on a 'search-and-destroy' team of CRPF's 208th CoBRA Battalion near Gompalli village under Bhejji Police Station of Sukma district on 30 July, in which one jawan was eliminated and another was injured. The paramilitary jawans were chased by the PLGA for three kilometres.

DKSZC called two days of Dandakaranya Bandh on 6 and 7 August. On the first day of the bandh two engines and six bogeys of a jumbo goods train were derailed after PLGA removed 500 meters of fishplates between Bhansi and Kamalapur stations on the K-K line. The engine of the Accident Relief Train (ART) which was sent to recover the derailed train was also partially derailed. This action stopped the transportation of iron-ore from NMDC's Bailadila mines for two days, resulting in a loss of crores of rupees. During the bandh PLGA attacked a railway station and seized three walkie-talkies.



*Engine of a jumbo goods train derailed by PLGA between Bhansi and Kamalapur stations, DK*

On 16 August, PLGA eliminated a Gopaniya Sainik Dhurva Poru in Kadam village of Kanger Ghati area as per the verdict of a people's court. He was responsible for passing on information to the police about a PLGA unit leading to an encounter on 7 October 2015 and the martyrdom of PLGA fighter Comrade Piso.

Two guerrillas of the PLGA carried out a valiant attack on two paramilitary jawans merely 200 metres away from their camp at Kukrajhor, 14 kilometres away from district town of Narayanpur on 13 August. The two Assistant Platoon Commanders of the police came to a nearby house where local liquor was served at around 6 pm leaving behind their weapons. The two PLGA guerrillas opened fire on them but the pistol got stuck after the first bullet hit one of the policemen, injuring him. The other policeman was attacked by the guerrillas with an axe. There was a scuffle between the guerrillas and the policemen for the axe for a few minutes. Finally, the guerrillas managed to wrest the axe and hit the policeman, while the other ran away. They also resolved the technical problem of the pistol and fired two rounds targeting the policeman hit by the axe, grievously injuring him. They then retreated safely. The two seriously injured policemen had to be airlifted to Raipur for treatment.

One DRG commando was seriously injured in an encounter with PLGA between Kunna and Dabba villages of Katekalyan area on the border of Dantewada and Sukma districts in the morning of 17 August. Air ambulance was used for the first time in Dandakaranya to airlift the injured jawan to Raipur. He died during treatment. Four PLGA comrades laid down their lives heroically fighting the enemy in this encounter. The same day in Sukma district, one jawan of CRPF's 150th Battalion was injured while deactivating an IED which exploded. He died during treatment in New Delhi's AIIMS in September. Another CRPF jawan was killed in an explosion triggered by the PLGA near Chintagufa in Sukma district on the same day.

One CRPF jawan died in a mine explosion near Chintagufa in Sukma district on 26 August. The same day a CRPF personnel of its 150th Battalion was seriously injured when he was trying to deactivate an IED planted by the PLGA in Sukma district. He later died during treatment.

On 27 August, one CRPF jawan was seriously injured in a booby-trap explosion by PLGA near Errabore village of Sukma district.

A police Head Constable was injured in an encounter between the PLGA and the police in Sukma district on 16 September.

### ***People's militia attacks paramilitary jawans with bows***

204th Battalion of CRPF's Cobra Battalion had been terrorising the people of Todka village in Gangalur area of Bijapur district during their 'area domination exercise'. Beating up the villagers, detaining them illegally, disrupting their agricultural activities, opening fire on people and such other repressive methods became a routine affair. The people decided to pay back the government forces in their own coin, and accordingly, people's militia members carrying traditional weapons laid an ambush near Todka village on 6 September. They also laid booby-traps by digging trenches on the path of the paramilitary jawans. When a batch of the CRPF men arrived at the ambush site, the militia targeted them with bows and arrows. An arrow struck one CoBRA jawan on his shoulder and he was grievously injured. He was transferred first to Jagdalpur and then to Raipur for treatment but died of his injuries. The incident demonstrated the courage and initiative of people's organised resistance which can take on the mightiest of enemies and proved that people, and not superior troops or weapons, are in the last instance decisive in a people's war.

When paramilitary and police forces were conducting operations before 21 September to disrupt the celebration of the 12th Party formation day in East Bastar, PLGA attacked one of the enemy batches which arrived in Vedma village. One policeman was injured. The same day at 2pm PLGA attacked another batch of the enemy troops in Adapal village from close quarters in which one DRG jawan was killed and four were injured. The enemy forces had to call off their operations due to the attacks and went back to their camp carrying off the dead and injured jawans. The masses of the area carried on with the Party formation day celebrations with renewed enthusiasm.

In a booby-trap explosion carried out by PLGA near Durli Nala on Bijapur-Bhopalpatnam road in Madded area on 22 September, one Sahayak Arakshak and one Gopaniya Sainik were seriously injured, who were airlifted to Raipur. The Gopaniya Sainik later died in hospital.

One police Sub-Inspector died and four others injured when PLGA exploded an IED near Kokrajhor police camp of Narayanpur district on 28 September.

One police jawan was injured in a booby-trap explosion near Dornapal in South Bastar Division on 30 September.

PLGA forces that included a large number of people's militia members eliminated three anti-people elements in Pinjori village of Amabeda area in Kanker district on 2 October. They had been working as an informant and had joined the recently formed Bastariya Battalion. The place of the action was merely one kilometre away from a police camp.

On 11 October, PLGA fighters eliminated DRG jawan Telam Lakhu with traditional weapons in Nemerkor weekly market. Lakhu joined the police as an SPO in 2005 and was involved in committing atrocities against the people during Salwa Judum. Later he was recruited to the DRG force and continued his counter-revolutionary activities. The masses in the area hailed his elimination by the PLGA.

On 20 October, one police jawan was injured in a booby-trap blast set up by people's

militia members near Mirtul village, Bijapur district, South Bastar.

One policeman died in a PLGA attack in Kondagaon district on 21 October.

Two policemen were seriously injured in a pressure bomb explosion triggered by the PLGA at Hirmagunda village under Basaguda Police Station of Bijapur district on 28 October.

On 4 November, PLGA eliminated Shyamnath Baghel, leader of the police-sponsored counter-revolutionary gang 'Tangia Brigade' in Nama village of Kanger Ghati area of Bastar district.

A small team of PLGA eliminated the SI of Bagnadi Police Station Narbad Boga on the highway between Chirchiri and Dhortalab fifteen kilometres away from Bagnadi in Rajnandgaon on 6 November. His weapon was seized. The people of the area welcomed the annihilation of this police officer who had earned notoriety for terrorising the masses.

One DRG jawan was killed after stepping on a pressure-bomb planted by the PLGA in Madded area of Bijapur district on 10 November. A batch of policemen was patrolling the road between Madded and Farasgaon when the incident took place.

On 10 November, DRG commando Madra Budhram was killed in a booby-trap explosion near Farsegarh in National Park area.

On 11 November, a Sahayak Arakshak posted in Bhairamgarh Police Station was attacked and killed by the PLGA with axes in Sanjaypara neighbourhood of Bhairamgarh town, Dantewada district.

One police jawan was injured in a booby-trap blast at Pulgatta village under Mirtul Police Station of Bijapur district in West Bastar Division on 20 November.

On 21 November, one CRPF SI and a constable were injured in PLGA's pressure bomb explosion near Chintalnar in South Bastar Division.

On 22 November, one SI and three jawans of CRPF were injured in an IED explosion

## ***Adivasi women of Dandakaranya play their part as equals in the People's War in fighting the hated enemy***

Some say that war has an 'unwomanly' face. In the context of war of the state it is no doubt anti woman. But the People's War is for a change in women's life and so women too are for People's War. The participation of women in the revolutions in Russia, China, Vietnam and other such countries proved this. There are a lot of instances in the history where the women fought with their ordinary cooking utensils to chase away the police coming into their village. In the present People's War apart from the woman comrades fighting in the regular Guerilla Squad, Platoon, Company and Battalion, the women in the village too are equally militant. This is a case where the women of a village in the Dandakaranya Special Guerilla Zone helped the militia youth in an ambush on the police.

One day the police came to a village. The local militia was already on the move. But the police misled them and hid somewhere. The women who were organized in the Krantikari Adivasi Mahila Sangathan (KAMS, or Revolutionary Tribal Women's Organisation) for a long time knew the politics of People's War. They are aware that they inevitably have to fight against the police in order to save their lands and crops. They understood that the militia comrades could not catch hold of the police, since they knew where the militia comrades were waiting to ambush. They understood that the police surrounded the village. So the militia would not be able to give a blow to the police but might receive a blow. So the women decided to do something. Two of them went in search of the militia. They met them and told them the situation. They asked them to stay in a certain place and brought food for them. Another six women went around the village and made a reconnaissance ('recci' – in local parlance) of the police. Then they went and gave the report to the militia and put them in a safe place. The day passed without any event.

The next day the police resurfaced. The women again came into the arena. They went into the forest without taking food to observe the situation. The militia knew the whereabouts of the police. But the women did not know that the militia knew it and stayed in the forest until they knew that the police left. Then they went and brought the militia comrades to the village since they did not have proper food and water for the past two days. As they reached the village they received information that the police had returned. Then the women immediately went on reconnaissance and brought information to the militia. Thus the militia went to the place where they arranged the mines earlier and engaged in ambush. When the police came on to the ambush site they blasted the mines in which three policemen were severely injured. As they were retreating they fell in the traps dug by the Bhoomkal Militia of the village and two more of them were injured.

As the policemen went further in the direction of their retreat two more policemen fell in the traps in another village. By now they were dead scared for their lives. Their fear came true when they were caught in an ambush by the militia in the third village. Running for their lives, the police jawans somehow managed to reach their camp with bleeding wounds and a taste of the people's organised strength.

near Burkapal village on Jegurgonda-Dornapal road under Chintaguppa Police Station. The SI died on the way to hospital. CRPF has been deployed for the forcible construction of road in that area as part of the government's anti-Maoist policy. One more CRPF jawan was injured near Maraiguda on the same day.

On 23 November, Raoghat Area Committee of North Bastar Divisional Committee of DK Special Zone called a one-Dandakaranyaday bandh against extra-judicial killings by the police-paramilitary forces in fake

encounters. The bandh was effective in the Area including Koelibeda and Pakhanjur.

On 25 November, PLGA stopped a vehicle supplying food to the police on its way from Bijapur to Gangalur and seized the material. Between July and December, the people's militia carried out three such actions on the police vehicles supplying material to the police camp at Reddy.

On 2 December, two policemen on combing operation were seriously injured after

### ***Die-hard Hindu-fascist leaders eliminated by the PLGA***

Former Sarpanch Yellam Narayan had been the Sarpanch of Petabodka village of Bhopalpatnam block for the last fifteen years. He was a member of BJP's Bhopalpatnam mandal committee and also a government contractor. Narayan was instrumental in spreading the Brahmanical Hindu-fascist politics of Sangh Parivar in the area. He used to oppose the spread of the Maoist movement in the area. He maintained a close relation with the administration and the police by using the BJP government in power. He used to openly threaten the leaders and activists of the revolutionary mass organisations, asking them to stop their activities. Working as a police informer, Narayan used to gather intelligence about them and passed on to the police. He was a bad gentry who was actively involved in the brutal Salwa Judum. He participated in the gruesome massacres, killings, arson and other atrocities on the people during Salwa Judum. He used to make false propaganda against the Maoist Party and the revolutionary movement. For instance, he spread the rumour during the 2014 elections that the Maoist Party was not opposed to BJP and asked people to vote, etc. He implemented government projects in the village in the name of development which were actually part of its counter-insurgency policy. He embezzled a part of the funds released for such works, deprived the labourers of fair wages and sexually assaulted women workers. He forcibly collected donations from the people in the name of Kalki Bhagwan and other Hindu gods and attempted the Hinduization of the Adivasis. Following the ban imposed by Raman Singh government on the consumption of beef, he asked the Adivasi villagers to give up eating beef. Recently, he has been involved in the counter-revolutionary organisation AGNI propped-up by Bastar Police.

Noticing his anti-people and counter-revolutionary activities, Yellam Narayan was produced before the people's court of the Janatana Sarkar four times. Each time he was asked to desist from such activities. But paying no heed to the people's opinion, he continued as before and colluded with Bhopalpatnam Police in getting the leaders and members of the revolutionary organisations arrested and tortured in custody. The people of Bhopalpatnam area had strong class hatred against him. Finally, carrying out the verdict of the people, he was eliminated by the PLGA in April 2016. Similarly, another bad gentry and BJP's Madded mandal president Ramsai Majji of Bhopalpatnam block was eliminated by the PLGA carrying out the people's verdict. Anganpalli Latcchiaiah, Deputy Sarpanch of Chinna Kodepalli in Bijapur block, a bad gentry and a BJP leader was likewise wiped out in the last week of June. The punishment of these anti-people elements has sent a strong message to all the counter-revolutionaries including the Hindu-fascists of Dandakaranya that the masses will not tolerate their oppressors forever and will settle accounts with them sooner or later. Several BJP leaders of the area have resigned from their posts subsequently.

falling into booby-trap trenches (spike-holes) near Hiril village. 25 policemen were injured after falling in such booby-traps in Gangalur area between July and December.

In the morning of 6 December, PLGA attacked a batch of joint police forces deployed for road construction between Kondasawali and Kondagudem under Aranpur Police Station in Jegurgonda area of Dantewada district. One jawan of 231st Battalion of CRPF was injured in an IED blast while another was injured in exchange of fire. One of them was a member of the Bomb Disposal Squad. Both were referred to Raipur for treatment where one succumbed to injuries. But since the road construction work did not stop, the PLGA launched another attack at noon in which one Pradhan Arakshak of CRPF was injured.

On 6 December, PLGA fired on Sulangi BSF camp on Antagarh-Koelibeda main road under Koelibera Police Station in Kanker district. No one was injured in the exchange of fire on either side but this was the first ever attack on a BSF camp in Kanker during the PLGA Week created panic among the government forces of the area.

Hahladi iron-ore mines in Durgkondal were closed for several weeks since 21

November following the Maoist call of PLGA week from 2 December. The mining company suspended the mining and transportation of ore resulting in losses up to crores of rupees to the government.

Between July and November 2016, the people's militia thrice stopped vehicles supplying goods to Reddy police camp in Gangalur area of Bijapur district and seized the material.

PLGA forces including a large number of people's militia members cut down the 27 kilometre long paved road between Badegudra and Katekalyan in Bijapur district at over 150 places. The road has remained closed for vehicular traffic since the last one decade due to the opposition of the people here. Though the government armed forces have tried to repair the road several times in order to expand their carpet security in the area by setting up new camps on the road, they have failed in their attempts so far.

## **Maharashtra**

During the martyr's week from 28 July to 3 August, PLGA guerrillas fired on Pureda Police Station in the night of 1 August in



*One of the 150 cuts made by PLGA forces including people's militia members on the 27 kilometre long paved road between Badegudra and Katekalyan in Bijapur district, Dandakaranya*

## **Battlefield experience of a woman PLGA fighter**

The following is an account of the experience of a woman PLGA guerrilla fighter in the battlefield. The comrade wrote this account in Koya which was later translated. It shows the firm determination, exemplary courage and presence of mind in facing the enemy even in the most difficult of circumstances. Only with such brave encounters with the enemy, which the PLGA guerrillas are daily confronting in the battlefield with the active involvement of the masses in all the revolutionary movement areas of the country, the CPI(Maoist) has been able to sustain and advance the ongoing people's war amidst brutal state repression - MIB

Our PLGA unit had an exchange of fire with the police on 2 February 2016 on a hill near Botejhari village in Dandakaranya. The first firing took place in the sentry post. I was retreating by firing along our campsite and got separated from my other comrades. I saw a big boulder and took shelter behind it. The police came near it and passed me by. I was holding my gun tightly thinking that if they saw me I would fire, but they did not notice me. After the enemy went away some distance, I looked for a better place to hide myself and found a cavity on the boulder. It was small and I could not squeeze myself entirely. So hiding myself partly in that cave which had very little space, I quietly waited.

I remained there till 3 am in the morning. The policemen were nearby on the top of the hill and on the side of it. While getting separated from my comrades, I did not leave my kitbag. There was a pair of civil dress in my kit. I changed my uniform and put on the civil dress. At 4 am I came out of the cave. But I did not know which direction to go as the area was new to me. Randomly I chose one direction and started walking. I came across a forest path after some time. I thought of avoiding the path and climbing up the hill a little distance away. While I was going in that direction, I heard the sound of loading of guns. I could understand that the police was lying in ambush ahead. Instead of going ahead I changed direction and looked for a place to conceal myself. I saw some boulders and sat near it. But soon I realised that some policemen were sitting on the other side of the boulders and they too were on an ambush. I remained still where I was.

At around noon, the policemen got up to leave and went past me. Once again I narrowly escaped identification. I came out and went up the hill where I rested for a while. At around 4pm I walked in the direction of a village called Paravi. But when I climbed down the policemen were at the foot of the hill. They saw me and started chasing me. I ran and took cover behind some boulders and remained quietly there. After some time I noticed monkeys playing around. I understood that the enemy had left. I went back to the place where I spent the night before. By then it became dark. I fell asleep there.

I woke up the next morning very hungry. It had been three days since I ate anything. I thought that it would be impossible to go on without food. I decided to approach the village even at the risk of falling into the hands of enemy on the way – to die of hunger or to die at the hands of the enemy – the result would be the same. I gathered some *tendu* leaves, made a sack of it with a cloth and in the disguise of a village woman I started for Paravi village. After some time I reached the village fields and the path to the village. As I approached the village I met a woman. I explained to her what had happened. She empathised with my condition and took me to her home in the village. There she gave me water and food. Some five-six other village women also gathered to see me. They asked about my identity as I had never visited that village earlier. With the help of the villagers I later got in touch with my squad and reunited with my comrades. In this way I could survive with the help of the people after a close shave with the enemy.

## **PLGA retaliates notorious DRG's brutal violence on the masses**

Any revolutionary day can be a day of retaliation for the PLGA. Especially during Mission-2016, the police made it a normal affair to patrol in the area of revolutionary movement in a bid to prevent the people from celebrating the revolutionary occasions. Thus, on 21 September (Party Formation Day) the police forces crossed River Korram and entered the villages in the Kondagaon district. They fired on the people of village Vedama on seeing them. They stayed near the place of worship. This angered the people. The PLGA was engaged since they heard the news of the police patrol. Anyway, it could not get at the enemy that day. The police stayed put for the evening and surfaced in the morning. The PLGA was following the police and there was firing at around 8.30 in the morning in the same spot where the police fired upon the people the day before. The police immediately left the place and headed in the direction of their camp. The PLGA followed the police and got hold of them in the next village. Three teams of the PLGA surrounded the police and fired upon them. The police started yelling in fear from the very first shot. In this battle a policeman from the notorious DRG (District Reserve Guard) was eliminated and four other were injured.

The subsequent developments need a mention. The police was panicky and called their headquarters for additional support and reinforcement. They had to take the dead body and the four injured policemen to their camp. So they asked for a chopper which the officers did not provide. The police jawans had a tough and tense time before they could reach their camp carrying their colleagues in a cloth stretcher. By the time they reached Mardapal camp it was night. Vehicles took them to the district headquarters in Kondagaon. In Kondagaon, Bastar IG SRP Kalluri reached by evening and waited for the police. The next morning he boasted, 'We shall take revenge for the incident. We shall kill 12 Naxalites for the killing of one policeman'.

Kalluri did what he said. In a period of two months after this incident, 12 persons including PLGA members, students and villagers of this area were killed by the police, mostly in fake encounters. This area happens to be adjacent to Amdai Hills where the government gave a contract to the NECO Company for iron-ore mining. The reasons for the extreme brutality and aggressiveness of the government against the Party, PLGA and the revolutionary masses therefore are not too difficult to seek.

Kurkhera block of Gadchiroli. No one was injured in the exchange of fire.

Two policemen were injured in an attack by PLGA guerrillas in Jambia village of Etapalli tehsil in Gadchiroli district on 28 September. The guerrillas were engaged in propaganda work in the village for the upcoming all-India protest week from 5 to 11 October. The information reached the police through its intelligence network and a police force came to Jambia to attack the PLGA

fighters. However, the red guerrillas took the initiative and fought back the police, not only making their plan unsuccessful but also making them suffer casualties.

On 6 October, a small team of PLGA cadres attacked a police batch in Gatta village under Gatta Police Station in Gadchiroli district with improvised cannons who were coming to remove some Maoist posters in the village. Three policemen were injured.



*Charred remains of a few of the 76 vehicles carrying iron-ore for Lloyds from Surjagarh burnt down by PLGA*

On 23 December, PLGA's main, secondary and base forces as well as the masses in their hundreds burnt down 76 trucks, three earthmovers and a motorcycle belonging to four contractors in Surjagarh of Gadchilroli which were transporting iron-ore from the Surjagarh mines. The central and state governments in collusion with the mining company Lloyds are hell bent on opening the mines in spite of the persistent and vehement opposition by the people of 76 villages surrounding the Surjagarh hills which will be directly affected by the mining. It was a people's armed action against the government-Lloyds Mining Company nexus. To facilitate mining by the imperialist-financed MNC Lloyds the BJP government is setting up a number of new police stations and paramilitary camps in and around Surjagarh and strengthening its 'carpet security'. For the last eight-nine years the people have been struggling against the mining project. Now the fascist Modi government in collusion with the imperialists is trying to open this project using force and violence. The people's resistance has also intensified as a result, of which this incident is a latest example. This action has halted the mining and transportation work for the time-being.

## **Madhya Pradesh**

PLGA carried out an action targeting the former MLA from Lanji constituency Kishore Samreete in Kandrihati under Bahela Police Station of Balaghat district on 12 August. The attack took place when the vehicle of Samreete, who was returning from a temple in Chhattisgarh's Ratanpur, was negotiating a curve on the hilly road of Kandrihati. PLGA guerrillas and the guard of Samreete exchanged fire, during which the vehicle managed to escape.

## **Odisha**

On 7 July, PLGA and the masses destroyed a Range Office and four to five check posts of the forest department in Satkosia Wildlife Sanctuary in Odisha.

On 29 September, a daylong bandh in the two districts of Rayagada and Kalahandi was called by the Ghumsar-Nagavalli-Bansadhara Division of Odisha State Committee, CPI(Maoist) in protest against the killing of PLGA cadre Sangita in an encounter with the police on 15 September in Phulbari forest in Lanjigarh block of Kalahandi district.

During this period, PLGA carried out about 128 armed actions in the country, in which 39 paramilitary-police personnel were killed, 71 were injured and several weapons were seized. 28 informers and coverts, 19 counter-revolutionary elements like politicians and bad gentry too were wiped out.

## ***Widespread condemnation and protest against the murder of comrades Kuppu Devaraj and Ajitha***

From the moment the news of the fake encounter killing of Central Committee Member of CPI(Maoist) Comrade Kuppu Devaraj along with Western Ghats Special Zonal Committee (WGSZC) Member Comrade Ajitha in Nilambur forests broke out, the residents of the nearby forest villages spontaneously started reaching the nearest Forest Department Office at Padukka in Karulayi Range of Malappuram district in Kerala on 24 November 2016. These were the villages which were frequented by the Maoist guerrilla squads of the tri-junction area to organise the oppressed people against age-old exploitation and oppression. The bereaved masses of Nilambur wanted to have a last glimpse of their beloved leaders, but the reactionary rulers had already shifted the dead bodies out of the forests stealthily to Kozhikode. Nevertheless, the people gathered there mourned their dead and paid their tribute in silence.

Protest demonstrations against the fake encounter were held in various parts of Kerala, particularly in the cities. On 26 November, led by Ammini, mother of Comrade Devaraj, revolutionary mass organisations, civil liberties organisations, lawyers, democrats and others carried out a protest in the Kozhikode Medical College premises where the bodies of the two leaders were kept for post-mortem. They demanded a proper post-mortem in the presence of a

magistrate and the members of the family as they suspected that the police in connivance with the hospital authorities will carry out a botched-up post-mortem to cover-up all evidence of the extra-judicial killing. In fact, as a part of this cover-up, the police purposefully did not conduct the post-mortem in the presence of a magistrate, did not record it on video and did not allow the activists to have a look at the dead bodies as promised. Instead of paying heed to the just demands, the police detained 27 protestors to disperse their agitation. The ruling social-fascist CPI(M) and its mercenary police were so scared of the mass protests exposing their summary execution of communist revolutionaries while mouthing platitudes for the likes of Fidel Castro at his death, that they arrested senior activist M N Ravunni for leading these protests and put him and several other activists behind bars under the UAPA.

As the voices of protests become too widespread and loud to be ignored any longer, the State Human Rights Commission had to intervene reacting to a petition filed by a social activist and sought a report on the so-called encounter from Kerala DGP Loknath Behera. KHRC member K Mohankumar himself pointed out that there were crying contradictions in the various versions of the killing that the police had cobbled up after the incident. The



Protests in various parts of Kerala against Nilambur fake encounter

DGP on his part ordered an investigation by the Crime Branch of Kerala Police – so that the accused itself now dons the robe of the prosecutor! The farcical nature of such investigations has left no one in doubt about their outcome. So the revolutionary and democratic sections of Kerala and outside are demanding a judicial enquiry followed by the punishment of the guilty policemen.

Apart from the non-parliamentary democratic forces, a section of the parliamentary Left too has come out strongly against the fake encounter of Maoist revolutionaries carried out by the government of ‘communist’ CPI(M). CPI, a prominent member of the ruling coalition in Kerala, has strongly condemned the Nilambur fake encounter and openly criticised Pinarayi Vijayan-led LDF government. Days after the killing, Kanam Rajendran, Secretary of CPI’s Kerala State Committee said, “No government has a right to kill the voices that dissent. Such steps to do away with the people who raise genuine issues of the downtrodden should never be adopted by a civilised society.” An article in the CPI mouthpiece *Janayugam* compared the Nilambur encounter with the infamous fake encounter killing of Comrade

Arikkad Varghese in 1970, and wrote, “If Varghese’s custodial killing had shaken the entire civil society in Kerala 40 years ago, leading to the conviction of the police officer responsible for it, this time round it is the duty of the Pinarayi government to tell the people what really happened at Nilambur.” CPI affiliated students’ and youth organisations like AIYF too carried out protest demonstrations and marches in various parts of the state. AIYF decided to take out a march of over a hundred members to the encounter spot in Nilambur on 29 November in protest against the police action that killed two Maoist leaders and to collect evidence by visiting the site of the so-called encounter.

Even the Congress Party, which is the main Opposition party in Kerala assembly, questioned the police version of the encounter and demanded that Pinarayi Vijayan break his silence over the incident. Opposition leader Ramesh Chennithala, who was the Home Minister in the previous Congress-led government and himself responsible for leading the persecution of Maoists and alleged Maoists, demanded that the Chief Minister break his long silence and give an explanation to the people (in fact,

when Pinarayai Vijayan was finally forced to speak on the incident, he predictably defended the police and thereby proved himself to be the true inheritor of the fascist tradition of CPI(M) Chief Ministers likes of Jyoti Basu and Buddhadeb Bhattacharya).

Central and State governments are carrying out armed suppression campaigns in trijunction under 'Operation Thunderbolt', 'Operation Brahmagiri', etc. to wipe out the Maoist leadership of the Western Ghats. With this they want to open up the Ghats for foreign and domestic big corporations. Led by the Maoists, the people are valiantly fighting this repression. The spontaneous eruption of protests against the killing of comrades Devaraj and Ajitha is a part of this struggle against Operation Green Hunt, and Operation Thunderbolt under it.

The mass protests, criticisms and questioning by the democratic sections have effectively defeated the joint conspiracy of the Hindutva-fascist BJP government at the centre and Social-fascist CPI(M) government of Kerala to give the cold-blooded murder of Comrades Devaraj and Ajitha the colouring of a real encounter. The killing and its aftermath have once again proved that there is little difference between the Rightist and the revisionist parties in power when it comes to suppressing revolutionaries and revolutionary movements – both are arch enemies of the people and their fight for social transformation. The martyrdom of Comrade Devaraj and Comrade Ajitha has steeled the resolve of the revolutionary Party and the people to defeat both these enemies by taking the revolutionary class struggle to a new height.

### **Adivasi women register complaint against CRPF for molesting them**

Several Adivasi women of Dhamdharwa village in Chuteh Panchayat of Gomia Block of Jharkhand met Panchayat Pramukh Gulabchand Hansda and conveyed their complaints against the CRPF personnel engaged in anti-Maoist operations on 29 August 2016. They submitted a memorandum with signatures of complainants demanding a stop to such offensive and humiliating

behaviour on the part of the paramilitary jawans and the punishment of the guilty. They said that in the Maoist movement areas including their village, the CRPF jawans regularly molest, harass, use abusive language and beat up the village women while on patrol and search operations. They even enter the houses forcibly at night by breaking open the doors and behave indecently with women and girls. The Panchayat Pramukh assured that she would take up their complaints with the responsible paramilitary, police and government officials and ensure appropriate action against the errant jawans.



*Women of Dhamdharwa village, Gomia, Jharkhand registering complaint against CRPF jawans*



**COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)  
JHARKHAND REGIONAL COMMITTEE  
SOUTH ZONAL COMMITTEE**

**Unite against the atrocities, white terror and crimes of the  
state-sponsored counter-revolutionary gang 'Shanti Sabha'!**

**Present its leaders in people's courts and punish them  
for their anti-people activities!**

**19-08-2016**

**Comrades and friends,**

You all know that like the masses of other parts of the country, the toiling masses of Jharkhand too are advancing along the path of armed struggle to establish their economic and political rights as well as their rights over all natural resources including *jal-jangal-zameen* and to build a new democratic system by overthrowing the existing exploitative class-divided society.

In this way, the toiling masses of Jharkhand are winning their rights through struggle and establishing their rights over *jal-jangal-zameen*, they are seizing the land occupied by the big landlords and usurers and establishing their right over land, chasing out Rangers, Foresters and forest mafia from the forests and establishing their right over the forests, punishing thieves and bullies, goons and the bad gentry through people's courts as per their crimes and making the ruling classes and their reactionary central and state governments sleepless by carrying out powerful movements against displacement and refusing to part with their land in spite of the hundreds of MoUs signed by Jharkhand government with a large number of domestic and foreign big capitalists and corporate houses. With the evil intention of crushing and wiping out this just revolutionary movement of the toiling masses, the ruling classes are perpetrating various kinds of atrocities on the people by imposing a war on the people under Operation Green Hunt and by deploying lakhs of paramilitary jawans. Killing of revolutionary activists and the masses in fake encounters, putting activists and masses behind bars on a large scale after torturing them physically and mentally, looting of people's property in the name of seizure, gang rape of women and behaving indecently with them, etc. are going on.

As the ruling classes have failed to finish off the just revolutionary struggle of the working masses even through this kind of barbaric military campaign, they are raising various types of state-sponsored counter-revolutionary armed and secret gangs such as TPC, JPC, JJMP, PLFI, etc. The very task of these counter-revolutionary gangs is to spy for the police and the administration. Along with it, they kill revolutionary activists and masses in collusion with the police-administration. It is well-known that the police and the administration provide arms and ammunition to these organisations. Taking another step in this direction, under the guidance of top central and state police officers and the direct supervision of the SP one more counter-revolutionary gang 'Shanti Sabha' has been propped up in the Khunti-Ranchi area. This gang is formed with SPOs and some elements who had separated from PLFI. Its leaders include Ashiyan Purti who is an SPO while Pankaj Purti, Pawal Tuti, etc. are former PLFI members. The main task of the members of 'Shanti Sabha' too is to gather intelligence for the police and to visit the houses of revolutionary activists and the masses and threaten them. They warn that if the activists and the masses did not surrender, their houses would be destroyed and they be killed.

Friends, when the ruling classes are finding it impossible to wipe out the revolutionary movement of the workers, peasants and the toiling masses even by conducting severe police repression like Operation Green Hunt and the so-called reform programmes, they are using the policy of 'divide and rule' inherited from their colonial ancestors. It is as a part of this that counter-revolutionary gang 'Shanti Sabha' has been formed in the Adivasi areas of Khunti-Ranchi with the aim of pitting the poor against the poor, the Adivasis against the Adivasis. In fact, a majority of the members of this gang are Adivasis. Similar is the aim of Jharkhand Chief Minister's announcement of recruiting ten thousand 'Sahayak Policemen'.

Friends, none of the parliamentary political parties in the country talk about the basic problems of the working masses such as unemployment, price rise, corruption, black marketing and displacement or how to resolve them. All these parties are always busy in theatrics to divert the attention of the masses from their basic problems. All mass media, be it print or electronic media, keep transmitting things day in and day out.

Far from resolving the basic problems of the masses, the exploitative ruling classes (the domestic and foreign big capitalist and big landlord classes), the parliamentary parties at their service and the governments run by them, are engaged in the anti-people act of handing over whatever resources the people have to the big capitalists by taking away the fundamental rights of the people. A burning example of this is the sending for the President's approval an ordinance to amend and wipe out the provisions of the CNT and SPT Acts that recognises the right of the Adivasis-Moolvasis over *jal-jangal-zameen* and which were won by the Adivasi-Moolvasi masses of Jharkhand by fighting the colonial British government. On this issue too, all the parliamentary parties are only shedding crocodile's tears and are not doing anything concrete. Likewise, lakhs of Adivasi girls from Jharkhand who have become victims of human trafficking are undergoing severe physical and mental torture in the cities and foreign countries. The government and the parliamentary parties are keeping mum on the solution of this problem.

Therefore, South Zonal Committee under Jharkhand Regional Committee of CPI(Maoist) calls upon the toiling masses, workers, peasants, students, youths, women and all progressive intellectuals – teachers, advocates, doctors, engineers, artistes, journalists, etc. not to fall prey to the machinations of state-sponsored counter-revolutionary armed secret gang 'Shanti Sabha' and politically expose it, unite against all its misdeeds and build a people's resistance movement, and along with it present its leaders in people's courts and punish them. Let's intensify the armed struggle and the people's war under the leadership of CPI(Maoist), smash all state-sponsored counter-revolutionary gangs like the 'Shanti Sabha', transform the exploitation-based Jharkhand into an exploitation-free Jharkhand, build people's democratic power and people's governments from village to village and area to area in the form of revolutionary people's committees and form Sidhu-Kanu and Veer Birsa People's Militia squads to defend them!

**South Zonal Committee  
Jharkhand Regional Committee  
CPI(Maoist)**

## **JMM leader exposes Jhumra Action Plan**

Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) district Vice-president and Mahuatand unit President Umesh Mahato along with his party members toured several villages in Pachmo Panchayat of Jhumra in the last week of August 2017, met the villagers and enquired about the problems they were facing. Recounting his experience after interacting with the people, he told the media that the Jhumra Action Plan started by Modi-led central government aided by the state's Raghubar Das government which has been touted as a success with much fanfare by the government is nothing but an eyewash. Instead of carrying out any reform programme for the benefit and welfare of the people, the government is only concerned with constructing roads and buildings. Only the contractors favoured by the government are benefited from it, he said. He pointed out the people's grievance that there is no facility for drinking water in Jhumra, schools have remained closed for months, students are not provided with regular mid-day meal, and similar other problems, showing the utter failure of the so-called Action Plan.

It is worth mentioning that the central and Jharkhand governments are running several 'Action Plans' to counter and weaken the revolutionary movement led by CPI(Maoist) along the line of the counter-revolutionary 'Saranda Action Plan'. Hundreds of crores of taxpayers' money is being spent for these 'development' projects which are in fact an integral part of the government's anti-Maoist strategy of 'Low Intensity Conflict' (LIC), the main objective of which is to 'Win the Hearts and Minds' of the people through some doles. However, as these and other government schemes fail to address the people's burning problems and long-standing grievances, they invariably end up as failures in the long run.

## **Fake encounters continue unabated in Dandakaranya**

As a part of the fascist armed onslaught on the people under Operation Green Hunt, the government armed forces are carrying out an extermination campaign planned by their political masters called 'Mission-2016'. The aim of this 'mission' is to wipe out the Maoist Party and the revolutionary movement or at the least weaken it substantially within the year. Modi government at the centre has shown much urgency in crushing the resistance of the peasant masses led by the Maoist Party in the resource-rich forested areas of central and eastern India. Specialised and specifically planned campaigns like 'Mission 2016' have been planned for this purpose to strike at the roots of the revolutionary movement – the masses of people in the movement areas. There has been a sharp rise in the state terror and violence in all the movement areas in 2016 as a result, particularly in Dandakaranya, which has been singled out as one of the centres of the countrywide Maoist movement.

Along with all kinds of atrocities imaginable, the government armed forces have scaled up the extra-judicial killing of revolutionaries and the masses in fake encounters since the beginning of 2016. MIB-33 recounted some instances of the large number of encounter killings in DK in the first six months of the year. That trend has continued in the second half of the year as well, with the government boasting that its paramilitary and police forces have eliminated 134 Maoists in the year 2016 as a part of 'Mission-2016'. Most of these so-called encounters are in fact extra-judicial killings and the ones killed are mostly Adivasi peasants. The following incidents of fake encounters during July-December period are the usual manner in which the reactionary rulers and their henchmen like Kalluri are shoring up the figures of their kill.

In July and August around 20 persons were killed in encounters or fake encounters in the area under South Sub-zonal Bureau of DKSZC.

In Gollapalli area of South Bastar, in Pusugudem village, Sangam leader Sunnam Tammaiah and former Platoon (PL) commander Markam Muya of Dharma village were killed in fake encounter on 23 July.

On 5 July 2016, Situ Hemla, a people's militia commander, was caught and killed in a fake encounter in Palnar village of Bijapur district.

On 14 July, a peasant Udde Budhram was caught and killed near Sunchikunta village under Farsagarh Police Station area in Bijapur district while Rukni, a village woman was raped. She became unconscious. The police forces took her to the police station and she has remained untraced since then.

Another villager was killed in Polampalli Police Station area of Sukma district on 27 July.

Three unarmed PLGA comrades Geeta, Undam Sannu and Fagu were caught and killed by the government armed forces at Kacchighat of Bijapur district while they were travelling from Jharkhand to Dandakaranya on 5 August. They raped Comrade Geeta before killing her. Later they floated the story that three Maoists were shot dead in an

encounter. The families of the martyred comrades including Gita's mother went to recover the body. The police showed the body of her daughter but refused to hand it over, fearing that it would expose their crime.

A resident of Chandmetta village in Bastar district, seventy-year old Arjun was caught and brutally killed by the paramilitary-police forces on 14 August. To cover up this heinous act, they labelled him a militia commander who was killed in an exchange of fire. Arjun was arrested from a weekly market one year back and put in the prison. He had come out of jail only recently. Democratic and civil rights organisations strongly condemned this extra-judicial killing by the police.

A village youth was caught from Milasur village in Errabore forest of Kunta Taluk of Sukma district by the anti-Maoist forces and killed in a fake encounter on 21 August. The usual encounter story was issued to the press.

Punem Podiya, a DAKMS activist and militia member of Bhejji area in Sukma district was caught and killed on 24 August, a weapon was placed beside his body and presented to the media as a 'wanted Maoist'.

On 23 September, class VIII student Bijnu and class IX student Sonku were abducted from their relative's house, taken to a nearby river and killed by Burgum Police early morning in Bastar district. It then claimed the usual encounter story. The policemen were given reward of one lakh rupees for participating in this 'encounter'. The police later claimed that they killed 'hardcore Maoist cadres' when they were trying to cross the Indravati River.

The police picked up PLGA comrades Tirupati alias Akash (PPCM and Company-6 Section Commander) and Lokesh (Party and PLGA's Company-6 member) from a house in Kongera village of Narayanpur district and killed in cold blood on 26 September.

In the National Park Area of West Bastar Division, in Suchkuta village ACM comrade Sunil and a Party-PLGA member were shot dead in a fake encounter by the police on 7 September 2016. During the same operation, the police caught hold of Kita, a former PLGA



Platoon member on his way, tied him to a tree with rope and riddled him with bullets.

On 2 October, an Adivasi youth Ratti Korram of Killem village of East Bastar Division, DK falling under Kondagaon district was picked by the government anti-Maoist forces up from Vayanar weekly market in front of hundreds of villagers watching a cockfight. The same day they killed Ratti in Cheri Dongari hills near Adnar and Jaturbera and buried the body in Vayanar.

On 22 October, the police forces caught and killed Mangu, a people's militia member of Korma village in Gangalur area, who went to the forest for hunting.

On 19 November, a six member PLGA team went to get food stuff from Irpanar to Thuswal and from there to Bodili village of East Bastar Division, DK. They got the news in Bodili that the police had entered the forest in the morning but did not know where they went. They returned from Bodili with goods. In the Tuswal village, the villagers told that the police had come to Itulwada village nearby. The police were on the hill nearby but the villagers did not know. In the afternoon between 4 and 5pm, PLGA comrades were returning to Irpanar. The police lying in ambush on the hill fired upon them injuring one militia comrade. The commander and ACM Comrade Somji fired with his Insas and took cover nearby trees. Five other comrades took the injured comrade and retreated 500 metres taking cover of a stream. They were seen by the police on top of the hill. The five comrades were encircled and asked to come out. After they went out they were shot dead by the DRG. They had come from the camps of Bijapur and Narayanpur districts. Comrades Pramila (24, senior PM, was a former BCTS [Basic Communist Training School] student in 2011 and belonged to Kakanar village),

Vimala (senior PM, Division CNM member, Temrugaon village), Sunita (PM, Barsur AC, Garda village), Vishwanath (PLGA member, Godia village, Amdai AC), Lalit (militia member, Kudur village). Later when our comrades examined the place of the incident, a SBL and a bag of our comrades was found on the spot. It was apparent that the comrades fought the enemy forces valiantly till their last bullet and also managed to hide away a weapon.

On 16 December in Bijapur district Metpal forest Gangalur village a 13-year old child was killed in a fake encounter. He was called an 'unidentified Maoist' by the police. But the villagers identified him as Pottam Somaru. His father filed a petition in the High Court pleading that his son was killed after charging him with bayonet and torturing him and later a 12-bore gun was put beside him and villagers were threatened that if anyone revealed about it they too would be killed – this was said in the petition.

A TDF fact-finding team of seven members (including lawyers and students - TPF secretary Chikkudu Prabhakar, CRPP Secretary Balla Ravindranath, TDF convener Durga Prasad, TVV leaders Nazeer and Rajendra Prasad, Tudum Debba Telangana State secretary Ramanala Laxmaiah, Caste Annihilation organisation AP president Dhuddu Prabhakar came from Hyderabad on 24 December. On 25 December they were arrested in Khammam district near Dummugudem and in the evening handed over to CG police. CG police slapped Chhattisgarh State Special Public Security Act under sections 8(1), 8(2), 8(3), 8(5). The police alleged that they had fake currency, underground Maoist literature, helping Maoists, etc in the FIR. Their bail petition was rejected (even though the last date of validity of old notes was till 30 December).



# COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) DANDAKARANYA SPECIAL ZONAL COMMITTEE

Press Release

5 September 2016

## Call to celebrate the 12th anniversary of the Party

Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee (DKSZC) of CPI(Maoist) calls upon all the rank and file of our Party, PLGA, Krantikari Janatana Sarkars and mass organisations, the struggling masse and Party sympathisers to celebrate with revolutionary enthusiasm the 12th anniversary of the Party in each and every village of Dandakaranya from 21 to 27 September and to bring out rallies, hold mass meetings and to carry out widespread propaganda through leaflets, posters, banners, wall-writing, street-writing etc. at the local level on this important and happy occasion. At the same time, DKSZC conveys its heartfelt revolutionary greetings and red salutes to all the progressive, democratic and civil rights organisations, Adivasi and non-Adivasi social organisations, democratic intellectuals, journalists, advocates and social activists who have raised their voice in support of the revolutionary people's war in Dandakaranya and against 'Mission-2016' in open and legal forms.

Encounters, fake encounters, Maha-abhiyaan (Mega Operations), brutal and mass beating of Adivasi villagers, massacres, indiscriminate arrests, mass rape and killing of women of all ages from minor girls to old women, Under 'Mission-2016', inhuman torture, putting behind bars for ages on fabricated cases, false and vile propaganda, fake mass surrenders, etc. are going on as a part of 'Mission-2016' which was started this January with the aim of wiping out the revolutionary movement. 26 new police and paramilitary camps have been set up in the Zone. Guarded by government armed forces, efforts have been intensified to begin mining projects by emphasising on the construction of infrastructural projects like roads, railways, bridges, mobile towers, etc. Reactionary and counter-revolutionary organisations like 'Samajik Ekta Manch', 'Mahila Ekta Manch', 'Naxal-pidit Sangh', 'AGNI' (Action Group for National Integration) have been formed. Under the banner of these organisations, attempts are being made to establish a reign of terror and attacks are being carried out on those who raise their voice against repression and provide aid to Adivasi prisoners. Most of these have been exposed and some have been even disbanded due to the people's movement and the efforts of the progressive and democratic forces.

We have achieved the following victories in Dandakaranya Zone in the last one year due to the invaluable sacrifice of the more than 80 comrades who were martyred last year and the untiring efforts of the entire rank and file of the Party, PLGA, Janatana Sarkars, mass organisations and the masses.

The Second Plenum of the Fourth Conference of DKSZC was successfully organised in October 2015.

As a part of fighting back enemy attacks and defending the lives and property of the masses of people, 43 officers and jawans of the government armed forces were wiped out and 101 were injured in the entire Zone while some arms and ammunition were seized during this year's TCOC (Tactical Counter-Offensive Campaign). Enemy's informer network was destroyed in some places. Rocket attacks were carried out on Mirtul and Ranapal camps.

Some new forces were recruited in the Zone. Desertions have somewhat come down compared to the situation before the Plenum.

As a part of strengthening the Krantikari Janatana Sarkars, elections to the old and new Janatana Sarkars have been completed. Organised on the basis of co-operation and collectivism,

up to 1.5 lakh people participated everyday for 15 to 20 days in land-levelling campaign. Hundreds of acres of land was levelled and hundreds of ponds and water-reservoirs for irrigation were constructed.

The revolutionary masses of Lohandiguda and Dhurli-Bhansi forced the Tata and Essar companies to pack up and leave through their movement, people's resistance and people's war. Government attempts to open mines at Pallemaad, Barbaspur, Hahladi, Chargaon, Raoghat, Kuvve, Dulki, Amdai and Surjagarh through large-scale deployment of armed forces have been stopped temporarily.

Tens of thousands of people have been mobilised in people's movements organised on their problems.

Our SZC calls upon the Party, PLGA, Krantikari Janatana Sarkars and mass organisations to advance by facing the new challenges, to transform oneself according to the fast-changing conditions, to confront 'Mission-2016' and to defeat it and to fight militantly and with courage to consolidate and expand the Krantikari Janatana Sarkars which are the organs of people's democratic power by using the favourable conditions of the country and the world and by depending on the last one year's achievements and the experience of working in adverse conditions.

**Vikalp**  
**Spokesperson**  
**DKSZC**  
**CPI(Maoist)**



*Fascist state terror of 'Mission 2016': Comrades Hemla Anju (ACM), Podiyam Sukki and Dudhi Guddi (PLGA Members) were returning from a village meeting when they were caught, illegally detained, gang-raped and finally killed by the police in Bade Setti village under Gadiras Police Station, Sukma district on 28 September, 2016. This is only one of the numerous incidents of rape and extra-judicial killing by anti-Maoist forces in Dandakaranya*

## ***A victory for people's persistent struggle against state terror in Tadimetla, Timmapur and Morpalli***

Between 14 and 16 March 2011, central paramilitary forces, state police and SPOs engaged in anti-Maoist operation carried out large-scale carnage in three villages Tadmetla, Timmapur and Morpalli of the then Dantewada district of Chhattisgarh (presently under Sukma district) including the murder of three Adivasi peasants, rape of several women and burning down of 252 houses (160 in Tadimetla, 59 in Timmapur and 33 in Morpalli). Hearing the news, when social activist Swami Agnivesh and some others proceeded to the three villages with relief material after taking permission from the Deputy Commissioner of the district, they were attacked on the way at Dornapal by around 40 SPOs under the direction of the then Senior Superintendent of Police (SSP) of Dantewada SRP Kalluri, manhandled and prevented from reaching their destination. The social activists filed a writ petition in the Supreme Court reporting the atrocities by the government forces and the attack on them subsequently. A Supreme Court bench, which was already hearing a petition challenging the constitutional validity of the state-sponsored vigilante militia Salwa Judum, ordered on 5 July 2011 a CBI probe into the complaints, in addition to holding Salwa Judum as unconstitutional and ordering its disbandment. Over five years after this order, in a Special CBI court in Raipur on 17 October 2016 the CBI finally filed closure reports on two cases related to the burning of houses in the three villages and the attack on Swami Agnivesh and others. It also filed charge-sheets against several SPOs and Salwa Judum leaders (all of whom are presently working as constables in Chhattisgarh Police) involved in the two incidents with an appeal to prosecute them in the court. CBI submitted the same reports to the Supreme Court on 21 October. After the report became public as the media widely covered their conclusions, democratic and civil rights organisations, Adivasi and other social organisations and opposition parties demanded punishment not only of the

foot-soldiers of the government's war on people (only eight charge-sheeted SPOs were suspended by the government, whereas seven officers along with 114 CoBRA jawans, 95 CRPF jawans and 323 SPOs were found by the CBI to be involved in the incidents), but also Kalluri and other top police officers who were directly responsible for directing and leading the mayhem in Dandakaranya, including in the three above-mentioned villages in 2011. Coming under widespread condemnation and criticism, Kalluri resorted to one of his white lies by first claiming that it was the Maoists who had set the houses on fire! But realising the incredulity of his claim, he later changed this version and came up with the claim that the houses accidentally caught fire during the exchange of fire between the government forces and the Maoists as the weather was hot! He admitted before the media that the police party had left for the operation under his direction and therefore he himself was responsible for the burning of the houses. He also claimed that some NGOs and 'Maoist sympathisers' were making such 'allegations' against him and the police to break the morale of the anti-Naxal forces, terming it "anti-national".

However, knowing that such lies would not convince anyone, he as the IG Bastar Range directed the forces under him to carry out 'protest' against social activists in the headquarters of all the seven districts of Bastar Range (Jagdalpur, Dantewda, Bijapur, Sukma, Kondagaon, Narayanpur and Kanker) during which policemen burnt effigies of like Swami Agnivesh, Nandini Sundar, Bela Bhatia, Malini Subhramaniam, Soni Sori, and others. Not stopping at this, Kalluri and his henchmen got a fabricated FIR filed against intellectuals Nandini Sundar and others by implicating them in the elimination by the PLGA of Shamnath Baghel, the main leader of the police-sponsored counter-revolutionary vigilante gang formed in Nama village of Sukma district called 'Tangia Brigade'. The police even made preparation to arrest them before the Supreme Court intervened to stop



*Burnt to ashes: Ravages of fascist paramilitary-police forces in Tadmetla, 2011*

the arrests. CPI leader Manish Kunjam's press conference at Jagdalpur was vandalised by a dozen police-sponsored goons on 26 October. All these were nothing but attempts to deflect the growing voices of criticism against him and threaten these voices into silence. This, however, had the reverse effect. The demand for the punishment of the guilty policemen and police officers including Kalluri became even stronger not only in Chhattisgarh but throughout the country. Various social organisations, civil rights organisations, opposition parliamentary parties and the democratic forces raised this demand. Taking cognisance of the growing complaints against Kalluri and the police forces in Dandakaranya, National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) sent notice to the Chief Secretary of Chhattisgarh government and Bastar IG Kalluri to be present in person before it with a clarification on 30 November. Finding it impossible to defend Kalluri any longer, the state government made him take medical leave and get himself admitted to a hospital in Visakhapatnam, while a new IG was appointed for Bastar on temporary charge. This informal and unceremonious removal of

Kalluri from Bastar is first of all a resounding victory for the Adivasi masses of Tadimetla, Morpalli and Timmapur who fought for many years to get the guilty policemen punished for their crimes. Secondly, it is also a victory of the progressive and democratic forces of the state and the country who have stood with the fighting people of Dandakaranya in their struggle for justice and extended the hand of solidarity in various ways. The fraternal comrades and friends of the Indian revolution who have opposed Operation Green Hunt and supported the people of India have also contributed to this victory. It is true that the main culprits including Kalluri are yet to be brought to justice and the government is doing its level best to protect them from prosecution. It is also true that the revolutionary movement of Dandakaranya will not rest content at the punishment of a few guilty individuals but will continue their struggle till this fascist system is overthrown. Nevertheless, the kicking out of Kalluri from Dandakaranya is a small step forward in this struggle and a strong reminder to the representatives of the ruling classes that they will not escape justice at the hands of the people in the long run.



**COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)  
DANDAKARANYA SPECIAL ZONAL COMMITTEE  
SOUTH SUB-ZONAL BUREAU**

**Press Release**

**November 2016**

**Condemn the police-raj in Bastar!**

**Remove the police officers and jawans responsible for burning down houses in Tadimetla, Morpalli and Timmapur villages from their posts!**

**Dismiss IG Shiv Ram Prasad Kalluri guilty of murdering common Adivasis in the name of uprooting the Maoists!**

Recently, the Supreme Court, while delivering its verdict on the Tadimetla incident has declared that it was the police which had set on fire the houses in Tadimetla, Morpalli and Timmapuram villages in 2011. It also ordered the suspension of police jawans involved in these incidents. Taken aback by this verdict, dozens of Sahayak Arakshaks shouted slogans and burnt effigies of social activists near Jagdalpur old bus stand. CPI leader Manish Kunjam was addressing a press conference on 26 October in his party office when the goons of AGNI (Action Group for National Integration) ransacked the office and carried out a murderous attack on Kunjam on the directions of the Bastar IG SRP Kalluri.

Brahmanical Hindu-fascist BJP government is strangulating even the namesake democracy in Bastar Range. IG Kalluri is issuing statements as if he were the spokesperson for BJP in Bastar. With utter contempt for the Supreme Court judgment, police jawans in their uniform are burning effigies of political leaders, advocates and social activists on the streets as per the directions of IG Kalluri. Using the police, BJP and AGNI goons, attacks are being carried out on opposition parties, democratic intellectuals and social activists who are raising their voice of opposition against police atrocities and the killing of innocent Adivasis in fake encounters. Recently, our PLGA forces eliminated Shyamnath Baghel, a ringleader of AGNI and a counter-revolutionary element in Nama village under Tongpal Police Station of Sukma district. By using this pretext, the BJP government has filed forged criminal cases in a baseless manner against six social activists including Professor Nandini Sundar, Archana Prasad, Vinit Tiwari and CPI(M) leader Sanjay Parate and is thereby acting on an anti-democratic repressive step in order to put them in jail. It is carrying out assaults on the freedom of expression. We strongly condemn the foisting of murder charges by the police on social activists. The police have become the law unto themselves in Bastar. Raman Singh is shamelessly justifying this anti-democratic police action in Bastar as a correct step and is thereby baring the fascist face of BJP.

The police killed Sukaloram and Somluram, two students of Hitameta residential school ('Potacabin') of Bastanar block, near Sangwel village in a fake encounter and labelled them as Maoists. The police threatened to arrest Dantewada MLA Ms. Devati Karma for protesting against this murder. The police and paramilitary forces are carrying out daily attacks on the villages everyday in the name of wiping out the Maoists. They are committing mass rape of women while looting their houses. They have brutally killed nearly 20 persons in fake encounters during the months of September-October itself. They killed Kovasi Nanda and Muchake Hidma near Micchapura under Gadiras Police Station of Sukma district on 27 September. On 28

September they caught unarmed women activists comrades Hemla Anju, Podiyam Sukki, Dudhi Guddi, gang-raped and killed them near Badsetti village. On 7 September they killed comrades Pottam Sunil and Poyam Sombaru in Tadmendri village of Bijapur district. On 24 September, a villager named Majji Kitta was killed near Rengawaya village. Comrades Tirupati and Lokesh were killed in fake encounter. On 7 October they opened indiscriminate fire on our activist comrade Kovasi Linga while crossing a road near Dugaiguda in Bijapur district. Likewise, the police killed a villager Oyami Munna in Konta town of Sukma district on 18 October. On 22 October, they killed Kodme Mangu, an unarmed villager, in a fake encounter near Peddakorma village of Gangalur Police Station in Bijapur district. On the one hand the people are suffering from malaria, dengue, Japanese fever, etc., in the absence of medical facilities. They are oppressed by poverty, exploitation and price rise. On the other hand, the BJP government is carrying out fascist repression on the Adivasi masses in the name of uprooting the Maoists with the design of handing over the mineral resources of Bastar to foreign and domestic corporations. The police are being given a licence to kill the masses in the name of fake encounters. The people are running away from their villages due to this police repression and terror.

The police-administration are taking away Bastar people's right to live. Raman Singh government is only interested in body count of Adivasis and have so far killed 110 persons in the name of encounter in Bastar Range. They are staging the drama of surrender by forcing the people with threats and intimidation. Raman Singh is making plans to further intensify repression on the people by forming four battalions of Indian Reserve Battalion (IRB) with local recruits. They are attacking on the people by setting up new camps. Brahmanical Hindu-fascist BJP government is carrying out a massacre of Bastar Adivasis in order to facilitate the unbridled loot of Bastar's *jal-jangal-zameen* and minerals by big corporations like Tata, Essar, Jindal, Vedanta and Reliance. In this way they want to turn the Adivasi and non-Adivasi masses who are the indigenous inhabitants of Bastar into their slaves by getting displaced from their traditional home and foregoing their glorious way of life. Intensify the militant people's movement against the conspiracy and fascist repression of the exploitative ruling classes with the unity of all the oppressed sections. Strongly condemn the anti-democratic, inhuman policies of the Raman Singh government.

We condemn the burning of the effigy of political leaders, advocates and social activists by police jawans and the murderous attack on CPI leader Manish Kunjam by the goons of AGNI. We demand that the culprits be immediately arrested. We strongly condemn the foisting of fabricated charges of murder on social activists Nandini Sundar, Archana Prasad, Vinit Tiwari and CPI(Marxist) leader Sanjay Parate. We demand that these cases be withdrawn. We demand the immediate dismissal of the murderer of Adivasis IG SRP Kalluri and the removal and arrest of police jawans guilty of setting fire to houses in Tadimetla incidents. We call upon the workers, peasants, democratic forces, progressive intellectuals, students and women to struggle against the anti-democratic and authoritarian acts of the Indian government.

**Ganesh Uike**  
**Spokesperson**  
**South Sub-Zone**  
**DKSZC**  
**CPI(Maoist)**

## **People protest against Usur Block Congress President's son shot dead in a fake encounter**

People protested in the Timmapur area after Usur Block Congress President and former Sarpanch Suklu Punem's 20-year old son Nanduram Punem was killed by the government forces in a fake encounter on 11 December 2016 in Bijapur district of Chhattisgarh. Another youth Kakkem Sukku was shot in his leg and was admitted to a hospital in Raipur. Suklu alleged that the police encircled the youths and carried out the incident, after which the conspiracy was made to give the shape of an encounter. There were other youths sitting in the field whom the police picked up. According to Suklu Punem, on Sunday night about eight youths were sitting on the threshing ground guarding the harvested crop. They started to play cards to while away their time. At 10.45 pm CRPF's 168th Battalion surrounded them and started firing. Nandu Punem was hit on his chest and died, while Kakkem Sukku who was sitting beside him was hit on his leg. The other youths Korsu Budru, Punem Dasrath, Korsu Pandu, Semla Chandur, Avalam Shankar and Korsu Lacchu were detained and taken away by the government forces with them with an attempt to cover-up their crime.

CRPF's 168th Battalion's camp is in Timmapur. The villagers got to know that the police was keeping the dead body in their custody. When the police tried to take the body to Bijapur in a Mine Proof Vehicle (MPV), the villagers protested and sat in front of it, demanding that the post-mortem should be done in Basaguda and that the body be handed over to them. The police was forced to show the body to the father and the brother of the deceased. The CRPF officers declined to respond to media queries on the incident. The Congress called a Bandh of the district on 13 December in protest, which was observed throughout the district as not only the masses in the rural areas but also the businessmen and traders shut their shops in the urban centres in all the four blocks of the district – Bijapur, Bhairamgarh, Bhopalpatnam and Avapalli – to condemn the fake encounter. An eleven member fact-finding team of Chhattisgarh Janata Congress visited the family of the deceased. They declared that it was nothing but a fake encounter carried out by the government forces with an aim to get promotions by claiming the killing of 'Maoists'. They demanded that the government pay two crore rupees of compensation to the family. Widespread protest forced the government to order a magisterial probe into the incident, while the Raipur centre of CRPF had to form a three-



member investigation team. However, the outcome of these 'investigations' can easily be ascertained from the CRPF spokesperson's statement while announcing the formation of the team, who claimed that "the civilian was killed in crossfire".

## **Voices of protest against killing of two students by government forces**

The anti-Maoist forces whisked away two teenaged Adivasi students Bijnu and Sonku from their home calling them Naxals and shot them dead near a river in Sulenga village in Barsur area under Burgum Police Station, Dantewada district on 23 September 2016. The two youths from Garda village of Bhatpal Panchayat were students of Itametta government residential school who had come to visit their aunt Maase's house in Sulenga. They were woken from sleep and shot dead by the government armed forces. Not only did they claim to have killed two armed Maoists in an encounter, but Bastar IG SRP Kalluri even announced one lakh rupees cash reward for each of the jawans who carried out this 'valiant' deed! The people, however, expressed their strong indignation at this cold-blooded murder. Students burnt effigies of CM Raman Singh and Bastar IG SRP Kalluri in front of the main gate of the college on 2 October on the call of the Students' Union of the Danteshwari Government Postgraduate College and Women's College of Dantewada town. The main opposition Party of Chhattisgarh, Congress visited the site of the incident and met the Governor and the ADG Naxal Operations to register their protest. The President of the Students' Union said that

they had visited the families of the killed students who informed that the two students had gone to their relative's house from where the police took them away and subsequently killed them in the name of an encounter with the Maoists. Adivasi students of various educational institutes in Raipur too carried out protests called by Adivasi Chattra Yuva Sangathan in the capital city.

The parents of the two deceased students, Paiku and Nargu, had filed a writ petition in the Chhattisgarh High Court complaining that their children were killed by the police in a fake encounter. Subsequently, under the direction of Bastar IG Kalluri, a group of policemen led by Burgum Thana In-charge (TI) abducted both of them from their homes and kept them in illegal detention for seven days in the house of a police constable Deepak Sethia. During this period they were beaten up and tortured to force them to withdraw the petition that they have filed in the HC against the police. They said that both the IG and the district SP threatened them of consequences if they did not take it back, after which they were released. They informed the local Congress leader and MLA Devati Karma about their abduction, illegal detention and torture, after which she helped them to file a supplementary petition in the HC narrating this incident. They appealed to the HC to order adequate security to them and the MLA who continued to face a threat to their lives from police officials like the IG and the SP. Hearing the petition, the HC has served notice to the state government and asked it to file its response. Complaints have also been filed with the National ST Commission and National Human Rights Commission demanding independent probe into the killing and the punishment of the guilty police officers. A fact-finding team of



Chhattisgarh Janata Congress too visited the site of the incident, talked to the family members and villagers, termed it a fake encounter and demanded the punishment of the guilty policemen.

### **Villagers voice opposition against Burgum fake encounter**

Fighting back the conspiracy of the Chhattisgarh government and the armed forces to cover-up the cold-blooded killing of two minor village youths Bijnu and Sonku at Burgum village of Dantewada district, the family members and the villagers have called it as a fake encounter and demanded punishment for its perpetrators. When the family members approached the Congress MLA of Dantewada Devati Karma and took shelter in her house in their attempt to file complaints against the paramilitary and police personnel, the police got a complaint lodged against the MLA and her family charging them of 'kidnapping' the family members of the two killed youths and 'aiding the Naxalites'!

Exposing this attempt at intimidation by the police, Ms. Karma denied the charges in a press meet held on 23 October 2016 and said that she was only helping the villagers in their fight for justice. She said that she helped the family of the deceased to meet the Governor, the DG (Naxal Operations) and other government officials and to file a petition in the High Court demanding an independent investigation into the fake encounter. She termed the allegations levelled by one Laxman (a relative of the killed youths) under pressure of the police as completely baseless and ridiculous. She said that the family of the two youths killed by the police had been staying in her house for the last one month while moving from pillar to post seeking justice. She named IG Bastar Range SRP Kalluri as behind the filing of the complaint against her and challenged him to allow the media to interact with Laxman, which would reveal the truth. She asserted that Kalluri was preventing the media from talking to Laxman fearing that the truth would be out if this was allowed. She

informed that Bastar Police had apprehended Laxman when he had gone to the town and forced him to file the false complaint against MLA Devati Karma of 'kidnapping' his relatives. She noted that Laxman had not yet been allowed by the police to return home. Maase, sister of Bijnu who was killed by the police who was also present in the press meet alleged that her husband Laxman was illegally detained by the police and forced to lodge the fabricated complaint. She said, "We were not called by the MLA. We have taken shelter with the MLA due to police harassment. I know that the police made my husband file a false complaint against the MLA by putting pressure on him."

Similarly, Paiku, the father of the other killed youth Sonku, told the journalists, "By forcing Laxman to file the complaint against the MLA, the police want to force us to leave. No one has detained us. We do not want to leave the MLA's house. We are not scared of the Naxals but now we are scared of Bastar Police." This demonstrates the ground situation in Bastar today where the masses of people feel insecure under the shadow of state terror.

### **Bastar bandh observed in opposition to continued police atrocities on Adivasis**

On 11 September, Adivasi organisations called a Bastar bandh to protest against atrocities of the paramilitary and police forces on the people in the name of uprooting the Maoists. The impact of the bandh was to be seen both in urban and rural areas. Markets, business establishments, government and educational institutions, vehicular traffic remained completely closed in urban centres like Kanker town, Durgkondal, Charama, Bhanupratapur, Pakhanjur, Narharpur, etc. Even the street-corner shops and neighbourhood shops kept their shutters closed responding to the bandh call. The traders of Kanker extended support to the Bandh. On the other hand, people in large numbers led by various Adivasi organisations participated in rallies and protest demonstrations against the

government's continuing war on people, raising slogans and carrying banners and posters. In Kanker town, a rally was taken out from Singarbhat at 10 am and on reaching the Collectorate Road, the protestors burnt the effigies of Chhattisgarh Chief Minister Raman Singh and Bastar IG SRP Kalluri. A delegation then met the District Collector and submitted a memorandum to the President of India through him where they complained that the government forces were torturing and killing even the elderly and children in the name of anti-Maoist operations, sending people to jail indiscriminately on fabricated charges and committing heinous crimes like gang-rape and *en masse* rape of Adivasi women. They demanded that the President take steps to stop these atrocities.

### **Protests against the fake encounter of youth in Dandakaranya**

The government armed forces had killed a youth named Baal Singh in Bawri forest of Kondagaon district on 26 November. The large number of angry villagers took out a procession with the dead body on 29 November from Hedli to Mardapal Police Station. But the police forcibly stopped them on the way even before the procession could reach its destination. The police told them to return, but the protesting people insisted that they be allowed to go to the district headquarters. Arguments between the people and the police continued for some time and higher officials from the administration such as the Naib Tehsildar too arrived to persuade the people. Denied entry to Kondagaon town, the people put the dead body on the road itself as a mark of their protest and dispersed.

### **Residents of Gangalur file petition in High Court against fake encounters**

Two teenaged women Sunita Pottam and Munni Pottavi of Korcholi village in Gangalur of Bijapur district filed a PIL in the

Chhattisgarh High Court against five instances of fake encounters committed by the government armed forces engaged in anti-Maoist operations under Gangalur and Bijapur Police Station areas between November 2015 and July 2016.

In their Public Interest Litigation (PIL), they recounted the killing of unarmed villager Sukku Kunjam of Itavar village in the village of the petitioners Korcholi in front of the villagers on 25 November 2015, killing of Kuhdami Ganga of Andri village in indiscriminate police firing and causing the disappearance of eight-nine year old child Sodhi Sannu of the same village on 18 February 2016, abduction and killing of the peasant couple Hapka Manoj and Tati Pande of Karenar village and the suspected rape of Pande on 20 May 2016 and the killing of peasant Seetu Hemla of Palnar village on 5 July 2016.

There were witnesses to almost all these incidents where the government forces killed unarmed villagers. In fact, the two petitioners themselves along with other villagers were witness to the blatant killing of Sukku Kunjam on 25 November. The petitioners submitted the affidavits of 23 villagers testifying that they were witness to these atrocities by the police and paramilitary forces. Many of the family members of the victims have approached the two women to take up the cases of the extra-judicial killing of their dear ones in pursuit of justice. A network of women's organisations called Women against Sexual Violence and State Repression (WSS) who had first met the two during a fact-finding visit earlier has assisted the two petitioners in approaching the HC at Bilaspur with their PIL.

But given the fascist ways of the anti-Maoist forces, they expressed much apprehension about their safety after they have taken them on and are demanding justice for their fellow Adivasis. The police visited the village of the two petitioners twice and enquired about them while they were away in Bijapur. The people of Bastar and the democratic forces have appreciated the courage of the two petitioners in speaking up against state terror.

## **Dandakaranya bandh observed on the call of Sarv Adivasi Samaj**

A day-long Maha-bandh of Bastar Range (which includes seven districts of undivided Bastar) was successfully observed on 16 July 2016 on the call of Sarv Adivasi Samaj against police atrocities on Adivasi people in the name of wiping out the Maoist movement. The Samaj has come up with a charter of 14-point demands which include the removal of the notorious IG of Bastar Range SRP Kalluri and a stop to paramilitary-police operations. Many mass organisations extended their support to the bandh call and contributed to its success.

District president Chandrakant Dhurva said that the government forces are continuously killing Adivasi men, women and children in all the seven districts of Bastar in fake encounters and branding them as Naxalites. Villagers are being sent to jail as 'Maoists' without any basis. Women are being gang-raped and murdered by the 'security' forces. Fake surrenders are being enacted by presenting Adivasi villagers as 'wanted Maoists'. The Samaj demanded that the government must stop these systematic crimes against the people of Bastar. A number of rallies and street-corner meetings too were organised during the Maha-bandh. The bandh

was total in all areas of Bastar as all sections of the people responded to the call of the Samaj and extended their overwhelming support to its just demands.

## **Protest against roughing up of villagers by the police**

Police and BSF jawans carrying out anti-Maoist operations severely beat up a number of villagers including an ailing villager and a cook of a school in the name of inquiry in Gram Panchayat Badrangi in Koelibeda area of Kanker district, Chhattisgarh on 5 September. The villagers complained that BSF jawans posted in Tadoki camp and policemen from Tadoki Police Station brutally beat up 50 years old peasant Sankuram Mandavi, Sonsai Mandavi and a cook with sticks and also looted their poultry. Ailing Sonsai became unconscious as a result. Angry villagers reached Koelibeda to file an FIR against the guilty jawans and demanded that they be brought to book.

Similarly, in Badgaon-Tekpara and Tadrangi of Kanker district (North Bastar Division, DK), five villagers were beaten up by the police and the villager's poultry taken away by the government forces carrying out anti-Maoist operations. The villagers filed criminal cases against the police and gave statements to the journalists condemning this attack.



*Protestors in Kanker town during a Bandh called by Sarv Adivasi Samaj against fake encounters*

## **Congress leader opposes the exclusive recruitment of Adivasis into Bastar Battalion**

Kawasi Lakhma, Congress leader and Kunta MLA (Sukma district) opposed the decision of the BJP governments at the centre and the state to form Bastar Battalion of the CRPF by exclusively recruiting Adivasis from Bastar. It is noteworthy that as per the present Modi government, CRPF has started the process of recruiting only local Adivasi youths from the seven districts under Bastar Range for filling 741 posts of the newly raised Bastariya Battalion (CRPF Battalion No.241), of whom 33 percent will be women. The training of the selected candidates is supposed to start from April 2017 and it will be deployed in anti-Maoist operations by 2018. This battalion will work in Bastar for the initial five years at the least. The norms of educational and physical qualifications have been relaxed to fill these posts.

In a press conference in Jagdalpur, the district headquarter of Bastar district, Lakhma alleged that the government aimed to use a section Adivasis as a shield in the fight to eliminate the Adivasis by forming this battalion. He pointed out that if every social section and community was given an opportunity in recruitment to all government posts, why was it that only Adivasis were being recruited for this battalions? He observed that even in the regions where the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution was in force to protect the interests of the tribal people, other non-tribal communities too were given the benefit of reservation. But in Bastar where the Fifth Schedule is in effect, this policy is not being followed. Lakhma said that in Bastar, the job of killing and getting killed was given exclusively to the Adivasis, which was a part of the government's evil conspiracy to wipe out the Adivasis of Bastar. This would lead to another wave of forced exodus of Adivasis. He said even now over two lakh Adivasis from nearly 50,000 families of Bastar belonging to around 700 villages are compelled to live in Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Tamil Nadu, Delhi, etc. The Kunta MLA asserted that Bastar Battalion would be used to make the

Adivasis an instrument for killing the rest of the Adivasis and opposed this policy of exclusive recruitment of Adivasis to the government armed forces. He also demanded that the government stop fake encounters and forced surrenders in Bastar.

## **Villagers protest against the fake encounter killing of Adivasi youth Rajju**

In one more incident of fake encounter, the government armed forces killed a village youth after torture in Kondagaon district of Bastar on 26 September 2016 and later presented him as an “unidentified Maoist in uniform” killed in an encounter between the government forces and the Maoists. The youth had come to deliver rice to his brother who was studying in Mardapal of Kodagaon district by staying in a rented house and to take another student brother who was ill back to his home. Based on the information provided by a police spy, both of them were caught by the police and paramilitary forces on their way home, taken to a nearby police camp, tortured for over half a day and one of them killed in a premeditated manner. The police told the press that an encounter took place in the forest near Khodsanar village under Mardapal Police Station on 26 September, after which the police recovered the body of “an unidentified Maoist in uniform”, weapon and some other Maoist material from the site.

But soon the lies floated by the police got exposed as it was revealed that the ‘Maoist’ whom the police said to have shot dead was in fact an Adivasi youth named Rajju, s/o Sainu of Vecchha Gram Panchayat in Kondagaon Tehsil of the same district. He had arrived from his far-flung village in the interior at Mardapal on his bicycle carrying rice for his brother Vijendra studying in the twelfth class of Mardapal Higher Secondary School on 24 September – the day before the weekly market was to be held. He stayed over at his brother's rented house and the next day bought articles of daily necessity from the market. He also picked up his other younger brother Brajnath studying in the sixth class of Ekalavya School



*Family members and villagers with the dead body of Rajju in Vecchha village, Kondagaon*

in Golawand who was left at Mardapal by his teacher as he was ill. Both Rajju and his ailing younger brother left for their home in Vecchha on 25 September. Just after they crossed the bridge at Kusmaghat near Ranapal, some policemen riding two motorcycles reached there and took them forcibly to Ranapal camp. Both the brothers were separated and interrogated. They were shown photographs of suspected Maoists and asked to give information about them. The policemen also looted 2,500 rupees, articles bought from the market worth three hundred rupees and an umbrella from Rajju. The interrogation continued all night. At around four in the morning, the policemen told Brajnath that his brother had run away with the bicycle and they were going out to search for him. They told that wherever Rajju was found he would be shot. He was asked to leave silently and not to come back to school for another two months. Brajnath slipped out of the camp and ran towards Nawagaon. While running, he heard gunshots coming from the direction of the camp. He hid himself in a nearby school building. After daybreak, he somehow reached his village Vecchha and told what had

happened. His family members and villagers concluded that Rajju had been killed. On 27 September, they reached Kondagaon where they were told that the dead body had been taken to Mardapal Police Station. At Mardapal Police Station the police handed over the body, but when the assembled villagers protested by saying that it was a cold-blooded murder of an innocent villager and refused to take the body without post-mortem, the police said that they were going to throw the body away in the river if the family members refused to receive it. Under compulsion, they brought the dead body to Vecchha and performed the last rites.

The family members and the villagers of the area held Kondagaon Police and the anti-Maoist forces responsible for killing Rajju. They said that a few village youths of Vecchha who had fled from their village and joined the police as 'Gopaniya Sainiks' (secret soldiers) were behind this killing. They particularly pointed out Hirdu alias Rajesh and Somnath. Hirdu had pocketed lakhs of rupees from the villagers in and around Vecchha by enticing them with schemes to double their deposits in five years. When his fraudulent scheme got exposed and the villagers started demanding

their money back, Hirdu ran away and joined the police as Gopaniya Sainik. Since then he has been informing higher police officers on villagers of Vecchha and falsely identified some of them as 'Maoists' or 'Maoist supporters' in order to earn quick promotion and rewards and also to take revenge on the people. Based on his information a few of the residents of the area have been arrested or killed by the police. The villagers voiced their grievances against the government and its police forces who murdered Rajju based on informers like Hirdu and demanded punishment for them.

### **People's organisations decry fabricated FIR against CPI leader Manish Kunjam**

As the voices of opposition against the large-scale extermination of Adivasi villagers in Dandakaranya under 'Mission-2016' as a part of Operation Green Hunt grew stronger, the BJP-led central and state governments are using all tricks under their sleeves to crush this opposition. The paramilitary, police and vigilante forces are given a free hand to throttle any criticism of the systematic massacre of the people in genocidal proportions, which is threatening the very lives and existence of the Adivasi people of the region. Even parliamentary opposition to this fascist campaign is not tolerated. Not only the members of revolutionary organisations or the revolutionary masses but even Congress, CPI and CPI(M) leaders-activists too have been targeted by the police. Except those few who are with the ruling party and other Brahmanical Hindu-fascist organisations, all else are considered by the government armed forces as 'pro-Maoist' and 'anti-national' in Maoist struggle areas like Bastar.

Things have come to such a pass that even CPI leaders like Manish Kunjam (former MLA and President of CPI-affiliated Adivasi Mahasabha), who is otherwise known for his opposition to the revolutionary movement and support for the counter-revolutionary Jan Jagaran Abhiyan in the past (when Mahendra Karma too was a leader of CPI and led this Abhiyan from the front in the 1990s), are

facing the ire of the government and its armed forces. Applying the tactic of using different methods to deal with different types of opposition, members of a vigilante organisation called 'Hindu Sena' were mobilised to lodge police complaints in three different police stations of Bastar against Kunjam this September for allegedly "hurting the sentiments" of the Hindus through a social media post. On 19 September, the same state-sponsored Hindutva forces burnt Kunjam's effigy in Sukma town and carried out demonstrations with the backing of the government and the police.

As Kunjam clarified through the media, he had forwarded a post which presented a non-Brahmanical interpretation to the Mahishashur myth, according to which the Adivasi king Mahishashur was deceitfully killed by the Brahmanical forces. King Mahishashur is revered in many parts of the country by non-Brahmanical and non-Hindu sections of the people as a god, though in the Brahmanical interpretation of the myth, he is presented as a demon. For them, the killing of Mahishashur by Durga in an unfair battle symbolises the subjugation and domination of non-Hindu Adivasi and Dalit masses by the Brahmanical Hindu rulers. But this retelling of the myth by the oppressed people is an anathema to the country's Brahmanical Hindu-fascist forces and the governments run by them. Thus, it is not surprising that when complaints were lodged by the same forces against Kunjam in the name of "hurt sentiments" of the Hindus, not only did the police promptly register FIRs but it even threatened punitive action on him! The fact that the people refrained from doing so for the time being is due to the strong protests from the people of Bastar and their organisations including Adivasi organisations. For instance, several Adivasi organisations including Kirandul Adivasi Sangh (Bachel), Sarv Adivasi Samaj, Gondwana Samaj, Mahara Samaj, Halba Samaj, Telaga Samaj, Kalar Samaj, Dhakar Samaj and Adivasi Mahasabha held a meeting at Kirandul on 29 September to condemn the targeting of Kunjam and the attack on the culture and beliefs of the Adivasis by the government and the Hindu fascist

forces. They demanded that the baseless FIRs lodged against Kunjam be withdrawn and the police officers like Bastar IG Kalluri and Superintendent of Police R N Das who are instigating 'protests' against opposition political leaders and social activists of Bastar be punished according to the law.

### **High Court orders second post-mortem of youth killed in fake encounter**

Somaru Pottam, a minor was killed in a fake encounter by the government anti-Maoist forces in Mettapal village of Gangalur area in Bijapur district, Chhattisgarh, on 16 December 2016. Somaru's parents Komma Pottam and Jamli Pottam approached Chhattisgarh High Court challenging the claim by the police that the youth was a Maoist killed during an encounter, and demanding punishment for the policemen guilty of carrying out the cold-blooded killing of their son. A week after the killing, the Court ordered the exhumation of the dead body and its re-post-mortem by a group of expert doctors within three days. It also ordered the video recording of the process. Incidentally, the first post-mortem was hastily done soon after the killing by flouting the norms and even before the family members could arrive at Bijapur

hospital to take possession of the body. The body was handed over to the family wrapped in a plastic sheet. While the police tried their best to give this brutal cold-blooded killing of a minor boy the shape of an encounter, the family members and villagers were keen to expose the police claims and seek justice. They took the help of advocates associated with Jagdalpur Legal Aid Group and Chhattisgarh PUCL to file a writ petition in the High Court.

Petitioners Komma and Jamli said in their writ that their son Somaru was returning home with his friends from the village threshing ground in the morning of 16 December when around 15-20 paramilitary and police forces on patrol accosted them. All others escaped by running away, but Somaru –who had a problem with his hearing – were caught. He was tied to a tree by a towel. The policemen then entered their village, caught Somaru's father Komma and a relative Sannu and brought them to the place where Somaru was tied. The policemen then brutally bayoneted Somaru in front of his father and uncle and fired three bullets from point-blank range which hit his neck, chest and belly. He died instantly. The policemen then removed his clothes, put on Maoist uniform on the dead body, placed a pistol nearby and took photographs. Later the police claimed that one Maoist guerrilla was killed in an encounter with the police. They appealed to the Court to carry



*Family members and villagers mourn the fake encounter killing of Somaru Pottam, Mettapal village*

out an inquiry to bring the culprits to justice. The facts of the case were so stark and the evidence so glaring that the Court had to take note of the gravity of the crime and order a re-post-mortem. This is the second such order by the courts in the last two months of 2016 in Bastar. But this is only the tip of the iceberg. Over ninety percent of the killings of revolutionaries and the masses claimed to have been killed by the government forces in Dandakaranya in encounters are fake encounters, of which only a few come under any kind of judicial scrutiny. As far as the conviction and punishment of the perpetrators is concerned, the number is almost zero. This is clearly revealing the class character of the country's judicial system before the oppressed masses and making them more determined to depend on their own strength and their own movement to seek justice for these murders and the punishment of the murderers.

### **Anti-Maoist forces shot and injure villager; attempts to gag protests**

In the early morning of 13 September, Podium Mura – a villager of Palamadugu under Polampalli Police Station in Dantewada district – went to the pond nearby to catch fish with his wife. At around 6 am, anti-Maoist STF forces patrolling the area arrived there and shot at him without any provocation, injuring him on his head. His wife Podium Deve confronted the policemen who fired the shots and demanded why they had shot an unarmed Mura. Deve later said that the policemen threatened her not to make any complaints about the incident, or else they would shoot them dead, put on Maoist uniform, place *bharmars* (country-made guns) and brand them as Naxals. The forces told Mura to get treated in a hospital and to tell that he had a fall while catching fish! Mura's two brothers who were present nearby were taken away by the forces for some distance, after which they were released.

After this incident, Mura was too terrorised even to go to the Dornapal hospital nearby for treatment or to complain against

his tormentors. He was getting treated with traditional medicine in his village itself. Deve and the residents of the entire village, however, have demanded an inquiry and prompt action against the guilty policemen. The police, on the other hand, predictably denied any culpability and claimed that there was an exchange of fire with the Maoist on that spot and it was possible that Mura was injured by a bullet fired by the Maoists. Villagers of Palamadugu have rubbished the police story of an encounter and held the police squarely responsible for Mura's injury. The protests also led the revelation that not only did the police grievously injure Mura but also registered an FIR against him in Polampalli Police Station for his alleged 'Naxal' connections!

### **Journalist Somaru Nag acquitted of all charges after two years in jail**

The Third Upper Sessions Judge on 21 July 2016 acquitted journalist Somaru Nag and two other accused persons Dasman and Ramlal of all charges brought against them by Bastar Police. The police had falsely implicated Nag and two others in the arson and looting in a stone-crusher plant in Chote Kadma village under Kodonar Police Station of Darbha in 2015. Nag was arrested on 19 July that year was locked up in Jagdalpur Central Prison as an under-trial since then. The police slapped a plethora of charges under IPC on Nag and the two other accused including Sections 120B, 147, 148, 149, 342, 395, 435, 506 and Sections 25 and 26 of the Arms Act.

During the trial the police failed to furnish any credible evidence or witness to substantiate their charges, following which the judge acquitted the three accused. The court, commenting on the flimsy 'evidence' provided by the prosecution, observed that nobody could be pronounced guilty on the basis of the claims of such 'witnesses' produced by the prosecution. In fact, during the cross-examination of the sole police witness named Hidma, this 'villager' admitted that he was a secret police officer (*Gopaniya Sainik*) during the time of the incident and was presently



*Set free: Incarcerated Bastar journalist Somaru Nag*

working as a *Nagar Sainik* (urban policeman)! This acquittal is seen as a slap on the face of Bastar Police and its chief SRP Kalluri who is totally unscrupulous when it comes to throttling the freedom of the press. The blatant police attacks on press freedom in Bastar and Somaru Nag's arrest as a part of it had attracted widespread condemnation of Chhattisgarh government and the state police in the country and internationally. His arrest also triggered a movement by the scribes of Chhattisgarh to initiate a movement demanding legal protection under a special legislation. Nag's acquittal is considered to be a significant victory for the democratic voices against state terror and the fascist forces particularly in the areas of people's movements.

### **Delhi journalists protest against continued persecution of Bastar journalists**

Journalists of Delhi organised a press conference in the capital city under the banner of Delhi Union of Journalists (DUJ) on 7 July 2016 to protest against the growing persecution

and gagging of the press by the police in Bastar region of Chhattisgarh. Journalist Prabhat Singh of Dantewada who came out on bail only ten days back after spending three months in jail on Maoist-related charges trumped-up by the police addressed the press conference. Senior journalists Sava Naqvi, Sujata Madhok and others too spoke out against the targeting of independent and upright journalists of Bastar who dared to expose incidents of police brutality and terror against the masses. A glaring example of this is the experience of Prabhat Singh, the fourth journalist from Bastar to be arrested. He has been reporting about the ground situation of the war zone including the crimes committed by the police-paramilitary forces against the Adivasi villagers in the name of anti-Maoist operations. Singh has also been a part of the movement by the journalists of Chhattisgarh demanding a law specifically for the protection of the scribes in the state, particularly from police persecution. He even met Chief Minister Raman Singh as a part of a delegation of journalists to press for this demand.

Singh narrated the manner in which Bastar Police under the directions of its chief SRP Kalluri went after him to stop his reporting.

First the police got ‘Samajik Ekta Manch’ – a state-sponsored counter-revolutionary organisation – to file a complaint with the police against Singh’s alleged ‘anti-national’ comments on social media (opposing police terror is a serious ‘anti-national’ crime in Bastar while extolling the police is the biggest ‘nationalist’ act according to Kalluri and his gang). Singh was illegally abducted by plain-clothed policemen from his office in Dantewada on 21 March 2016, interrogated and tortured for a whole night in a police station and shown as arrested from Jagdalpur the next day. A number of charges under the CrPC including sections of the IT Act were slapped on him. During this illegal detention, his abductors beat him up and warned him not to write anything against the Kalluri and the police in the future, or else Maoist-related charges would be foisted on him. He was also made to put his signature on a number of blank sheets, obviously with the intent of manufacturing some ‘incriminating documents’ against him and other persons targeted by the police. He was denied access to an advocate or legal aid in custody. Even in jail, he was further humiliated through strip-search.

All these amply demonstrate the utter contempt for the ‘rule of law’ by these so-called upholders of law. If a journalist can be treated with such disdain and impunity, it does not need much imagination to figure out what an Adivasi or poor villager has to undergo at the

hands of these government goons. Nevertheless, with the mounting state repression on all classes and strata of the people in the country, the voices of resistance from the people is also becoming wider and more loud, including from the journalist community of the country. The press meet held by the DUJ and their unequivocal demand for the release of all journalists in the jails of Chhattisgarh is a marker of this growing voice of resistance against the ongoing fascist war on people – Operation Green Hunt. It is to be expected that opposition to the persecution of journalists will only grow stronger in the coming days as all forms and kinds of people’s movements intensify in the country.

### **Protests by 17 Panchayats against fake encounter killing of a tendu-leaf overseer**

Representatives of 17 Gram Panchayats and villagers in Koelibeda block headquarters of Kanker district, Chhattisgarh took out a protest rally against the killing of a tendu-leaf overseer (*phar-munshi*) by the police and paramilitary forces. The anti-Maoist forces caught and killed the overseer at Gomeh and later claimed that they had killed a Maoist in an encounter. His wife Savitri Bai said during the rally that her husband was shot dead by the jawans when he had gone to the forests. The police brought the dead body to the Police



*Villagers of 17 Gram Panchayats of Koelibeda in Kanker district protest police's fake encounter killing*

Station but refused to hand it over to his family. Dismissing the police claim that he was a Maoist, Savitri Bai said that even if he were a Maoist, the police had no right to shoot a person dead and instead they could have arrested him. The speakers at the meeting demanded a stop to fake encounters in Bastar, action against the perpetrators and adequate compensation to the families of the killed.

### **Peasant family protest against dispossession due to paramilitary camp**

Paramilitary force CRPF engaged in anti-Maoist operations forcibly set-up their camp on the 3.5 acres of private land of a peasant Bajarnath on the banks of Bhanwardih River in Mardapal area of Kondagaon district in Chhattisgarh without any formal agreement a few years back. He was assured by CRPF that the camp would be vacated within two or three days. The forces were deployed there to construct a bridge over the river. Dispossessed of his home and agricultural land in this way, the peasant had to shift his family with seven children to the village Cultural Centre. Months and years have passed since then, and CRPF gave way to ITBP, but the paramilitary forces never kept their promise of giving back the land to the peasant. All his attempts to get back his land ended in failure.

After staying in the Cultural Centre for over a year, government forces compelled him to live in a ramshackle house constructed under Indira Avas Yojana. The construction of the 200-metre bridge was over seven-eight years after the beginning of the construction work, but the ITBP camp is yet to be removed and the peasant yet to get back his land. Not only his illegally seized land has not been returned, but the forces are now demanding his adjacent agricultural land to expand the camp! Indignant at the government and its forces, Bajarnath and his family has called enough is enough and declared to the visiting District Collector of Kondagaon on 21 November 2016 that they would rather die than part with even an inch of their land anymore. Stung by the defiance of the peasant, the

administration and the ITBP have once again promised of “appropriate action” to address his grievances. Once bitten, whether such empty promises can convince the peasant again is not difficult to guess.

### **The killing of five villagers in Kandhamal faces large-scale opposition**

Five villagers were mowed down by Special Operations Group (SOG) commandos in unprovoked firing in Kandhamal district of Odisha in the evening of 8 July 2016. The SOG and the government administration first claimed that they killed five Maoists in an encounter, but later changed their story to the killing of five civilians in crossfire during an exchange of fire with the Maoists to hide their crime. The survivors of the firing, however, exposed this white lie by stating that they were fired upon by the SOG jawans lying in an ambush in a one-sided manner and there was no exchange of fire as claimed by the police-administration. Democratic and civil rights organisations and journalists who examined the site confirmed what the villagers had to say.

Contrary to the claims of the SOG and Odisha government, there was no presence of the Maoists at the site of the firing. The villagers informed that on 8 July, fifteen residents of Gumudimaha village in Parampanga Panchayat of Tumudibandha Block in Baliguda Subdivision of Kandhamal district had gone to a bank in Baliguda town to withdraw the payment for their work under MNREGS as daily wage labourers. They hired an auto-rickshaw and were returning to their village. As they reached close to their village at around 8 in the evening, the vehicle had to negotiate a steep incline. All of them got out of the vehicle. The women (two of them carrying babies in their arms) and the children walked ahead while the men started pushing the auto up the hill. After reaching the top, they were just about to board the vehicle when suddenly the SOG jawans who were hiding behind the bushes on one side of the road started firing without any warning or provocation. A man, three women and a two-



*Family members of deceased Kukala Digal and village women of Gumudimaha after the fake encounter*

year old child died instantly. The killed were former Naib Sarpanch of Parampanga Gram Panchayat Kukala Digal (42), Bimbuli Mallick (45), Midiali Mallick (40), Kimuri Mallick (35) and a girl child Jehad Digal (18 months). Seven others were injured, five seriously, including Luka and Sunita Digal, Tempu Mallick, Gottisi Digal and Banomali Mallick. Kajanti Mallick and Sahalu Mallick survived with minor bullet injuries. The others ran towards their village and came back with other villagers to the site of the firing. They carried the injured back to their village, where the injured spent the night without medical care in excruciating pain. When they returned in the morning to collect the dead bodies, they were prevented by the SOG jawans present there. The baby continued crying inconsolably till the morning as its mother lied dead on the ground. The police also prevented the injured from being taken for the much-needed medical attention in order to prevent the truth of this gruesome killing from coming out.

Only after the villagers along with several Adivasi and Dalit organisations vehemently protested did the SOG allowed the five seriously injured to be shifted to the hospital. As the police story of an “encounter” and “killing of civilians in crossfire” fell through, Odisha CM Naveen Patnaik expressed the routine “regrets” at the “most unfortunate” deaths caused by an “accident” and announced the customary compensation. But the family members of the deceased, the villagers of Gumudimaha, the people of Kandhamal and the democratic forces of Odisha are demanding an independent probe into the killings and appropriate punishment for the guilty SOG jawans and their officers. They

have also opposed the series of killings of unarmed villagers – mostly Adivasis and Dalits – of Kandhamal and adjoining districts of Odisha by the government armed forces in the name of anti-Maoist operations and the reign of terror established by them among the people in these forested areas. Bansadhara-Ghumsar-Nagavali Division of CPI(Maoist) called a day-long shut-down of the district on 25 July, which was successfully observed. Not only the people of the region and the democratic organisations, but even the opposition Congress and BJP came out opposing the killings and called a dawn-to-dusk bandh of Kandhamal district, which was a total success with the overwhelming response of the masses. The Party demanded the filing of murder charges against the SOG personnel involved in the incident and a compensation of 25 lakhs each to the deceased and 10 lakh to the injured, Dharnas, pickets, road blockades, rallies and mass meetings, etc. were organised throughout Kandhamal and some other parts of the state. A PIL was filed in Orissa High Court demanding a CBI inquiry into the killings, where the petitioner noted that the Odisha government is shielding the guilty SOG personnel instead of bringing the perpetrators to justice. The petitioner also appealed to the HC to direct the state government to provide adequate compensation to the families of the deceased.

The villagers of Gumudimaha are still terrorised by the police as they fear that they could be arrested any time. They told visiting journalists that they have stopped going to the forest even during daytime fearing the presence of the police who threatened them with dire consequences for speaking out against them.



*Protests in Phulbani town by parliamentary opposition parties against Gumudimaha killings*

They said that the police are keeping a watch on their movements. Such a situation is unprecedented, say the villagers, as being Adivasis, they depend heavily on the forest for their sustenance but never were they being prevented from going there in the past. Demanding the withdrawal of the government forces, they complained that the jawans assault them at the slightest pretext and misbehave with women during combing operations. They complained bitterly about the governments' failure to provide even the basic necessities like safe drinking water in the village. They strongly asserted that the wounds of this killing could never be healed by the compensation offered by the government. Former Naib Sarpanch Kukala Digal who was shot dead was the lone breadwinner of the household, while his wife too was injured and was undergoing treatment. His six children told that they were finding it increasingly difficult to sustain themselves in this condition. "No amount of money can compensate the loss of our father," they stated.

After the protests became widespread, Odisha Human Rights Commission (OHRC) served notice to the state government and asked it to submit an inquiry report within two weeks. A team of National Commission for the Scheduled Tribes (NCST) also visited Gumudimaha to enquire into the incident. Odisha government was also forced to order an inquiry by a Special Investigation Team (SIT) of the State Human Rights Protection Cell, and subsequently, a judicial probe. Going by past experience, however, such government-ordered probes have failed to convince the

people that they are aimed at identifying the guilty and bringing them to book. Rather, these probes are convenient methods of deflecting the indignation of the masses and subdue their protests. The people, therefore, are continuing their protest demanding justice and an end to the continuing state terror pervading in the entire region.

### **Adivasi villagers on Odisha-Chhattisgarh border gherao Collector's office at Nuapada**

A large number of Adivasi villagers of Nuapada district residing on Odisha-Chhattisgarh border *gheraoed* the office of the District Collector and the Superintendent of Police on 27 September 2016 demanding that torture and harassment by Chhattisgarh Police in the name of searching for the Maoists be stopped. They assembled at Nuapada Thana Chawk and took out a rally to the SP office. They also blocked the National Highway passing through the town for some time to highlight their demand. They submitted a memorandum to the DC listing their demands for immediate redress.

The aggrieved villagers complained that Chhattisgarh Police jawans often cross over the inter-state border to conduct combing operations in search of Maoist guerrillas and often beat-up and take into illegal custody the villagers for no reason. Residents of Siridigi, Farfaud and Kendubahera villages under Kendubahera Panchayat 30 kilometres away



*Protestors including a large number of women in front of the District Collector's Office, Nuapada*

from Nuapada came all the way to the headquarter town seeking a stop to this daily police harassment and torture. They pointed out that Chhattisgarh policemen from Komakhan Police Station picked up three youths of the area on 10 September on the unsubstantiated charge of involvement in Maoist activities and locked them up in jail. They have also stepped-up patrol and search operations in the area, forcing the people to stay indoors abandoning their daily routine in fear of arrest or torture. They warned that they would migrate en-masse from their villages if the depredations of the anti-Maoist forces continued even after their protestations.

### **A report on repression and resistance in Odisha**

With the plan to crush the revolutionary movement in Odisha and Chhattisgarh led by Odisha State Committee (OSC) of CPI(Maoist), the central and state government have been taking various steps from the time of the movement's expansion into these areas itself. Particularly since the end of 2011, the government is deploying a large number of paramilitary and SOG (Special Operations Group – the main anti-Maoist commando force of Odisha Police) forces have been started to be deployed with the aim of halting the farther expansion of the movement. Stationing of

special armed forces, setting up of new police camps, building up of 'carpet security' have been carried out step by step since then in the struggle areas of the districts like Gajapati, Ganjam, Kalahandi, Rayagada, etc. These areas have witnessed stepped-up state repression in this period. The number of CoBRA, SOG and other forces stationed in district and block headquarters have been increased, which have been used to carry out operations against the Maoist forces in a planned manner by collecting information from the intelligence network they have put in place in the movement areas. Forces have been relocated from areas where the movement have weakened to those where struggles are going on and where it is expanding. In 2015 itself, five additional battalions of the central paramilitary forces have been sent to the state for anti-Maoist operations. Over fifty paramilitary and police camps have been set up in the movement areas of SDS (Sambalpur-Deogarh-Sundargarh), BBM (Bargarh-Balangir-Mahasamund) and KKBN (Kandhamal-Kalahandi-Baudh-Nayagarh) Divisions under OSC.

Government armed forces (C-RPF, CoBRA, BSF, SSF, SOG, etc.) which have been deployed in large numbers are carrying on 'Area Domination Exercises' at night, they are staying in the forests overnight, sitting in ambush, camping on the important roads and frisking, camping and carrying out combing all around.

The enemy is concentrating its forces and conducting combing operations for three to five days at a stretch. They are setting up temporary camps surrounding the forests to carry out continuous combing. They are relieving the forces engaged in combing operations with fresh forces every few days in order not to allow any discontinuity in the operations. They are using advanced technology like satellite phones and GPS instead of wireless, etc. during operations to keep their movement and communication under secrecy.

For instance, around 50 police and paramilitary camps have been set up as part of enemy's 'Carpet Security' grid in Nuapada-Mainpur Division alone. After Modi government came to power at the centre, the number of government anti-Maoist forces in Dhamtari, Kanker and Kondagaon of Chhattisgarh and Nabarangpur of Odisha under OSC has been increased to almost 8,000 while more than 2,000 jawans have been deployed in the five blocks of Nuapada district alone. Apart from CRPF and CoBRA forces, SOG forces too are conducting operations in Sunabeda, Sosenga, Patora, Dharmbandh, Jamgaon, Bantibal, Kumna, Rajkariyar and Sinapali areas of Nuapada. They are carrying out intensive combing operations at least two to three times a month. Particularly after collecting information about the location of our Party and PLGA leaders and cadres, hundreds of government troops are conducting armed attacks. The government has established three to four camps in Mandagiri Hills of Mainpur area and five to six temporary camps in Udanti forest area to conduct round the clock operations and wipe out the Local Guerrilla Squads (LGS) of the PLGA. Similar armed operations were conducted in Sitanadi forests, Ravas and adjoining areas too.

In Udanti and other areas where people are fighting for land and better price for forest produce, opposing declaration of Tiger Reserves and Wildlife Sanctuaries, etc., fabricated Maoist-related cases have been slapped on several peasants and they are being pressurised to desist from raising

their economic and political demands against the government. However, not intimidated by such acts of state terror, the people are carrying on with their movements on their genuine democratic demands. They are responding to the calls issued by the State Committee of the Maoist Party on different topical issues from time to time including bandhs against proposed aerial strikes by the Indian Air Force in the Maoist movement areas, in opposition to the government's anti-peasant policies leading to drought and suicide by peasants, against state repression on the revolutionary movement and the masses, etc.

### **Surrender policy:**

The government has got posters and banners put up in the villages and towns advertising its surrender policy for the Maoists in which it promised to pay thousands and lakhs of rupees to the surrendered Maoists, particularly those who deposit weapons. Using the electronic media, it is propagating the schemes of rewards and financial packages for a year to 'rehabilitate' surrendered activists of the revolutionary movement. Some surrendered persons are being recruited as policemen and SPOs (Special Police Officers). These persons are kept at the frontline while conducting operations. They are being made to write letters to underground Party activists and PLGA cadres instigating them to surrender. In such letters they are writing that to be in the revolutionary movement is to invite certain death and it is much better to live a 'secure' and 'peaceful' civil life by accepting the surrender package of the government. Even the Thana In-charge (TI) of Mainpur Police Station got such letters written to some Divisional Committee Members of the Party's Mainpur-Nuapara Division. In this way, the government is trying all methods to weaken the leaders and cadres of our movement who have exposed the counter-revolutionary character of these attempts and rebuffed them.

## **Propaganda against the revolutionary movement:**

The government is continuously making extensive propaganda using the mass media to impress upon the people that the Maoist movement has weakened in Odisha due to its military, economic, social and other measures. While conducting regular anti-Maoist suppression campaigns targeting the revolutionary Party and its mass base, it is also carrying out some make-belief reform programmes to lure a section of the people. It is mainly concentrating on building all-weather roads in the movement areas as a part of its reform and 'development' programmes in order to facilitate the setting up of new police camps and speedy transportation of troops in the interior places. As part of a long-term plan, 80% of all 'developmental' expenses are being spent on road building while only 20% on schemes like building of schools, providing students with bicycles, free housing to the poor (Indira Avas Yojana), etc. Village notables, traditional chiefs and elders, and such other elements who act as the local props of the ruling classes are usually given contracts for such works. The government is trying to implement these counter-revolutionary reforms in every village by keeping the anti-people elements in the forefront.

Since 2012-13, the government is distributing freebies like radio, blankets, sarees, dhotis, utensils, stationery (in which anti-Maoist slogans are written), biscuits, etc. among the villagers of these areas in 'Civic Action Programme' meetings organised by the paramilitary and police forces, which the villagers are forced to attend. In some places, they are distributing free mobile phones with SIM cards to maintain regular telephonic communication with the recipients and to collect information about Maoist activities. Any opposition or refusal to accept these 'gifts' are taken as a sure sign of support to the Maoists and those raising such opposition are beaten up and persecuted in other ways.

## **Intensification of counter-revolutionary armed offensive since 2015-16:**

More than 35 encounters took place between the PLGA forces and the government armed forces since 2015-16 (8 in BBM, 12 in three areas of Kalahandi, 15-16 in the new expansion areas of KKBN and SDS) due to the increasing concentration of the latter in the movement areas and their intensified combing operations. In most of the cases, the enemy forces attacked the PLGA acting on specific information of their intelligence agents in the villages. Several of our beloved leadership comrades and PLGA cadres have been martyred in these encounters while 13 policemen were injured in PLGA's resistance.

Among these, on 11 November 2015, PLGA comrades Singa (Sangram) and Sudan (Satish) were martyred while fighting the enemy in Sundargarh district. PLGA resisted an attack by CRPF and SOG joint forces in the forest between Nishanguda and Dayanpadar villages in Kalahandi district on 8 February 2016. On 11 February, PLGA fought back the government forces valiantly at Gochkola in Kalahandi district injuring a few of the policemen. Comrade Madkam Jogi laid down her life in the battle. Likewise, comrades Soni, Somdi and Bheeme were martyred in an encounter on 30 April 2016 in the forest near Kutru village in the same district when enemy forces attacked our comrades. In another attack on our forces by SOG commandos near Kundanjaharan village in Nuapada district on 5 May 2016, two police jawans were seriously injured while the PLGA forces retreated safely.

In this way, the Party, PLGA and revolutionary mass organisations are sowing the seeds of revolution in the new expansion areas of Odisha with the active support and involvement of the vast masses of Odisha in the Protracted People's War by braving all forms of enemy attack.

## **Countrywide general strike to oppose Modi-government's anti-worker policies**

Modi-led BJP came to power by promising “good days” for the country’s people. However, only the imperialists, big capitalists and big landlords are enjoying the promised “good days” under the Brahmanical Hindu-fascist rule of Modi-Shah-Bhagwat clique. For the vast majority of the people, not only have “good days” remained a dream, but on the contrary, their conditions of life have undergone further decline in the last three years as a direct result of the policies of the present government. The people who had voted for BJP in the last parliamentary elections after getting infuriated by ten years of UPA misrule and believing in Modi’s pre-election promises are coming to the bitter realisation that NDA is no better than its predecessor when it comes to introducing and implementing anti-people treacherous policies. In fact, the Brahmanical Hindu-fascist ideology of BJP and Sangh Parivar makes it an even more dangerous enemy of the people. Workers and peasants, the middle classes, Muslims and other religious

minorities, Dalits, oppressed nationalities, women – i.e., all oppressed classes and sections are facing a serious assault from the ruling classes spearheaded by Modi government. The country’s vast working class has faced this assault in the form of pro-imperialist and pro-capitalist amendments to the labour laws, suppression of the economic and political rights of the workers, reduction of the price of labour and lengthening of working hours, further cuts in the work-related and social welfare measures for the workers, and so on. Further privatisation of government-owned enterprises by Modi government, allowing the entry of FDI in several strategic sectors like retail, jobless ‘growth’, encouragement to contract and temporary work, etc., are increasing the level of unemployment and job insecurity for the vast majority of the workers.

The deteriorating economic condition of the workers in both the ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ sectors of the economy is resulting in growing discontent and disaffection among them throughout the country. They are spontaneously coming forward to resist this downward slide in their lives by fighting against the employers and the capitalists. They are also identifying the

relation between their economic struggle and the class struggle to change the existing political system. Under such conditions, the ruling-class and revisionist trade-unions which dominate the organised labour movement of the country and function as faithful instruments of the capitalist class in subduing the class struggle of the workers through collaboration and compromise are forced to take up some token struggles against the blatantly anti-worker policies of the Modi government.

One such struggle programme was called by ten major trade union centres of the country in the form of an all-India general strike on 2 September 2016 to press for their 12-point charter of demands. Though these unions were not interested in any serious struggle and wanted to confine the workers' agitation within the parameters 'acceptable' to the capitalists and the government by calling a token daylong general strike, the workers showed their brewing indignation by participating in large numbers and with great enthusiasm to make it a thumping success. It is estimated that over 15 crore workers across industries and sectors took part in the strike by downing their tools, paralysing most of the key industrial sectors and drastically bringing down industrial production for a day, showing the latent strength of the Indian working class. In fact, it is said to be the biggest strike in world history in terms of the number of participants.

Of course, no one will seriously believe that struggles like a day's strike can compel Modi government to accept the workers' demands, to reconsider its anti-worker policies or to bring any favourable change. For this, more sustained, serious, uncompromising and militant struggles will have to be waged – the kinds that the existing trade unions are unwilling and incapable of leading. Moreover, as neck-deep in economism and reformism as they are, these trade unions will do nothing on their own to combine the economic struggle of the workers with the political struggle for transforming the existing system to put an end to wage-slavery. This can only be achieved through a revolutionary struggle under the guidance of the revolutionary theory of Marxism and led by a genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat. Combining the

practical working class struggle with the revolutionary theory of scientific socialism was the great historic task accomplished by Marxism. Only by following this path can the Indian proletariat place themselves at the head of the democratic movement of the country's people and liberate themselves from the exploitation and oppression by the parasitic classes and the treacheries of their lackeys – the parliamentary parties and their deceitful trade unions and leaders. So, while supporting or participating in all struggle actions of the workers like the general strike on their partial and economic demands, the communists must consistently propagate the path of protracted people's war among the workers as the only path of revolutionary class struggle in the concrete conditions of our country and mobilise them in large numbers in it.

### **Aggressive targets of coal production signal fresh threat of displacement in the country**

In spite of Modi's tall claims of promoting renewable energy, his government has done precious little to reduce the dependence on coal-based thermal power generation, which still meets most of the country's electricity needs. In fact, Modi is following the policies of all previous governments at the centre to promote thermal power as it is one of the cheapest sources of power. But the cost paid by the country's people – mostly by the Adivasis – for this policy in the form of large-scale forced displacement, loss of livelihood and culture, violent break-up of tribal community life, etc. is enormous. The Adivasis of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Odisha – the three states in which over 70 percent of the country's total coal production is concentrated – have borne most of the brunt of this so-called development since 1947.

The recent announcement by Modi government of doubling the annual coal production for electricity generation in the country shows that a much bigger threat of displacement and devastation awaits the Adivasis in and around the coal-producing areas. Coal India Limited (CIL), the largest public sector coal producer in the world, has

set a target of extracting one billion tonnes of coal annually by 2020 and is implementing an aggressive policy of expanding its mining operations throughout the country for meeting this target. Accordingly, all of CIL's units including three of the biggest subsidiaries – SECL, Central Coalfields Limited and Mahanadi Coalfields Limited are going ahead with forcible acquisition of land for new mines or expansion of existing mines.

Modi government has already waived or relaxed many of the legal hurdles or bureaucratic procedures for the government-owned and privately-owned big mining companies in acquiring agricultural or forest land in the name of facilitating “ease of doing business” or “rationalisation”. In the process, provisions of legislations related to mining like the Coal Area Acquisition and Development Act (1957), Environment (Protection) Act (1986), Panchayati Raj (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act (1996) and Forest Rights Act (2006) and several other central and state legislations are being steamrolled. One of the main objectives of the new land acquisition bill and ordinance introduced by Modi government but later withdrawn under stiff opposition was to make way for this expansion. The government's ambitious plans for expansion of coal production is a signal that it is time for the people of the country to brace for another round militant mass movements on the lines of Kalinganagar, Singur, Nandigram and Lalgarth.

### **Muslims oppose Modi government's interference with their Personal Law**

Promulgating a Uniform Civil Code (UCC), along with the scraping of Article 370 and the building of a Ram temple in Ayodhya has always been high on the agenda of the RSS-led Hindu fundamentalist Sangh Parivar. After its progeny BJP came to power with a majority at the centre led by the mass murderer Modi, all the various gangs of the hydra-headed RSS have become more active than usual to turn their pet project of ‘Hindu Rashtra’ into a reality. Consequently, incidents of

Brahmanical Hindu fascist attacks on the oppressed classes, strata and sections of the society have skyrocketed in the last three years of Modi raj. Lynching of Muslims and Dalits, attack on mosques and churches, physical assault of all kinds including rape targeting religious minorities, arson and loot of their property, attack on their livelihood, violation of their democratic rights and assault on their culture, increase in religious and caste-based oppression and discrimination, etc. – all these forms of political, economic and cultural attack has gone up across the country. The Hindu-fascists have been aided and instigated in these heinous crimes by the direct and indirect support of Hindu-biased state.

One such concerted attack launched by the Modi government to implement Sangh Parivar's communal agenda is in the garb of seeking ‘public feedback’ on the desirability of ‘reforms’ in the Muslim Personal Law by issuing a questionnaire. Very cleverly, Modi-Shah-Bhagwat ruling clique has packaged this move with the rhetoric of defending the rights of Muslim women from Muslim men! The very band of rogues who have directed the Hindutva gangs in raping, killing and humiliating Muslim women in their thousands in innumerable pogroms, massacres and communal clashes across the length and breadth of the country using the most gruesome methods have now donned the robe of ‘the protectors of Muslim women’! They are propagating the lie that Muslim women are suffering due to the existence of Personal Law – particularly the marriage laws – which allow Muslim men to easily abandon their wives through the provision ‘triple-talaq’. Under the pretext of ‘reforms’, Sangh Parivar is trying to replace their Personal Law with a ‘Universal’ Civil Law, which is nothing but an attempt to impose non-Islamic – and what's more, Hindu – marriage laws on the Muslims. This, the Sangh gangsters imagine, will be a major step towards their coveted ‘Hindu Rashtra’, to be administered according to ‘Hindu’ laws (which will not be very different from the laws of Manu).

No wonder, the country's Muslim women and the Muslim masses in general are not fooled by such wily foxes in sheep's skin. They recognise the Sangh Parivar and its *pradhan*

*swayamsevak* Modi as their foremost tormentor and the biggest threat to their community. They are alive to the larger Hindutva design behind this sudden 'concern' for the 'sufferings' of Indian Muslim women. Voices of opposition and protests have been immediately raised by the Muslims and all their social organisations, warning Modi government to refrain from meddling with their personal law misusing its political power. They consider it not only an attack on their own community and their fundamental rights recognised by the Indian Constitution, but on the plurality and diversity that characterises the Indian society. It is not anybody's case that Muslim women do not suffer from patriarchal practices and Muslim Personal Law does not need any reform, but this must be the task of the Muslim community alone and any move by the Hindu majoritarian forces to impose it on the Muslims from outside has to be beaten back. At a time when other religious minorities without a legally recognised Personal Law such as the Sikhs (forced to abide by Hindu Personal law) too are demanding the promulgation of their own Personal Law, any attempt to tamper with, dilute or scrap Muslim Personal Law must be resolutely resisted and defeated. To thwart this nefarious communal move is not the responsibility of the Muslims alone, but a foremost task before all the revolutionary and democratic forces of the country, all other religious minorities and the masses of the people in general.

### **Democratic forces of AP-Telangana demand action on casteist High Court Judge**

Judge of Andhra Pradesh High Court C V Nagarjuna Reddy and his brother Pavan Kumar Reddy of Kadapa, who is the Additional Public Prosecutor and Government Pleader at Kadapa Court, have been committing untold atrocities against S Ramakrishna, a Judicial Magistrate posted in Kadapa. Ramakrishna belongs to a poor Dalit family of Chittoor district, AP, who was transferred to Rayachoti of Kadapa district in 2012. The Reddy brothers consider the Rayachoti court as their fiefdom and use all sorts of illegal and violent means to maintain their

authority. They used their henchmen to carry out the murder, beating, loot, abduction, illegal confinement, assault and other crimes against their adversaries and opponents in the area, while carrying out sandalwood smuggling and other illegal businesses. When a case related to the illegal felling and transport of sandalwood by the Reddy brothers was brought to the Magistrate Ramakrishna's court, he took up the case in earnest in order to get at the root of the matter and punish the guilty.

It soon came to light that Pavan Kumar Reddy pressurised his servant Ramanujulu to plead guilty for the crime in order to save his own skin, but his servant refused. Enraged and in an inebriated state, he poured kerosene on Ramanujulu and set fire on him, but he soon succumbed to his injuries. In his dying declaration, Ramanujulu named Pavan Kumar Reddy as his murderer, which was duly recorded by the Magistrate Ramakrishna. Since then, the Reddy brothers had been threatening the Dalit magistrate to destroy the dying declaration which was a solid incriminating document against the crimes of Pavan Kumar Reddy. But as the Magistrate refused to comply, Judge Nagarjuna Reddy reached Rayachoty on 13 February 2013, summoned the magistrate to his residence and on arrival, both the brothers physically assaulted Ramakrishna, abusing him by his caste. When Ramakrishna filed a complaint at the registry of the High Court against the judge, instead of taking action against the guilty, he was suspended from his post for 'insubordination'.

Since then, he has been fighting legal battles in the High Court and the Supreme Court seeking justice, but to no avail. Instead, he has been further threatened, harassed and humiliated in the process. Democratic rights organisations and caste annihilation organisations of AP and Telangana have come out in solidarity with Ramakrishna's struggle for justice against the caste-based violence and atrocities of the Reddy brothers. They have demanded that FIRs should be lodged against the Reddy brothers under SC/ST (Atrocities) Act and arrested pending investigation, removal of Nagarjuna Reddy from his post as the High Court judge, and reinstatement on Ramakrishna to his post.

## **Democratic space diminishing in KCR's Telangana**

KCR, the Chief Minister of Telangana proves again and again to be equally oppressive as any other ruler and of the past and a collaborator of the Brahmanical Hindu-fascist Modi government. The problem of displacement (as reported in the earlier issues of MIB) due to Mallannasagar and Polavaram dams is serious. The people continue to fight. The violation of civil liberties, the suppression of the right to agitate for the mass organisations are constantly on the agenda. The KCR government is as undemocratic as any other government in repressing the people's struggles and the activists. While the people are opposing the Mallannasagar project and the Polavaram project that would cause drowning of their villages, the government is only keen on eliminating the leadership of the people. Here are a few instances.

### **Seven leaders arrested in bordering Sukma district of Chhattisgarh**

Leaders of mass organisations belonging to Telangana were arrested on their way to the bordering Sukma district of Chhattisgarh by the Telangana Police. This is nothing but the combined and coordinated onslaught of the Telangana and Chhattisgarh state governments.

Seven members of a Fact Finding Committee – Chikkudu Prabhakar, the President of Telangana Democratic Front, Balla Ravindranadh, Secretary of the Committee of the two states and Executive Member of the All India Committee of the Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners (CRPP), Durga Prasad, Journalist, Ramadala Lakshmayya, leader of Tudum Debba, a tribal organization, Nazir, In-charge of Osmania Campus unit of Telangana Student's Forum, Rajendra Prasad, the Vice President of the State Committee of Telangana Student's Forum, Duddu Prabhakar, President of the Andhra Pradesh Committee of Kula Nirmulana Porata Samithi (Struggle Committee for the Annihilation of Caste) were arrested in the last week of December 2016 when they were on a

fact-finding mission in the border district of Sukma of Chhattisgarh regarding the atrocities in Mission-2016 from April to December, 2016. The police alleged that they seized revolutionary literature and one lakh old notes from them. They foisted Chhattisgarh Public Security Act and sent them to Sukuma jail after 25 hours of arrest.

The police do not want anyone to visit Bastar to expose the ongoing war on people. The CPI, Aam Admi Party, social activists and other democratic people are constantly exposing the police atrocities and high-handedness on the people and the people's activists. Activists from the neighboring Telangana too are helping out the people in Bastar occasionally. On 21 January, the activists of Telangana Democratic Front and CDRO held a dharna near Indira Park in Hyderabad demanding the cases to be lifted and the leaders to be released immediately.

### **Mass organisations get their leader released**

The Telangana Vidyarthi Vedika (TVV, Telangana Student's Forum) conducted many mass organisations and held protest demonstrations demanding the release of Vijay, the state Convener of Telangana Youth Federation. He was picked up by the police in mufti on the night of 14 December from Garla town in Manukota district of Telangana. Following the arrest the mass organisations held protest programs in all the district centres, constituency centres and universities. The family members of Vijay and the representatives from mass organisations in Manukota went and requested the District Collector to make an unambiguous statement on the whereabouts of Vijay. But the DC denied any knowledge of Vijay's kidnap. So the mass organisations and the family members of Vijay intensified their agitation.

On 15 November, a protest demonstration was organised in the state capital. Two days passed and there was no information about Vijay. Then the mass organisations held a dharna in front of the house of the Home Minister. The activists said in the meeting that

KCR's rule was one step ahead of the infamous Nizam rule and that there was no right to express or agitate. The police tried to disperse the activists who blocked the road in protest. There was a tussle between the activists and the police. Finally the police conceded saying they would arrange a meeting with the Home Minister. The minister responded and told the leaders of the mass organisations that Vijay was in their hands and that they took him into custody only to examine the cases on him. He assured that they would release him if it was proved that he was not guilty of any crime. The same day Vijay was released after conditions were imposed on him by the MRO office in Nalgonda.

### **Arunodaya office sealed**

Hyderabad Police suddenly sealed the office of Arunodaya Samskruthika Samakhya, a cultural organization. The organization propagates people's problems and was active in the movement for separate Telangana. The leaders of the organization including Vimala and others condemned the police action.

### **Posters on woman leaders**

Hyderabad Police put up posters in the city with photos of woman leaders of various mass organisations. The poster addressed the freshers in the colleges. It said not to meet them

and to beware of them, warning that they would lead them to the forest! The poster said that the women activists would come and meet them, sing songs, give books. They would even meet the parents of the students and assure them of the future of the students. But, the poster said, all their talk, the songs are vicious, their actions like giving gifts are deception. All this was only to make the students join the Maoist movement and that they were Maoist representatives. The poster also added a note to the Principals of the colleges and wardens of hostels not to allow such activists into their premises and to boycott such 'poisonous' organisations for the sake of the future of the students. The poster was put up with the name of a girl student's organization.

### **Students observe bandh demanding betterment of education system**

The Joint Action Committee of student's organisations that included SFI, AISE, PDSU, AIDS, TVV, PDSU (V), AIFDS, AIPSO etc. observed bandh on 14 July in telangana. Their demands were to reduce fees in the private educational institutions and to strengthen the government educational institutions. They also demanded solving the problems of the education system. During the band they held rallies, raastha rokos and other such things. The police arrested 300 students on the occasion.

## **मोदी की नोटबंदी के खिलाफ संघर्ष करो!**

### **मोदी की नोटबंदी किस लिए ?**

- ① गरीबों की गाड़ी कमाई को बैंकों में जमा करके पूंजीपतियों व बैंकों को मालामाल बनाने
- ① बड़े पूंजीपतियों, नौकरशाहों, बड़े व्यापारियों, भ्रष्टाचारियों, राजनेताओं के कालेधन को सफेद करने
- ① गरीब किसानों, मजदूरों, आदिवासियों को परेशान करने व उनकी तकलीफ बढ़ाने
- ① नोट बदलने की सभी पाबंदियां हटाओ! समय सीमा बढ़ाओ!
- ① आदिवासियों को आधार कार्ड या बैंक खाता के बिना ही नोट बदलने व तमाम सुविधाएं पाने का अधिकार दो!

**भाकपा (माओवादी)**

## **Militant people's movement in Jharkhand resist BJP government's domicile policy and its meddling with CNT-SPT Acts**

After the arch-enemy of the country's oppressed people – Brahmanical Hindu-fascist BJP – came to power at the centre, it has been implementing with renewed vigour the communal agenda of its mother organisation RSS on the one hand and the imperialists and the domestic ruling classes on the other. In the states where BJP has come to power, there is even closer co-ordination between the central and state government in carrying out these treacherous anti-people policies at a faster pace and with much more ruthlessness. This has been amply demonstrated in Jharkhand after BJP government led by Raghubar Das was formed. Of the numerous anti-people decisions taken by this government, one of the most far-reaching and most reactionary ones is the new domicile policy announced on 7 April 2016 redefining who would be considered a “local resident” of the state. This was followed by the cabinet decision of 3 May 2016 to amend the Chotanagpur Tenancy (CNT) Act (1908) and Santhal Pargana Tenancy (SPT) Act (1949) to facilitate the implementation of the new domicile policy. The ordinance was passed through the assembly without adequate debate and sent to the central Home Ministry

and the President of India for approval. If accepted by the centre, CNT and SPT acts will effectively become a dead letter.

In fact, CNT Act passed by the British colonial government was the result of the militant anti-colonial armed struggles of the people of the region, particularly by the Adivasi poor peasants, who were exploited and oppressed to the hilt under colonial semi-feudal rule. Forced labour, forcible occupation of their land and forests, gruelling demands of taxation and usury, assault on their culture – all these led to regular outbreak of popular rebellion against the British colonisers and their domestic props – the big landlords and comprador big capitalists. The heroic struggles led by Birsa Munda, Tilka Majhi, Nilambar-Pitambar, Sidhu-Kanu and hundreds of other martyrs have become part of lore and legends among the oppressed masses. The growing threat to their rule from people's uprisings that had forced the British raj and its successor, the Indian state, to introduce a few legal provisions recognising the rights of the people – particularly the tribal communities who mostly depend on agriculture and forest produce for their livelihood – over land and forests. CNT



*Photo: People gather in Ranchi to protest against the new domicile policy and amendments to CNT-SPT Acts*

Act was one such legislation of the colonial period, while after 1947, the Fifth and Sixth Schedules, PESA, Forest Rights Act, etc. have been promulgated.

In spite of these laws in force, however, the dispossession of the toiling masses from their means of production, primarily land, have continued unabated. It is estimated that even before Jharkhand state was formed in 2000, over 60 lakh people had been displaced without compensation or rehabilitation due to infrastructural and industrial projects undertaken by the government and big capitalists. Displacement has continued even after 2000. This happened even when CNT-SPT Acts, Fifth Schedule, PESA, FRA were in place! In a state where Adivasis constitute 26.20% of the population, an overwhelming majority of the forcibly displaced people are Adivasis. No wonder that the cost of the ‘development’ of the “country’s modern temples” had to be borne by the Adivasis with their lives and land. If all these could take place even when all the constitutional and legal provisions were in place, one can easily imagine what will be the situation if the new domicile policy and the amendments to the CNT-SPT acts are carried through.

The new domicile policy and ordinance of the government is aimed at destroying the fighting unity of the Adivasi and non-Adivasi oppressed people of Jharkhand carrying out the revolutionary and various democratic movements by pitting one against the other along the lines of ‘locals’ and ‘non-locals’; to weaken or destroy their class unity and solidarity against the ruling classes. Through this, it plans to pave way for dispossessing the toiling masses of Jharkhand – particularly the Adivasi peasants – of their rights over land, natural resources for the benefit of big capitalists (foreign and domestic) and big landlords. That is why they are presenting the CNT and SPT acts as hurdles for the ‘development’ of the state. The BJP government, as the most loyal servant of the ruling classes, wants to implement speedily and without legal wrangles the 108 MoUs signed after the formation of Jharkhand with big companies for constructing mega projects which will require displacement of people on

a large scale (estimated to be over 10 lakhs). Given the steady decline in the share of the Adivasis in the state’s total population in the last seven decades as opposed to their growth in the share in the country’s population (as revealed by the following tables), the concern that the BJP government’s latest measures will further dispossess and marginalise them is not difficult to understand.

**Percentage of Adivasi (Scheduled Tribe) population in the country’s total population:**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1961	6.9
1971	6.9
1981	7.8
1991	8.1
2001	8.2
2011	8.6

**Percentage of Adivasi (Scheduled Tribe) population in Jharkhand’s total population:**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1931	38.06
1941	38.62
1951	36.02
1961	33.92
1971	32.07
1981	30.25
1991	27.67
2001	26.30
2011	26.02

(Source: *Census of India*)

But the militant people’s movement has emerged as a big hurdle before Raghubar Das government in implementing these policies. Government bodies like the Scheduled Tribes (ST) Commission in its report to the Union Home Ministry and Tribal Affairs Ministry opposed the proposed amendments to the tenancy acts. BJP has become isolated on this issue as not only all the revolutionary and democratic organisations of the state and opposition parliamentary parties have come out against the government, but even its alliance partners like AJSU has declared its opposition. What’s more, voices of dissent

have emerged even from within BJP against these moves by the government including the BJP state unit president Tala Marandi, who was removed from his post for his protestations. Several BJP MLAs too have openly opposed the decision of their party and government under pressure from the mass movement.

CPI(Maoist) too has expressed its opposition to the new domicile policy and the amendment of CNT-SPT acts and extended its support to the ongoing movement against these anti-people measures by the BJP government. It is continuously organising campaigns and protest programmes in which tens of thousands of the oppressed masses throughout Jharkhand are getting mobilised. As a part of this, a statewide bandh was called by the Party on 10 September which drew overwhelming response from the people. Likewise, a *dharna* before the Governor's residence was organised on 25 October. Thus, the people are continuously carrying out agitations for the last few months. They have seen through the nefarious plans of the BJP government and are on the streets demanding the scrapping of these policies. It is unlikely that they will relent till their demand is not fulfilled. Prohibitory orders, police repression or false assurances by the government have failed to assuage the boiling anger of the masses. They are courageously facing the bullets and batons of the government to defend and demand their rights.

Supporting the people's struggle, AOBSZC of CPI(Maoist) called a daylong bandh of Andhra Odisha Border (AOB) on 26 December and a week of protest from 21 to 27 December against the proposed bauxite mining and GO 97. AOBSZC spokesperson Comrade Jagabandhu appealed to the Adivasis in a press statement to force the leaders of all parliamentary parties to resign from their parties in opposition to the government's move and in solidarity with the ongoing anti-mining movement. Failing which, he suggested, the people should drive them away from the Agency Area, thereby defeating the government's design to divide the people and weaken the unity of the resistance.

## **Protest against the killing of demonstrators in police firing in Badkagaon**

The people of Sonbarsa, Sinduari, Churchu, Upreli-Dadhikala and several other villages of Badkagaon block in Hazaribagh district of Jharkhand have been continuously opposing the forced acquisition of their agricultural land by the government-owned National Thermal Power Corporation (NTPC) for a 12,000 MW thermal power plant since its foundation stone was launched by the then Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee in 2004. To be built at an estimated cost of 23,000 crore rupees, over 17,000 acre land was to be acquired for the project, of which 8,000 acres were private agricultural land belonging to the villagers of 32 revenue villages, while the rest 9,000 acres were under the Forest Department.

In spite of a persistent mass resistance and going against the people's interests, NTPC went ahead with the acquisition of land and gave sub-contract for coal mining to two private companies flouting the rules of the lease. These companies started their initial mining work at Chirudih-Tilaiatand. The people of the surrounding areas got organised under 'Karnapura Bachao Sangharsh Samiti' and 'Janmabhumi Raksha Samiti' and started an indefinite dharna from 31 March 2016 in protest. They said that the land the company was trying to acquire from them was fertile multi-crop land where they cultivated rice, corn, vegetables, etc. and earned their livelihood from it. Hence they refused to part with their land and decided to protect it at all costs. The opposition of the people can be observed by the fact that out of the 8,000 acres of private land to be acquired, only 435 acres could be acquired by the NTPC in the last 12 years. The people are carrying out a movement demanding that the project be scrapped.

The number of protestors started to swell after the companies tried to intensify the work by bringing earthmovers and bulldozers on 16 May. When hundreds of protestors were sitting on dharna at the mining site the next day, Barkagaon Police Station In-charge Ram Dayal Munda arrived there with a police force



*Barefaced police brutality: A few of the seriously injured taken to hospital after the Badkagaon police firing*

and started brutally beating them up with sticks with the aim of breaking up the protest. Several protestors sustained injuries. About 300 to 400 armed policemen attacked all the nearby villages and beat up anyone whom they came across, including pregnant women, elders and children. Women were dragged out of their houses and roughed up, household items were flung around and destroyed, and other kinds of atrocities were committed by the policemen on the rampage. Villagers complained that even the colonial police did not treat the people the way the police attacked them on 17 May. People alleged that the mining companies had bribed the police and the latter were working as their private armies. In fact, the police have foisted fabricated charges on the leaders, activists and members of the organisations leading the agitation and arrested several of them, who are lodged in jail. Seven leaders were behind the bars in Hazaribagh Central Jail. In addition, FIRs have been registered and non-bailable warrants issued against hundreds of 'unknown' agitators under serious charges like attempt to seize arms from the police, attempt to murder, stone pelting, etc. – all fabricated by the police.

But all these attempts by the anti-people alliance of BJP government, police and mining companies (NTPC and its contractors) failed to terrorise the people into submission. Their growing movement forced the opposition parliamentary parties to oppose the forcible land acquisition under the tutelage of Raghubar Das-led BJP government in Jharkhand and Modi government at the centre. The incumbent MLA Nirmala Devi of the Congress extended her support to the Badkagaon anti-displacement movement and even sat on a '*kafan satyagrah*' at the mining

site from 15 September. The police imposed prohibitory orders under Section 144 to and later arrested MLA on 30 September. The police were taking her to Badkagaon the next morning when the agitated villagers stopped the police cavalcade near Dadhikala village. The police opened fire on the people indiscriminately and without provocation, killing four villagers Abhishek Rai (17) and Pawan Sau (16) of Sonbarsa village, Ranjan Kumar (17) of Sinduar village and Mahtab Ansari of Chepakhrd village. Over twenty villagers were injured in the police firing. To justify this heinous massacre, the police made up the story that a violent mob had attacked and injured 17 of the policemen, forcing them to fire in self-defense! Following the incident, the entire area was transformed into a police cantonment by deploying thousands of armed policemen to crush any militant protest by the people against the firing and to smash the anti-displacement movement.

The police under the directions of the BJP government are increasing baring its fascist fangs against people's movements in Jharkhand. In the month of September 2016, police had opened indiscriminate fire on protestors demanding adequate compensation in Gola of Ramgarh, killing two of them. In October, police shot dead one more person in Soyko in Khunti district when a group of protestors were proceeding to Ranchi to take part in a demonstration against the proposed amendments to the CNT-SPT Acts by the state government. The killing and massacring of unarmed agitators by the police and paramilitary forces show the growing fascistisation of the organs of the state under the direction of the Brahmanical Hindu-fascist BJP governments and the RSS to serve the

interests of the imperialists, comprador big capitalists and big landlords. On the other hand, this also shows their desperation and alarm at the intensification of people's movements in Jharkhand and other states of the country against their reactionary policies. Each such incident of police brutality and state terror is increasing the indignation of the oppressed masses against the ruling classes and drawing them closer to the revolutionary movement to overthrow their dictatorial rule.

### **Revolutionary mass organisations expose fake 'Independence Day'**

Revolutionary mass organisations of Bihar-Jharkhand conducted several programmes to expose the country's fake independence on 15 August 2016 and mobilised the masses. As a part of this, Jharkhand Abhen and Nari Mukti Sangh (NMS) jointly took out a rally in Pirtand and held a meeting at Maheshlitti Middle School, Giridih district, Jharkhand. Several speakers addressed the gathering to observe 'Fake Independence Day' and talked about the hypocrisy of "the largest democracy in the world". They said that the vast majority of the masses who eke out their livelihood through hard labour are exploited, oppressed and enslaved by a handful of parasites belonging to the ruling classes. In such a condition there

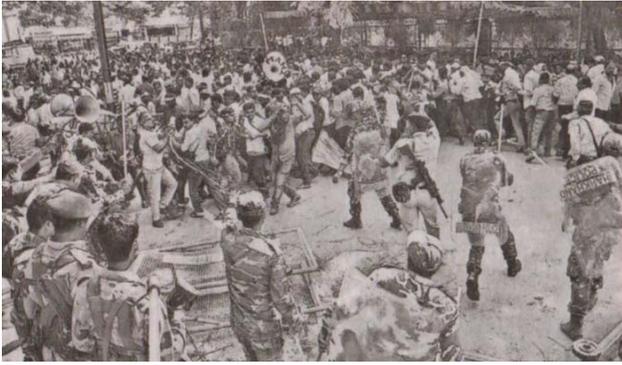
can be no question of 'independence' for the people. Only revolutionary struggle of the people can establish real independence and liberate them from subjugation of all kinds. Slogans like "Yeh azadi jhuthi hai!" reverberated in the meeting. A cultural programme followed the meeting. Hundreds of people attended the day-long programme.

### **Para-teachers' struggle in Jharkhand faces severe police repression**

TET (Teachers' Eligibility Test) qualified government 'para-teachers' (teachers employed under contract) of Jharkhand have been agitating for the last one year under the banner of Para Shikshak Mahasangh for making their jobs permanent. Since successive governments had been only giving assurances and making false promises with an eye to electoral benefits without following up with concrete action to fulfil their demands, the agitated teachers organised a series of protest programmes to press for the speedy resolution of their demands. As a part of this, they called an indefinite strike from September 2016 and organised a 'collective immolation' protest in Ranchi. The police resorted to lathi-charge, water-cannons and other repressive measures to break-up the protest. Several dozen protestors were injured due to the brutality of the police. The injured have compared such



*A rally by NMS and other organisations against fake 'Independence Day' on 15 August at Pirtand, Giridih*



police action with the days of the British Raj when no democratic right of the subject population was recognised. Teachers' associations and democratic organisations of the state have condemned BJP government's fascist method of trying to crush the just demands of the teachers' community and warned that their agitation would become more militant in the future as a result of the government's tyrannical attitude and utter disregard of the people's voices.

### **Opposition to the transfer of IAS officer for comment on Deendayal Upadhyay**

BJP government of Chhattisgarh has recently transferred IAS officer Shiv Anant Tayal for his comment on social media about RSS ideologue Deendayal Upadhyay. Tayal wrote in his post on Facebook asking people to tell him about the 'contributions' of Deendayal Upadhyay as he was not aware of

any contribution by the founder of Jan Sangh, the predecessor of the ruling BJP. He further wrote that Upadhyay neither won any election nor he had any ideology of his own. Tayal's questioning of one of the leading figures in the pantheon of Brahmanical Hindu fascism did not please the Sangh Parivar or the BJP government in the state.

According to BJP Vice-president Sachidanand Upasane, questioning the ideology and contributions of a person whose footsteps the present government is following is a "serious crime". BJP even termed it an insult to PM Modi who is an adherent of Upadhyay's ideology. Following their Hindu-fascist method, Raman Singh government promptly ordered the transfer of Tayal from his post as the Chief Executive Officer of Kanker Zila Panchayat, even though the IAS officer had deleted his Facebook comment and publicly apologized for it.

A section of the civil servants has opposed the vindictive action by the government, while a number of retired IAS officers too have expressed their strong opposition. Opposition Congress has said that after the much-touted birth centenary celebrations of Deendayal Upadhyay spearheaded by the BJP governments at the centre and in the states fell flat due to lack of response from the masses, they are targeting the IAS officer to make Upadhyay's 'contributions' a talking point. To the democratic organisations and forces in Chhattisgarh, this is one more example of BJP

### **Bodhghat dam stopped due to people's opposition**

The proposed mini hydel power project that included a dam (Bodhghat dam) on Satdhar River in Barsur area of Dantewada district has been stopped due to the opposition of the people. A company called Chhattisgarh Energy Consortium started preparations to construct the project in 2011. But the villagers of Harrakoder, Erpund, Malewahi, Puspal, Pichikoder, Amlidhar, Binta, Karekot, Udenar, Bhatpal, Hitameta, Ragondi, Korali, Darmabeda, Chandela, Raikot and Sataspur strongly opposed the project because it threatened to inundate and displace the people of these villages and large parts of forest land. The project also failed to get environmental clearance for the danger it posed to the ecology. Finally, the promoters of the project were forced to declare its closure even before any substantial work could be started. This is a great victory for the masses involved in the Bodhghat anti-dam movement, who have been able to stop the project for the time-being. But the people need to remain vigilant as the government will try to find new tricks to restart the project which is crucial for providing power to the planned steel plants in Bastar.

and RSS's intolerance of any questioning or criticism of its ideology and practice.

### **Villagers boycott 'Swaatch Bharat Abhiyan' gimmick, demand basic amenities**

Modi government is running 'Swaatch Bharat' throughout the country with much fanfare in the name of promoting health and hygiene, but in reality, to divert the people's attention from its reactionary policies and utter failure in addressing their basic problems. Not swayed by the din of propaganda and hype created by BJP government with the aid of the pliant corporate media about ending open defecation – as if that is the biggest problem facing the masses – the residents of six villages of Kamtera panchayat in Koelibeda area, Kanker district, Chhattisgarh under the leadership of Krantikari Adivasi Mahila Sangathan (KAMS) boycotted the government campaign to build latrines.

The villagers held a protest rally and meeting in the weekly market of the panchayat with the only demand that the government first provide them with basic amenities like water, electricity, hospital and teachers for schools and only then would they allow it to construct latrines to their villages. Women and school

children were conspicuous by their large participation. They complained that the government was only enacting a drama with the 'Swaatch Bharat campaign' to show that it cares for the people whereas it did not provide electricity to their villages even today. They are deprived of health services, due to which they have to travel all the way to Koelibeda for treatment. The hand-pumps were not functional, forcing them to use unsafe water. Schools have been constructed in all the villages of the panchayat, but they do not have regular teachers, due to which they remain closed most of the time. Only one out of the six villages has an Anganwadi, affecting the wellbeing of infant and children. They declared that they would not allow the construction of latrines before the government addresses their basic problems of water, electricity health and education. The people said that they will use the building material brought by the administration for constructing latrines to build a health centre in their panchayat.

Thus, people's courts have been used extensively by the revolutionary masses as an instrument of rural class struggle to try and punish class enemies and offenders in a collective manner. No wonder that jittered by the people 'taking the law into their own hands' – a grave crime in the eyes of the ruling classes – they are putting a lot of effort to portray the



people's courts in a poor light even though their own judicial system has lost much of its credibility as far as the vast toiling masses of the country are concerned.

## **Tata Steel kicked out of Bastar by the struggling masses, next is Essar Steel**

After eleven years of struggle, the people finally forced Tata Steel to abandon its plans for the proposed 5.5 MTPA capacity steel plant with an estimated cost of 19,500 crore rupees on 2,000 hectares of land spread over ten villages in Lohandiguda of Bastar district in Chhattisgarh. Unable to take actual possession of the land for the plant from the peasants even after using all tricks in the trade, the MoU signed in June 2005 expired in June 2016 and with no hope of realising its plans in sight, the company did not seek any further extension. With this, it also lost the licence to the 2,500 hectares of iron-bearing land (Bailadila Deposit No.4) issued in 2008 with an estimated reserve of 108 million tonnes of high-grade ore to feed the Lohandiguda steel plant.

In this way, the government and the Tatas had to accept an ignominious defeat at the hands of the people. It is a great victory of the fighting people of Bastar who have frustrated another attempt by the country's comprador big bourgeoisie in collusion with imperialist capital to exploit the rich natural resources of Bastar even with all the support provided by the central and state governments. The people have successfully defended their *jal-jangal-zameen* with their uncompromising movement on the face of powerful adversaries wielding all the instruments of the state and big capital. Tata Steel had already withdrawn its officers and employees; now it has locked up its Jagdalpur office as well and handed over its keys to the District Collector! The people are demanding that now that the plan for the steel plant is finally dead and buried, they should be given back their ownership of the forcibly acquired land (the government had acquired the land on paper, but the peasants kept the actual possession of the land during all these years of struggle and refused to leave).

After kicking the Tatas out of Bastar, the people are hopeful that they will succeed in forcing Essar Steel to follow suit. Essar had signed an MoU in 2005 for a mega steel plant of 32 lakh tonnes annual capacity on Dhurli and Bhansi villages near Bachel in Dantewada district with a cost of 10,000 crore rupees (the same region where NMDC's Bailadila mines are located). 600 hectares of land was marked out for acquisition (400 hectares of Bhansi and 200 of Dhurli) 69 families of the two Adivasi hamlets were to be directly affected by the project according to official data, while in actual fact, thousands of people in tens of villages were to be affected indirectly due to loss of forests, pollution of water sources, etc. District administration of Dantewada started the land acquisition process in April 2007 for 'public purpose' so as to hand over to Essar! But the people opposed this project and built up a movement against it. Police repression including firing on the protestors failed to crush the people's resistance.

The Maoist Party and various people's organisations too have extended support to the movement. After the departure of the Tatas from Bastar, the people of Dhurli-Bhansi think that Essar's flight too cannot be too far away. It is worth mentioning here that along with signing MoUs with the government for the above two steel plants in June 2005, Tata Steel and Essar Steel also funded the infamous counter-revolutionary Salwa Judum terror campaign that began at the same time under the leadership of Congress MLA and leader of opposition in the State Assembly Mahendra Karma, which caused widespread mayhem in Dandakaranya for nearly four years. After the political and military defeat of Salwa Judum in 2009 and the elimination of its main leader Mahendra Karma in 2013, the kicking-out of Tata and Essar in 2016 which were two of its main architects signifies the final defeat of Salwa Judum and crowns the victory of the people's movement over it. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that the Tatas are one of the biggest comprador companies in the country which has thrived by looting the people's resources. Therefore, strict vigilance is required against any attempts by the government and the Tatas to revive the project in other forms, as has been their practice in other places.

## **Opposition to government's plan to privatise NMDC's Nagarnar Steel Plant**

The people of Bastar have begun agitating against the central and state government's surreptitious plan to 'disinvest' the under-construction Nagarnar Integrated Steel Plant (NISP) of the government-owned National Mineral Development Corporation (NMDC) to big private-sector mining companies like the Tatas or Adanis who are eyeing the plant. In spite of the government's assurances against any such move, the existence of an MoU between NMDC and Tata Steel signed in 2010 has led the people to resist any such decision. In addition, a team of Modi's favourite industrialist Gautam Adani's company has visited Bastar to inspect the plant areas of NMDC's NISP as well as Bachel-Kirandul plants.

It is to be noted that NMDC is one of the 17 PSUs which the Modi government's cabinet has cleared for 'disinvestment' as per the recommendation of the 'Niti Ayog'. NMDC is one of the most profit-making PSUs in the country and a 'Navaratna' company. The government had to back out from its past attempts at privatising NMDC due to the stiff opposition from its workers, employees and the people in general. That is why it is now trying to sell off the under-construction NISP instead of any of the functional plants of the company. All India NMDC Workers' Federation, other labour unions, social organisations and opposition parliamentary parties like Congress, AAP, etc. have declared their resolve to oppose the privatisation of NISP. The peasants of Nagarnar who has given land for the project has also strongly opposed the decision to sell NISP as they feel betrayed by the government which promised jobs and industrialisation of the area while acquiring land for it. It is certain that the government will be facing the stiff opposition of a people's movement if it persists in its treacherous plan.

## **Anti-mining struggle in Surjagarh intensifies amid stepped-up state repression**

Following fresh attempts by the BJP governments at the centre and state to facilitate iron-ore mining by large private mining corporations in Gadchiroli district of Maharashtra in 2016, the predominantly Adivasi people of the affected areas of the district have also intensified their anti-mining resistance movement. The district has deposits of crores of tonnes of high-grade iron-ore (22 crore tonnes in Surjagarh alone), to lay their hands on which tens of foreign and domestic mining companies are bribing ministers, bureaucrats, politicians and their hangers-on. It is worth noting that several iron-ore mines are in operation or in the process of coming into operation in the district, be it Surjagarh mines (Etapalli taluka) by Lloyds Metals (358 hectares), Deulgaon (Armori taluka), Tawakkal (4.52 hectares), Modern Minerals (1.62 hectares), and Kota Minerals (20 hectares). In addition, tens of mining leases have been issued for mining or in the pipelines in various taluks of the district (at least 22 projects in total) using fraudulent means and violating all constitutional and legal safeguards of the Adivasi people and forest areas (including the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution, PESA Act, Forest Rights Act, Maharashtra Gram Panchayat Act, etc.). These projects threaten to devastate the fragile ecology of the region and displace hundreds of Adivasi villages. In addition, a large number of people – predominantly Adivasi and non-Adivasi poor peasants – will suffer loss of livelihood from the forests and the pollution of rivers flowing from the hills which irrigate the agricultural land of the surrounding areas due to mining. The people fear that the coming of the mining companies will also be a threat to their distinctive tribal culture, religious beliefs and way of life.

Surjagarh Hills of Etapalli taluka in particular has become the flashpoint of the conflict between the government-mining company-contractor-politician nexus on the one hand and the people of the surrounding

villages on the other. Particularly after BJP came to power at the centre and issued an open invitation for plunder to imperialist and comprador big capitalists under the slogan of 'Make in India', Devendra Fadnavis-led BJP-Shiv Sena government in the state is doing just that through 'Make in Maharashtra'. The same policy of loot is being replicated through 'Make in Vidarbha' spearheaded by Finance Minister Sudhir Mungantiwar and 'Make in Gadchiroli' scheme under Gadchiroli MLA Ambarish Rao. The people too are gearing up for battle have recently formed Surjagarh Paramparik Ilaka Ghotul Samiti representing 70 affected villages to defend the abode of the reigning Maria Gond deity of Surjagarh hills Thakurdeo. They have declared that "we will give our lives but not our land" and demanding a closure of all destructive mining activities in Etapalli tehsil. They have exposed and rejected the false claims made by the government, ruling-class politicians, the mining companies and their agents that mines will bring development to the region and generate jobs (Lloyd tried to entice the people of Surjagarh with the promise of 10,000 jobs if they allowed its mines to become fully operational!). The agitating people of the area have contended that the mines, if allowed to go ahead, will not only affect them materially but will also deal a heavy blow spiritually, as these hills are home to their deities. Almost all of the 70 affected villages of Surjagarh have passed resolutions through their Gram Sabhas opposing mining. They are remembering the historic struggles fought by the people of the district against feudal and colonial rulers including the uprising led by martyr Baburao Sadmek against the British government to draw inspiration for their anti-mining struggle.

But instead of respecting its own laws or the overwhelming opinion of the people, the central and state government have stepped up their efforts to begin mining in Surjagarh and other parts of Gadchiroli at gunpoint. In this way they are proving their loyalty to the comprador big capitalists and working as their agents. Though sustained anti-mining resistance forced the closure of the Surjagarh mines in the middle of 2016, by November, Lloyd started extraction and transport of iron-

ore from Surjagarh hills under the protection of paramilitary and police forces specially deployed for this purpose. Therefore, carrying out the people's mandate and fulfilling their demand of closing down mining in Surjagarh Hills, PLGA carried out an armed action on the mining operations of Lloyds Steel with the active participation of hundreds of residents in December.

### **People of Niyamgiri destroy community hall protesting against road construction**

Hundreds of Kuvi Adivasi villagers of Niyamgiri Hills destroyed a Community Hall run by Odisha government's Dongria Kondha Development Agency (DKDA) at Parshalli of Kalyansinghpur Block in Rayagada district. They made a bonfire out of the furniture, goods and other office material. This militant protest was organised by Niyamgiri Suraksha Samiti which is leading the anti-mining struggle at Niyamgiri against the encroachment of multinational giant Vedanta Corporation in league with the central and state governments. The objective of the protest was to demand a stop to the construction of a metalled road on the hill and the closure of a police camp at Parshalli. Led by the Convenor of the organisation Ladda Sikaka, the protestors also held a mass meeting near the Panchayat Bhavan to highlight their demands. Ladda Sikaka, addressing the mass meeting, declared, "We don't want pucca roads in Niyamgiri Hill. Instead we want irrigation facilities, free houses and other welfare schemes in our area".

The people of Niyamgiri had been opposing the forcible construction of a five kilometre long all-weather road by the Integrated Tribal Development Authority (ITDA) from Parshalli to Gumma in Niyamgiri Hill area by deploying a large number of police and paramilitary personnel. The Community Hall was used by these government forces and the construction company as a temporary camp. Due to the onset of monsoon, the construction work was



*Protestors destroy a Community Hall at Parshalli of Kalyansinghpur Block, Rayagada district, Odisha*

suspended for a month and the forces too had temporarily withdrawn, after locking up the Community Hall. The Adivasi villagers of Niyamgiri are agitated that the government has been carrying on with the construction of the road by completely ignoring their objections in order to set up more police camps in the interiors of the hills to facilitate mining. Instead of paying heed to the voice of the people and their militant protest, however, government officials have threatened punitive action against the protestors who had “indulged in vandalism”. The foolhardiness of the government in carrying on with the road construction is therefore only strengthening the people’s resolve to resist it by all means.

### **Anti-displacement struggle of the people of Satkosia forest**

The forest department of Odisha government has intensified in the last one year its efforts to evict the villages within the Satkosia Wildlife Sanctuary in the name of wildlife protection. This has given rise to

widespread resentment among the people who have been living in Satkosia forest for generations and were highly dependent on it for their livelihood. They opposed the eviction drive by declaring that the forest was the sacred land of their forefathers and ancestral spirits and so they would not move out from there. The government has refused to pay any heed to the people’s demand and instead threatened to stop all public funds and welfare programmes to the area and even use the police to forcibly evict them. The forest department has put up new check posts on the roads which further fuelled their anger and opposition. The villagers are carrying out agitations and protests in different forms against their displacement. The people have also shared their woes with the Maoist Party which has supported the just demands of the people. As a part of this struggle, PLGA and the masses destroyed a Range Office and four to five check posts of the forest department on 7 July. This action has temporarily put a stop to the harassment and pressure tactics of the forest department and gave some respite to the people.

## **Dana Majhi's plight symbolises the government's attitude towards the Adivasis**

The image of Dana Majhi carrying the body of his dead wife on his shoulders followed by his teenage daughter close on heels on 23 August once again exposed the government's lack of even the minimum consideration towards the poor of the country and the Adivasis in particular. Dana Majhi was a poor Adivasi peasant of Melghar village in Kalahandi district of Odisha who had admitted his ailing wife in the civil hospital in Bhawanipatna, the district headquarters. But as is the daily experience of thousands upon thousands of poor families in country who lose their kith and kin due to lack of adequate healthcare, she too passed away without proper medical attention. Dana Majhi requested the hospital for an ambulance to carry his wife's body back to his village nearly fifteen kilometers away, but he was flatly refused. He was too poor to hire a private vehicle. So he had no other way but to wrap the dead body in clothes, lift the corpse on his shoulders and start walking towards his village.

A local journalist who witnessed Dana Majhi with the body of his wife took photos of the scene and shared it on social media which immediately created a huge uproar of protest. Facing sharp criticism and coming under fire, the hospital authorities rushed an ambulance which picked up Dana Majhi on the way. By then he had already crossed almost half the way, carrying the dead body over seven to eight kilometers. But by that time, the incident became widely known due to the social media and the mainstream corporate media too carried it prominently. Faced with a barrage of criticism, Odisha government and the central government announced monetary compensation and a number of welfare measures for Dana Majhi and his family, but not before exposing the reality of the lives that



the vast majority of the country's poor are forced to live. The total absence of even the minimum human dignity for the poor, the Adivasis and Dalits – i.e., all the toilers in the existing system, let alone basic necessities like healthcare, was once again starkly revealed. Even in a country like India where cruel violation of human dignity – particularly when it comes to the poor and the oppressed – is considered to be routine and usual, this incident drew widespread indignation and protest of the people towards the government machinery. In fact, Dana Majhi's experience is only the tip of the iceberg - millions of the oppressed people in the country go through such harrowing experience. With the phased privatisation of healthcare under imperialist diktats, such incidents will multiply throughout the country in the coming years. Only a revolutionary transformation of the society can liberate the people from this daily humiliation.

## **People of Odisha oppose Chhattisgarh government's refusal to release a fair share of Mahanadi water**

The people of Odisha, particularly the peasants of its western districts along the Mahanadi River such as Jharsuguda, Sambalpur, Bargarh, Bolangir, Subarnapur, Boudh, Angul, Nayagarh, Cuttack, Kendrapara, Jagatsinghpur, etc. have protested this summer against Chhattisgarh government's refusal to release adequate amount of Mahanadi waters to lower riparian Odisha. This has created serious problems for the peasants of western Odisha who greatly depend on irrigation water from the Hirakud dam in addition to the monsoon for agriculture. Due to this decision by the Raman Singh government, the water level at the Hirakud reservoir is going down gradually, leading to scarcity of water, particularly in a year like this when there has been a significant shortfall in the monsoon. Chhattisgarh government has admitted that it plans to construct a total of 160 small and big dams across Mahanadi and its tributaries. The peasants of western Odisha are worried that after all the proposed or under-construction dams, barrages and irrigation projects on the Mahanadi in Chhattisgarh (many of which are being constructed without taking permission from the Central Water Commission or violating water-sharing agreements) are made fully operational, nearly two lakh hectares of agricultural land will be adversely hit in the four districts of Sambalpur, Bolangir, Bargarh and Subarnapur alone. It will also affect thousands of Odisha fishermen who depend on Mahanadi for their livelihood. They assert that Mahanadi is the lifeline of Odisha and closely linked to the culture of its people. So its water must be used first and foremost for meeting the needs of the peasants for irrigation and the people for drinking water, they demand. They accused the central government, state governments of Odisha and Chhattisgarh as well as all the parliamentary parties for working as agents of big capitalists and failing to defend the interests of the peasants and the people.

Not surprisingly, without depending on the governments and parliamentary parties to resolve the issue, various peasants' organisations representing lakhs of peasants have begun a movement to oppose Chhattisgarh government's plans to steal water from them and give it to big industries. They are getting mobilised under the banner of 'Paschima Odisha Krushak Sangathan Samanwaya Samiti' (Western Odisha Coordination Committee of Peasants' Organisations) to coordinate and jointly lead this struggle, the same front which led the struggle between 2006 and 2008 against the diversion of water from Hirakud dam to large industrial units by depriving the peasants. As the peasants took to the streets demanding the release of water, Odisha government took up the issue with its neighbouring government, asking it to remove the dams, weirs and barrages across Mahanadi in Chhattisgarh that are used to divert its water. Raman Singh government snubbed this demands by claiming that his state was using only a fraction of the water it contributes to Mahanadi (Chhattisgarh contributes 86% of Mahanadi's water and uses 20% of it). 53.90% of the drainage area of Mahanadi and its tributaries is in Chhattisgarh, 45.73% in Odisha and 0.35% in other states. Likewise, out of the 82,432 sq. Km. total catchment area of this river system, 71,424 sq. Km. is in Chhattisgarh). The BJP government pointed out that the state contributes 35,308 MCM out of 40,773 MCM of Mahanadi's water that reaches Hirakud dam, whereas it uses only 9,000 MCM water from the river.

The eagerness of Raman Singh government to extract more water from Mahanadi by depriving the peasants of Odisha, however, is not motivated by the wish to provide irrigation water to the vast peasant masses of the state, but for the benefit of big capitalists who need assured water supply for their industries. The peasants of the state are reeling under a number of serious problems

that have pushed them towards a severe crisis, not the least of which is the lack of regular irrigation, resulting in the near-complete dependence on monsoon. Even after 16 years of the formation of Chhattisgarh state, the successive governments by BJP and Congress have taken no serious step to provide canal irrigation to the vast majority of its peasants.

Chhattisgarh is not diverting the water of inter-state rivers to supply to big industries not only in the case of Mahanadi, but also of other major rivers like Sabari that flows down to Odisha. The latter has demanded the details related to the amount of water supplied to the mining companies of Bastar by Chhattisgarh government, particularly to various steel processing plants by companies like NMDC, Tata and Essar, number of weirs, barrages, etc. to divert water for this purpose, etc. It also complained that Chhattisgarh government is not revealing the amount of water from inter-state rivers that is being supplied to the industries in Chhattisgarh. So the claim by the BJP and its government as well as other ruling-class parties that the state needs more water for its people is a white lie. Had that really been the case, there would have been very little ground for protest by the peasants of Odisha who can well understand the need of water for their Chhattisgarh counterparts. But the plans by BJP government of Chhattisgarh to deprive water from the peasants of both the states to gratify the big capitalists must be opposed by the people of the two states as well as the country's democratic forces.

### **Villagers rise up against mining of Kodinga Mali**

Adivasi villagers of Laxmipur block in Koraput district of Odisha declared that they will not allow the destruction of Kodinga Mali due to the proposed bauxite mining by Odisha Mining Corporation (OMC). Media reports have revealed that Kodinga Mali has been reserved for OMC and would be leased out for the extraction of bauxite by private companies through auction. The raw material thus extracted will be transported to Vedanta's bauxite processing plant at Lanjigarh at the foot

of Niyamgiri in Kalahandi district. The villagers are up in arms against the proposed project as it is the only source of livelihood for adjacent villages and perennial streams that irrigate their agricultural land flows out of this hill. Earlier, Aditya Birla Company tried to mine bauxite in the area and even acquire land in the nearby Biriguda and Bhalujodi villages to set up a plant. But it has failed to start construction due to the opposition of the masses who are demanding that the land forcibly acquired from them by the company with the collusion of the central and state governments be restored to them. They are determined to save Kodinga Mali from the mining sharks at any cost and have braced up for a long-drawn battle.

### **Return of land to the Singur peasants: victory in political struggle ensures legal victory**

After a decade of political and legal battle, Singur peasants are going to get back their agricultural land which was forcibly acquired from them by the erstwhile Left-front government of West Bengal to hand it over to the Tata Motors for a Nano car factory in 2006. Supreme Court in its final verdict on the case on 31 August 2016 declared the land acquisition process to be "bad in law" (illegal) for its "procedural lapses" and directed the Bengal government to return the 997.11 acres of land acquired from the peasants to their owners within 10 weeks. It also clarified that the peasants will not have to return the compensation they have been receiving from the government for their loss. The two-judge bench also rejected the plea made by the Tatas to refer the case to a five-judge constitution bench for further hearing, effectively closing the legal battle. Earlier, Calcutta High Court had upheld the land acquisition process which was challenged in the Supreme Court by the peasants and several organisations. This is one more victory of the political struggle of Singur's peasant masses.

Nevertheless, the legal battle over the Singur Act passed by West Bengal Assembly under the aegis of the CPI(M) government is still going on, and the rights of the landless

agricultural labourers and poor peasants of Singur who played a most crucial role in the victory of the struggle is yet to be established. Obviously, this verdict signals the solution of the most immediate problem of the Singur peasants and marks an end to only a phase in

their struggle. It will require a protracted struggle as a part of the country's armed agrarian revolutionary movement for a permanent and lasting solution to the problems besetting the peasants of Singur, Bengal and the country.

## **Dalits affirm their right to land**

### **Ongoing land struggle by Dalits in Malwa region of Punjab**

The ongoing land struggle in Punjab once again reveals the condition and potential of the Dalits in the semi-feudal, semi-colonial India. On 24 May, 2016 the Dalits of Baladkalam of Bhavanigarh in Sangrur district held rasta roko opposing the misappropriation of the police and government officers in auctioning the Panchayat lands and the collaboration of the 'Upper' caste people in this. The police severely lathi-charged the struggling Dalit peasants. Many activists were injured and many arrested. Many women too faced the police wrath. The police dragged and severely beat two girls who were going to the coaching centre. While this came into focus with the fact finding visit of democratic organisations on 28 May, the struggle has been going on for quite some time. Let us go into the details of the struggle in which women and students too have a considerable role.

There are two kinds of collective land in the villages of this part of Punjab, namely government and panchayat land. The lands of those who went to Pakistan after the Partition, the lands left after distributing to those who came from Punjab of the present Pakistan, the lands of those who died without heirs fall under government lands. Every village panchayat has certain land for collective use. An auction is held for the Panchayat lands every year. The 1961 Punjab Village Land Regulation Act which provided thirty per cent of the collective agricultural land to Dalits is not implemented and the Dalits are deprived of land. In fact, the Dalits were allotted 56,000 acres of land in the state according to activist and Punjabi poet Sukhvinder Singh. "They own not a single inch of land", he says. The landlords and rich

peasants seize them in the auction in the name of proxy Dalit peasants. This issue was raging for quite sometime. Now Dalits are organized in struggle and achieved land in many villages. They took up collective farming in these lands.

#### **The beginning**

In 2008, the Dalit peasants of Banara village seriously challenged the seizure of the lands reserved for them by the landlords by fraud with the collaboration of the government officers. Under the leadership of Kranthikari Mazdoor Union (Revolutionary Worker's Union), 250 Dalit families were organized. The Dalits came to realize their united strength and the exploitation of the Jat landlords. In the ensuing struggle the Dalits achieved collective land pattas for the thirty per cent of the Panchayat land. This amounts to nine acres. This land turned out to be a source of livelihood for the Dalits. They had collective ownership in which there was collective labor and equal distribution. But this land was not enough to grow food crops. So they decided to grow other crops like Chari and Barsim for cattle fodder.

An interesting fact lies behind the decision to grow these crops. Because of the mechanization in agriculture in Punjab there is very little fodder for the cattle. It is limited to the banks of canals and the partitions between the lands. Since the Dalits lacked land the Dalit women had to go to the lands of the Upper Castes for grass. They are humiliated and assaulted in the process. Now that they owned land they are trying to grow crops for cattle fodder apart from the food crops.

A Committee of eleven persons looks after the production and distribution. Five years after the struggle started in Banara it spread to the whole region of Malwa. The struggle created tremors among the landlords and the government officials supporting them.

### **Sekha: The next stage**

In 2014, a similar struggle broke out in Sekha village of Barnala district. Inspired by the Banara struggle a few students from Punjab Student's Union (PSU) searched the government records and found out the share of the Dalits in the Panchayat lands of Banara village. They organized the Dalits, who never got the reserved lands. In the leadership of the students they took up dharna, demonstration, gheroa and other such forms of struggle in front of the government offices and achieved success. They too decided to take up collective agriculture and grow the other crops like the Dalits of Banara. Now they need not have to go to faraway places for livelihood. The women need not face humiliation in the hands of the landlords while going for labor. The success of the struggle led the Dalits of other villages go to the students for guidance. After long discussions, a Committee for land struggle

was formed to give an organized form for the struggle and for coordination with other struggles. Now there are land struggles in the leadership of this Committee in hundreds of villages in the districts of Sangrur, Mansa, Patiala, Jalandhar and Ludhiana of Malwa region. There are signs of such struggles in Doaba region too.

The struggle in Baladkalam needs special mention. There are 375 acres of land not being tilled in this area. Out of this the Dalits had a share of 125 acres. The struggle started in April 2014. They acquired land in common auction and started collective agriculture. Here too they formed a committee of eleven persons to look after production and distribution. They reserve certain amount of the crop for the next auction and distribute it among the families. They grew food crops in some land and the other crops to a certain extent. The landlords could not tolerate the assertion of the Dalits who until then lived under their domination. They are conspiring to seize the lands. But the Dalits have stood firm on their lands. Baladkalam became a model for the Dalits of the whole state. Hundreds of villages are coming forward in the land struggle breaking the age-old caste polarization, turning it into a widespread mass struggle.

## **10 फरवरी, 2017 महान भूमिकाल दिवस के अवसर पर जनता ना सरकार स्थापना दिवस को गांव-गांव में जोर-शोर से मनाएंगे!**

- जनयुद्ध को तेज करके ऑपरेशन ग्रीनहंट को हराएंगे!
- जनता ना सरकारों को मजबूत करेंगे व उनका विस्तार करेंगे!
- उत्पादन को बढ़ाने के लक्ष्य से भूमि समतलीकरण, मेढ़ निर्माण, तालाब व नहर निर्माण अभियान को सफल बनाएंगे!
- जल-जंगल-जमीन-इज्जत-अधिकार, अस्तित्व, अस्मिता व आत्मसम्मान के लिए समझौताविहीन संघर्ष करेंगे!

**क्रांतिकारी जनता ना सरकार**

## **Kashmir erupts once again in mass uprising! Valley reverberates with the demand for Azadi!**

The kind of fascist state repression undergone by the Kashmiri nation has few parallels in the world today, and so is their sustained struggle for Azadi – i.e., the right to self-determination including secession from India. Ever since Indian ruling classes subjugated Kashmir through military force in 1947, the aspiration of the Kashmiri people for political independence has been expressed in their powerful national liberation movement that has refused to die down in so many decades, now smouldering and now flaring up in widespread conflagrations at regular intervals. The movement entered a new and higher stage with the initiation of armed struggle against the occupying Indian armed forces in the late 1980s. The deeply-felt indignation of the Kashmiris at the execution of Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) founder Maqbool Butt proved to be the tipping point directing the movement decisively and irrevocably along the path of armed resistance. It is true that the leadership of this guerrilla war have undergone some significant changes in the last 27 years. For instance, leadership of the relatively secular JKLF with its emphasis on the national liberation war for achieving self-determination

giving way to that of Hizb-ul Mujahideen (HM), Jaish-e-Mohammad (J-e-M), Lashkar-e-Taiyyabah (L-e-T) and other organisations (and their collective leadership to the movement through United Jihad Council) with their emphasis on Jihad (holy war) with the objective of establishing an Islamic state governed according to the Shariat (Islamic law).

Even with such outward changes in the ideological and political complexion of the movement, however, it in essence has remained a national democratic movement of all the oppressed classes of Kashmiri society under the leadership of its national bourgeoisie. The class interests of the Kashmiri national bourgeoisie drive it to not only support the national liberation movement but to give it leadership, since the conditions for its free and full development can only be created in a free and independent Kashmir. The Kashmiri bourgeoisie is therefore leading the popular classes of workers, peasants and the petty bourgeoisie in the struggle against the reactionary rule and domination of the comprador big bourgeoisie and big landlords of India serving imperialism. This makes the



*'Leader of Resistance': Masses gather at the funeral procession of Kashmiri freedom fighter Burhan Wani*

Kashmiri bourgeoisie play a progressive, democratic and revolutionary role in national liberation movement, provides it vitality and strength, and ensures it a mass character.

This was once again demonstrated in the popular upsurge in protest against the execution of popular HM commander 22-year old Burhan Wani at Kokarnag in Tral of south Kashmir by the Indian Army on 8 August (his two brothers were brutally murdered by the Indian Army earlier) along with two of his co-fighters (all three were unarmed when killed in a fake encounter). Beginning with the militant funeral procession of Wani, the people of Kashmir carried out an unprecedented mass agitation demanding an end to Indian occupation and Azadi (i.e., independence) for Kashmir. To crush it, the entire leadership of the mass movement was sent to jail or house-arrested, curfew was imposed for months at end, close to a hundred protestors were shot dead, thousands were injured by bullets and pellet guns, no less than two hundred people lost eyesight due to pellet injuries, hundreds were imprisoned, internet was downed and the press was suppressed, and a fascist reign of state terror was established under the jackboots of the Indian Army. All this, however, failed to crush the indomitable fighting spirit of the Kashmiri people, particularly its youths, and their aspiration for Azadi. If anything, this



fresh wave of repression has increased their hatred for the Indian government, tempered their resolve and propelled the movement to a new height. New forms of struggle emerged during this period of intense struggle such as mass attack on police stations and seizure of arms by the people, physical punishment of notorious policemen and state agents by the masses, etc. It strengthened the ongoing armed liberation struggle ideologically, politically and organisationally, not the least by upholding a martyred guerrilla leader as a national hero whom the Indian ruling classes and their lackeys are so desperate to paint as a 'terrorist' before the people of India. The near-total





*Wrath of the masses: Remains of Damal Hanjipora Police Station in south Kashmir burnt down by a gathering of over ten thousand people. This is one of over fifty government buildings razed to the ground by the masses in the first two months of the July 2016 movement. Policemen became so scared of mass anger that they stopped appearing in public with their uniform!*

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participation of the Kashmiri masses in the agitation in various forms has totally delegitimised the 'elected' stooges of PDP-BJP government and once again exposed the truth about Indian state's forcible occupation of Kashmir internationally. The agitation and its brutal repression has opened the eyes of an increasing number of Indians towards the dictatorial character of the Indian state and drew support from a significant minority of the country's democratic forces (though very few have dared to openly support their democratic right to self-determination, including secession from India).

CPI(Maoist), by firmly adhering to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and following the footsteps of its founder leaders

comrades Charu Majumdar and Kanhai Chatterjee, has unequivocally upheld the right to self-determination of the oppressed nationalities like Kashmir including its right to secession from the oppressor country. Like in the past, the vanguard party of the Indian proletariat has hailed and extended firm support to this fresh upsurge in the national liberation struggle on behalf of the country's toiling masses. It believes that the people of India, Kashmir and other oppressed nationalities will ultimately emerge victorious in the struggle against the reactionary Indian ruling classes and their imperialist backers to win freedom from all forms of exploitation and oppression.

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legal and parliamentary struggles alone, those who believe that a few reforms within the existing system like the scrapping of a law or two and the promulgation of a few others can meet the aspirations of the people. It has also revealed the limits of individual struggles and

the strength of mass movements (both armed and unarmed) in bringing the largest possible number of people into the political arena and ensuring the cause of the oppressed. Irom Sharmila will remain a negative teacher for all who seek basic social change.

## **The people of Manipur reject Irom Sharmila's foray into parliamentary politics, vows to continue the struggle**

The brutalities committed by the Indian armed forces in Manipur prompted Irom Sharmila Chanu to begin her indefinite hunger strike nearly sixteen years back in November 2000 demanding the scrapping of Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) (1958). It is one of the legal instruments to shield the Indian armed forces engaged in suppressing the armed national liberation movements of the Northeast and Kashmir from prosecution in the civil courts. Indian occupation forces have been committing any and every kind of crime and abuse imaginable against the people of these nationalities under the garb of maintaining 'national security' and 'integrity', aware that they enjoy the full immunity from the law.

The enforcement of such fascist laws is not only a complete negation of the rights of the oppressed nationalities but is also an affront to the democratic spirit of the oppressed people of India. Laws like AFSPA are a living indictment of the biggest lie that India is the biggest democracy in the world. Therefore, while the fight for the repeal of AFSPA and similar draconian laws (UAPA, NSA, DAA, etc.) by the people of the oppressed nationalities is an inseparable part of their national liberation movements, for the people of the oppressor country India it is a part of their struggle to establish a genuinely democratic country that will eliminate all forms of national oppression and ensure the real equality of nations. It is this shared democratic ideals that have urged the people of the oppressed nationalities and the Indian people to support Irom Sharmila's struggle against AFSPA. Even the revolutionary forces which have had no doubt about the futility of exclusively peaceful and 'Gandhian' methods of struggle against the Indian ruling classes extended support to Irom Sharmil all these years for the justness of her cause.

Naturally, Irom Sharmila's decision to withdraw her hunger strike unto death, and more than that, to form an electoral party

participate in the Indian parliamentary system, which has little legitimacy in the eyes of the fighting masses, has drawn widespread condemnation and opposition from the people of Manipur. The people felt let down and betrayed by her after so many years of struggle. In fact, it was not the Indian government but the people of Manipur who had kept her alive all these years. The government was too scared of a popular backlash to let her die and was forced to force-feed her to prevent her death. Without the mass support for her struggle, the government would not have bothered about her death even a wee bit. By going against the wishes of the people of Manipur and choosing to participate in the same ruling power which has been the cause of so much oppression, humiliation and suffering for the people, she transformed overnight from a symbol of struggle to a symbol of capitulation and betrayal. So strong and total was the indignation of the people that they did not allow her to address a press meet after breaking her hunger strike. Even her mother, who did not see her for the last sixteen years, refused to meet and welcome her. Prevented from entering her house by her own mother, she sought shelter with other people but they too refused. Taught a lesson in this way by the people, she returned to the government hospital which was her home for the last sixteen years and pleaded with the authorities to accommodate her!

This episode is a clear example of the adage that the masses are the real heroes. They can elevate someone who faithfully represents their aspirations and interests to the position of leadership, but who will not hesitate to bring him or her to the ground and teach a lesson or two when they go against their interests and betray them. The ignominious end to Irom Sharmila's struggle is not the defeat of the freedom-loving people of Manipur but of those who consider the so-called peaceful and 'Gandhian' path as the only legitimate path of struggle, who want to confine the masses to

*continued on p.141*

## **Intensify the campaign for the release of senior Maoist political prisoner Comrade K Muralidharan**

Comrade K Muralidharan (also known by his penname Ajith), a senior Maoist activist who has been incarcerated in Yerawada High Security Central Jail in Pune since his arrest in May 2015 on fabricated cases under the draconian UAPA, was admitted to hospital on 4 September this year after his health further deteriorated. He has been a patient of cardiac-related ailments and went through a bypass surgery a few years back. It was in the process of recuperating in a suburban town of Pune, during which he was also preparing a new edition of his book *Bhumi, Jati, Bandhanam (Land, Caste and Servitude)* that he was arrested by the police along with another comrade who was nursing and assisting him. The government threw him behind bars with full awareness that this would disrupt his recuperation, halt the continuous monitoring of his health and deprive him of the much-needed constant medical attention, effectively endangering his life. Such is the fear of the government from this 62-year old ailing Maoist activist that he has been produced in an open court only once in the last 15 months of his incarceration!

The apprehension expressed by the revolutionary and democratic organisations, civil rights organisations and democrats at the time of Comrade Muralidharan's arrest that the government is putting his life at risk has been borne out by the fact that his health has been going through a steady decline in jail, leading to his hospitalisation. But even before he could be attended to by the doctors by admitting him for the required length of time, he was again brought back to the jail on 6 September and locked up. The government's complete disregard for his health and its long record of deliberately pushing senior Maoist activists in custody to death by depriving them of medical care has made democratic and civil rights organisations to raise an alarm. Concerned by his critical health condition, a number of well-known intellectuals in the country and abroad have join their voice with the democratic organisations to demand Comrade Muralidharan's immediate release. They include professors Noam Chomsky, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Partha Chatterjee, Judith Butler and several other public intellectuals. MIB strongly condemns the central and state government's conspiracy to keep Comrade Muralidharan incarcerated indefinitely on baseless charges and even to kill him by depriving him of urgently-needed hospitalisation. We call upon the country's revolutionary and democratic forces and the friends of Indian revolution to step-up the mobilisation campaign to force the Indian government to release him without any further delay so that he can avail the best possible medical attention.

## **Custodial deaths caused by police torture on the rise in the country**

According to a recent report issued by the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), the number of killings during judicial and police custody in the country has been on the rise in the last few years. Similarly, complaints of physical and mental torture of prisoners and detainees by the police have also been going up. In 2016, 88 prisoners were killed in custody, while 293 cases have been filed reporting their physical and mental torture. According to NHRC data, which must be taken with a pinch of salt as the government agencies invariably under-report such complaints, 140 persons died in custody in 2013, 130 in 2014 and 153 in 2015. 431 cases of beating up and physical assault were registered in 2013-14, which has risen to 493 in 2015-16. Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat are among the states where the largest number of custodial deaths has been reported. On the other hand, prisoners suffer the largest number of physical assaults in the jails of Delhi, UP and Haryana. This year, 14 persons died in custody in Maharashtra, while eight each died in Gujarat and Assam. In UP, 154 instances of beating up have been registered. The fact that the number of custodial deaths, torture and assault are increasing year by year shows the impunity enjoyed by the Khaki goons in the name of 'upholding the law', who are in reality the biggest violators of the law.

Only a fraction of these incidents ever get reported or FIRs are registered properly and fair investigation carried out into these incidents. Very few police officers and jawans ever get punished for the barbaric and even murderous assault on defenceless detainees and prisoners. With the inherent class, caste and religious bias of the police forces in the country, it is often the poor and the oppressed sections and communities of the society are subjected to police brutalities while the rich and the powerful enjoy royal treatment in custody or in jail. It cannot be expected that the Indian courts, jails, police forces and other organs of the state will lose any of their repressive

character or the number of such incidents will come down in the future, even with paltry 'reforms' and measures for their 'democratisation' as suggested by some people. Particularly at a time when the people's revolutionary and democratic movements against the Indian state is growing more intense to bet back the political ascendancy of the Brahmanical Hindu-fascist BJP and other Sangh Parivar outfits as the most rabid and reactionary representative of the Indian ruling classes, all forms of state repression including custodial killings and torture are bound to grow. It is the responsibility of the country's revolutionary and democratic forces to oppose each and every such instance of state terror so as to strengthen the overthrow of this hated regime that makes these brutalities a daily experience of the oppressed masses.

## **Indian jails hell-holes for the inmates**

On 13 October, the Supreme Court expressed its "distress" at the repeated flouting of its directives by the governments of various States and Union Territories including Delhi to decongest their overcrowded jails. It was also constrained to remind the governments that the undertrials and convicts too have "certain fundamental rights and human rights", which have been routinely and contemptuously violated by the jail authorities and the police. Blaming the central government for paying "little or no attention" to the fundamental rights of under trials and convicts, the Supreme Court said it is "not only tragic but also pathetic" to find that prisons in the capital city, along with half a dozen States across the country, are overcrowded by over 150 per cent. A Bench led by Justice Madan B Lokur, in a judgement on a *suo motu* Public Interest Litigation (PIL), observed that prisons are crammed with inmates by over one and a half times the permissible limit. "Fundamental rights and human rights of people, however they may be placed, cannot be ignored only because of their adverse circumstances", the judgment observed. The judgment refers to jails in Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Assam, Chhattisgarh,

Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan in this context, while observing that it was “unfortunate that in spite of directions by the Court, the prison authorities have not been able to take any effective steps for reducing overcrowding in jails”. The court found that authorities have defied repeated orders of the Supreme Court – the latest ones being on February 7 and May 5 of this year – to draw a “viable” plan of action to de-congest jails. Instead, prison authorities have banked on ad hoc proposals like the construction of additional barracks or jails, and these proposals have no time limits for implementation. It ordered the Ministry of Home Affairs to receive and collate plans of action for decongesting jails from the various States and Union Territories in the next six months. Moreover, the SC directed the government to prepare a viable Plan of Action within the next six months and hand it over to the apex court by March 31, 2017. “We are a little distressed to note that even though this Court has held on several occasions that prisoners, both undertrials and convicts, have certain fundamental rights and human rights, little or no attention is being paid in this regard by the States and some Union Territories, including the National Capital Territory of Delhi,” the judgment observed.

This admission of this “little distress” by the Supreme Court is a glaring testimony to the fact that when it comes to defending the fundamental rights of the prison inmates in general and political prisoners in particular, even the so-called highest court of the country appears pathetically powerless. More than anything, the above lamentations of the Supreme Court shows its utter helplessness in forcing the governments to respect even the basic rights of the prisoners, let alone providing the conditions for a humane and dignified life, an impossibility given the overcrowded condition of Indian jails. According to the National Crimes Records Bureau, there were 1,387 functional jails in India with a capacity of 3,56,561 inmates as of 31 December 2014, but the actual occupancy on that day was 4,18,536 – 150% above capacity. Chhattisgarh has the highest rate of overcrowding, followed by Arunachal

Pradesh, UP, Meghalaya and Punjab. Over 67% of the inmates are undertrials – the majority of whom are eligible for bail but are unable to procure due to various reasons – while less than 32% are convicts. With increasing assault on the people and their revolutionary and democratic movements by the governments across the country, it is unlikely that the overcrowding of jails will come down in the future, the pleadings of a toothless Supreme Court notwithstanding. If at all, prison conditions are only going to deteriorate much further in the absence of powerful struggles inside and outside the jails to force the governments to respect the basic democratic rights of the prisoners and uphold the so-called rule of law.

### **Oppose the death penalty and life sentence to the Senari case accused**

Upper District and Sessions judge Ranjit Kumar Singh pronounced the quantum of punishment in a packed courtroom on 15 November 2016 to 15 accused it had declared guilty of involvement in the Senari killings in Jehanabad district of Bihar 17 years back. 10 accused have been given the maximum possible punishment of death penalty, while three have been handed down life imprisonment. The accused facing death penalty are Bachesh Kumar Singh, Satyendra Das, Lallan Pasi, Dwarika Paswan, Kariman Paswan, Gorai Paswan, Uma Paswan (all from Kurmama village), Gopal Sau, Budhan Yadav (Senari) and Butai Yadav (Mahadev Bigaha), while Vinay Paswan, Arvind Yadav and Mungeswar Yadav (all from Dhibra) are facing life terms. The punishments were made under Sections 302/149, 307/149 of the IPC, 27 of Arms Act and 3/4 of Explosive Substance Act. In addition, the judge has also imposed a fine of one lakh rupees each on the accused. The court had already pronounced in its judgment on 27 October the 15 accused guilty of involvement in the killing of 34 persons aligned with ‘upper’ caste landlords in Sinari village on 18 March 1999. Of the 38 accused, 23 were acquitted after long years of



*Travesty of justice: Some of the Senari political prisoners while taken to the court, Jehanabad, Bihar*

imprisonment in the absence of proof, while two others who have also been convicted are 'at large'. The court directed the state government to pay five lakh rupees each to the relatives of the killed and one lakh to each of the seven injured in the Senari incident.

The Senari incident was the result of an act of self-defensive armed action carried out by the oppressed masses under the leadership of the Maoist Party and with the aid of the people's guerrilla forces. The vast rural masses of Bihar were reeling under the unbearable suppression and terror of the feudal landlords and the state machinery after they started to get mobilised in the armed agrarian revolutionary struggle to fight for land, dignity and political power by challenging feudal and state authority, age-old feudal exploitation, caste oppression and humiliation. The private militias (*senas* or 'armies') organised and led by the feudal forces in the 1990s with the support of the state and aided by the countrywide ascendancy of the Brahmanical Hindu fascist forces launched a brutal attack primarily on the landless labourers, poor peasants and middle peasants mostly belonging to Dalits, middle-caste Hindus and Muslims to destroy the mass base of the revolutionary movement by unleashing medieval brutality and terror. According to one estimate, dominant caste landlords and their counter-revolutionary militias perpetrated over eighty massacres, mostly in the 1990s, targeting the revolutionary masses belonging to the

oppressed castes and Muslims. Hundreds of the people, including the aged, children, women and even infants were hacked to death, burnt alive, shot dead and killed in other heinous ways, not to speak of other forms of repression like rape, arson, loot, destruction of property, social boycott, etc. against the people. The masses had no other way but to put up an armed resistance in defence of their lives, property and the revolutionary movement. Around 15 major retaliatory attacks were carried out by the oppressed masses against the landlords, their families and their hangers-on in this period. These attacks, along with the intensification of the rural class struggle under the leadership of the Maoist Party, the strengthening of the peoples' guerrilla forces, the expansion of the revolutionary movement and protests by the country's democratic forces led to the weakening, and even disbanding, of these landlord militias and a stop to their massacres. It was a significant victory of the revolutionary masses of Bihar and the revolutionary Party leading it, and a setback for the feudal forces, the ruling classes and the state.

Though they were compelled in this way to temporarily abandon one form of attack, they continued their assault on the oppressed masses by using all the instruments of the state, including the police, the judiciary and the jails. In particular, the masses and their leaders who took an active part in resisting, retaliating and defeating the landlord militias were targeted

by the police, fabricated charges were foisted on a large number of them, hundreds were arrested on serious charges and booked under draconian laws, and made to undergo long periods of incarceration during the trial period itself, which often continued for over a decade. It is often the case that they are pronounced guilty by the courts and given the strictest of punishments, including death penalty, life imprisonment, rigorous imprisonment for several years, big fines, etc. This is another form of class violence wearing the judicial robe to take revenge on the oppressed masses for daring to hold their head high in defiance of the village lords and masters, to challenge the age-old class and caste exploitation. It is for this reason that hundreds of revolutionary workers, peasants and political activists belonging to the oppressed castes, strata and communities are languishing for years in the jails of Bihar, some on death row. The thirteen falsely convicted in the Senari case – who have already spent the last seventeen years of their lives in jail – join this long list of courageous fighters who have stood firm even in the enemy's dungeons for the cause of the people and the revolution. They must not be abandoned to their fate or allowed to be judicially executed by the state of the big landlords and big capitalists. All efforts must be made and all avenues must be explored to ensure the early release of the thirteen Senari accused and other political prisoners incarcerated for their association with the anti-feudal revolutionary class struggle in Bihar.

### **Comrade Sukhlal Murmu given life sentence on fabricated charges**

District and Upper Sessions court of Dumka sentenced Comrade Sukhlal Murmu (Prabil *da*) to rigorous life imprisonment and a fine of fifty thousand rupees in a case related to the annihilation of Hanan Ansari alias Kotla Miyan under Section 302 and 149 of the IPC. In the case of non-payment of the fine, he will have to undergo an additional one year of prison life. The court has also ordered that two-thirds of the fine, if paid, should be paid to the wife of the deceased. In addition, he has

been sentenced for three years each under Section 27 of the Arms Act and Section 17 of the CLA Act. Comrade Prabil *da* is a resident of Barudih village of Giridih district in Jharkhand and has been active in revolutionary work for years. The state had filed 26 fabricated cases against Comrade Prabil *da* to make sure that he gets a long prison life, of which 20 are lodged in Dumka alone. Most of them are at various stages of the trial process. MIB appeals to the democratic and civil rights organisations to take up a campaign against the unjust sentencing and incarceration of Comrade Prabil *da* and to demand his unconditional release apart from carrying the legal battle to the higher courts.

### **Prisoner of Raipur jail carry out successful strike**

Almost all of the two thousand inmates of Raipur Central Jail started an indefinite hunger strike from the day of 'Gandhi Jayanti' on 2 October demanding the government and the jail authorities to fulfil their long-pending grievances. They placed a list of 18 demands before the jail authorities and the district administration. In an unprecedented show unity, all the prisoners and detainees of the jail including Maoist political prisoners and others joined the strike. They had already declared their intention to go on '*satyagrah*' in their letters to the Prime Minister, Chief Minister etc. last month if their demands were not addressed by 2 October. As announced, they refused to take food from that morning and sat on dharna on that day. This prison agitation in the capital city, and that too on 'Gandhi Jayanti' which is an important occasion for the government, sent ripples across the ruling circles. They continued giving slogans throughout the day and also the whole night, forcing the authorities to respond. The jail was transformed into a police camp with the deployment of over 300 jawans in anti-riot gear. Top police officials like the Director General of Police (Prisons) and Deputy Inspector General (DIG) met the agitating prisoners and requested them to withdraw the agitation. But the prisoners refused to back off without any concrete assurance on their



*Chandmuni Hansda, secretary of the revolutionary women's organisation Nari Mukti Sangh (NMS) was arrested by Jharkhand Police earlier this year on trumped-up charges. A movement has been going on under the leadership of NMS since then to demand her unconditional release and to highlight the inhuman treatment of women political prisoners by the reactionary governments. The above rally was organised by NMS with an appeal to the people to make successful the mass movement to secure the release of Chandmuni Hansda.*

demands. Unable to break up the agitation, the jail authorities transferred some of the leaders to other prisons and used other forms of coercive methods. In spite of this, the agitating inmates continued their struggle. They were successful in forcefully highlighting their demands, drawing the attention of the government and mobilising the support of a wide section of the people and their democratic organisations.

On 3 October, a team of five top police officials held a two-hour long meeting with the agitators in which they assured to fulfil some of the demands immediately. These included an improvement in the quality of food, increasing the number of prisoners on kitchen duty, distribution of sports equipment, TV and set-top box, special provision for parole, setting up of a Medical Board for overseeing health services and a canteen, and maintenance of clean and hygienic conditions in jail. But no agreement could be reached on the following important demands – release of 54 prisoners who has completed life term,

telephone booth, on lock-up and censor-free access to social media and payment of overdue wages to prisoners for their labour. It was also decided that a special team of jail officials will be formed to address the grievances of the prisoners to ensure proper food, health and hygienic conditions for the inmates. After this partial victory, the prisoners withdrew their hunger strike after 27 hours. It was the unity of all the inmates in struggle that forced an otherwise hostile jail and district administration to bow to their demands, and that too within two days of the indefinite hunger strike.

### **Brutal repression on the inmates of Jagdalpur jail for daring to protest**

Exactly a month after two thousand inmates of Raipur jail carried out their successful struggle on their demands, inmates of Jagdalpur Central Prison too

rose up against the jail authorities on similar demands on 2 November. The immediate cause of the struggle was the poor quality of food forced down on the inmates. But there were other causes that had infuriated the inmates, including the increased harassment by the jail authorities in the name of tightening security after the staged 'jail-break' and encounter of eight Muslim under-trials in Bhopal two days before on 31 October. The inmates had won the right through previous struggle to fry the food given to them once again so as to make it palatable. But after the Bhopal encounter killings, this facility was arbitrarily stopped under the pretext of heightened security. Nearly a thousand prisoners went on a spontaneous hunger strike and raised slogans against the inhuman treatment meted out to them by the government and the jail administration.

The spirit of the agitating prisoners was so high and their slogans so loud that the people outside the high walls of the jail could hear them clearly. Unwilling to listen to the just demands and appreciate the genuine causes behind the protest, the jail authorities sounded the alarm after five hours and unleashed brutal police lathi-charge on the prisoners by hundreds of police jawans. At least half a dozen inmates were seriously injured. The jail superintendent refused to accept any lapse in his duty or the charge of poor food. Instead of admitting the poor jail conditions and taking steps to redress them as per the demands of the inmates, the jail superintendent and other officials are busy using repressive measures and making allegations that a handful of under-trial prisoners are responsible for instigating the others. They are threatening of slapping additional charges on them. The government may quell the agitation of the prisoners temporarily by using brute force and violence, but this will end up deepening the indignation of the inmates towards the government, only to flare-up in future struggles.

## **Chhattisgarh Government keeping prisoners completing their life term under illegal confinement**

19,473 detainees and prisoners are being incarcerated in 30 jails of Chhattisgarh as of late 2016 according to government data. More than 200 of them who have already undergone their sentence of life term are eligible for release. But they have still been deprived of their much-awaited freedom because the government have not yet granted the permission for their release. It is to be noted that the Supreme Court has held 20 years to be the maximum period of imprisonment for life term with a provision of pardon and release after 14 years.

The government has done precious little to complete the procedural and bureaucratic formalities to make way for the release of over 200 such eligible prisoners. The reasons for this criminal failure are not difficult to seek. Since almost all the prisoners who are given life term by the Indian judicial system are from the poor and oppressed classes, sections and communities of the society, the government – no matter which party forms it – has little incentive to press for their release. It is another matter if by any chance a member of the rich and the powerful happen to be put behind bars, when the entire government machinery swings into action get that person released at the earliest and to make his or her stay in the prison as comfortable as possible.

So it took repeated prison struggles and legal battles by the prisoners for the Supreme Court to direct Chhattisgarh government for expediting the release of the 200 eligible lifers. The government, on its part has claimed late December 2016 that it has already set the paperwork for the release rolling and the prisoners will soon get the benefit. It is to be seen whether these claims and promises will materialise or further struggles by the prisoners will be required to avail their right to release.

## **Mamata Banerjee must be held accountable for Comrade Parameswar Mahato's death**

Comrade Parameswar Mahato, one of the seven political prisoners who have been serving life imprisonment for the last twelve years on a fabricated case related to the killing of a landlord in Purulia district of West Bengal in 2002, passed away in Dum Dum Jail on 5 September 2016 due to prolonged ill health. Though he had been paralysed since 2013, the Mamata Banerjee government wilfully deprived him of adequate and timely healthcare which resulted in his premature death. It is therefore TMC government in the state and the Modi government at the centre which are squarely responsible for pushing him to the jaws of certain death. The government's criminal method of killing the ailing and aged Maoist political prisoners in its jails by withholding medical treatment must be strongly condemned and opposed.

Comrade Parameswar Mahato was one of the seven Dalit and Adivasi landless agricultural labourers who were accused of being involved with the erstwhile Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) and killing a notorious landlord Jagdish Tiwari in Bansgarh village of Jhalda in Purulia district on 26 November 2002. A large number of people from neighbouring villages were booked in the FIR accusing them of involvement in the killing of the landlord, following which the West Bengal Police arbitrarily arrested eight poor peasants and landless labourers from these villages under the directions of the CPI(M)-led Left Front government. This was an act of vengeance by the landlords in cohorts with the CPI(M) local bigwigs and the police-administration to punish the rebellious peasants who had risen up against the white terror of the landlords-CPI(M)-state nexus under the leadership of the Maoist party. Since then the arrested peasants have been tried, convicted and jailed for over a decade. In May 2015, the Calcutta High Court rejected their petition challenging the lower-court verdict and confirmed the life sentence. In 2016, the Supreme Court granted bail to two of the accused but rejected the petition of the rest of

them, including that of Comrade Parameswar Mahato. Mamata Banerjee government has proven ample times since it came to power in West Bengal that in essence it is no different from the previous Left Front government led by social-fascist CPI(M) when it comes to ill-treating and violating the rights of the prisoners, particularly when it comes to political prisoners. Comrade Mahato's death after years of illness in jail – during which the government neither released him so that he could arrange proper medical care by himself nor give him effective medical attention within the jail – is the direct responsibility of Mamata Banerjee and the entire fascist gang of TMC leadership. The oppressed masses of Bengal will surely make them pay for their crimes against the people. MIB pays its humble red homage to martyred comrade Parameswar Mahato and extends condolences to his aggrieved family and friends. The movement for the release of political prisoners and all life term convicts eligible for release must be intensified so that life imprisonment does not become imprisonment until death and the dungeons of the ruling classes do not turn into the death chambers for the oppressed masses.

## **Strongly protest against the cold-blooded murder of Muslim undertrials in Bhopal**

Abdul Majid, Amjad Khan, Mohammad Aqueel Khilji, Mohammad Khalid Ahmed, Mohammad Saliq, Mujeeb Sheikh, Sheikh Mehboob and Zakir Hussain Sadiq were shot dead in cold blood by Madhya Pradesh Police near Acharpur village on the outskirts of Bhopal in the morning of 31 October 2016. To cover up this premeditated and planned execution of eight innocent Muslim undertrials in custody of the state, the entire government and police administration from the local and provincial up to the central level, the entire state machinery raised a cacophony of 'terrorists' being shot down in an 'encounter' with the police. The fact that all of them were undertrials, that the court did not proclaim them guilty, and that on that basis alone they were to be considered innocent until held guilty by a court, was conveniently



*In cold blood: Eight SIMI undertrials lodged in Bhopal Central Jail who were shot dead in a staged encounter*

shouted down by the white lies of the government and police officials, amplified a hundred times by ear-piercing howling of the corporate media about fighting ‘Islamic terrorism’ and ‘Islamic radicalism’. Each and every inconvenient truth related to the mowing down of eight unarmed and cornered Muslim youths was turned upside down or brushed under the carpet. In its place was erected cock-and-bull story which had no legs to stand on and no basis to support itself; a hastily-concocted story which no one except the lackeys of the government and the Sangh could believe.

All the eight Muslim undertrials belonged to poor working class and lower middle class families. Amjad Khan was a wage labourer in Khandwa of Madhya Pradesh and later worked as a driver in Bhopal, while Sheikh Mehboob was a tailor in Khandwa. Five of the undertrials were from Khandwa alone, while one each from Ujjain (MP), Ahmadabad (Gujarat) and Sholapur (Maharashtra). At least one of them was arrested as far back as in 2001 when the BJP-led NDA government banned the fighting organisation of the Muslim community the Students’ Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) and unleashed a countrywide fascist crackdown on its leaders, activists and supporters. SIMI had emerged as a militant and powerful voice against the planned assault on the country’s Muslims by the Brahmanical Hindu-fascist Sangh Parivar ever since the infamous Rath Yatra of L K Advani that led to the demolition of the historic Babri Masjid with the tacit support of the Congress government at the centre. After the launch of the US-led imperialist assault on the Muslim people and the Islamic countries following 9/11 under the pretext of ‘global war on terror’, the Hindu-biased Indian state intensified its own ‘war on terror’ against the Muslims of India. SIMI was banned without an iota of evidence against it being involved in ‘illegal’ activities, and the repeated extension

of the ban by successive government since then too has been without any legal basis (as proved by the crucial judgment of Geeta Mittal declaring the ban on SIMI unconstitutional and ordering its withdrawal).

The state’s attack on SIMI in particular and the democratic movement of the country’s Muslims in general is entirely political in nature and has nothing to do with the so-called violation of law or with ‘terrorism’. The attack on SIMI – one of the most militant, organised and mass-based organisations of the Muslims in India – was to blunt and destroy the spearhead of the non-parliamentary resistance of the country’s religious minorities to increasingly aggressive Hindutva hordes domestically and US imperialism internationally. This was aimed at crushing the politically most advanced strata of the Muslims, to cow down the rest into accepting all forms of fascist terror, violence, discrimination and humiliation in silence and to carry out massacres like Gujarat pogrom without organised resistance. Since 2001, hundreds of politically active and vocal Muslims youths from across the country have been arrested and put behind bars on fabricated ‘terror’ charges under draconian laws like POTA, TADA, UAPA, NSA, etc. – many of them charged in multiple cases in several states – only to be acquitted after years of agonising incarceration.

For instance, Amjad Khan, one of the killed in Bhopal fake encounter, was acquitted by a court in 2013 of one case imposed by the police related to the alleged stocking of SIMI literature. Aqueel Khilji, first arrested in 2001, was slapped with multiple cases in 2001, 2006, 2008 and 2011, and acquitted in October 2012 on the 2001 case and in another one in September 2015. It was becoming obvious that the pending cases on the eight accused too

*(Continued on p.155)*

# **“Jail teaches us how to fight”**

## **Prison experience of Comrade Suguna**

Comrade Suguna, a senior activist of CPI(Maoist) from Dandakaranya, was arrested in Kerala along with another senior comrade while she was undergoing treatment in a hospital for her ailment. The notorious goons of Andhra Pradesh Special Investigation Bureau (APSIB), who have the long practice of abducting and eliminating revolutionaries in fake encounters, tried to repeat the same modus operandi with Suguna and the other comrade. But showing tremendous courage they resisted the abduction attempt, and with the masses foiled the heinous conspiracy of the APSIB to eliminate them. Subsequently, she faced a long jail life as an undertrial in two states after the governments foisted a number of fabricated cases on her. She valiantly faced the enemy and continued her struggle behind the bars as well. After she was released, she has joined the revolutionary ranks in a guerrilla zone, where she narrated her prison experience to MIB. We are presenting an edited version of her account in her own words – MIB

### **Abduction by APSIB and Chhattisgarh Police**

I was working in the Party in underground in one of our guerilla zones. I was ill for a long time and the Party arranged for treatment in Ernakulam city of Kerala. On 17 December 2007, I was walking on the road together with one of our comrades. Two cars one from the front and one from the back surrounded us. Even before we knew what was happening they jumped out of the cars and caught hold of me and my life partner Comrade Malla Raji Reddy like mafia gangsters. Thus I and the comrade accompanying me were kidnapped by them.

After they caught us, our abductors tried to safely slip away from the spot by shouting “Thieves! Thieves! Thieves!” In a few seconds both of us started giving slogans “Long live Maoism!”, “Long live Maoism!” Hearing our slogans the people nearby came running towards us very quickly. Around one hundred people gathered and surrounded the culprits and their car. They enquired who we were and we answered that we were activists of the CPI(Maoist) Party. All of them are unknown to us but they shook hands with us and continued to defend us. A policeman introduced himself to be from APSIB and another to be a senior police official from Chhattisgarh. But the people were not convinced by the assertions of AP Police and asked them to come to the nearby police station and clarify. Perhaps the police thought the people would pull us off from their hands. So

they forcibly put us in the car and shut the doors. They tied our hands behind the back and took us to the local police station. The people followed us to the police station but the local police stopped them.

### **Interrogation at the local police station**

In the local police station the police tied our hands, legs and eyes. They separated both of us. He and I were brought in separate vehicles and put in different rooms. It was 6’o clock in the evening and we were tied until 1 o’clock. I was operated upon for a chronic disease previously and did not take my medicine that day. The IG came at 1 o’clock in the night and said, “Come on” calling me by my name. “How can I get up if my hands and legs are tied?” I asked. I was very angry. I asked him, “Why do you keep me alive like this tying me? Whether you wish to keep me alive or kill me, remove the ropes. Don’t keep me alive in this position.” I was a serious chronic patient who had gone an operation and I have to take medicine time to time. But that day I did not even have food. “If you tie me so tight how will I stay alive, tell me whether I would die or live?” I asked. The officer blabbered, “Oh! Is it? You were operated. We are not aware of it. Call the guards.” The policemen came and untied me. Then I went to the bathroom. I returned and had medicine. They saw that I had the medicine with empty stomach and offered tea. But I rejected. I asked them where he was put. They asked me who. I

told the name of the comrade arrested with me. They told me he was in the other room. I said 'you must have killed him'. They said no. But I insisted. 'Show me. Give tea to him too and only then I will have'. They showed him through the window and he was having tea. Then I too had my tea. I asked them to put us together but they did not.

Then they started interrogating me. They asked me from where I came and who brought me here. I told them that we were here for my treatment. They asked me the details of the doctor. But I did not go to any doctor. Then they asked me where we were staying. When I replied we were in a lodge, they asked me to show it. I said I did not know the roads, I did not know the language and that I could not show it to them. They insisted and forcibly took me in a vehicle. But I said I knew nothing and only repeated that I came with my husband for the first time to this place. When asked I told them I knew only Gondi language. Then they stopped questioning me. They found a key and an empty computer bag with him. So they interrogated him for a long time. They insisted him to show the places where he went. He said, 'I don't need to show you or tell you anything. Kill me if you wish to!' The SI became angry but the comrade did not bend. They made him lie on the ground and trampled upon him. Five days later we were produced in the court. Later we were taken to Andhra Pradesh and put behind bars.

### **Jail life**

I was in the jail in Andhra Pradesh for three years. Malla Raje Reddy was released on bail which I came to know only ten days later through our lawyer. Then I was taken to Maharashtra where I was harassed for a long time. They said, "Malla Raje Reddy escaped narrowly since he got bail. If he was here the case would have been over." Here too I was in jail for three years. All through this period I was taken into police custody periodically and interrogated. Ten people from our area surrendered before the police. They told my details to the police. They told them I know party dumps consisting with secret documents, money, arms and ammunition, etc. Once they

put me in the police station for ten days. Here they interrogated me thoroughly. They did not give me break-fast, food or tea. I had my medicine with empty stomach and so there was constant burning sensation. I was interrogated the whole day without rest. I was offered food at 2'o clock in a paper. But it was not good and I could not eat. Then they would come and say, "Tell us where the dumps are. Tell us everything and surrender. We shall give you money, a building and everything. We would release you." I replied, "I shall not tell you even if I knew where it is. Kill me if you wish to. But I will not deceive my people and the party. I shall face the pain." The police would say that if so, I would never come out of the jail and that a number of cases would be foisted on me. "I fell in your hands. I am prepared to die. Kill me! Kill me in an encounter! That would be better. The people would know," I said. Perhaps to threaten me, one officer came and said they should hang me. Many police would come with ropes and said they were making preparations for hanging. "Hang me. I shall see how it would be. I am not afraid even if you want to hang me. I am prepared to die", I said. But they did not hang me. Then I confronted them, "Why do you not hang me? Hang me!"

Some other policeman would come and say, "She would reveal only if she is tied and beaten." I said, "Beat me if you like, I shall see. I was not beaten when arrested. Now you brought me from jail and want to beat me. I shall report whatever you do to me in the court. In fact you must not handcuff me either." Then they removed the handcuffs. After a while another police officer came and saw me. He questioned the police why I was not handcuffed. They told him what all I said.

Later they brought food for me. I said I would not eat. They reported the matter to the officer. He came and asked me the reason. I told him that I was not given anything since morning and even now they brought the food in a paper. 'Am I a dog to eat on a paper? A dog too is given food at least on a leaf', I said. Then he ordered to get food in a plate and I ate. Later they took me to the court and the judge ordered another two days of police custody. I was angry. I told him, 'I was brought from the jail in another state and deceived. I

was taken into police custody. Ten days have past and I am not given food and water in time. I am ill and am having medicine. I was interrogated the whole day. I was threatened to be beaten, encountered or hanged. Why keep me in this situation, better kill me'. The judge asked me the names of the policemen. I told him and he called them. He was angry with them and cancelled the police custody. He ordered to take me back to where I was brought from. He suggested them to take their cars and go home. The concerned SI fell before the judge making excuses. Within ten minutes I was in the car heading towards the jail I was brought from in the other state.

We reached the city in that state. The police did not know the address of the jail. They stopped and enquired the passersby. They answered in their language. These policemen did not understand. They asked me but I denied saying how I would know the language. I knew but I did not tell. They would go forward, return back and again go in another direction. We went three times round the surroundings of the jail. Then they saw the board and took me to the jail. When leaving me there they said, 'Now we are leaving you. We would not come for you again. We did not beat you. But you have reported trivial things to the judge. He scolded us.' I told them, 'Yes. I have the right to tell the lawyer and the judge. It is they who look after the prisoners. You too remember what all you said to me in your custody'.

After sometime, I was shifted again to the district jail of another state. There I was taken to another jail where the IG came and interrogated me. They constantly took me to various jails and interrogated me. They told me that the cases against me would be withdrawn if I told them all what I knew. Once I reported the matter to a judge in the court and so they stopped me taking to another place which they decided earlier. At last they said that the cases would increase because I did not reveal anything. I told them, 'you would not spare me even if I tell you. I don't feel the necessity to tell you. Kill me if you wish to'. They implicated me in a number of false cases on me. I demanded treatment and was taken to the hospital in the capital city of the state on the order of the court.

## **Jail teaches us how to fight**

I was in various jails in the two states of Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. Things are different in each state. In the state where there were struggles earlier the rules are implemented. There is a concern. But it is not the case in another state, where there is less political propaganda of our Party. While in that state prisoners could learn stitching and other such things there is no such facility in the jails in other states.

In the jail in Mumbai we went on hunger strike for minimum necessities like water and food. We discussed with the inmates of our ward and everyone was ready. When they brought the food we rejected. The staff informed the superintendent. He came with other policemen with lathis in their hands. They started threatening the prisoners. We political prisoners went forward and said that this day we were to be given special food as per the rules. That was 26<sup>th</sup> January. There was an argument with the officials. They asked us to eat. They said they did not have permission to give special food. We insisted on the rule. I also told him that this was not the case in other jails of the same state. The official said that the officer might have given on his own in that jail. Then we asked why didn't you do it? He said, "You have asked me today, I shall arrange it on Sunday." Then we withdrew the strike and ate food. The officials felt my presence to be aiding such activities. I was shifted from this jail. Later I heard that our demand was conceded and the change continues. In the jail in another state we did not eat the special food on the 26<sup>th</sup> January and also did not go to the flag hoisting program. The officers forced some prisoners to go near the flag and eat. But we protested against attending this day, October 2<sup>nd</sup> and August 15<sup>th</sup>.

We celebrated the day of Bhagat Singh's martyrdom. We stopped food for two days in his memory. We would explain to the ordinary prisoners. We were also on hunger strike in protest against the fake encounter of Comrade Kishanji. In one jail the officials said that the tribal people had no right to go on hunger strike. We argued and went on hunger strike demanding all the rights of every prisoner

according to the jail manual. One of our women comrades went on hunger strike demanding that she be taken to the court for the trial dates. She stayed outside at the time of going inside the lock up. The jail police took her inside and beat her. She was very angry and hit them with her slipper. Then they beat her severely and locked her up. The next day the male and female prisoners went on hunger strike protesting the beating. The female prisoners demanded to beat the culprits and take action on them. The woman comrade was soon shifted to the state capital and sent for treatment.

The officials propagated among the ordinary prisoners against us political prisoners that we were terrorists, that we were facing bomb cases, that they should not be close with us and if so they too would be implicated in more cases. However the ordinary prisoners knew about us when we told them about our aims and objectives. The officials also took care that we political prisoners did not meet our leaders in the jail. We got the opportunity in courts occasionally. We told the judge about the treatment and the situation in the jail. Some judges ordered the jail authorities and the rules were implemented for some time. We had to argue and fight for each and every small thing in the jail. We have to fight. Otherwise we don't get anything. We have to fight with the deputy jailor, the jailor and if they don't heed to your demands you need to go directly to the superintendent. If you keep quiet your problem will not be solved. But many of our tribal comrades do not know any language except their mother-tongue. So we

used to teach them how to argue. If we are soft they try to suppress us. If we deal in a political manner they cannot avoid.

The closeness of the jail inmates helps a lot. The political prisoners would help the ordinary prisoners by telling them the politics of the government and the jail and about the rules. The ordinary prisoners would support the political prisoners in daily lives. For example I did not have soap for two years. The common prisoners gave me. They helped me in my daily chores when I was ill. I can never forget their affection towards me. The police tried in many ways to demean the political prisoners. They went to the extent of preparing an audio program about us in one state.

When I was in jail the police came and asked the superintendent to release me claiming to be lawyers with my bail orders. But somehow the superintendent did not listen to them. If I was on bail in another state I would have been re-arrested and would have never been able to be released.

### **Release and return to guerrilla life**

After more than six years in jail now I am free. Our friends suggested that I stay in open life so that I could have regular medical care for my illness. My illness would not leave me for life. But I was longing to be with my people. I came to the Guerilla Zone where I was working earlier. Now I feel at home in spite of the physical difficulties I am still undergoing.

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*(Continued from p.151)*

would fall through and they would have to be released. The police and their political bosses therefore conspired to eliminate them to not only cover-up their framing of innocent Muslims but also to claim some credit for fighting 'terrorism' at the same time, just one day before the 61st 'Formation Day' of Madhya Pradesh state. No wonder that the police was not interested in keeping them alive and shot them dead even when they raised their hands in surrender. The police even shot the injured from close range to ensure that all of the eight were dead and to ensure that none survived to tell the tale. The Bhopal fake encounter is a glaring example of the deepening fascisation of the state. Only last year, in April 2015, five alleged SIMI activists were shot dead in a fake encounter by the ATS in Nalgonda district of Telangana. All revolutionary and democratic forces and the oppressed masses of the country must join hands with the religious minorities to protest against the extra-judicial execution of Muslim undertrials and to ensure severe punishment to the culprits. Only in this way can the united mass resistance against Brahmanical Hindu fascist hordes led by Modi-Shah-Bhagwat ruling clique at the centre and their henchmen like Shivraj Singh be strengthened and the people defend themselves against state and Hindutva terror.

## **CPI(Maoist) branded world's 4th largest "terrorist" org by mouthpiece of US imperialism**

The US ruling-class 'think-tank' National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Response to Terrorism (NCSTRT) has recently come up with a report for the year 2015 in which it has designated CPI(Maoist) as the fourth largest "terrorist" organisation in the world. It placed Taliban, Islamic State and Boko Haram in the first, second and third place in the list respectively. It has placed India after imperialist war-ravaged Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan in the list of countries "most affected by terrorism". According to its calculations, 43% of all the "terrorist incidents" in India in 2015 were carried out by CPI(Maoist) alone, while the rest of the 44 organisations NCSTRT designated "terrorist" were held responsible for the rest 57%! In terms of regions, it assigned 21% of these "incidents" in Chhattisgarh, 12% in Manipur, 11% in Jammu & Kashmir and 10% in Jharkhand. All these, of course, are fallacious assertions with the pretence of "objective research" made on the basis of dubious "data" – permeated through and

through with imperialist ideology aimed at beautifying imperialist exploitation, oppression, occupation and wars, particularly US imperialism – the no.1 enemy of the world people.

This reactionary organisation, set up by the US monopoly capitalists to serve the strategic interests of the US imperialists, is a cog in the US propaganda wheel that daily churns out a large amount of trash to paint the revolutionary, national liberation and people's organisations and movements led by them as "terrorist". It has become the favourite bogeyman of the US and other imperialist powers and their lackeys replacing "communist" after the dissolution of the socialist camp, and particularly after the launch of "global war on terror" following 9/11 attacks. The epithet "terrorism" is aimed at legitimising the brutal imperialist wars waged by the US ruling class in different countries and to delegitimise the revolutionary, national liberation and democratic struggles of the people in the eyes of the American people domestically. It also aims at guiding the policy of foreign governments and influence public opinion internationally. But the "findings" of such reactionary organisations and their reports can hardly convince anyone who is at

the receiving end of imperialism. If anything, recognition by a mouthpiece of US imperialism like NCSTRT as a “terrorist” organisation is like a ‘badge of honour’ for any fighting organisation of the people in any part of the world today.

## **LEMOA: One more noose of US imperialism on the country**

On 29 August 2016, the Defence Secretary of the US government and Defence Minister of the Indian government signed Logistics Exchange Memoranda of Agreement (LEMOA). This is one more decisive step in the total abandonment of even the formally pronounced ‘Non-Alignment Policy’ followed by the Indian governments in the first four decades after transfer of power. It is a major step by the Modi government to align itself closely with the economic, political and military interests of US imperialism, to turn the country into a forward post of the US armed forces for maintaining US hegemony in South Asia and to collude with US imperialism’s neo-colonial designs to subjugate the country. Even the Modi-Shah-Bhagwat ruling clique is fully aware of this, and hence in the refusal of the government to make the agreement public. No doubt, LEMOA is meant to be a secret treaty which, if revealed to the public in full, will make apparent the extent of the treachery of these self-proclaimed (Hindutva) ‘nationalists’ with the country and their betrayal of the people.

From the parts of the clauses of this agreement which have become public, it is apparent that under the garb of an agreement on ‘logistics’, it is nothing but a move to open up the path for future full-fledged military agreements. For the first time since the departure of the British colonial army nearly seventy years back, LEMOA allows the use of the country for imperialist armies, in this case, the US armed forces.

It is worth remembering that the US government operates 800 foreign bases of its armed forces throughout the world based precisely on ‘logistics’ agreements like the LEMOA. It stations its armed forces through

a rotation system in these bases, which act as important pillars of US world hegemony. With LEMOA, it will be possible for the US armed forces to legally station its units in the bases and facilities of the Indian armed forces. These bases will be effectively converted into foreign (or US) territory, as Indian laws will not be applicable to the US troops. It will not be possible to try them in Indian courts, no matter the nature of crimes they commit (just as AFSPA shields Indian armed forces from prosecution in civil courts, SOFA – Status of Foreign Agreement – gives immunity to US army personnel from the law of the foreign land where they are stationed). Decades after the World War 2, when almost two hundred thousand US troops were deployed in India, this agreement once again makes way for imperialist armies into the country, facilitated this time by the most treacherous BJP government and Sangh Parivar. The need is to expose and oppose this treachery to prevent the loss of even the formal sovereignty and independence of the country as well as its vast masses.

## **Hindutva-terrorist Rajnath Singh single out ‘Terrorism, Maoism, Extremism’ for attack**

The leaders of Brahmanical Hindu-fascist Sangh Parivar, including the ministers of the Modi-led BJP government, are old masters at what is euphemistically called “perception management” (a respectable substitute invented to stand for Goebblesian lies). They present untruths, half-truths and lies as truths, while turning truth and reality on their head. The mass media controlled by the government and big capitalists propagate these untruths round the clock with the conviction that repeating lies over and over will turn them into truths! One such oft-repeated lie championed by the lieutenants of the ruling-classes is that Maoists are “anti-development”. Modi and his fascist clique running the central government, however, have gone a step further to add in their recent proclamations that “Terrorists, Maoists and Extremists” are not only “anti-development”, but in fact are “anti-poor” as well!

Union Home Minister Rajnath Singh made this revelation in a conference of the police to inaugurate the headquarters of Jharkhand Jaguars, the anti-Maoist commando force of Jharkhand Police, in Tendar village near Ranchi on 27 June 2016. He alleged that “Maoists and extremists are against democracy and development, they do not want to do anything for the poor, and even stop those who want to do something for the poor.” Making the usual claims that “Maoists are in decline and they are no longer capable of working in large groups”, he questioned the ideology of the Maoists as well: “What kind of ideology do the Maoists have? We want to bring development to the poor, but the Maoists stop us from doing so. In this condition, if there is any enemy of the poor, it is those who are encouraging the Terrorists, Maoists and Extremists”.

This way, it is the Hindutva terrorist leaders who are terrorising the vast masses of the country’s workers, peasants, intellectuals, Muslims, Christians, Dalits, women and other oppressed classes and strata with their daily

attacks by using government power and fascist militias, are now labeling the people’s movements as “terrorist”, “extremist”, etc.! They are abusing the revolutionary forces standing on the side of the poor and oppressed people in their struggles as “anti-poor” on the one hand while aggressively implementing anti-poor and pro-imperialist, pro-capitalist policies on the other. While bringing loss of lives and livelihood through mega infrastructural projects in the name of “development”, they are calling the country’s revolutionary and democratic parties and organisations leading these people’s struggles against such devastating projects and suppressing them. They are imbuing the government armed forces and other organs of the state with the poisonous Brahmanical Hindu-fascist ideology to counter any ideology that guides the people in their struggle for democracy and freedom from exploitation (the Home Minister told the police personnel to imbibe “*Rashtrabhakti*” in the fight against Maoism, termed the jawans killed in the counter-revolutionary war as spilling their blood for “*Bharat Mata*”, etc.). Such counter-



*Divide and Rule: CRPF has deployed women commandos for the first time in anti-Maoist operations in a combat role starting from 15 November 2016. A team of 135 women commandos took part in the operation conducted in Ranchi district of Jharkhand. Another example of the reactionary Indian state’s devious policy of pitting members of an oppressed social section – this time, women – against the revolutionary movement of the oppressed people including the revolutionary women’s movement.*

revolutionary, anti-people and fascist ruling-class propaganda must be exposed and fought back in the ideological, propaganda and agitation spheres.

## **Latest weaponry for BSF units operating against the Maoist movement**

The Union Home Ministry of Modi government is preparing to equip the units of Border Security Force (BSF) deployed in the Maoist movement areas with advanced weapons built by imperialist countries and used by their reactionary armies. Many of these arms will be used for the first time in maintaining “internal security” (i.e., against the movements of the country’s people). The forces will be specially trained in the use of these weapons. It is to be noted that 12,000 BSF jawans are now stationed in eight places of Chhattisgarh’s Kanker and Balod districts (including Antagarh, ‘Dandakvan’, Koelibera, Bhanupratappur, Pakhanjur, Durgokndal and Bande).

The newly imported weapons will include 81 mm mortar from France, 51 mm mortar and sub-machineguns from Italy, 7.62 machinegun and UBGL (Under-Barrel Grenade Launcher) made in Belgium, 84 mm rocket launcher from Sweden, Australian sniper rifle, Russian automatic grenade launcher and assault rifle made in Israel. All these deadly weapons are being bought with the hard-earned money of the country’s people to be used against the people themselves in the name of countering Maoism. All these are in addition to the range of new ‘Made in India’ lethal weapons produced by the government ordnance factories like SLR, INSAS, etc. These will be used to loot the natural resources of the country at gunpoint for the super-profit of foreign and domestic big capitalists by crushing the revolutionary struggle led by the Maoist Party and mass resistance struggles of other people’s organisations (for instance, against the Raoghat railway and mining projects, which are being pushed through with the deployment of BSF simply by bulldozing the vociferous opposition of the people).

## **Drones used against the Maoist movement to be upgraded**

In its drive to modernise the paramilitary and police forces and upgrade technological aids against the ongoing multi-pronged war on people Operation Green Hunt, the Indian government has decided to replace the old UAVs with new ones. After permitting CRPF and Chhattisgarh government to operate their own UAVs for anti-Maoist operations, the central government is now going to replace the old UAVs currently operated by the National Technical Research Organisation (NTRO) from its Nandini centre near Raipur, Chhattisgarh. NTRO presently operates eight drones (five owned and three leased from other centres) in Chhattisgarh and the adjoining states of Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Jharkhand, Odisha, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh from this centre. Most of these drones are five to ten years old. As the police departments of these states and the paramilitary forces have complained of poor quality visuals of the Maoist movement areas and inadequacy of drone operations, Union Home Ministry has decided to procure new UAVs equipped with latest technology and tools capable of operating at night as well. It has formed a three-member committee to examine technical specifications and recommend suitable models of drones for procurement. With its five satellite link terminals, NTRO’s Nandini centre has the capacity to simultaneously operate ten UAVs round-the-clock. In the context of the ongoing preparations for using aerial bombing through air force helicopters on anyone suspected to be ‘Maoists’ under the garb of “fire in self-defense”, the reactionary Modi government is no doubt mulling the deployment of UAVs capable of carrying missiles and other warheads to be used against the people at a future stage of its counter-revolutionary war. Chhattisgarh government has allocated five crore rupees for the purchase.

In addition, Chhattisgarh government has decided to set up a drone control centre at Jagdalpur airport under its control which will be dedicated to flying drones in the state alone, particularly over the Maoist movement areas of Bastar.

## **Indignant Jawans expose the authoritarian set up of Indian Army and paramilitary forces**

An Indian Army jawan, Singhav Jogidas, recently posted a video in the social media where he poured his heart about the inhuman and humiliating treatment meted out to him and other rank and file jawans of the Indian army and paramilitary forces. This public exposure has come in the wake of a similar revelation by BSF personnel Tejbahadur Yadav. Jogidas has complained that in many units, the kind of food given to the jawans is just to keep them alive. The cheapest of vegetables, cheapest of fruits and the poorest available food are earmarked for the jawans. He also bitterly rued that some officers treat their subordinates just like their chattel slaves, who has to do anything that is ordered without a murmur of opposition. If anyone dares to open his mouth, he is subjected to further punishment and humiliation. Describing his own experience after he once reported back to duty two days late, he was punished with an order to work as a helper. When he opposed such tyranny, he was handed over to another army unit where he was kept for seven days in detention. His complaints to the Prime Minister, Defence Minister and the Chief of Army Staff quite predictably had no positive result, instead he was further victimised by his superiors for his rebellion against injustice. In fact, Jogidas had to face court marshal for 'insubordination' and 'indiscipline', he has been subjected to 'punishment transfer' several times, and when refused, he was again kept in an army jail for a week.

This is the usual practice of Indian army and paramilitary, like any other reactionary army, to gag and silence the voice of the rank and file soldiery, to violate their basic civil and democratic rights, and to subject them to all kinds of abuse. In this, these armies have faithfully retained the colonial, anti-democratic and anti-people character of their predecessor, the British Indian Army, which was an instrument to trample the democratic aspirations of the people of India and all round the globe to defend the interests of the British Empire. Now, as then, these forces do not

allow any democratic right to their soldiers, which on occasions lead to the killing of officers by infuriated jawans. The number of suicides committed by frustrated jawans too is considerable every year. These incidents, along with the increasing public exposures by disgruntled soldiers using the medium of social media, is a sign of the shimmering rebelliousness of the army, paramilitary and police jawans who are finding their condition increasingly intolerable. Most of these jawans come from the oppressed classes, particularly from the peasantry, who join the government's mercenary forces out of compulsion purely as a means of livelihood. The revolutionary and democratic forces should extend support to the struggles of these jawans against ill-treatment, abuse, humiliation and injustice.

## **Murderer and gangster Naimuddin meets his ignominious end**

Telangana Police shot dead renegade and counter-revolutionary gangster Naimuddin alias Nayeem in a fake encounter in Shadnagar locality of Mahaboobnagar district of Telangana on 8 August 2016. Nayeem was in the erstwhile CPI(M-L) (People's War) party in the early 1990s, but left the party and became a renegade by joining hands with the state against the revolutionary movement. He formed a counter-revolutionary armed gang with the patronage of the police and became a willing tool in the hands of the police. He and his gang committed innumerable crimes against the revolutionaries and democrats of Andhra Pradesh-Telangana, ranging from murder, rape, abduction, torture, threatening, loot, forcible seizure of land and property, etc. Acting as henchmen of ruling-class politicians and police officers, he also amassed a lot of wealth and property using violence and terror. After nearly two decades of faithful service to the ruling classes, his usefulness for them came to an end and he was finally eliminated by the police in a fake encounter. It is ironical that this notorious counter-revolutionary and renegade at the end fell victim to the same criminal method he and his political masters have been using against the revolutionaries and the people.

## **Anti-Maoist forces target companies and contractors engaged in road construction**

After suffering losses on a number of occasions on IED explosions carried out by the PLGA in southern districts of Bihar, paramilitary and police forces engaged in anti-Maoist operations are now targeting private companies and contractors carrying out road construction work. These forces have recently claimed to have recovered some IEDs made of LPG cylinders placed below an under-construction tarmac road in Madanpur area of Aurangabad district.

Following this, a small contractor Kaushal Singh was arrested and sent to jail on the suspicion that he collaborated with the Maoists in planting the bombs. The government forces have claimed that one constable of CoBRA Battalion was killed recently in the explosion of a bomb planted under a newly-constructed tarmac road near Khardiha village in Aurangabad district and several were injured. They made claims of recovering such bombs in the neighbouring Gaya district as well. After this, these forces have stepped-up harassing small and medium contractors and construction companies of planting bombs for the Maoists during the period of construction in exchange of waiver or reduction of levies.

Moreover, they have now decided to examine all the newly-constructed and under-construction roads in the Maoist movement areas to prevent casualties from IEDs planted in this way, thereby clearing the way for the persecution of many more small-time contractors and road-construction companies. This is nothing but a part of the ongoing suppression of the people under the third phase of Operation Green Hunt based on false accusations of supporting and aiding the Maoist movement. Voices of protest must be raised against all instances of state repression targeting small and medium entrepreneurs, contractors, traders and businessmen under the pretext of curbing Maoism.

## **CRPF ADG makes empty claim of wiping out the Maoist movement in Bihar**

It has become a habit of sorts for top government, paramilitary and police functionaries to declare the “end of Maoism” at every opportunity to pump up the sagging morale of the government forces engaged in anti-Maoist operations. CRPF ADG for Bihar Shailendra Kumar claimed in a press meet organised on 3 July 2016 on the occasion of his transfer from the state that Maoist activities have come down drastically in Bihar in the last two-three years, new recruitment has dried up, training camps have stopped and the Maoists have been pushed on the back-foot by continuous search and combing operations by the CRPF.

Citing the killing of Comrade Chirag da (murdered in cold blood after catching him in a covert operation), he boasted that the Maoists have become totally weak due to the loss of leadership in encounters and arrests. He claimed a big role for CRPF in “uprooting” the Maoists from Bihar. But such claims are brought crashing to the ground by the fighting masses with every act of their political and military fight against the ruling classes and their mercenary armed forces. The loss of leadership and the subjective forces of the revolutionary movement due to fascist state repression can only have temporary impact; as long as the social conditions that make the revolution a necessity continue to exist, there can be no “wiping out” of the springs of class struggle and people’s war.

## **Proposal to raise a ‘Rohtas Battalion’ in Bihar awaits government approval**

There has been a spurt among the ruling classes of late to recruit Adivasi youths from Maoist movement areas of various paramilitary and police forces. Already the Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS) of Modi government has decided to raise 12 new India Reserve Battalions to be deployed in the

areas of revolutionary armed struggle led by the Maoist Party. It is stipulated that 75 percent of the constable-rank posts in these battalions will be filled with recruits from the 27 districts identified to be “most affected by Left-wing Extremism”. The criteria for qualification will be relaxed for filling up these posts. With the same strategy, a Bastar Battalion of CRPF is also being raised from among the Adivasi people of the seven districts of undivided Bastar in Chhattisgarh. Following the lead of Modi government’s heinous tactics of pitting one section of the people against the other, Nitish Kumar-led Bihar government is considering the formation of a ‘Rohtas Battalion’ by recruiting predominantly local youths from the villages of Kaimur Hills. The aim is to use it against the Maoist movement which has been going on in this area for decades. The government thinks that the local youth who are familiar with the people and the terrain will be more effective against the revolutionary forces than the paramilitary and police forces from outside the area. The DIG of Shahabad Range has forwarded this proposal to the Bihar Police headquarters for approval. If approved, ‘Rohtas Battalion’ of Bihar Police will be raised to take on the Maoists in Kaimur area.

### ***CID delaying probe into fake encounters to shield top police officers***

Jharkhand CID is carrying out a probe into nearly fifty cases of fake encounter killings by the police and paramilitary forces in the state in the last few years without concluding the probe or submitting any report of its findings. These incidents include the shooting down of two protestors in Simdega in 2009, the killing of Soma Gudia in 2011 and Mangal Honhaga in 2012 by the police under Chotanagara Police Station of Chaibasa district, killing of four persons in police firing in Dhanbad in 2011, fake encounter of Sandeep Aind in Khunti in 2013, the killing of two labourers in CRPF firing in Gurdari area of Gumla district in 2014, the killing of 12 persons including minors by the

government forces at Bakoria of Palamu in 2015 and their later branding as ‘Maoists’, etc. Obviously, since several top police officers were implicated in these cold-blooded murders, the CID is dragging its feet in closing the probe. In fact, senior police officials prohibited any departmental action against the officers responsible for the Gumla killing. Obviously, the government and the CID working under its directions are putting all efforts to brush these incidents under the carpet even though it was forced to order the probe under mounting public outcry against extra-judicial killings by the police in Jharkhand.

### ***NHRC drops hearing on the fake surrender case in Jharkhand***

National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) was scheduled to conduct public hearing of several complaints of human rights violations on 7 and 8 September 2016 in Jharkhand including the incident of the surrender of 400 fake ‘Maoists’ in the state in 2014. It was revealed that during 2012-13, over 400 youths from Ranchi, Khunti, Simdega, Gumla and other districts of Jharkhand were kept under the supervision of CRPF’s anti-Maoist CoBRA commando forces in the old prison campus of Ranchi. The youths were told that they would be given weapons, carrying which they would have to ‘surrender’ before the government authorities. Following this, they would be given government jobs as per the government’s surrender policy for the Maoists. All arrangements for their food and stay were made by the then Special Superintendent of Police (SSP) of Ranchi and the then IG of CRPF D K Pandey, who is presently the DIG of Jharkhand Police. In fact, 1 to 1.5 lakh rupees were collected from each of the youths in exchange of this ‘offer’! This big fraud with the involvement of top police and paramilitary officials was exposed by an NGO. The NGO also ensured that an FIR was lodged in Lower Bazar Police Station of Ranchi. An investigation had also started into the matter. But the leading activist of the NGO Ravi Bodra was framed and arrested by the police on some trumped-up charges as a part

covering-up this scandal that drew countrywide attention and exposed the truth about Maoist 'surrenders'. The protests by the duped youths that higher police officials were involved in their defrauding too came to naught. Not surprisingly, the police investigation did not make any further progress.

NHRC had taken *suo-motu* cognizance of the incident in 2014 after it first came to light. But this matter with complaint number 1087/34/16/2014 was 'mysteriously' removed from the Cause-list issued on 8 September. This matter was previously listed as item no.10 in the Cause-list, but the matter disappeared from the Cause-list issued on the day of the hearing! No reason was given for this curious happening. Quite obviously, just as the government and the implicated top police-paramilitary officials made sure that the police investigation did not go ahead, they intervened this time too to ensure that the matter did not come for a public hearing in the NHRC which could be a big embarrassment for the government, if nothing more. So much for the 'independence' of the NHRC!

### **Feature film as a new weapon of Jharkhand Police against the Maoist movement**

A full-length Hindi feature film produced jointly by Jharkhand Police and the state government has recently been released in the theatres of Jharkhand, the subject of which is the Maoist movement and the fight by the government armed forces against it. It is billed as an attempt to wean away the youth from the revolutionary movement. Christened 'Pratyavartan' (The Return), this 2.18 hours long film directed by Nimu Bhowmik has been produced by the police department by spending 82 lakh rupees of taxpayer's money. What's more, not content with a role behind the scenes, the police in the person of a former Director General of Police and five other policemen appears in the film to put their acting talents to use! As can be expected in a film by the police, the film follows a predictable storyline centred round a Maoist commander who

comes to the realisation that the revolutionary movement "has deviated from its ideology" and ends up surrendering before the government. Declared as a part of government propaganda to compliment the ongoing campaign of the central and state governments against the Maoist movement, the film has miserably failed in its objective as the audience has given its verdict by refusing to attend the shows and the film had to be run in empty halls.

In this way, the police are using both traditional folk forms and modern forms of communication to propagate reactionary and counter-revolutionary culture. In opposition to this, the revolutionary cultural organisations too are spreading progressive and democratic culture among the masses using traditional and modern mediums. In this way, they are carrying forward the glorious tradition of revolutionary culture since the 1970s. Unlike the official and government cultural productions like this film, the revolutionary cultural works have wide acceptance among the people and enjoy tremendous popularity. The sphere of revolutionary and democratic cultural work needs to be further widened by drawing thousands of new cultural activists to effectively counter the poisonous culture propagated by the enemy.

### **Call to end Red Revolution and carry out 'Saffron Revolution' will be buried by the masses**

Jharkhand Chief Minister Raghubar Das in a mass meeting on 18 July 2016 called upon the people of Giridih to come forward to end Naxalism like the people of Khunti where he claimed the Naxals were surrendering before the government. He said that he could "go to any extent" to end Naxalism. For this, he has given the administration and the police a free rein. He has taken the pledge to finish off Maoists and 'criminals' and he would rest only when this pledge is realised. He inaugurated a 'Garib Vikas Mela' at Giridih.

He complimented the paramilitary and police forces carrying on operations against the Maoist forces at Parasnath Hills. He declared

that there would be 'Saffron Revolution' along with 'Green Revolution' and 'White Revolution'. By 'Saffron Revolution' he apparently meant a revolution in the energy sector. He boasted that through the 'Saffron Revolution' his government will meet all the energy requirements of the state by March 2018 so that no place would remain without electricity and that it would be supplied 24-hours a day. Of course, no matter by what name they give – be it Green, White or Saffron 'Revolution' – the anti-people policies and schemes of the reactionary ruling classes and their governments will be nothing counter-revolutionary in essence aimed at suppressing the ongoing red revolution of the oppressed masses of Jharkhand under the leadership of the Maoist Party. As a loyal lickspittle of imperialism and the domestic big landlord and big capitalist classes, politicians like Raghubar Das are giving "free rein" to all kinds of fascist repression on the revolutionary activists and masses through police and administrative measures. But the fighting masses will ensure with the class struggle that their fond dreams of wiping out the revolutionary movement will remain what they actually are – the idle wishes of reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries called to account by the people.

### ***State-sponsored PLFI tries to enter Saranda as per police instructions***

One of the state-sponsored counter-revolutionary gangs operating in Jharkhand, the so-called People's Liberation Front of India (PLFI), claimed late June that their members have entered Saranda forest, one of the important areas of the revolutionary movement in Bihar-Jharkhand. They claimed that under the leadership of PLFI's 'Sub-zonal Committee secretary' Jidan Gudia, a 150-member group armed with modern automatic weapons like AKs, SLRs and carbines came to Saranda to target the Maoists along with "police informers and exploiters of the people". The chief of PLFI, Dinesh Gope, is said to be "monitoring" this group. They have prepared a list of Maoist cadres working in Saranda and are going to issue a warning to

them to leave the area, after which they would "take action" on the violators of their diktat, a spokesperson of the group told the media.

But the tall claims of "wiping out police informers and exploiters" notwithstanding, no one whom the PLFI and the police are trying to sell this story is in any illusion as to who are their real target – it is the Maoist Party, PLGA, revolutionary mass organisations and the people of Saranda. This is revealed by the fact that the 150-member team has undergone arms training in Andhra Pradesh under state patronage and police supervision. The newspapers reporting this development also did not fail to remind the readers that a top officer of Jharkhand Police had also made similar claims of "freeing" Saranda from the Maoists a few months back. Unable to extinguish the fire of armed agrarian revolutionary war in the forest of Saranda kindled by the Maoist Party among the oppressed peasant masses even after years of repeated paramilitary operations and laying a ring of police stations and camps around it, the ruling classes are now throwing in its vigilante gangs into Saranda. But it is not advanced training or modern weapons that is decisive in revolutionary class war, but the people. And the oppressed masses of Saranda and of Jharkhand are firmly on the opposite side of the ruling classes and on the side of the revolution. This will ensure that their latest offensive in Saranda through PLFI too will meet the same fate of their earlier armed operations in that area.

### ***New camps to be set up on Maharashtra-Madhya Pradesh- Chhattisgarh (MMC) border***

Top police officials of the bordering districts of Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh held a meeting in Rajnandgaon recently. One of the major decisions taken was to set up additional base camps of paramilitary and armed police forces on the inter-state borders to check Maoist activities. Worried by the growing mobilisation of the masses on their problems led by the Maoist Party and the PLGA

guerrillas, they also planned fresh joint operations in these districts. Police officers from Rajnandgaon, Gondia, Gadchiroli and Balaghat were present in the meeting including IG Balaghat Range, IG Durg Range, IG Bastar Range, DIG ITBP Bhilai, DIG ITBP Narayanpur, and Superintendents of Police of these districts.

### **Bastar Police claims success in 'Mission 2016', prepares for 'Mission 2017'**

After holding a meeting of police officers of the seven districts of Bastar, IG Bastar Range S R P Kalluri claimed that 'Mission 2016' – launched early this year and now on its last stage – has achieved “considerable success”, so that now the police were busy preparing the blueprint for 'Mission 2017' to be launched next year. Kalluri boasted that the main objective of 'Mission 2016' was to 'root out' the Maoist movement from Darbha Division by the year-end, in which the government forces have already been greatly successful. 'Mission 2017', he said, would focus on targeting the Maoist leadership. He said that according to the 'action plan' prepared for this, one team of policemen would be allotted for each senior Maoist leader, which will be responsible for tracking down that

specific leader. Kalluri also talked about coordinating with the police of Telangana, AP, Odisha and Maharashtra to launch multi-pronged anti-Maoist operations under 'Mission 2017', at the end of which “peace” would return to Bastar and “development” would pick up steam. The “peace and development” of Kalluri, of course, denotes the peace and development of the imperialists, comprador big capitalists, big landlords and other parasites, which is the real objective of launching counter-revolutionary fascist offensives like 'Mission 2016' and 'Mission 2017'. As the saying goes, when the ruling classes (and their running dogs like S R P Kalluri) talk of peace, it is time for the people to get ready for war (more repressive forms of the ongoing war in the present case)!

### **AGNI's 'Lalkar Rally' under police patronage fails to revive the hated Salwa Judum**

Utterly failing in their attempt to revive a Salwa Judum-like campaign under the leadership of Mahendra Karma's son Chavindra Karma and with the banner of 'Samajik Ekta Manch' last year, Raman Singh-led BJP government of Chhattisgarh and Bastar Police chief S R P Kalluri have come up with a new organisation AGNI (Action



*Bastar IG SRP Kalluri with AGNI Chief Anand Mohan Mishra on the dias of 'Lalkar Rally', Jagdalpur*

Group for National Integration) against the revolutionary masses of Dandakaranya. Supported from behind by the police, this organisation is led by RSS elements in various trades and professions, comprador industrialists and traders, individuals belonging to reactionary Adivasi families, etc. 'National Coordinator' of AGNI Anand Mohan Mishra, President of Sarv Hindu Samaj Ramesh Jain, senior member of Punjab Sanatan Dharm Sabha Ashok Arora, President of Bastar District Bar Association Ashutosh Dwivedi, President of Bastar Andhra Samaj Keshav Rao, President of BPS Shakti Singh Chauhan, President of Bastar Chamber of Commerce Rishi Hemani, senior member of Brahman Samaj Sanjay Pandey are some of those involved in this organisation, giving a fairly clear idea of the kind of forces behind it. It is a counter-revolutionary alliance of the state-Hindu fascism-bad gentry-Salwa Judum leaders against the revolutionary movement and the people. It organised a 'Lalkar Rally' at Jagdalpur on 17 September against the revolutionary movement, during which Bastar IG SRP Kalluri, Bastar SP Rajendra Narayan Das and other police officers could be seen occupying the stage and leading the show. Even after months of preparation, spending of lakhs of rupees, using the entire state machinery and mobilising the corporate media for propaganda, however, AGNI and the police could muster the presence of only a few thousand people at the rally, mostly brought to the venue by force. But their assault will not be limited to one 'Lalkar Rally' alone. With this understanding, the people should be prepared to fight back their attacks unitedly on the ideological, political, economic, military and psychological-war fronts by using all forms of struggle.

### **All police stations in Chhattisgarh to be fitted with CCTV cameras**

To respond to the opposition against increasing incidents of custodial torture and even killings at the hands of Chhattisgarh Police in police stations from different parts

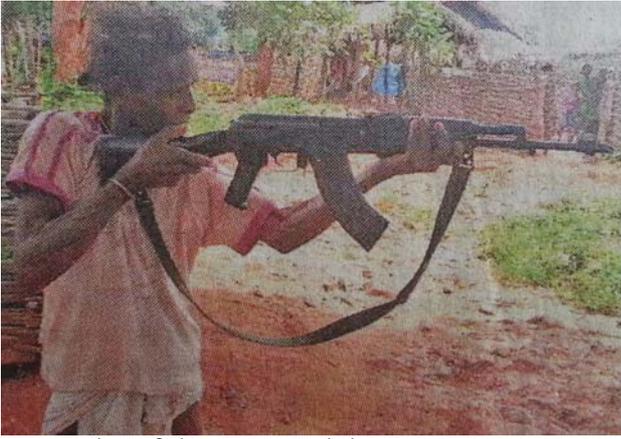
of the state, Raman Singh government has come up with the idea of fitting all the 350 police stations with CCTV cameras. Nearly 3.5 crore rupees have been sanctioned for this. Each police station will have four close circuit cameras, which will monitor activities in places like the lock-up, complaint room, entrance, etc. It is said that the footages recorded and the data saved cannot be deleted by the policemen posted at their stations.

However, as the example of the recent fake encounter killing of eight undertrials of Bhopal Central jail demonstrates, where precisely those CCTV cameras which could have recorded the incident were found to be "not working", this will not prevent the police to carry on their acts of brutality against the people. Only, the places will be changed or more ingenious methods will be invented to circumvent the CCTV cameras and eliminate other traces of their crimes. Only strong protests by the people against police violence can prevent the lawless khaki-clad official goons from laying their hands on defenseless persons they detain or abduct at will.

### **Police form 'Gram Raksha Samitis' in Bastar to train their guns on the Maoists**

The anti-Maoist paramilitary and police forces in Dandakaranya have been making attempts for years to apply the time-tested counter-revolutionary policy of pitting the people against the people, with little success. They have recently made another attempt in Bastar district to arm a section of the people led by elements of the reactionary classes who have lost their traditional power, wealth and influence in the course of the revolutionary class struggle of the people led by the Maoist Party.

The police have claimed the formation of 'Gram Raksha Samitis' (Village Defense Committees) in twelve villages of the district beginning with Kummakoleng village. On 15 August, some people of Baranpal village formed this Samiti and pledged not to allow



*A member of the Gram Raksha Samiti*

the entry of the Maoists to their village. The police have claimed the formation of such Samitis in Mudenar, Nandenar, Bispur, Chandragiri, Koleng, Kandanar and Chandametta villages as well. The government forces are camping in or near these villages in order to form these organisations and regularly visiting them to oversee their functioning.

Though the members of this vigilante militia already possess traditional guns, the government is planning to arm them with modern weapons to confront the PLGA forces including the people's militia. These Samitis have declared that they would not allow Maoist activists to enter the villages they control and prevent revolutionary organisations from functioning there. In this manner, the paramilitary and police forces of the reactionary government are colluding with the members of the old reactionary classes and strata in the Adivasi villages to restore the political power by weakening or destroying the political power of the people sprouting with the development of the revolutionary movement. But since the real objective of these so-called Gram Raksha Samitis is to defend the old political power of the handful of people belonging to the parasitic classes, the vast oppressed masses are against them. These Samitis have no basis to stand on except the support of the reactionary government and must inevitably fall with the upsurge of the masses.

## **Third phase of Raoghat rail project begins ignoring people's opposition**

On 16 September 2016, third phase of the Dalli-Rajhara Raoghat railway project was started near Kewati village of Kanker district in Chhattisgarh with the Hindu ritual of "*bhumi-puja*", after which earth-clearing work was initiated in the presence of police officials. The 17km-long first phase of the line between Dalli-Rajhara and Gudum has already been made operational and passenger trains are running on it. The 25 km-long second phase between Gudum and Kewati village is under construction, which the Indian Railways expects to complete by March 2017. The construction of the third phase of the line is being undertaken by Railway Development Authority Limited as well as a private company Patel Engineering. Once completed, this line will be used for transporting iron ore to Bhilai Steel Plant from Raoghat hills in Narayanpur district. The people of Raoghat have been putting up a strong resistance against the proposed mining for many years, due to which full-fledged mining operations could not be started so far. The central and state governments are carrying on the Raoghat railway project forcibly and at gunpoint by deploying thousands of paramilitary and police forces, the same method it is planning of using for opening up the mines, once the line is completed or nears completion. A number of new paramilitary camps and police stations are being set up for this purpose and the entire area surrounding Raoghat Hills is being turned into a police barrack, which have become torture chambers for the people and the bases for unleashing state terror on the anti-mining people's movement. As the railway line approaches Raoghat area and the ruling classes intensify its efforts to start mining operations, it can expect to meet the stiff resistance of the masses both in the unarmed and armed forms.

## **Police claim of recruitment of surrendered 'Maoists' in Bastar a white lie**

Chhattisgarh Police has claimed that as many as 1,623 'Maoists' have surrendered in Bastar in the last two years after S R P Kalluri had been appointed as the IG of Bastar Range. Of these 'surrendered Maoists' who have availed the government's 'Rehabilitation Package', 130 has been recruited to the police force in various capacity – 43 have been recruited as police constables, 70 as Gopaniya Sainik (secret soldiers), 11 as Nagar Sainik (urban soldiers), and 6 have been appointed in other government departments. Several glaring facts about the central and state government's war on people are revealed by these figures. First, of these so-called 'Maoists' who are shown to have 'surrendered' (over three-fourths of whom are no Maoists, to start with, but people forced or enticed by the paramilitary-police forces to pose as Maoists), less than 10% has been given regular government employment, contrary to the assurance of secure employment promised in its 'surrender and rehabilitation' policy. Secondly, even of those who have been given government jobs, over 95% are in the police department with the express aim of using them as cannon-fodder in the counter-revolutionary war on the people of Dandakaranya. Third, over 50% of those recruited to the police department are given

the job of 'Gopaniya Sainiks' or 'secret soldiers' who are trained and equipped to work as informers while remaining mixed with the villagers, build informer networks and coverts, and carry out assassination of Maoist leaders and activists, among other things. Bastar Police under the guidance of S R P Kalluri are engaging these people to carry out the most heinous of activities against the revolutionary masses and to damage their movement. This is the real purpose of the 'surrender and rehabilitation policy' of the exploitative government, not to create any gainful employment opportunity for the masses of people.

## **500 imported digital wireless sets for anti-Maoist forces in Dandakaranya**

Chhattisgarh government has started the process of buying 500 foreign made high-tech digital wireless sets to be used during anti-Maoist operations, each costing nearly 80,000 rupees apiece. These sets will be allotted to the government forces operating deep inside the Maoist movement areas replacing the old analog wireless sets, which will be sent to the plain areas, according to the outline of the plan prepared by Chhattisgarh Police ADG (Naxal Operations). Unlike communication with analog sets, the digital ones allow encrypted



*Something to hide: Narayanpur SP and other police officers standing behind masked "surrendered Maoists" in Kurusnar Police Station, Narayanpur district, Chhattisgarh, on 8 September 2016. The covered faces of the alleged Maoists reveal what the police want to hide – the fake nature of these so-called surrenders*

voice communication which is said to be free from interception. Already, these forces are increasingly relying on communication through mobile phones instead of wireless sets where signal is available during anti-Maoist operations and in maintaining informer networks. This has forced the PLGA forces to destroy mobile towers selectively in the movement areas in order to destroy the enemy's lines of communication.

### **CRPF organising a section of the masses in Jan Jagran Abhiyan in Kanker**

Central paramilitary forces engaged in ant-Maoist operations in Chhattisgarh have begun a new counter-revolutionary campaign called 'Janjagaran Abhiyan' (mass awareness campaigns) in some parts of Dandakaranya to mobilise the masses in favour of Operation Green Hunt, the war on people. As per this campaign, joint teams of Chhattisgarh Police, Maharashtra Police, CRPF and BSF are visiting in the villages on the Chhattisgarh-Maharashtra border, conducting meetings and forming a vigilante organisation called 'Bhumkal organisation'. Such meetings have been held by forcibly assembling the masses in

border villages like Tadgaon, Kareli, Kurkeli, Wengnur, Jogangatta, Kosphundi, Bateli etc., where government propaganda films against the Maoist movement were shown. By presenting 'atrocities' by the Maoists, stories of 'Naxal-affected' people, etc., they tried to provoke anti-revolutionary sentiments among the assembled people.

The forces claimed that influenced by the campaign, villagers deposited 37 Bharmar (country-made) guns and nine pipe guns and promised not to support the Maoists. The government forces also made the villagers to take pledge of giving up the use of weapons, liquor, tobacco, gutka, etc. Gadchiroli SP Abhinav Deshmukh claimed that the way the 'Bhumkal movement' is gaining the support of the villagers proves the people are opposed to the Maoists and therefore the Maoist movement will be wiped out soon. Singing in the same tune, Kanker SP ML Kotwani boasted that Naxalites are "enemies of humanity and the country and they will be eliminated soon". It is, however, certain that since the oppressed masses of these border regions have made the revolutionary movement their own, it is the police-orchestrated 'Bhumkal movement' and not the Maoist movement which will eventually be wiped out.

**ब्राह्मणीय हिन्दुत्व फासीवादी भाजपा सरकार द्वारा  
देश की जनता पर जारी युद्ध – ऑपरेशन ग्रीनहंट के खिलाफ  
5 से 11 अक्टूबर, 2016 तक देशव्यापी विरोध सप्ताह मनावें!  
5 अक्टूबर, 2016 – क्रांतिकारी आन्दोलन पर जारी राज्य हिंसा के खिलाफ  
6 अक्टूबर, 2016 – कश्मीरी जनता पर जारी पाशविक दमन के खिलाफ  
7 अक्टूबर, 2016 – दलितों पर हमलों व अत्याचारों के खिलाफ  
8 अक्टूबर, 2016 – महिलाओं पर सामूहिक बलात्कार, हत्या व अत्याचारों के खिलाफ  
9 अक्टूबर, 2016 – सैनिक सुविधाओं की आपूर्ति समझौते (एलएसए) के खिलाफ  
10-11 अक्टूबर, 2016 को  
देशव्यापी बंद का सफल आयोजन करें!  
विरोध के तहत जुलूस, धरना, चक्काजाम, प्रदर्शनों का आयोजन करें एवं बंद को सफल बनावें!  
भारत की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी (माओवादी)**

*Pages from International Communist Movement*

## ***Protest at the Indian Embassy in Athens in solidarity with political prisoners and against murder of revolutionaries in India***

On 26 November 2016, a protest was held outside the Indian Embassy in Athens. The protesters condemned the continuing imprisonment of Indian revolutionaries Ajith and Kobad Gandhi as well as other political prisoners in India. It was an initiative by the Solidarity Committee which is supported by Left organizations.

In this gathering the protesters shouted slogans of solidarity to the Indian militants and of condemnation of the unjust accusations and the harsh conditions of imprisonment. They condemned the barbaric and murderous policies of the Modi government. Through their slogan they declared that the real terrorists are the imperialists and not the oppressed peoples and the militants who are an obstacle to the imperialist schemes.

The gathering and the resolution of the Solidarity Committee condemned intensely the mass murders, tortures, rapes and extrajudicial executions that are an everyday

occurrence in India in the context of Operation Green Hunt. We demanded a stop to this murderous operation that targets the communists and the poor peasantry who struggle for their land against the plunder of multinationals and mining corporations.

The protesters demanded to paste the resolution on the Indian Embassy entrance, but police forces denied them access to the Embassy. There was also presence of Indian security personnel who videoed the protesters' faces. Of course we chased them away. We condemned the denial of our right to paste the resolution on the Embassy door as well as the attempt to terrorize us by mass presence of police forces.

We declare that state terrorism cannot silence all those that want to shout for peoples' rights! The Solidarity Committee will continue acting in support of Indian revolutionaries and express in every instance its solidarity!

We convey our red salutes to all our comrades and friends who have undertaken various solidarity programmes and campaigns in support of the people's war in India and against the fascist Operation Green Hunt. A number of programmes have been organised against the Ramguda and Nilambur encounters, in support of political prisoners and on other related issues. But because of lack of information about them, we regret our inability to cover them in this issue of *MIB*

## ***ILPS condemns in the strongest terms the killing of 28 Maoist revolutionaries and the summary killing of 11 hors de combat after being tortured in Odisha on October 24, 2016***

Eleven revolutionaries who were injured in the armed encounter were reportedly captured alive but were subsequently tortured and summarily executed by government soldiers.

The killing of hors de combat or combatants unable to fight, and torture of prisoners of war are both considered as war crimes and crimes against humanity under international law.

The concerned Indian authorities must be held responsible for these war crimes and hailed to justice.

We support the call of the Indian Maoists for a bandh in 5 states to condemn the killings. We support the call for the Indian authorities to put a stop to the Operation Green Hunt which targets the Indian Maoist revolutionaries and their supporters.

This counter-insurgency program has victimized many civilians by presenting them in the press as Maoist combatants in fake encounters.

The Indian Maoist revolutionaries have been waging a just struggle for national liberation and democracy for forty years now against imperialism and local reaction.

They deserve the support of all freedom-loving people of the world.

The ILPS which is an international alliance of more than 300 anti-imperialist and democratic organizations in more than 130 countries in Asia, North America, Latin America, Europe, Middle-East and Africa supports the struggles of all oppressed peoples against imperialism and their local reactionary collaborators.

The ILPS calls on all freedom-loving peoples of the world to support the Indian people's struggle for national liberation and democracy.

We call on all member organizations of ILPS to support the just struggle of the Indian people and the Maoist revolutionaries through various forms of support and solidarity actions.

**STOP OPERATION GREEN HUNT!**

**DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM AND REACTION!**

**SUPPORT THE INDIAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION AND DEMOCRACY!**

**LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY**

**Prof. Jose Maria Sison  
Chairperson**

**International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS)**



Jugend Widerstand protests in Berlin against the Ramguda Massacre in India and Operation Green Hunt

## **Donald Trump's ascendance to US Presidency: US imperialism gives itself a new face**

Just as billionaire businessman and casino-king Donald Trump surprised many political pundits by winning the keenly-fought Republican nomination by defeating many frontrunners, he performed a similar 'feat' by defeating Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton in a closely fought contest in the US presidential elections in October 2016. Though Hillary Clinton managed to get a slightly larger share of the popular votes, Trump's advantage in the Electoral College ensured that he made his way to the White House quite comfortably at the end. This has put an end to the decade-long rule of Barack Obama and the Democratic Party and marks the beginning of another term in office for the Republican Party since the tenure of George W Bush. Casting aside its African-American liberal democratic mask, crisis-ridden US imperialism has come out with its bare-faced and nakedly war-mongering, jingoistic, racist, anti-Muslim,

misogynist and White-supremacist true-self personified by Donald Trump. Raising the battle-cry of 'Make America Great Again!', Trump has promised to push a more aggressive domestic policy in favour of the US monopoly bourgeoisie by intensifying the assault on the US working people, racial and religious minorities, immigrants, etc. On the other hand, he has vowed to not only continue but to step-up the aggressive imperialist policies of the Obama government to maintain and expand the hegemony of the US ruling class internationally. In fact, US imperialism no longer has any use of a figure like Obama – seen as liberal and a moderate by many – to lead its efforts to overcome the economic and political crisis that is besetting it since 2008. It needs a fascist figure just like Donald Trump at this moment for this purpose, and Trump has given all indication to fulfil the brief given him by the US ruling class.



*"Not My President!": Students march during an anti-Trump protest rally in Seattle, USA, November 2016*

As far as the American people were concerned, they did not have any real choice in the presidential elections, nor can they have such a choice in the present political system dominated by the two parties representing the US big capitalists. On the one hand, they had Hillary Clinton, whose rabidly anti-people, reactionary and imperialist acts in her capacity as the Secretary of State in the Obama government they have witnessed for several years. Though she tried to garner popular support by presenting herself as the first women candidate for the post of US President, this failed to impress the electorate. On the other hand, there was Donald Trump, a political adventurer and wheeler-dealer with loads of money and a career of gangster-style business operations. The level of bourgeois political discourse in the US touched an all-time low as the two candidates carried out a war of words in the run up to the elections, sickening the American people to the core. Thus, while the extreme right-wing sections of the American society rallied behind the loudmouth Trump, others stayed away from the elections out of a lack of choice or voted

for Hillary Clinton as the lesser evil. No surprise that an aggressive Donald Trump managed to trump a defensive Hillary Clinton and emerged triumphant.

While the ascendancy of Trump marks the consolidation of the right-wing forces of the US society on the one hand, it also signals the strengthening of the non-electoral extra-parliamentary opposition to Trump, the right-wing forces and the US monopoly bourgeois ruling class that they represent. This was evident just after the election results were declared, when tens of thousands of American people demonstrated in several cities across the country to oppose his election to office. They even held demonstration in front of 'Trump Tower' – the residence of Donald Trump in New York City. Without doubt, it indicates that Trump and his government will be confronted with much more extensive and widespread resistance from the people at home and abroad in the coming years than the resistance faced by the Obama government in the last one decade.

## **The fight of African-Americans against racism takes militant turn**

In the last two years since 2014, African-Americans along with the democratic sections of the US society have been protesting against the continuous killing of Blacks by white police officers and the immunity they invariably enjoy from punishment as per the law. African-American workers, students and youths, intellectuals, artists, women and broad strata of the Black people have repeatedly come out on to the streets in large mobilisations under the banner of 'Black Lives Matter' with the solidarity of the democratic sections among the White population. Each instance of police violence and summary execution of Blacks like Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Sandra Bland, Tamir Rice, Ezell Ford, Tanisha Anderson, Walter Scott, Tony Robinson, Freddie Grey and others have led to massive demonstrations, often leading to militant clashes with the police. The continued killing of Black Americans by White policemen with impunity during the tenure of the so-called first African-American President has exposed not only the deep-rootedness of racism in the US society, but also the role of the country's reactionary ruling classes and their state machinery in promoting racism and White supremacy.

In continuation of this racially-motivated police violence on the African American minorities of the US, an 18-year old unarmed teenager Paul O'Neil was shot dead by Chicago Police officials on the pretext of preventing car-theft. The killing of O'Neil was recorded in the camera worn by the policemen who were involved in the incident. Widespread protests have forced Chicago Police Department to finally make parts of the footage public, though it withheld other parts leading up to the shooting by claiming that the camera did not record it because of some technical fault! But the video that is released clearly show that policemen pursued O'Neil and shot him dead even when they could have easily arrested him. This follows the usual method of resorting to extreme violence against Blacks by White police officers at the slightest pretext who know that the White supremacist Police Departments

or the US law courts will protect them from punishment.

Just four days after O'Neil's murder, 'Movement for Black Lives' (M4BL) – the coalition of over sixty organisations that is leading the 'Black Lives Matter' movement – released on 1 August a document titled 'A Vision for Black Lives: Policy Demands for Black Power, Freedom and Justice'. It contains six demands to end all forms of violence and injustice against the Black people, reallocation of US budgetary spending from the military and prisons to education, health, and social security; creation of a just economic system with the control of the people over it; attainment of black political power in a genuinely inclusive democratic system. Forty separate proposals and thirty-four policy measures and legislative recommendations are also included in this document. It also extended solidarity to the people fighting against oppression and injustice across the world, including the people of Palestine. It called Israel an 'apartheid state' carrying out genocide of the Palestinians.

Shootings, however, has continued even amidst growing protests and demonstrations calling for an end to racist police violence, forcing some African Americans to take up the gun in retaliation. In the first week of September too, two Black men were shot dead by the police in Louisiana and Minnesota. During the protest demonstration that followed in Dallas, one armed Black person opened fire on the hated policemen, killing five and injuring seven, before he himself was shot dead. Though sporadic and unorganised, such incidents of armed retaliation go to show the extent of the boiling anger and indignation among the Black community of the US, particularly among the Black workers, the unemployed, students, youths and the poor. If anything, this points to the need for building up organised armed resistance to racist attacks by the police or the White supremacist fascist gangs to compliment peaceful forms of struggle against the racist US ruling class.

## **Capitulation and liquidation of FARC cannot extinguish the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed Colombian people**

The FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) has recently concluded an agreement with the Colombian government of President Juan Manuel Santos to end the armed struggle it had been leading since its formation in 1965. According to the agreement reached between the two sides, FARC has consented to disband its army, hand over its weapons, form a legal parliamentary party and join the government. Colombian government, on its part, has agreed to implement a number of political and economic reforms proposed by the FARC, amend the country's constitution to provide FARC a few seats in the parliament, partial amnesty to the guerrillas, among other things. With the conclusion of the peace talks sponsored by the UN, facilitated by the Cuban government and backed by US imperialism and other imperialist powers that amounts to the surrender and capitulation of FARC, one of the most longstanding armed struggles of the post-Second World War period has come to an end.

Two sections of the Colombian society have come out in opposition to the agreement by FARC leading to the abandonment of its goals and the withdrawal of the armed struggle to achieve these goals. The first section is constituted by the right-wing forces who want no negotiation with what they term 'terrorists'; what they want is the smashing of the FARC by military force and punishment for those associated with the armed struggle led by FARC for their 'crimes'. The second section opposing this 'negotiated settlement' is constituted by the toiling masses of Colombia who have been part of the armed struggle, and whose political and economic interests FARC had been representing so far. They want the continuation of the armed struggle against the ruling classes and their imperialist masters – the struggle which had brought them a semblance of economic rights and political power, relieving their burden of exploitation and oppression by the parasitic classes to some extent.

FARC was established in 1965 under the leadership of the Communist Party of Colombia as a response to the decades of semi-colonial and

semi-feudal exploitation of the Colombian people. Under the guidance of the imperialist powers, particularly US imperialism, the dictatorial leaders of the government representing the big landlord and big capitalist classes ruthlessly exploited the Colombian workers, peasants and the middle classes and crushed their movements for democratic reforms. In the period preceding the formation of FARC called "The Violence" (1946-1957), two to three lakh people were brutally killed by successive dictatorial governments while over two million were forced to migrate. Not only communist revolutionary forces but even bourgeois democratic forces faced extreme persecution. At the root of this violence was the need to protect the political power of the domestic ruling classes who controlled the principal means of production and the fruits of social production. Social disparity and class contradictions reached explosive proportions, preparing the grounds for the formation of FARC and the beginning of a revolutionary armed struggle.

Internationally, it was a period when several socialist countries had come into existence and many national liberation wars were going on in colonial and semi-colonial countries under the influence of socialist ideology. After the restoration of capitalism by the revisionist Khrushchev clique in the Soviet Union, socialist China led by Mao had become the beacon light of the international communist movement against the arch-enemies of the proletariat and the people – revisionism and imperialism. It was in the international context of the further development of Marxism-Leninism into the qualitatively higher stage of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM), the launch of the Great Debate by the CPC against the revisionist CPSU and the subsequent GPCR that many revolutionary communist parties were formed throughout the world and people's wars were initiated. However, though FARC came into existence and a revolutionary armed struggle was launched in the Colombian countryside within this context, it did not uphold MLM – the most advanced ideology of the international proletariat – nor did it follow the strategy of Protracted

People's War (PPW). Though it spoke of the establishment of socialist-communist society as its ultimate goal and steadfastly pursued the path of armed struggle for over five decades, it remained under the influence of Soviet revisionism and other types of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. Lacking the correct proletarian ideology and a vision of seizing countrywide political power through a PPW to establish socialism in Colombia and then socialism and communism on a world scale, FARC could not look beyond a few radical reforms to be achieved within the existing system.

Even with serious limitations and weaknesses of its ideological, political, organisational and military line, FARC continued the armed resistance against imperialism and its domestic collaborators for a long period spanning over fifty years. This is no small achievement under the new conditions of neo-colonialism and bourgeois parliamentary system that emerged in the post-War period. Led by the FARC, the oppressed people of Colombia made tremendous sacrifices to build a better society and a better life. The positive aspects of the struggle led by FARC need to be acknowledged and lessons need to be learnt from its achievements. At the same time, its ideological, political, organisational and military weaknesses too need to be identified and lessons learnt from negative aspects, including its capitulation and liquidation as a militant fighting organisation representing the interests of the oppressed masses. An important negative lesson to be learnt from the FARC's dissolution is that only by resolutely and uncompromisingly adhering to the proletarian ideological, political, organisational and military line can the party of the proletariat lead the revolutionary class struggle to its victory. The debacle of FARC also points to the need to be vigilant about betrayals by the leadership of a revolutionary organisation which would inevitably lead the movement astray. The danger of the failure to cultivate a second line of correct leadership and revolutionary successors to continue the struggle on the correct path, the pitfalls of harbouring illusions about the parliamentary path in semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, the limitation of reforms in resolving the basic social problems of the people, are some of the other important lessons.

The co-opted FARC leaders, the Colombian ruling classes and the imperialist are trying to convince the Colombian people that the sharp class antagonisms that gave birth to the armed struggle in the first place can be resolved within the existing system in a peaceful parliamentary way. FARC has presented a charter of radical reforms before the Colombian government including distribution of land to the landless and poor peasants as a part of its negotiations. The history of the modern world has shown that radical reforms like land reforms could be implemented in its true spirit only through successful revolutions under correct proletarian leadership. Bourgeois parliamentary attempts at land reforms or other such important reforms have not succeeded anywhere in the world. So has been the fate of the numerous promises of reforms made by the ruling classes with people's armed organisations to liquidate armed conflicts. Such demands as land reforms, even if it is imagined for a moment that they will be implemented in earnest in Colombia as per the agreement with FARC, will fall far short of the hopes and aspirations of the vast masses of the Colombian people.

The people of Colombia can liberate themselves only through the complete overthrow of the rule of the imperialists, big landlords and the comprador big capitalists and the establishment of a people's democratic rule. This requires nothing short of a social revolution. Such a revolution can be carried out by the Colombian people only under the leadership of the country's proletariat organised in a vanguard Communist Party guided by revolutionary Marxism. It is true that the imperialists and their lackeys are today celebrating the liquidation of FARC and its armed struggle. But their celebrations will not last forever. The valiant people of Colombia who have a long and glorious history of struggle against colonial and dictatorial oppression will certainly draw lessons from the capitulation of FARC, rise up once again under the leadership of a correct Communist Party and start another class war for the establishment of a just society free from the exploitation and oppression of all kinds of reactionaries. The international working class too has the great responsibility of drawing appropriate lessons from the experience of the Colombian people and advance the international communist movement without getting disheartened by FARC's betrayal.

## **Massive strike by French workers warns the French bourgeoisie and its lackeys**

The Hollande government of the so-called ‘Socialist Party’ came for a rude shock when lakhs of French workers carried out a massive countrywide strike to protest against the government’s decision of 20 July 2016 for further privatisation. The Socialist Party led by Francois Hollande had come to power by promising to oppose the neo-liberal policies of the previous Sarkozy government and to take steps to improve the economic condition of the working masses. But after coming to power primarily with the vote and support of the workers, Hollande’s Socialist Party has proved to be no less faithful a lackey of the French monopoly bourgeoisie than its right-wing conservative parliamentary opponents.

One more proof of this was the passing of the Labour Law Reforms Bill in the parliament on 20 July under a special constitutional provision that does not allow any debate or voting, ignoring all the protestations inside and outside the parliament. Among its blatantly anti-worker provisions, the Bill makes the process of retrenchment even more simplified, strengthens the hands of the capitalists and

factory-owners vis-à-vis the workers, weakens the organising force of the trade unions and lengthens the working week. In fact, even before the Bill was introduced in the lower house of the parliament, for three to four months the French workers had been demonstrating in large numbers and conducting strikes against it, calling upon the government to withdraw the Bill. But Hollande had already declared in June that his government was “ready to go to any extent” to get the Bill passed! Not only did the ruling clique headed by Hollande ignore the workers, but even voices of opposition from its own party against the Bill.

It is worth noting that France has one of the strongest labour laws in the world that protect the rights of the workers against the depredations of capitalists and employers. These rights were no gifts from the bourgeoisie and their governments but the result of centuries of militant class struggle waged by the French working class. For instance, the French government was forced in 2000 to reduce the working week from 39 hours to 35 hours (a 7-hour working day with two days of paid holiday a week) under pressure from the workers’ movement. Through the new Bill, the Hollande government introduces the provision of allowing an increase in the working week by the employers “in consultation” with the



*Gathering storm: Workers take out a rally in Paris against Labour Reform Bill of Hollande’s ‘Socialist’ govt.*

workers – and that too in the name of creating more jobs! This is an example of the sharpening contention between capital and labour in France where nearly 5 million people are unemployed today according to one estimate, while 6 lakh more people have enrolled for government food coupons since 2012. In such a situation, the new Bill has endeared Hollande only to the big capitalists while making him a hated figure for the French workers. No surprise that the popularity ratings of the French President and his government have taken a nosedive in recent times. If the massive strikes following the passage of the Bill which brought the country to a standstill are any indication, the class struggle will further intensify in the homeland of the Paris Commune and the revolutionary proletariat.

### **Erdogan tightens his noose on the Turkish people after failed military coup**

In the night of 15 July, a section of the Turkish armed forces rebelled against the civilian Turkish government led by President Erdogan and attempted to depose him through a military *coup d'état*. Taking advantage of the President's absence in the country who was on a visit abroad, the rebel soldiers attacked several key government buildings in Istanbul and Ankara including the parliament, government TV station, international airport, etc. in an attempt to seize countrywide political power using tanks, heavy artillery, fighter jets, etc. The rebels declared martial law and announced the establishment of a 'Peace Council' to run the country. But the other section of the armed forces which remained loyal to the civilian government fought back the rebels. Erdogan too returned to the country and appealed to his supporters to defeat the rebels. Within five hours the rebellion was crushed. It left over 250 dead, over a thousand injured, and nearly 3,000 rebel soldiers including some top commanders of the Turkish Army were immediately put under arrest. A few leaders of the coup including a Colonel were killed, while 25 Colonels, 5 Generals and other top commanders leading the rebellion were arrested.

Following this failed coup attempt, Erdogan – who have been in power continuously since 2002 as Turkey's Prime Minister or President – have gone on a rampage against all whom he and his ruling Party considers as ideological-political opponents. He has tightened the noose of his fascist dictatorship in the pretext of defending democracy and stability. These repressive measures include the declaration of countrywide emergency, arrest of tens of thousands of political activists belonging to various opposition parties and organisations, dismissal of thousands of government employees on the suspicion of harbouring 'rebellious' ideas, gagging of the press, steps for the re-instatement of the death penalty, overhauling of the military and civilian institutions including the bureaucracy, judiciary, educational system, etc. to ferret out 'rebels', and so on. For instance, in his attempt to 'clean up' the education system', Erdogan has ordered the suspension of all the 1,577 Deans of Universities across the country, the licenses of 21,000 teachers working in private schools have been cancelled and 15,000 government employees of the Education Department have been dismissed. Such drastic repressive measures are being carried out in every field under government control.

In addition, Erdogan has given a free hand to the armed forces and the police loyal to him to carry out suppression of any voice of opposition to his government in the name of defending the civilian government. Accusing US government of harbouring the religious preacher Mullah Fatehullah Gulen whom Erdogan considers to be behind the failed coup, the Turkish President is trying to garner support of the Russian imperialists internationally for his fascist repression. All this constitute a new wave of attack by the Turkish ruling classes on the Turkish people, their revolutionary-democratic movement and their democratic rights. Similarly, Erdogan's dictatorial government has stepped up political and military attacks against the Kurds and other oppressed nationalities of Turkey in the name of fighting 'rebels' and 'terrorists'. This latest wave of attack after the coup by Turkey's rulers on the people is deeply resented

by all sections of the people, and they have come out protesting against the murder of democratic rights by the Erdogan government. Likewise, the armed revolutionary struggle and the national liberation struggles in the country too have intensified in the period after the coup in response to government's stepped-up repression. The coup itself, and the fascist state repression that follows, is a marker of the spiralling political and economic crisis of the reactionary Turkish ruling classes. It is certain that the hated Erdogan and the ruling clique led by him will be taught a lesson by the masses through their militant resistance.

### **Condemn the killing of 140 Yemeni civilians by Saudi government's air-force**

Ever since the Saudi Arabian rulers have illegally intervened in the civil war in Yemen in favour of its allies deposed by the Houthi rebel fighters, its armed forces have killed over six thousand Yemeni citizens and destroyed several thousand others using its superior military might. Since March 2015, Saudi Arabian ruling classes are leading a coalition on behalf of the US imperialists and its allies against the Yemeni people, and particularly the

armed struggle led by the Houthis, to reinstate a pro-US and pro-Saudi government at San'aa. As a part of this war of aggression, Saudi Air Force missiles hit a funeral gathering at a community hall in the capital city Saa'na in the first week of October 2016, killing over 140 civilians and injuring several others. The people had gathered in large numbers to mourn the death of the Houthi government's Interior Minister Jalal al-Rowaishan. Quite obviously, it was a premeditated attack by the Saudi rulers with the prior knowledge that civilians would be killed in large numbers. The war-criminals heading the Saudi government and the coalition led by it initially denied the report of this massacre, but had to admit it later. US government, quite hypocritically, condemned the air-strike and declared that it would carry out an investigation into the incident. UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon has also issued one of his toothless statements calling for a "prompt and impartial investigation" to bring the perpetrators to justice.

Yemeni people, on the other hand, took to the streets the next day of the incident raising slogans against Saudi and US rulers for carrying out the massacre of their fellow citizens and destroying their country through a war of aggression. All revolutionary and democratic forces of the world are with the



*Remains of the community hall in Yemeni capital Saa'na after the Saudi air-strike that killed over 140 Yemenis*

Yemeni masses in demanding a stop to the genocidal war carried out by the reactionary rulers of the US, Saudi Arabia, their allies and their Yemeni puppets by violating the sovereignty and independence of Yemen and crushing all international laws under their jackboots. The people of the world are in solidarity with the Yemeni people's anti-imperialist patriotic armed resistance to defend their country against the foreign hordes and their domestic mercenaries. Undoubtedly, it is ultimately the Yemeni people, and not their adversaries, who will emerge victorious in the bitter struggle.

### **‘For what should we celebrate the Olympic Games?’, ask Brazilian workers**

Government employees carry out a protest demonstration in Rio de Janeiro in July 2016 (photo below) against the Brazilian government's extravagance of hosting of the Olympic Games spending billions of dollars by diverting public funds for much-needed basic amenities. The protestors said that due to the Games, the government budget has run into massive deficits, their salaries have been stopped and they have been forced to procure even the necessities of daily life amidst the government-imposed economic emergency. Workers, peasants, the middle classes, unemployed and the poor have protested against the hosting of the Rio Games 2016, at places leading to militant clashes with the riot police.



### **Countrywide protest against killing of two Tamil students by Sri Lankan Police**

Two students of Jaffna University – Natarajan Kajan and Pounraj Sulakshan – were shot dead by Sri Lanka Police in Kankesanthurai on the northern tip of Jaffna peninsula on 20 October 2016. They were riding a bike when policemen opened fire on them in an unprovoked manner, killing the two students. After the news of the killing spread, students of Jaffna University protested in large numbers alleging the police of shooting down the students just because they were Tamils. The protests and condemnations by all sections of the Tamil people forced the Sri Lankan government to arrest five suspected policemen.

But the arrests and assurances failed to satisfy the agitated students and they continued their protests demanding a fair probe and the punishment of the culprits. The funeral of the murdered students on 23 October too became a site of protest against the Sinhala-chauvinist government carrying out national oppression of the Tamil nationality. On 24 October, led by its Students' Union, Jaffna University students took out a rally in Jaffna town in protest against the killing, blocking the main Highway A9.

Similar protests were carried out by Tamil students in Batticaloa, Mullaithivu, Killinochi and other towns of Northern and eastern Provinces. On the other hand, Sinhala students of 10 universities in the Southern Provinces also carried out demonstrations on 23 October against this police brutality and in solidarity with their protesting Tamil counterparts of the North. The Inter-University Student Federation (IUSF) which led the demonstrations in southern Provinces held the government responsible for the murder as “the police functions under the government”. The countrywide student protests forced President Maithripala Sirisena to order an independent probe into the killing.

Carrying on with this movement, Tamil students commemorated Tamil Eelam Heroes' Day on 4 November 2016 at various places, in complete defiance of the fascist Sinhala Police.



## COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

### Press Release

14 July 2016

### **Condemn the killing of five people by the police in Kandhamal!**

### **Build a mighty mass movement against state terror!**

The Indian ruling classes have been declaring the Maoists as ‘the biggest internal security threat’ during the last one decade with the aim of crushing the revolutionary movement. The counter-revolutionary measures introduced by the last UPA government are being implemented with much more intensity, brutality and speed by the present NDA government. Lakhs of police personnel and paramilitary jawans have been deployed in the 16 states where the Maoist movement is active. It has become a routine affair for these mercenary forces to subject the masses to shootings, false encounters, cruel torture and physical assault, molestation and rape of women, arrests and detention, foisting of false charges and similar other forms of fascist repression. It is as a part of the ongoing Operation Green Hunt – the war on the people – that the police and paramilitary forces deliberately fired upon and killed five villagers including two women and a child in Baliguda block of Kandhamal district in Odisha on 9 July while leaving several injured. To hide their involvement in this heinous crime, the murderous police-paramilitary forces claimed that the dead and injured villagers were caught in a crossfire between the government forces and armed Maoist cadres. The same lie was parroted by Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik and his BJD government. The masses, various democratic organisations, political parties and voluntary organisations exposed this white lie and came out to the streets in protest against the massacre and demanding punishment for the guilty policemen. They are holding Bandhs, rallies and demonstrations etc. to oppose state terror in the name of anti-Maoist operations. Our Party condemns the massacre of the villagers by the police in strongest terms and calls upon the people to build a militant and strong mass movement against state terror.

It is nothing new for the central and state governments and their armed forces to carry out brutal violence on the people and the Maoist revolutionaries in Odisha. From 2006, when Adivasi protestors of Kalinganagar anti-displacement movement were shot dead by the police, to the present massacre in Kandhamal’s Baliguda, the government forces have regularly resorted to firing on unarmed people. On 15 July 2015, central paramilitary and SOG (Special Operations Group) anti-Maoist commandos of Odisha

Police shot dead a Dalit couple near Pangalpadar village under Kottaguda Police Station in Kalahandi district after raping the woman and labeled them as ‘Maoists’, leading to widespread condemnation and protests. Three villagers were similarly killed by the anti-Maoist forces near Nisanguda village in the Karlapat Hills of Kalahandi district on 15 November 2015 and grievously injured two youths, one of whom later succumbed to his injuries. The killed villagers included a ward member Jai Majhi, Harishankar Nayak and Sukru Majhi. They too were declared to be ‘Maoists’ by the government forces. Their dead bodies were taken to the district centre and postmortem was conducted in the absence of the family members of the deceased by violating their own laws and procedure. The police had offered forty thousand rupees for each of the killed villagers. But Jai Majhi’s wife shot back in protest by asking if the people were to kill an SP (Superintendent of Police) and offer his wife forty thousand rupees, would it be acceptable to her. She questioned the familiar ploy of the government armed forces to kill people and then offer compensation. Nisanguda killings were strongly protested by the people of the area. In the month of August last year, three youths were picked up inside Sunabeda Wildlife Sanctuary of Nuapada district by SOG jawans and brutally tortured two of them in illegal custody on the suspicion of involvement in the Maoist movement in August last year. The two sustained serious injuries and one of them died, who was buried clandestinely by the SOG jawans. This killing led to widespread mass protests. Likewise, the police shot dead an identified person, threw his dead body in Niyamgiri area and claimed to have killed a Maoist last year in October.

In addition, eight Maoist cadres and PLGA fighters have been martyred at the hands of the SOG-CRPF between November 2015 and June 2016 in Sundargarh, Angul-Boudh border and Kalahandi districts. The safety and security of the people in large parts of Odisha including Malkangiri, Koraput, Sambalpur, Deogarh, Sundargarh, Balangir, Bargarh, Nuapada, Nabarangpur, Gajapati, Ganjam, Rayagada, Kalahandi, Kandhamal, Angul, Boudh and Nayagarh districts have been under threat due to the deployment of the central and state police forces engaged in the anti-Maoist operations. During this period, the government forces attacked the Maoists in these areas at least twenty times with the aim of eliminating the Party leadership and destroying the PLGA forces. These attacks were heroically repulsed by the PLGA guerrillas.

The reasons behind the murder of the people and the Maoist revolutionaries by the government forces are not difficult to seek. The Maoist movement is steadily expanding in Odisha after the formation of CPI(Maoist) in 2004, and particularly in the last few years. The masses of Odisha who are weighed down by the three mountains of oppression – imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism – are getting influenced and organised by the Maoist movement. Alarmed, the ruling classes have responded by deploying large numbers of paramilitary forces (BSF, CRPF) and state police forces, special commando forces like COBRA and SOG and vigilante gangs in the revolutionary movement-areas to suppress the expanding class struggle. Thus Odisha has become the third state after Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand in terms of number of police-paramilitary forces deployed in anti-Maoist operations. Carpet security grid, ‘attack-proof’ police stations and camps, transportation and communication networks, intelligence network etc. are being built targeting the revolutionary movement and all the democratic movements of the state. Ruthless state repression and brutal acts of violence like the massacre in Baliguda is being carried out by the Indian ruling classes with the objective of preventing the Maoist movement from consolidating in Odisha which has a strategic importance for the countrywide revolutionary movement.

Moreover, Odisha is said to be the ‘Jewel of the East’ for its vast amount and large variety of natural resources. It has cheaply available labour and good transport and communication facilities as well. The people of Niyamgiri have frustrated one attempt after another by the multinational Vedanta Corporation to mine Niyamgiri Hills for bauxite through their united militant struggle. Vedanta has been therefore eyeing Karlapat Hills as an alternative to the bauxite in Niyamgiri Hills. The hills, forests, water and land of the state are being handed over to multinational and Indian big corporations by the government in utter disregard of the opinion and interest of the people of Odisha. The people are steadfastly opposing such sell-out of their resources and are fighting for *jal-jangal-zameen-izzat* and *adhikar*. Our Party is in support of all these struggles and is leading many of them. Anyone who is on the side of the people are condemning and opposing this corporate loot. Anti-displacement movements are coming up in a large number of places in the country. Adivasi people

*(continued on p.195)*



# COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

## Press Release

14 July 2016

**Condemn the massacre of the people of Kashmir  
by the armed forces of the Indian expansionist state!**

**The people of India must stand in solidarity  
with the Kashmiri people!**

**Azadi for Kashmiri nation is the only solution!**

Even before the month of Ramzan is over, the whole of Kashmir is burning due to the massacre perpetrated by the armed forces of the expansionist Indian state. The fury of the Kashmiri people erupted against the Indian state after the Indian Army apprehended and cold-bloodedly murdered an unarmed Burhan Wani, a 21 year old fighter, along with two of his co-fighters on 8 July in Anantnag district of south Kashmir. Through his heroic sacrifice and martyrdom, Burhan has become an icon of the new generation of Kashmiris joining the liberation movement, particularly at a time when the armed struggle is once again on a path of resurgence after a brief lull. Thousands of protesting people joined the funeral procession of the martyred fighter defying prohibitory orders. Displaying their despicable brutality, the government armed forces opened indiscriminate fire on the procession killing a number of people. Protests broke out all over the Kashmir Valley immediately after this massacre. In the following days, the armed forces continued their fascist tactics of firing with deadly and sophisticated weapons upon unarmed agitators with the intention to kill, resulting in the death of more than 36 people. Over 1,500 people have suffered bullet and pellet injuries. Many have been rendered permanently disabled including over a hundred people whose eyesight is feared to be permanently damaged by shrapnel from shots fired by the Indian forces. Our Party strongly condemns the murder of Burhan Wani and the ongoing massacre of Kashmiri people. We express our heartfelt condolences to the family and friends of the Kashmiris who have laid down their lives in the struggle for the liberation of Kashmir and hope that the injured will recover soon to raise the voice of Azadi even more loudly and forcefully. We call upon the people of India, all national liberation organisations in the Indian subcontinent and the Maoist revolutionary forces all over the world to declare that 'Kashmiri people are not alone' and to come out in solidarity with the liberation struggle of the Kashmiri nation.

Burhan Wani's cold-blooded murder is not the first of its kind in Kashmir. The Indian armed forces have been carrying out massacres in Kashmir for the last 25 years. Soon after the second phase of Kashmir struggle had started in 1990, Indian Army and the CRPF fired upon the people of Gakadal, killing 50 of them. It came to be known as the Gakadal massacre in the history of Kashmir's liberation struggle. The movement witnessed a new upsurge as a result. In the following years massacres were carried out by the Indian forces in Handwara, Kupwara, Alamgirbazar, Jhakuri, Khandmar, Sopore, Bijbehra, Wamdama, Chattisinghpora, Nadimarg, Kulland and many other places of Kashmir, leading to the eruption of militant protests in the Valley. In a state which has a population of 1.25 crore people, well over 80,000 people have been killed by the Indian armed forces while over 8,000 have been forcibly 'disappeared' in the last two decades or so. More than 7,000 unidentified Kashmiris were buried in mass graves. More than 8,000 have been extra-judicially killed in custody. More than two lakh people have been subjected to brutal torture, rendering a large number of them permanently disabled. Over 7,000 Kashmiri women have been subjected to rape and gang-rape by the mercenary Indian forces. Be it the mass rape of Konan-Poshpora or the recent molestation of a girl

student by the Indian army, the boiling rage of the people of Kashmir has found expression in militant mass protests. The mercenary forces have destroyed the houses and property of the political activists, participants and supporters of the struggle. Hundreds of mosques have been destroyed. Even after decades of such fascist repression, more and more Burhan Wanis, Khalid Muzaffars and Suhail Ahmad Sofis have continued to take birth in Kashmir. The people have continued their struggle in armed and unarmed forms against the Indian expansionist state since Kashmir's annexation by India. This is a reflection of the undying aspiration of the Kashmiris for Azadi.

Much like in 1990 and 2010, even today the people of Kashmir are raising the slogan of Azadi for the world to hear. Defying the curfew aimed at retraining the people from protesting, the Kashmiris are joining the funeral procession of the fallen fighters in their thousands. They are taking the vow to fill the void left behind by their martyrs. In 2010, the people resisted the Indian armed forces with stones when these forces fired upon peaceful demonstrators with the aim of causing maximum casualties. Now they are openly fighting them with bare hands. In response to the brutal massacres, firings and fascist suppression, protestors are resisting the army with stones and barricades, gheraoing police stations, burning vehicles of the government forces and seizing weapons on some occasions. The government in Delhi is labeling them as 'separatists' and 'Pakistan-sponsored terrorists'. The globe-trotting Prime Minister of India Modi is making eyewash appeals for peace at the same time when BJP General Secretary Ram Madhav is threatening to crush the protests in Kashmir under the iron heels of the army. Ram Madhav's statement is a testimony to the attitude of Hindutva-fascist RSS towards the people of Kashmir. Speaking for the gang of Brahmanical Hindu fascists, Union Home Minister Rajnath Singh appreciated his armed forces and declared that anyone who challenged the 'unity and integrity' of *Akhand Bharat* would be crushed without mercy. Nor are the Kashmiri stooges of the Indian ruling classes – PDP and National Conference – any better. The government of Mufti Mohammad Sayeed-led PDP was inaugurated with the murder of two youths Khalid Muzaffar and Suhail Ahmad by the Indian armed forces. His daughter and present Chief Minister Mahbooba Mufti is continuing the same policy of drowning the liberation struggle of Kashmir in rivers of blood with the aid of PDP's saffron terrorist allies. But ultimately, the central and state governments as well as their lakhs of armed forces will be taught a hard lesson by the freedom-loving people of Kashmir through their national liberation struggle and fulfill the aspiration of Azad Kashmir.

**Workers, peasants, oppressed nationalities, democratic organisations, Dalits, Adivasis, women, students, intellectuals, employees and the people,**

This is the time for us all to stand in solidarity with the people of Kashmir more resolutely than ever. Our Party unequivocally supports the Kashmiri people's right to self-determination, including secession from India. Even after the UN Resolution on a referendum in Kashmir, the expansionist Indian state has been refusing to honour this resolution or its own promise of a referendum. The people of Kashmir have been ceaselessly continuing their liberation struggle for decades to win back their lost freedom. But their voices are sought to be strangled the armed might by the Indian ruling classes. The atrocities and repression on the people of Kashmir have increased in the last two years in particular after the Brahmanical Hindu fascist forces have come to power at the centre. Guided by its Brahmanical Hindu fascist ideology, Modi government has added its virulently anti-Muslim national-chauvinist policy to the decades-old policy of fascist repression pursued by successive Indian governments in Kashmir in the name of protecting the 'unity and integrity' of the country. Moreover, BJP is resorting to the politics of whipping up communal frenzy among the Hindus of Jammu against Kashmiri Muslims to retain its power in the state in alliance with PDP. Through special economic packages of thousands of crores, separate residential enclaves/'Smart Cities' for Kashmiri Pandits and army personnel, etc., Modi government is trying to forcibly integrate Kashmir more closely with India on the one hand and to deepen the communal cleavage between the Muslims of Kashmir Valley and the Hindus of Jammu. The anti-Muslim and anti-Kashmiri character of the Indian state and the fascist BJP is glaringly reflected in the utmost concern shown by the central and state governments to continue the Amarnath Yatra

*(continued on p.187)*



# COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

## Press Release

28 July 2016

### Homage to renowned progressive Bengali writer Mahasweta Devi

The Central Committee of Communist Party of India (Maoist) pays its humble homage to the renowned progressive Bengali writer, social activist and a champion of the oppressed masses Mahasweta Devi who passed away recently. It expresses heartfelt condolence to her bereaved family members, comrades and friends.

Many writings of Mahasweta Devi, who had entered the field of creative writing at the age of twenty five, have acquired a hallowed position in the history of literature. Her pen that took the side of the oppressed, always called into question exploitation, oppression, injustice, domination, corruption and state violence.

Mahasweta Devi, who said that it was a sense of deep empathy for history that had always pushed her forward, documented after going through several hardships, after sifting through historical accounts and by bringing to light the suppressed truths about the history of Rani of Jhansi Laxmibai who had taken on the British colonialists. In the same way, she demonstrated her anti-imperialism and commitment to the oppressed people by writing about heroic Adivasi fighter Birsa Munda who led an armed struggle against the British imperialists.

Many of her novels and stories including Hazar Chaurasi Ki Maa, Basai Tudu, Amrit Panchai, Andhar Manik, Bibek Bidaipala, Agnigarbha, Maheswar, Gram Bangla, Neeli, Draupadi, Rudali, Shanichari, Standai, etc., which were the products of extensive study, exceptional variety in subjects, great literary style and creativity raises the social consciousness of the reader by laying bare the crude social reality. Her writings have been translated to English and many Indian languages which have made her well-known throughout the country.

Mahasweta Devi, who wrote with sensitivity, commitment and dedication about the lives and struggles of the oppressed and enslaved classes and Adivasis, took their side and became part of many of their social struggles. She expressed her firm solidarity with the struggles of Singur, Nandigram and Lalgarth.

Mahasweta Devi who was raised in a family with communist background remained close to Leftist politics till her last breath. She remained on the side of the people. In particular, she remained a committed well-wisher of the Adivasis all her life.

The exploitation and oppression which Mahasweta Devi made the target of her pen, the same ruling classes who represent this exploitation and oppression tried in vain to turn her pen to their side by bestowing her with many awards including Padma Vibhushan. In spite of this, she kept up the sharpness and severity of her pen. At the same time, she spent the money she got as award for the cause of the Adivasis.

Modi and Mamata Banerjee, who are the brutal oppressors of the people and Adivasis in whose favour Mahasweta Devi had stood throughout her life, have no moral right or qualification to pay homage at her death.

We call upon the revolutionary and progressive writers to continue the sharpness and style which Mahasweta Devi imbibed.

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



# COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Press Release

1 September 2016

**Oppose the US-India agreement on exchange of military logistics (LEMOA)  
detrimental to the interests of the people and the scountry's sovereignty !**

**Build a people's movement to scrap this agreement!**

The process which was going on for the last thirteen years has come to an end with the conclusion of the latest agreement between the US and India related to the exchange of military logistics (Logistical Exchange Memoranda of Agreement, or LEMOA). By shamelessly signing this agreement on behalf of the central government, Indian Defence Minister Manohar Parikkar has betrayed even with the interests and the namesake sovereignty of the country. While our country's intellectuals, progressive and democratic individuals, patriotic and all anti-imperialist forces are strongly opposing this agreement, in spite of this the central government is ignoring it to express its loyalty to its imperialist masters, particularly the US imperialists. It has sacrificed the country in the interest of the US imperialists. Our Party calls upon the people of India to advance on the path of struggle against this agreement.

In the age of imperialist-sponsored Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation (LPG) policies that are going on for the last two and a half decades, the country is gradually is advancing towards fulfilling the interests of the US imperialists. By diluting and weakening by the year the 'Non-Alignment' policy which the ruling classes had pursued between 1947 and 1990, they have made the country the tail of the US through the implementation of new economic policies. Our country did not participate in the past in agreements constituting military blocks similar to NATO in the leadership of the US or other rival military blocks opposing them. But now it has openly become the lackey of US policies. Our Party strongly condemns this. The pro-US Indian policies which are continuing for the last two to two and a half decades are being implemented in an even more aggressive and dangerous manner in the last two years of Modi's rule. The need for the people of India to struggle against this has become much more serious at preset than before.

At present, our country remains a big market for US-made commodities. US capital to India in the last ten years has increased by nearly seven times. The same situation prevails in the service sector. The rulers are sacrificing our country to the strategic interests of the US in the context of China's advancement in its competition in all fields with the US for world hegemony. It is bending its knees before the warmongering policies of the US. Agreements between the US and India is strengthening in all sectors since Modi is working with the aim of turning India into a superpower as per his 'Vision-2020' and is committed to prepare India's economic and military sectors to compete with neighbouring China.

The truth is that discussions on the recently concluded LEMOA with the US were held during the sixth meeting of the Indo-US Defence Policy Group in 2004. It came into being as the 'Acquisition and Cross Servicing Agreement' (ACSA). In the last ten years, it has been limited to the fulfilment of military logistical needs and exchange of services between the armed forces. It is worth noting here that the erstwhile UPA government did not muster the courage to give a final shape to the LEMOA due to the strong protest of the people of India, whereas Modi government is implementing it aggressively at present. As per this agreement, all works related to repairing of defence hardware, development of research and technology, defence modernisation, etc. will be done in the US. The most dangerous aspect of all is that India will not raise any objection to the implementation of US war policies in Asia region. The US will be able to use the country's naval and air force bases for the recuperation of its armed forces and for its refuelling needs without any obstacles. This agreement is prepared with the understanding that the US army can also enter Indian territory

in the event of there being a “threat to internal security”. It is worth noting that our country has already concluded military agreements with 24 countries including the US.

Because of the pro-US and anti-China policies that the ruling classes of our country are pursuing, a situation of serious tension is getting created in South Asia. After the partition of the country, Indian armed forces have fought wars with Pakistan in 1965, 1971 and 1999, with China in 1962 and in Sri Lanka in 1987 as per the Indian interventionist policies. Indian armed forces have been involved and are still getting involved in civil wars of many countries including Congo, Afghanistan in implementing the so-called peacekeeping policies of the United Nations Organisation. On the other hand, they are engaged in crushing many nationalities in our country including the Kashmiris who are fighting for the right to self-determination including secession. Nevertheless, the recent statement by the country’s Defence Minister Manohar Parikkar, who is also a representative of the Sangh Parivar which believes in militarism, that the people do not respect the Indian armed forces because they have not fought any war in the last forty-fifty years, is highly condemnable. The US is facing opposition to its wars from the American people and the people of the entire world. At the same time, it is recalling its armed forces from Iraq and Afghanistan due to the acute economic crisis it is facing. In this context, LEMOA holds a special significance. The US is imposing sanctions on Russia on the issue of Ukraine to isolate it. In such a situation, the country’s present relations with Russia will be affected by the agreements concluded with the US. Our Party believes that like other countries, the emergence of India as a strategic partner of the no.1 enemy of the world people, US imperialism, due to the relations of the Indian government with it and its present policies is most dangerous.

The people and the democratic forces of the US are forcefully demanding that the US imperialists give up their present war policies. Well-known intellectuals have placed before the candidates of the US presidential elections to be held this November a ten-point programme related to the policies to be implemented in the country in the future. Reduction of military expenses, building of a peaceful economic system, to close down the US military bases in over 70 countries, to respect international laws by giving up wars of aggression, stopping the sale of weapons to countries which are violating human rights are some of the points included in it. Desiring peace, people of the entire world including the US people are calling for revolution. Let’s strengthen the anti-imperialist movement by uniting with all of them. Our Party once again appeals to the people to carry out a resolute struggle to scrap the military logistics exchange agreement which is a threat to the sovereignty of the country’s people.



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

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and ensure the safety of the Hindu pilgrims at all costs even as the Kashmiris are being daily shot and maimed by their mercenary forces with utter disdain for the loss of lives. We must strongly condemn the ongoing state repression on the Kashmiri liberation fighters and the Kashmiri people and stand with them in solidarity. We must tell them, “You are not alone!” This is the duty of each and every revolutionary and democratic organisation and individual standing on the side of the people. In the same way, our Party calls upon the people, national liberation organisations and democratic organisations of all the South Asian countries opposing Indian expansionism to stand in solidarity with the masses of Kashmir and to support their just demand for Azadi.



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



# COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Press Release

5 September 2016

**Observe A Week of Countrywide Protest from 5 to 11 October 2016  
against Imminent Aerial Attacks and Large-scale Massacres and En-masse  
Violence on Women and Fascist State Terror in the Maoist Movement Areas!**

**Make Successful the Countywide Shut-down (Bandh) on 10 and 11 Oct. 2016!**

As part of the all-round state terror and Brahmanical Hindu fascist attack unleashed on the country's people under Modi-led NDA government, the third phase of Operation Green Hunt (OGH) is being conducted targeting the revolutionary movement led by our Party spanning over 17 states. The Maoist movement – which is the principal organised force and a major part of the broad array of people's democratic movements in the country – has emerged as a serious threat to the Indian ruling classes and their rule based on exploitation and oppression, particularly after the formation of the unified CPI(Maoist). In light of the revolutionary proletarian ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and by opposing the decadent feudal-imperialist ideology, it is showing the way of liberation for the vast oppressed masses of the country. The terrified reactionary rulers are therefore resorting to brutal state violence and repression to nip the sprouting organs of people's democratic power in the bud, wipe out the CPI(Maoist) that is leading this movement, crush the PLGA – the fighting force of the people, gag the revolutionary-democratic mass organisations and suppress the struggling masses. In this way, they hope to reverse all the hard-earned gains of the revolutionary people and contain the Maoist movement before it gathers strength, comes out of its present difficult situation, spreads to other regions and embrace more and more of the oppressed by utilising the present favourable objective conditions to advance the New Democratic Revolution. Embroiled in grave economic and political crises, the objective of the ruling classes is to take away new democratic political power from the people on the one hand and their *jal-jangal-zameen* on the other to transfer these rich natural resources to imperialists and domestic big landlords-big comprador bureaucratic capitalists. In the process they aim to forcibly displace and scatter the masses – particularly the Adivasis – from these areas and turning them into a source of cheap labour for the mega infrastructural projects and ecologically highly-destructive industries planned for these areas, destroy the emerging and strengthening self-reliant economy of the people, their democratic social relations, norms and practices, culture, language and the entire way of life. For carrying out this counter-revolutionary agenda through a 'war on people', the military, paramilitary, executive, police, courts, prisons, mercenary gangs, propaganda machinery, etc. - in short, all the organs of the state and all other instruments of repression have been mobilized.

Entering its third year now, the third phase of OGH launched by Modi government involves a renewed, escalated and more aggressive fascist assault on the people. A new and heinous element introduced in this offensive is the imminent aerial attacks on the people and the people's armed forces by deploying the Indian Air Force in combat role. Chhattisgarh Police has announced on 1 April this year that MI-17 helicopters of the Air Force have been training, conducting drills and practicing strafing in Sukma, Dantewada and Bijapur districts of Chhattisgarh since November 2015. Changing its earlier pretext of 'firing in self-defense', the government has now openly declared that Air Force's Garuda commandos will open machinegun fire from helicopters when even the government ground forces come under Maoists attack. So far, the government kept claiming that the role of helicopters was confined to relief and rescue operations, logistical and transportation purposes alone. But in reality, Air Force has already been involved for quite some time in the ongoing war beyond this declared role. Helicopters have been regularly used to airlift specialised commando forces to the battlefield and to evacuate them when attacked or routed by the PLGA, to supply ammunition and war

material and provide other forms of real-time air support during anti-Maoist operations. In fact, preparations for the introduction of Air Force helicopters in combat role have been carried out over the last few years through the building of a number of new helipads in the movement areas across the country, establishing Air Force command and control centres at strategic locations of these areas, giving special training to Air Force commandos, fitting the helicopters for anti-Maoist operations with machine guns and deploying commandos to operate them, etc.

The involvement of another armed wing of the state - the Indian Army - in this counter-revolutionary war is already well-known. Apart from training and guiding the anti-Maoist forces, it has conducted training in Dandakaranya with the aim of building an army base within the guerrilla zone as a preparatory step towards direct combat in the future. Along with this, the use of Air Force for aerial attacks under the fig-leaf of "Maoist attack on government forces" will inevitably lead to grave consequences, particularly for the masses, Party leadership, cadres and PLGA forces in the Maoist guerrilla zones. The use of Indian Air Force against the Naga and Mizo national liberation movements in the past had led to large-scale massacre of people and created all-round devastation. Internationally too, deployment of aircrafts, helicopters, drones etc. by reactionary governments in wars have inflicted and continues to inflict immense casualties among the people. By using fire-power of the Air Force against the people and their leading organisations, Indian ruling classes are escalating the class war to an unprecedented level that will cause a conflagration engulfing the vast rural areas.

The three armed forces of the Indian state, which are supposedly to guard the country's borders and to be deployed against external enemies, are thus being used within the country and against its own people. In fact, the ruling classes consider the vast areas where the revolutionary movement has taken firm roots as enemy territory and the masses inhabiting them as hostile population to be militarily subjugated. This explains why they have deployed large numbers of specialized border forces such as Border Security Force (BSF), Indo-Tibetan Border Police (ITBP) and Sashashtra Seema Bal (SSB) with the specific task of guarding the 'borders' between red and white areas and with the ultimate aim of encircling and wiping out the red areas. In this way, they are converting these vast areas into veritable prisons where free movement of the people, basic necessities of life and their democratic-fundamental rights are severely restricted. People's daily life, polity, economy, social life and culture, i.e., all aspects of their way of life are getting affected as a result. Not surprisingly, serious atrocities, acts of terror and violation of basic rights have been wantonly committed by the mercenary police-paramilitary-vigilante forces in such areas. Use of Air Force to augment the fascist attack on the so-called "biggest internal security threat" will certainly lead to more severe and wide-ranging repercussions including large-scale extermination and displacement of Adivasi-Moolvasi people and the peasantry.

The fascist move to induct helicopters in combat role is a part of several other counter-revolutionary measures already taken by the Modi government. These include the deployment of a large number of paramilitary and police forces in the movement areas in addition to nearly five lakh anti-Maoist forces already engaged. Moreover, police-paramilitary forces are given higher level of training and equipped with sophisticated weapons and war material. Transport, communication and intelligence networks in the movement areas are being rapidly built up and strengthened. 'Carpet-security' is being expanded to cover more and more areas of the guerrilla zones by building new police camps, battalion headquarters, mobile towers, roads and other infrastructure. New specialized counter-insurgency forces such as Bastar Battalion as well as new units of Home Guards, Auxiliary Police, Nagar Suraksha Karmis, District Reserve Guards, Village Defense Committees, District Volunteer Force, etc. are being raised and counter-revolutionary gangs are being propped up to pit the people against the people. Special operations within the purview of OGH-3 such as 'Mission 2016' in Dandakaranya and 'Operation Finish', 'Operation Mahadev' and 'Operation Break' etc. in Bihar-Jharkhand are being launched with the aim of uprooting the Maoist movement within a year. Along with this, 'Operation Blue Moon' (Andhra-Odisha Border), 'Operation Viswas' and 'Parasnath Action Plan' (Jharkhand) and several such 'action plans' in ten districts of Bihar-Jharkhand on the lines of 'Saranda Action Plan' and 'Civic Action Programmes' are being implemented in the name of 'reforms', and so on.

The severe repercussions of the latest wave of multi-pronged countrywide assault on the revolutionary movement during the last two years of NDA rule are already evident. The number of cold-blooded killings of the people and revolutionaries in fake encounters and massacres by the police-paramilitary-vigilante forces in Dandakaranya, Odisha and Bihar-Jharkhand has gone up considerably. These forces are using violence

against women in a systematic and planned manner to stifle their growing role in the mass organisations, organs of people's power, PLGA and the revolutionary movement in general. Women are subjected to rape and gang-rape en-masse, physical assault, striping and parading naked, torture and humiliation, etc. They are even resorting to the heinous method of making videos and taking naked photos of slain/raped women including women guerrilla fighters and making them public. Arrests, illegal detention, custodial torture, forced confession, slapping of false cases, forcible surrender, forcibly recruiting the people in mercenary forces and gangs, beating, arson, loot, collective punishment, destruction of crops and property of the masses, forced eviction and displacement due to state repression too has gone up in the movement areas across the country. To cover-up this fascist state terror, democratic organisations and individuals, intellectuals, journalists, advocates, civil rights activists are being threatened, intimidated and targeted through state-sponsored gangs or by the police directly. Almost the same degree of state repression is perpetrated on revolutionary and democratic mass organisations and individuals working openly and legally in the urban areas. Diplomatic pressure is being used by the Indian government on foreign governments to rein in the Maoist parties and organisations which are engaged in the international support movement to the protracted people's war in India.

By deciding to use air force strafing in addition to all these acts of white terror in the ongoing 'war on people', the rulers of the country are pushing the vast masses of people into grave danger. Their lives and very existence is under serious threat. But this threat is not confined to the people of the Maoist movement areas alone. Even though the people of the country are no strangers to repression, the combination of state power and the ideological-political-organisational-cultural-military force of the Brahmanical Hindu fascists represented by the incumbent NDA government (and a very small fascist clique led by Narendra Modi-Amit Shah-Mohan Bhagwat guiding it) has prepared the grounds for an unprecedented all-round multi-faceted attack on the people and the country in the last two years. Using its newfound power, the Hindutva-fascist brigade led by Modi government has embarked on its nefarious design to not only defend the present exploitative and oppressive socio-economic-political order through brute force and violence but to consolidate it further by open terrorist means in an attempt to transform India into a neo-fascist Brahmanical Hindu Nation. It presents an unprecedented threat to all oppressed social classes, sections and their fighting organisations.

As recent events in the country amply testify, none of the oppressed social classes or sections and none of the social spheres have been left untouched, unaffected or unharmed by this Hindutva-fascist assault. Suffice it to cite a few of them during the last two years of Modi government. Attacks on Muslims and Christians (Muslims in particular who have been aggressively targeted in the name of 'War on Terror' as well as 'Cow Protection', 'Uniform Civil Code', etc.) have been intensified. Caste-based atrocities on Dalits in the form of murder, rape, physical assault, public humiliation, social boycott, discrimination, etc. by the 'upper' castes backed by the state and the Hindutva forces are growing all over the country. Several democratic writers and intellectuals have been killed and similar attempts are being constantly made to muzzle the democratic voices. The recent spate in state repression on the Kashmiri people which has resulted in the killing of over 65 Kashmiris and the injury of over 3,000 people during an unprecedented curfew running over a month shows the scaling up of oppression on minority nationalities. Protesting people demanding their democratic rights including reservation in several states have faced ruthless police repression. Violence on women including rape and gang-rape is on the rise all over the country. Adivasis and others who do not conform to the Brahmanical Hindutva worldview, social order, culture and practices face renewed attack on their way of life through conversion and 'Ghar Wapsi', attempts to subjugate and control their culture, customs, traditions and beliefs, etc.

At the same time, Modi government is making amendments to the existing labour laws to take away the hard-earned rights and amenities of the workers and employees. It is attempting to pass a new land acquisition act to facilitate the seizure of peasant's land by the state, imperialists, big capitalists and landlords. It is taking several steps that will pauperize the vast peasant masses and rural and urban poor. Direct foreign investment in sectors such as retail on which the employment of crores of people depend will deprive them of a means of livelihood. By passing the imperialist-dictated GST Bill, the government has further diluted even the namesake federal structure and is concentrating power at the hands of the centre. It is carrying out saffronization of public education and educational institutions as exemplified by the events in FTII, IIT Chennai, HCU, JNU and many other institutes. Civil and democratic rights of the people by Hindutva gangs wielding

the hammer of sedition, pseudo-patriotism and pseudo-nationalism are given a free run. Indeed, the intensity, extent, number and forms of this all-round attack are on the rise with each passing day of Modi government. This alarming situation calls for urgent efforts by all the democratic forces of the country to come together, fight back and defeat the fascist offensive.

**Workers, peasants, democrats, patriots, religious and national minorities, Dalits, Adivasis-Moolvasis, women, students, youth, employees, unemployed and all sections of the people and their parties/ organisations,**

Beloved people of our country! The Central Committee of CPI(Maoist) calls upon all of you to raise your voice and strongly protest against the deployment of Air Force in combat role and the intensified repression on the people in the Maoist movement areas. It is high time that all the democratic forces fighting for social change come together and build a countrywide militant movement against this and all such fascist, anti-people and anti-country acts of Modi government and all state governments. Only in this way can we really stand up for democracy, progress, people and the country. Our Party gives a call for a Protest Week from 5 to 11 October and two days of countrywide shut-down (Bandh) on 10 and 11 October to oppose the imminent aerial attacks and the growing state repression and Brahmanical Hindu-fascist attacks on the people in the Maoist movement areas as well as different democratic movements, organisations and oppressed social sections of the country. We appeal to you all to make the Protest Week and Bandh a resounding success.

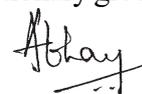
**All Party units, PLGA detachments, Revolutionary People's Committees and revolutionary and democratic mass organisations,**

Dear comrades! Organise and lead armed and unarmed protests of the people during the Protest Week and Bandh by mobilizing and involving the vast masses in the areas of class struggle, Guerrilla Zones and Red Resistance Areas. Involve various fighting streams and forces of the people that are challenging Hindutva-fascism and state repression and organise these programmes with them jointly wherever possible. Creatively utilize all forms of protest including big and small public meetings, seminars, rallies, torchlight processions, *chakka-jams*, *dharnas* and demonstrations, sit-ins, *gheraos*, etc. Carry out wide propaganda to arouse the masses of the movement areas and to make the people outside these areas aware of the reality of state repression in the war zones. Posters, pamphlets, wall writings, banners, etc. should be extensively used before and during the Protest Week.

**Fraternal MLM/ML parties and organisations abroad, international friends of the Indian revolution and the friends of the Indian people,**

Comrades and friends! The Central Committee of CPI(Maoist) humbly appeals to you to raise your resounding voice of opposition to the barbaric state terror being planned and carried out on the Maoist movement by the reactionary ruling classes under the direct guidance and help of imperialism and with the active help of the Zionist forces. The fighting people of India and our Party warmly acknowledge the firm solidarity and support you are giving to the Protracted Peoples' War in India. We are confident that you will continue this proletarian internationalist spirit by observing this Protest Week in your own country and internationally. You can do this by organising protests in front of Indian Embassies and Consulates in your countries and at the offices of MNCs operating in India, by taking up propaganda work, by playing an active role in international bodies such as ICSPWI and ICAWPI and by adopting other forms of protest.

With revolutionary greetings,



**Abhay**

**Spokesperson  
Central Committee  
CPI(Maoist)**



# COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Press Release

2 October 2016

**Demand a stop to the war-mongering, chauvinism and aggression  
by the expansionist Hindu-fascist Modi regime against Pakistan!**

**Oppose state terror against the Kashmiri people!**

**Support the just struggle of the Kashmiri nation for *Azadi*!**

The pre-dawn attack of 18 September on an Indian Army base at Uri in Jammu and Kashmir left 17 army jawans dead and at least 20 injured, two of whom died later. This is the single biggest loss suffered by the Indian Army in Kashmir in the recent years. Following this, a relentless anti-Pakistan jingoistic chorus was drummed-up by all ruling-class parties led by the Hindutva fascist BJP/Sangh Parivar as an expression of virulent Indian expansionism. Opposition parties vied with one another to look more ‘nationalist’ than the rest in making anti-Pakistan statements and demanding ‘decisive action’. Allegations against Modi government for its purported failure to take “tough action” and “teach Pakistan a lesson” from the opposition and the corporate media came thick and fast. Modi government and the RSS, however, needed no prompting to unleash a barrage of tirade targeting Pakistan in the wake of the Uri attack, terming it a “sponsor of terrorism”, “a terrorist state”, “epicentre of global terrorism” and what not.

Amidst the growing cacophony of big-nation chauvinism by the Indian ruling classes and a similar jingoistic response by the rulers of Pakistan, an Indian Army spokesperson (DGMO, J&K) declared in a press conference in New Delhi that the Army successfully carried out “surgical strike” across the Line of Control (LoC) on 28 September. It claimed to have destroyed “terror infrastructure” such as “terrorist launch-pads” and gunned down several “terrorists”. Only a few days before this, the army had made the questionable claim of shooting down around ten ‘terrorists’ who were allegedly trying to cross the LoC, but could furnish no evidence to back up its claim. In case of the so-called ‘surgical strike’ too, serious questions have been raised about the veracity of the claim from various quarters domestically and internationally. Journalists who have visited the LoC on PoK side and talked to the local residents could not find any evidence of any ‘surgical strike’ by the Indian armed forces. The pressure on the Indian government is now growing to furnish credible evidence of it – a demand it has stubbornly refused so far.

Indeed, the manner in which the government went about advertising the ‘surgical strike’ and later stonewalled the call for concrete evidence provide enough grounds to question the claim. This ‘surgical strike’ has much similarity with the *modus-operandi* of the Modi government after the Indian Army suffered a large number of casualties in an attack SS Khaplang-led NSCN in Manipur last year. Then too, it publicly claimed that the Army had carried out a strike inside Myanmar in ‘hot pursuit’ of Naga guerrillas and killed several of them, a claim which remains unsubstantiated and was firmly rebutted by that organisation and the Myanmar government. The recent claim of ‘surgical strike’ too appears to be motivated more by political reasons than military requirements. It is mainly aimed at assuaging the domestic Hindutva constituency of BJP/Sangh Parivar and put the opposition parties on the defensive. But the very act of making such claims amply demonstrates that while remaining extremely touchy about the “unity and integrity” of “Bharat Mata”, Modi government has no compunctions in violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other countries and nations including our neighbours, if it is in the interest of the ruling classes and their imperialist masters, particularly US imperialism. In fact, aggression and military intervention against our neighbours has always been the policy of the expansionist Indian rulers and remains an integral part of the Brahmanical Hindu fascist agenda of establishing an integrated

'Hindu Rashtra' in South Asia. BJP spokespersons have announced in the past that the party is committed to establish 'Akhand Bharat' through peaceful means. It is this expansionist policy of the Indian ruling classes that is responsible for pushing the country into the brink of the present crisis.

But even if the question whether or not the 'surgical strike' actually took place is set aside, it can be said with some certainty that the decision to make this claim publicly was taken by Modi government with the objective of salvaging its tattered image after the bankruptcy of its Kashmir policy got thoroughly exposed domestically and internationally. Unable to respond to the ongoing historic and unprecedented mass upsurge of Kashmir in any other way than by military force (which has taken the lives of nearly a hundred Kashmiris and injured more than 20,000 so far), Modi government desperately needed a pretext to divert the world's attention from the atrocities committed by the Indian occupation forces in Kashmir. The government wanted to change its image of the perpetrator of state terrorism in Kashmir to a victim of "state-sponsored cross-border terrorism". It has found such a pretext In the Uri attack,.

On the other hand, it was looking for an opportunity to channelise the growing discontent of the masses of the country harmlessly towards a foreign 'enemy'. The Sangh Parvar and BJP have been working in a planned manner since the last parliamentary elections to win over the Backward Castes and the Dalits to its side in order to consolidate its social base and to minimise the resistance to its reactionary anti-people steps. Using the state machinery, Modi-led BJP has introduced several programmes for workers, peasants, BCs, Dalits, Adivasis, women and the poorest of the poor with much fanfare. But 'Modinomics' has utterly failed to assuage the growing social crises and the resulting discontent. It has completely failed to bring any 'acche din' to the vast majority of the country's people. 'Acche din' has remained the privilege of only the imperialists and a miniscule minority of the populace – big capitalists, big landlords, ruling-class politicians, top bureaucrats and government functionaries, etc. During more than two years of rule, Modi government has proved its utter inability to resolve any of the burning economic, political and social issues of the masses and to address their discontent. This discontent is getting expressed through various mass movements by workers, peasants, BCs, Dalits, Adivasis, students, employees, religious minorities and oppressed nationalities, etc., among which the present upsurge in Kashmir is the most militant and extensive one.

Another factor behind the aggressive posturing of the Modi government towards Pakistan is the upcoming assembly elections. Most important for BJP is the UP elections, followed by states like Punjab and Gujarat where the fate of its governments/alliance-governments are at stake. The stakes have become even higher after its abject failure in the recently concluded assembly elections in Bengal, Keralam, Tamil Nadu and Puducherry (it could achieve a consolation win only in Asom mainly due to the 15 years of Congress misrule). BJP/Sangh Parivar is therefore desperately drumming up anti-Pakistan pseudo-nationalist rhetoric to serve its own vested interests before the elections.

Modi government has thus used the Uri attack mainly to serve these objectives. Its response to Uri attack along with its diplomatic efforts to 'isolate' Pakistan internationally is in conformity with the same integrated policy of the Indian ruling classes – national oppression towards Kashmir and expansionism towards the neighbouring countries. Though this policy has been pursued by each and every government since 1947, it has found a more vicious, cruel and brazen expression during the present NDA government at the hands of Brahmanical Hindu fascist BJP. Not surprisingly, all the parliamentary parties including the revisionist CPI(M) and CPI are speaking in a voice similar to BJP and are standing behind the communal fascist Modi-Amit Shah-Mohan Bhagwat-Rajnath-Parikkar gang, as they all represent the same Indian ruling-class interests.

Not remaining content with the claim of 'surgical strike', Modi government has followed it up with a virulent chorus of big nation-chauvinism and is trying to build up war hysteria in the country. It has created an atmosphere of war by deploying additional army and paramilitary forces at the border, beginning cross-border firing and bombardment, ordering the residents of the international border to vacate their homes, issuing 'high alert' in the bordering states and acting on dubious claims of the 'sighting' of 'terrorists' in Mumbai, etc. It has scuttled the SAARC summit by putting pressure on a number of South Asian countries, threatened to downgrade the economic and diplomatic ties and to abrogate the long-standing water-sharing treaty with Pakistan, and are taking similar other steps. At the same time, Modi government has intensified diplomatic efforts to gain international support for its occupation and repression in Kashmir, for its aggression

towards Pakistan in the name of ‘global war on terror’ and for ‘isolating’ it internationally by primarily lobbying with the US government.

The Pakistani government led by Nawaz Sharif, on the other hand, has stepped up its anti-India rhetoric and jingoism mainly as a response to the prevailing domestic situation in that country. The Pakistani ruling classes are facing mass anger due to the deepening economic-political crises and intensifying social contradictions in the country. The pro-imperialist economic and strategic policies pursued by Nawaz Sharif government, the ongoing military operations against national minorities and Islamic forces, its reluctance in supporting the Kashmir liberation movement in the past, etc., are resulting in serious unrest among the masses of Pakistan. In this backdrop, the main ruling-class parties of the country which hardly come together on any issue, have got united to give India a “fitting reply” and are urging the masses to unite behind the government. Pakistan has also heightened its military preparedness and is using national-chauvinist language to build up a war atmosphere.

While Pakistani rulers are highlighting the Kashmir issue, pledging all support to it and are raising India’s oppressive role in international platforms, the Indian rulers, in a bid to outdo their opponent, have started to raise the issue of Balochistan’s national liberation movement. Ruling classes of each country are claiming their support for the national liberation movements of the opponent, while at the same time subjugating the oppressed nationalities and crushing the just national liberation movements within their own boundaries. This clearly shows the opportunism and bankruptcy of the ruling classes of both the countries. They are raising the issue of national oppression and right to self-determination of oppressed nationalities only to serve their own class interests and of the imperialist powers and not out of true solidarity with the struggling nations and peoples. The ruling classes of Pakistan or India are not, and can never be, the genuine, trusted and reliable allies of the people of Kashmir or Balochistan in their fight for national liberation.

At the root of this stand-off between the ruling classes of India and Pakistan over Kashmir lies the clash of their economic and strategic interests. As compradors to imperialism, they also represent the interests of different imperialist powers backing them. The US, Britain and EU have much at stake economically and militarily in both the South Asian countries. India is an extremely important market for US imperialism particularly at a time when it is reeling under a severe economic and financial crisis. So is the necessity to open up the Indian economy further for unrestrained neo-colonial plunder and exploitation by strengthening its stranglehold over India. Moreover, it considers India as an important outpost to contain the growing influence of its rivals Russia and China in Asia and China in Asia-Pacific region, particularly when Pakistan’s economic-diplomatic-military ties with China and Russia is deepening.

In the context of the growing worldwide imperialist contention between the US and its allies on the one hand and Russia, China and Iran on the other (manifesting most glaringly at present in the contention for Syria and Ukraine), the US wants India to be firmly on its side. Russia’s close relations with some former Soviet republics of Central Asia and China’s growing economic ties with them is another cause of concern for the US. The Indian government is also an important US ally in its ‘global war on terror’. The US and its imperialist allies are therefore encouraging and utilising the big-power ambition of the Indian ruling classes and satisfying it to a limited extent to ensure closer integration of the Indian economy with the imperialist world market.

At the same time, however, the US also wants Pakistan to be with it for defending its economic and strategic interests in South, Central and West Asia, for its Afghan War and to counter Russia and China. Hence, it is not likely that the US and its allies will concede to Indian government’s demand of isolating Pakistan internationally and stopping the economic, diplomatic and military ‘aid/assistance’ to it. Indian government’s efforts to isolate Pakistan internationally to make it yield and compel it to stop supporting the Kashmir movement will not work. The strategic support of the imperialist powers to their Indian and Pakistan compradors will remain relatively unaltered in the short term, though the extent and level of this support may undergo some tactical shifts according to the changes in the international politics and balance of forces. Since behind the clash of interests between the comprador rulers of the two countries lie the contention between the imperialist powers, the tension and mutual acrimony between the two countries will continue and may even intensify with the intensification of the fundamental contradictions of the world.

Given this context, it is quite clear that till the time the Indian ruling classes persist in suppressing the birthright of the Kashmiri people, continue their communal fascist policies towards the Muslims and maintain their interference in the internal affairs of the South Asian countries, particularly Pakistan, it is not possible for

them to stop attacks like Uri. Nor is it possible for the Pakistani ruling classes to stop the oppressed peoples and nations from carrying out militant resistance against subjugation and oppression. As long as the comprador ruling classes of the two countries continue to yield to the strategic and economic interests of imperialism, they will never be able to restrain the people from rebellion, armed or unarmed.

The CC, CPI(Maoist) appeals to the people of India to see through the national-chauvinist machinations of the Indian ruling classes being articulated through the Modi government and the parliamentary parties against Pakistan. The people of India and Pakistan have nothing to gain from a military escalation or war between the two countries, but have much to lose due to it. The huge financial burden of large-scale military mobilization at the border will have to be borne by the people of the two countries depending on the intensity and extent of this deployment. We therefore call upon the people to oppose any kind of expansionist intervention by the Indian government against PoK and Pakistan, be it through 'surgical strikes', military aggression and economic or diplomatic means. The CC reiterates its unequivocal support to the Kashmiri people's right to self-determination including secession from India and urges the people of India to resolutely defend this right of the fighting Kashmiri people. Let us declare to the people of Kashmir, "You are not alone!" Oppose the Indian occupation of Kashmir and continued state terrorism by the Indian armed forces! Support the struggle of the Kashmiri nation for *Azadi*! Demand a stop to the war-mongering, chauvinism and aggression against Pakistan by the Indian government led by the Hindutva fascists to further Indian expansionism! Demand a stop to the threats and intimidation of Pakistani artists and citizens in India! 'No' to any type of war with Pakistan!



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

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are in the frontlines in most of these struggles. Imperialist and Indian comprador big corporations cannot keep up their exploitation without crushing these people's just movements and wiping the revolutionary movement. As a result the kind of police brutality witnessed in Kandhamal has become the order of the day in areas where militant people's movements are going on in the state.

**Workers, peasants, Adivasis, Dalits, women, students, intellectuals, employees and the people,**

The NDA government is implementing all the pro-imperialist, pro-ruling class and anti-people policies of the UPA government more forcefully and speedily. Brahmanical Hindu-fascist forces have stepped up their conspiracies and attacks to convert the Adivasis into Hindu religion. A bandh call was issued by the Hindutva forces during last Christmas. In Tumuribandha and several other places of Odisha, Adivasis who have adopted Christianity long ago due to humiliation under the Brahmanical caste system are being subjected to atrocities and discrimination. The large-scale attacks carried out by the Hindutva gangs in 2008 in Kandhamal district are still fresh in the minds of the people. Using state power after coming to power at the centre two years back, the Brahmanical Hindu fascist forces have been persecuting and suppressing the Adivasi people even more ruthlessly. Our Party strongly condemns the concerted attacks on the people by the government armed forces and the Hindutva forces. We call upon the workers, peasants, Adivasis, Dalits, women, students, intellectuals, employees and all democratic organisations to fight state terror and stand on the side of the people and the revolutionary movement.



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



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

Press Release

24 October 2016

**Boycott the 17th anniversary celebrations of the formation of Chhattisgarh state in protest against the anti-people policies of Raman Singh Hindu-fascist government!**

**Demand stringent punishment for Raman Singh, Kalluri and others guilty of perpetrating heinous crimes against the people of Bastar!**

**Modi-led Hindutva-fascist government must be held accountable for the genocidal campaign against the Adivasi masses!**

On 25 March 2011, a joint force of Chhattisgarh Police, central paramilitary forces and Special Police Officers (SPOs) carried out a massive arson, loot and murder campaign in Dantewada district of Chhattisgarh. At least three Adivasi villagers were brutally murdered, many were mercilessly beaten up, several women were raped and 252 houses were burnt down in Tadimetla, Morpalli and Timmapur villages during this genocidal campaign. These barbarities were widely condemned by the revolutionary and democratic parties, organisations and individuals of Chhattisgarh and the country at that time. They demanded an impartial inquiry and the punishment of the guilty police and paramilitary officers and jawans. Instead of responding to the just demand of the people, however, Raman Singh government had blatantly tried to protect the mercenary terrorist armed gangs of the state by completely denying their culpability. The government and the officers of Chhattisgarh Police made a futile attempt to escape responsibility by putting the blame on the Maoists for the attacks, a claim which nobody except the die-hard lackeys of the imperialists and the ruling classes ever believed. This was at a time when the affected people were saying loud and clear what the government armed forces had perpetrated in their villages.

As has been the long-standing practice in the areas of intense people's movements, in this instance too the government and its forces tried by all means to suppress the truth of their heinous crimes against the people from coming out. Just as they are doing in the ongoing third phase of Operation Green Hunt, Raman Singh government and the police at that time tried to prevent the social and civil liberties activists, journalists, intellectuals, well-wishers of the Adivasis, advocates and the democratic forces and even Congress and CPI from raising their voice and standing in solidarity with the masses facing state terror. A team of social activists led by Swami Agnivesh who were going on a fact-finding visit to the affected villages were attacked by Salwa Judum goons under the direction of the notorious murderer SRP Kalluri who was posted as Dantewada SSP at that time and his political bosses, particularly the neo-Nazi Hindu-fascist ringleader Raman Singh. Swami Agnivesh and Delhi University professor Nandini Sundar filed a petition in the Supreme Court challenging the lies of the police and holding the police and Salwa Judum responsible for the attacks. The court directed the CBI to enquire into the incident.

After several years, CBI has now finally come up with its findings which it submitted to the Supreme Court in a report on 21st October. Exposing the blatant lies of Raman Singh government and Kalluri, CBI has concluded that the Maoists were in no way involved in the incidents in the three villages as well as the attack on the social activists. It held Special Police Officers (SPOs), the jawans of paramilitary-police forces and top police officers leading them squarely responsible for these incidents. Following these findings, social activists, democratic and civil rights organisations and individuals, opposition parliamentary parties like Congress, AAP

and Chhattisgarh Congress, etc., have demanded that Kalluri be removed from his post immediately as his involvement has now come been confirmed by CBI itself. They complained that the police have been denying their role for the last five years in spite of the overwhelming evidence to show the involvement of government armed forces including the SPOs. But now the government has no scope to hide behind lies since an organ of the fascist Indian state itself was compelled to admit the truth which the people of Bastar and outside were saying for a long time.

It has been reported that more than 20 political parties and social organisations of Chhattisgarh have come together to start a united movement demanding the government to act on the CBI report and punish Kalluri and other guilty police-paramilitary officers, jawans and SPOs. This initiative should be welcomed and supported by all the revolutionary and democratic forces of the country. Without doubt, neo-Hitlerite police officers like Kalluri deserve severest of punishment for their innumerable crimes of all kinds against the Adivasis in the past and the present. Such mass murderers and gangsters in khaki uniforms and saffron clothes always enjoy protection from the reactionary ruling classes for acting as their faithful running dogs. They hardly ever get punished by the . It is not surprising that in spite of numerous allegations of heinous crimes such as massacres, fake encounters, mass rapes, arson and loot, etc. in the past, Kalluri has been promoted to be the IG (Bastar Range) as a 'reward' for his services to the Indian ruling classes, saffron-terrorist BJP and the imperialists. Displaying his servility, Kalluri is presently leading in Bastar the third and most repressive third phase of Operation Green Hunt – the war on the people by the state – in the name of 'Mission 2016'. This has already claimed the lives of over a hundred Adivasis – an overwhelming majority of whom were unarmed villagers, including a large number of women, who were branded as 'Maoists' and killed in fake encounters. Therefore, it is only a strong and united movement that can force the central and state governments to take sternest action against these culprits.

It must never be forgotten, however, that Kalluri and his ilk are only implementing the policies of the governments at the centre and the states that represent the interests of the imperialists and their comprador ruling classes of India. So the mere removal of an individual from his post or the punishment of a few foot-soldiers is not enough. A struggle must be waged for the punishment of Raman Singh, the commander-in-chief of the war on the people of Bastar and chairperson of the Unified Command of the government armed forces in Chhattisgarh. He is responsible for directing the massacre of Adivasis of Bastar in their thousands and the displacement of lakhs of them in the last twelve years of his tenure. Likewise, the Brahmanical Hindu-fascist Narendra Modi-Rajnath Singh-Amit Shah-Mohan Bhagwat clique which is leading the genocide of Adivasis-Moolvasis in the country to pave way for the loot of natural resources at gunpoint in the name of 'development' must be held accountable for their crimes. It is therefore necessary that the movement demanding action against Kalluri and other police-paramilitary officers, jawans and SPOs involved in the March 2011 attacks be a part of the movement to resist the fascist war on people waged by the Modi clique, Raman Singh and the saffron gangs throughout the country with the close co-operation of various state governments, no matter whichever party is in power. If this movement is not strengthened, expanded and intensified, it is not possible to stop the ongoing massacre of Adivasis and its intensification day by day across the country.

The Central Committee of CPI(Maoist) welcomes and expresses solidarity with the struggle to bring the culprits of Tadimetla, Morpalli and Timmapur atrocities and attacks on social activists to justice. It appeals to the workers, peasants, democrats, patriots, religious and national minorities, Dalits, Adivasis-Moolvasis, women, students, youth, employees, unemployed and all sections of the people and their organisations, parliamentary opposition parties including Congress, CPI, AAP and Chhattisgarh Congress Party to strengthen this movement with their active participation. Our Party firmly believes that the people of the country will give a fitting reply to the ruling-class elements who have committed untold crimes against humanity and the country's masses through such barbarities.

In the two years after the NDA government led by Modi came to power, the combined assault of state terrorism and Hindutva fascism is intensifying day by day. The Maoist movement and different democratic movements, Muslims and Christians, Dalits, Adivasis, national minorities, women and other oppressed genders, workers, peasants, intellectuals, academics, students, artists and other sections of the vast masses of people have come under their severe assault. Raman Singh, for instance, promised a hike of additional 300 rupees to the Minimum Support Price (MSP) for rice to the peasants but instead it has reduced the MSP by 40 percent.

On the other hand, it is spending thousands of crores of rupees on police and paramilitary forces in the name of anti-Maoist operations. Similarly, yesterday the BJP government of Jharkhand resorted to police firing to suppress the people agitating against forcible land acquisition, killing one demonstrator. In such conditions prevailing across the country, the democratic movement to resist this fascist assault must be intensified and expanded by uniting all the forces in opposition to the comprador-feudal Hindutva fascism of BJP and Sangh Parivar. Opposition to the third phase of Operation Green Hunt is a significant part of this resistance.

Maoist revolutionaries have taken up arms for the just cause of the people and the country after all peaceful avenues for the people to establish genuine democracy, freedom, sovereignty, self-reliance, progress, prosperity and people's political power were closed by the country's reactionary rulers. The history of our country and other semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries of the world has shown conclusively that only through a protracted people's war can these objectives be achieved. Nevertheless, the CC of CPI(Maoist) is open to holding talks with the government in perusal of the cause of the country and the people. But the country's rulers have shown no seriousness about talks, peace or the wellbeing of the masses. Top government functionaries like Rajnath Singh are portraying the revolutionary movement fighting for the sacred cause of the people and the country as a criminal and terrorist movement and are issuing repeated calls for surrender. At the same time, they are deploying more and more armed forces and introducing more and more lethal weapons including combat helicopters to suppress the people, raising more armed forces and vigilante gangs and taking further repressive steps.

It is quite obvious that under such conditions the Supreme Court's suggestion for peace talks between our Party and the government will remain a dead letter. Subverting the spirit of Supreme Court's suggestion, Chhattisgarh Home Minister Ramsewak Paikra has insisted on peace talks only after the Maoists to give up 'violence' and join the 'mainstream'. This is nothing but a thinly veiled call to the Maoists to surrender. It demonstrates the unwillingness and insincerity of the government towards peace talks. Kalluri has stated that the morale of the government forces will go down if the people demand punishment for the perpetrators of the barbarities in Tadimetla, Morpalli and Timmapur. But the reason behind such statements is to carry out further barbarities and repression of the people by silencing all voices of opposition. The CC, CPI(Maoist) hopes that the genuine democratic and peace-loving forces of the country will continue their efforts to force the Modi and Raman Singh governments to stop their genocidal war on the people, which alone can open-up the possibilities for peace and create a conducive atmosphere for talks.

***Boycott the 17th anniversary celebrations of the formation of Chhattisgarh state from 1 to 5 November 2016!***

***Demand the dismissal of Raman Singh and Kalluri!***

***Stand in solidarity with the struggling peasants of Chhattisgarh demanding Rs.2,500 for per quintal of paddy as MSP!***

***Demand scrapping of all MoUs signed with MNCs and domestic big corporates!***

***Fight for establishing people's rights over Jal-Jangal-Zameen!***

***Organise protest rallies and public meetings in the villages, towns and cities from 1 to 5 November 2016!***



**Vikalp  
Spokesperson  
DKSZC  
CPI(Maoist)**



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



# COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Press Release

15 November 2016

**Condemn the conspiratorial tactics of the Central,  
Odisha and Andhra Pradesh state governments!**

**Let us fight more strongly with the aim of  
defeating Operation Green Hunt!**

**Red salutes to Jenthri (Ramguda) martyrs!**

There was an extremely tragic loss in the history of Indian revolution on 24 October 2016. Thirty one beloved warriors of the people were martyred in an attack on the party leaders and activists in Ramguda village near Jenthri in Panasakunta tehsil in the district of Malkangiri of the state of Odisha. The Central Committee of our Party severely condemns the incident. It calls upon the people of the country to struggle against such massacres.

The incident in Jenthri nakedly brought forth the anti-people, cruel character of the Indian ruling classes. The helplessness of the ruling classes who boast but fail to 'wipe out' the Maoists led to this full-fledged action. This is a great loss to the Party. The martyrs include Comrade Bakuri Venkataramana (Ganesh, Prasad), AOBZCM, East Division Secretary and Comrade Chamala Kistaiah (Daya), AOBZCM who dedicated their lives for the sake of the people for more than the past two decades. Among the martyrs are Comrade Prabhakar (Gangadhar), DVCM, Comrade Suvarna Raju (Kiran), DVCM, Comrade Boddu Kundanalu (Mamatha), ACM, Comrade Latha (Bharathi), ACM, Comrade Madhu (Dasu), ACM, Comrade Simhachalam (Murali), ACM, Comrade Budri, PPCM, CC Guard Squad, Comrade Goutham, Technical Team Deputy Commander, Comrade Manjula (Ungi), ACM, Comrade Erral (Nangaal), PPCM, Comrade Keshavrao (Birsu), Section Commander, Comrade Rajesh (Somal), Section Deputy Commander, Comrade Prithvi (Munna), Platoon Deputy Commander, CRC Company-1, PM and PLGA Members Comrade Dasuram (Sadhuram), Comrade Naresh (Suresh), Comrade Chiluka, Comrade Ganga Madhavi (Ganga), Comrade Rajitha (Kaami), Comrade Jyothi and Comrade Kamala (Lakki). People's Militia members Comrade Latccha Mudili, Comrade Kaveri Mudili, Comrade Jamli, Comrade Laxman Pangi, Comrade Kamala, Comrade Sinde Killo, Comrade Samala Pangi, Comrade Jayaram and Comrade Komulu were also martyred. We pay humble homage to each and every one of the martyrs.

The revolutionary movement has encountered losses due to deception earlier too. The ruling classes have been unleashing massacres on the people and the revolutionary activists for the past 70 years in various forms. It is indulging in preparing coverts and informers a part of the LIC policy. In Ramguda massacre too, the devious enemy prepared their agents and informers from among the bad gentry and reactionary elements of the society who managed to sneak into the revolutionary ranks and commit treachery. The President of the revolutionary peasant organisation (Ryuthu Coolie Sangam) of Ramguda, his brother and another person were prepared by the AP police as their secret agents who passed on the information about the presence of the PLGA contingent who had encamped on the outskirts of Ramguda village. Based on their information, the fascist enemy could carry out this dastardly massacre of revolutionaries.

Revolutionary masses were murdered in Sarkinguda, Edsametta and other such places. In Jharkhand they took up Saranda Action Plan and now it is Operation Parasnath in the same lines. The names vary in each state. In Bihar-Jharkhand it is Operation Finish, Operation Mahadev, Operation Hill Vijay, and Operation Break. In Andhra-Orissa border region it is Operation All Out, Operation Blue Moon, Operation Viswas. In Dandakaranya it is Bastar Mission-2016, Operation Monsoon, Maha Abhiyaan (meaning great campaign). Brutal military campaigns are taken up in a bid to suppress the people's movement. More than 125 people and people's activists died in the fascist massacre in the name of Bastar Mission-2016. Teachers, students and people were killed in fake encounters in Jharkhand and Gollapalli of South Bastar and other such places.

The servant of ruling class, IG of Bastar Sivaram Prasad Kalluri is taking up ill propaganda on the revolutionary movement in a big way. He is opposed by his own colleagues like ViswaRanjan for propagating fake surrenders. Kalluri does not miss a single day without statements about arrest and surrenders in a large scale. In fact all these are illegal as per their constitution. The ill propaganda has taken many forms in Andhra, Telangana, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Jharkhand, Bihar, Odisha. The ruling classes wish to distance the masses from the revolution through this psychological war. They are trying to divert the people through various 'development' schemes.

All these actions of suppression are nothing but the politics of Imperialists and their agents, the ruling classes of India. Without suppressing the people and the movement they cannot loot the abundant natural resources of India. They cannot establish mines and factories.

Illusive war policy is implemented in modern forms to separate the revolutionaries from the people. They are trying to establish informer network out of anarchic and greedy elements in the villages. They are sending coverts into the Party, Army and people's organisations. Last year the Party identified 12 coverts in Darbha area of Chhattisgarh and placed them before the people's court. Two of them were executed and others sent home. The present Janthri incident too is nothing but a covert action. This is yet to be investigated. The incident warns that the people and the guerilla forces must be highly alert.

Losses, ups and downs, defeats, failures and setbacks are inevitable in the path of success of revolution. It certainly takes time to overcome such a big loss. But Communists do not fear hardship and losses. They do not get disheartened by failures. 'They view success in the nucleus of each defeat'. They take steps to overcome the loss and go forward.

The Central Committee calls upon the cadres of Party and PLGA, mass organisations, Janathana Sarkars and the people to mold the grief of the loss of beloved comrades into class-hatred and fight against the enemy with doubled strength. It assures the people that it would bear in the mind the saying that failure is the mother of success and fight with much more strong will and much more efficiency for the cause of revolutionary movement.

It appeals to all the people to raise voice aloud to condemn Operation Green Hunt. The present situation demands the democrats, intellectuals, writers, artists, journalists, advocates and the various sections of the masses to fight in an unprecedented manner to sustain the most minimum civil and democratic rights against the pro-imperialist Brahmanical Hindu-fascist government that came to power in the country in the name of development but is failing in all spheres.



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



# COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Press Release

18 November 2016

**Oppose the fascist decision by the treacherous Modi government to 'demonetise' high-denomination currency notes for the benefit of foreign and domestic big capitalists and the Hindutva-fascist BJP!**

**Demand its immediate and unconditional withdrawal!**

The Hindutva-fascist Modi government has imposed yet another anti-people, treacherous and authoritarian decision on the people of the country by 'demonetising' the five hundred and thousand rupee currency notes. In pushing through the decision in an extremely high-handed, arbitrary and dictatorial manner, the Modi-led ruling clique has not only subjected the people of the entire country to untold suffering and caused grave damage to the economy, it has also ruthlessly trampled upon the basic democratic rights of the people in an unprecedented manner. While the decision has brought windfall gains to the foreign big capitalists, investors, bankers, leading comprador bureaucratic capitalists the country such as Ambani, Adani, Tata, Birla, Jindal, Mittal and others like them who belong to the parasitic classes, the country's masses are made to bear the severe repercussions of this 'economic emergency'.

Abandoning all engagements, crores of people are made to queue up in front of banks, post offices and ATMs across the length and breadth of the country for long hours merely to withdraw or deposit a few thousand rupees, at times even facing police lathicharge and other abuses. Over fifty-five persons – mostly the elderly and the ailing – have already lost their lives trying to withdraw or deposit their money, while those who have succumbed for want of medicine and healthcare as a result of this economic emergency remains unaccounted. Economic activities have declined sharply in the last few days due to the artificially-created liquidity-crunch, severely affecting the livelihood of millions upon millions of working people, particularly who have to earn their livelihood on an everyday basis. Not only production, but the level of consumption has declined drastically as well: even the buying of essential commodities like medicines, milk, food and items of daily necessities, etc., has become extremely difficult due to the shortage of cash.

In this way, the country's toiling masses who have nothing to do with 'black money' – workers, middle and poor peasants, employees and the middle classes, pensioners, medium and small entrepreneurs and traders, self-employed, small vendors, etc. – are being collectively punished for the fraudulent practices of the moneybags, rich capitalists, big landowners, corrupt politicians, bureaucrats, godmen and gangsters, etc. By severely restricting their monetary transactions, monitoring them closely and even marking them with indelible ink so that they would not 'cheat', Modi government is treating the honest, hardworking people of the country as criminals and offenders and humiliating them. Unmindful of this reality, Modi and his coterie are shouting themselves hoarse with the lie that the country's people are with the BJP government in its 'war against black money'! While the discontent and anger among the people against the government decision is growing all over the country, the ruling BJP government is trying to suppress all voices of dissent in a fascist manner by taking police measures and by labeling anyone opposing it as 'corrupt', 'pro-black money', 'anti-national' and even 'traitors to the country'. This has emerged as one of the biggest, most extensive and unprecedented attacks yet launched by the fascist Modi government in two and a half years of rule.

Modi government claims that the decision will curb black money, eliminate fake currency, check 'terrorism' and control drugs trade. But it is common knowledge that only 5% of the total so-called black money is kept in currency notes, while the rest is held in other forms like immovable property, precious metals, shares and stocks, etc. Moreover, much of this amount is held in foreign banks and their owners enjoy the protection of the government of the day, no matter which party is in power. None of this huge unaccounted wealth smuggled out of the country

is going to be affected by this ‘demonetisation’. It is also generally known that the fake currency notes constitute only a very insignificant part of the total money in circulation in the economy (0.02%). So it is ridiculous to ‘demonetise’ a large number of notes to curb this relatively small amount of fake notes. Moreover, who can seriously believe that fake counterparts of the newly released notes will not make their appearance sooner than later? With the extensive prevalence of informal modes of financial transactions such as ‘Hawala’, etc., no one can believe that illegal trades such as drugs – which are run with the patronage of the ruling parties – can be checked merely by taking the old currency notes out of circulation. Similarly, prompted by its ideology and tutored by its imperialist masters, Modi government is telling the people that it is “terror financing” that is sustaining the armed movements of the people, be it in Kashmir, Northeast or in the Maoist movement areas. The Modi-led ruling clique and the Sangh Parivar is unable to understand that it is not money but the prevailing economic, political and social conditions that give birth to armed movements and sustain them.

Thus, the real economic and political reasons behind this ‘demonetisation’ are quite different from those trumpeted by the Modi government. This decision is a major step by the Hindutva-fascist Modi clique in fulfilling the directives of the imperialist financial institutions like the IMF, World Bank and ADB to intensify the ‘liberalisation, privatization and globalisation’ of the Indian economy as a measure to overcome the ongoing global economic crisis. The BJP government led by Modi has worked as the most potent weapon in their hands to impose these policies on the country in a fascist manner.

Like all fascist governments, Hindutva-fascist Modi government too aims to compliment the concentration of political power with that of economic power. This, in effect, means the strengthening of the financial institutions under its control by increasing their financial base. The present ‘demonetisation’ aims to concentrate and centralize in the banks the vast amount of money scattered in the hands of the people that have so far remained outside the banking system. With this single measure, the government hopes to convert this vast amount of money (running to over several lakhs of crores) into bank capital, which can then be made available to the foreign and domestic big businesses as cheap credit. The government also hopes to increase its revenue by taxing the fresh deposits.

Likewise, declining industrial production, persistent crisis in agriculture, stagnant effective demand for machine tools and consumer goods, growing unemployment, declining real income and purchasing power of the people due to inflation and devaluation of the rupee, etc. – all these and other unfavourable economic factors are threatening to deflate the present rate of GDP growth which Modi claims to be among the world’s highest. By collecting vast amounts of people’s money and handing it over to the big capitalists, Modi aims to boost up the flagging economy and brush up its own image in the process.

In addition, Modi government and its advisers also seek to give a big push to its aim of connecting each and every household of the country with the banking network through this measure. This will not only allow the banks – and thereby the government and the big capitalists – to get a hand on the people’s savings, but will also expand the market for the products and services of the foreign and domestic big corporations, particularly in the vast rural hinterland. With this the government seeks to boost up e-commerce, cashless transactions and credit-based consumption in the country, thereby increasing the penetration of foreign and domestic capital. Modi government had launched Jan-Dhan accounts, Atal Pension Scheme, etc. with the same objective. ‘Demonetisation’ is the latest link in the chain.

One of the important recommendations of the IMF, World Bank and similar imperialist financial institutions is to convert the predominantly cash-based Indian economy into a predominantly cashless one. This is a part of the so-called ‘rationalisation’ of the economy by depending on technological solutions, provided primarily by foreign companies. For all these reasons, IMF was among the first to welcome this ‘bold step’ by Modi, while billionaires like Bill Gates, organisations of the Indian comprador big-bourgeoisie like the FICCI and ASSOCHAM and the Indian big capitalists (who are, in fact, the biggest source of ‘black money’) too have roundly applauded this step. It could not have been otherwise, since the entire plan of ‘demonetisation’ (for which the government is said to be making preparations for the last six months) was made in accordance with their close guidance, feedback and consultation.

In addition to these economic factors, BJP also seeks the opportunity to reap political advantages from this step. Failing on all fronts and unable to fulfil any of its pre-poll promises even after half of its term in office is over, the Modi government is becoming increasingly desperate to show ‘results’ by taking ‘decisive action’. Though it has taken many far-reaching economic decisions favouring the foreign and domestic big capitalists – the passing of the GST Bill, dissolution of the Planning Commission and the setting up of the NITI Ayog in its

place, further 'liberalisation' of the core sectors, etc., to cite a few examples – the exploitation and oppression of the masses have only grown due to the same policies. In fact, the drastic austerity measures imposed by the Modi regime under the diktats of the international financial institutions including the sharp reduction in government spending on agriculture and industry, health and education, public welfare and social security, employment generation and subsidies, etc., has led to the steady deterioration of the condition of the vast masses of people. On the other hand, foreign and multinational companies, comprador big capitalists and big landlords, the small minority of billionaires and multi-millionaires, politicians, bureaucrats and top government functionaries are lavished with public resources at dirt-cheap rates, they are given massive tax concessions, loan waivers and writing-off of 'bad debts', etc. Therefore, ahead of the crucial assembly elections in several states due next year, Modi and his fascist clique are now resorting to such deceptive tricks like 'demonetisation' to impress the electorate, on the one hand, and to weaken the opposition parties by severely curtailing their source of funds (while laundering its own illegal funds beforehand) on the other. But no one has forgotten what happened to Modi's promise of bringing back the 'black money' stashed away by the country's high-and-mighty in foreign banks and his claim of depositing 15 lakh rupees of the recovered 'black money' in every Indian's account. The people had also witnessed how the Modi government helped powerful capitalists like Lalit Modi and Vijay Mallaya to escape punishment after committing massive financial frauds and looting the people's money. This clearly shows how serious Modi government really is in controlling 'black money'.

To justify the government's decision, some ruling-party politicians and government officials are also claiming that this 'demonetisation' would create serious difficulties for the CPI(Maoist), destroy the Party's source of funds and severely weaken the revolutionary movement. In the name of cutting down the Party's funds, the police and government officials are harassing and oppressing the masses of the interior areas, particularly the Adivasi masses, by preventing them from exchanging their old notes even after walking for several hours to reach the far-away bank or post office. The Maoist Party is a party of the people and for serving the people. Its difficulties are not separate from the people's difficulties. To the extent that the cancellation of the old notes has created enormous difficulties and hardship for the people in the movement areas, our party too shares this difficulty and hardship. For the Party and the movement which are nurtured by the masses and draws sustenance from them, the people and not funds are of decisive importance. So the fond dream of the ruling classes to crush the Maoist movement with such Quixotic steps will never be realized.

This decision is a serious fascist assault on the basic democratic rights of the country's people. It even goes against the fundamental rights written down in the Indian Constitution. The very fact that the people are barred from utilizing their money and the bank account-holders are prevented from freely operating their accounts, amount to a large-scale infringement of the legal, constitutional and democratic rights of the people. Moreover, by striking down the notes without allowing their free and unrestricted exchange (like the earlier currency changes), the Government of India has flouted its own legal obligation of honouring the currency notes. In this way, Modi government is bringing great uncertainty, unpredictability and volatility in the lives of the people and the economy.

The real face of Hindutva-fascism is getting more and more exposed with every major decision and action by the Modi government. The vast massed of the country's people are coming to recognize ever more seriously the grave danger posed by Hindutva-fascism. More and more people are getting mobilised in struggles against the fascist forces. The present decision of 'demonetisation' will make the people further aware of this danger and heighten the urgent need to fight it. The CC calls upon the people of the country, the revolutionary, democratic and patriotic parties, organisations and individuals of the country to fully comprehend this extremely dangerous and unprecedented attack by the Hindutva-fascists led by the Modi ruling clique. It appeals to the workers and peasants, the middle classes, Adivasis, Moolvasis, Dalits and other oppressed castes, women, students and youth, intellectuals, writers, artists, journalists, advocates, professionals, employees, traders, the self-employed and the unemployed, religious and national minorities, democratic and progressive organisations and their members and activists, democratic and patriotic individuals and the broad masses – to oppose and fight back this highly anti-people, anti-country and anti-democratic decision by the Modi government by all means and force it to roll-back the decision without delay.

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



# COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Press Release

1 January 2017

**Red salutes to the beloved son of the proletariat and courageous leader  
of the oppressed masses of our country, Comrade Kuppu Devaraj !**

**Red salutes to Comrade Ajitha, valiant leader of the  
revolutionary movement of the Western Ghats !**

Communist Party of India (Maoist) pays humble red homage to the member of its Central Committee Comrade Kuppu Devaraj (Ramesh/Yogesh/Rayanna) and Western Ghats Special Zonal Committee Member & In-charge of Tamil Nadu urban movement Comrade Ajitha (Kaveri). Comrade Devaraj served the revolutionary movement for almost forty years and was killed in a fake encounter along with Comrade Ajitha on 24 November 2016 by notorious central and state mercenary forces near Kalkulam village of Nilambur forest area of Malappuram district in Kerala. Comrade Devraj was 62 and Comrade Ajitha 45. We send belated deep condolences to the families of our beloved comrades Devaraj and Ajitha. The present fake encounter was conducted by the present Brahmanical Hindutva-fascist Modi government and the social-fascist CPM government of Kerala. We call upon the masses, democrats, patriots and citizens of the country to condemn the brutal killing and fight against such atrocities.

This is how the revolutionary journey of our beloved Comrade Devaraj started and went on. Inspired by the Naxalbari armed agrarian revolutionary struggle in the 1960s, the peasantry and intellectuals from the state of Karnataka started working among the masses. One such person was Comrade Koganuru Gonappa of Sirahatti village in Karnataka. He started arousing the poor peasants with the politics of Naxalbari struggle. He was killed by the goons of the landlords.

Later there was a gap of ten years. Then the CPI(ML)(People's War) party was formed. Revolutionary activists and individuals across the country started coming together. Thus Comrade Devaraj too came into contact with the party in 1980. Consequently, part time activists developed in Karnataka and they were consolidated into party cells. Yogesh was an active member in one of the cells. He along with the others started political and organizational work among workers, students and youth. In fact, even before the party came into contact with him, he was working among workers with revolutionary politics like some others.

Comrade Devaraj was a worker in a factory. He belonged to the urban poor and the oppressed Dalit community. His forefathers had shifted to Bangaluru from Tamilnadu. He had a family with wife, children, brothers and sisters. After he turned an activist, his house became a centre for party activities.

In between 1980-'85 the party cells became active. Devaraj soon became a PR (Professional Revolutionary) in the leadership of Comrade Cherukuri Rajkumar (Azad). Comrade Azad was sent by the party to organise in the state of Karnataka. By '85, eight activists became PRs out of whom Devaraj was the leading comrade. The PRs worked in the cities of Bangaluru, Kolar and Mysore among workers, students and youth. They also took up struggles among students, youth and workers. A cultural front too was formed.

The cultural front, party and activists of mass organizations propagated about PPW, about the movements in AP, Bihar and other such places. They took up political propaganda widely.

In this process by '85 a leading team with ideological and political unity was formed in the leadership of Azad. Devaraj was the leading comrade in this team.

In 1985, during the crisis in the Central Committee (CC), this leading team of Karnataka played an active role against the opportunist, disruptionist clique in the CC. Under the leadership of Comrade Azad, comrades Devaraj and Saketh Rajan played a crucial role in this internal struggle. Though the comrades did not have much experience in class struggle, they studied the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and Party basic documents, revolutionary history of our country and the world. They remained ideologically and politically resolute. They firmly adhered to the Party line of the Protracted People's War (PPW) and helped to keep the Party continue with the politics of armed struggle. Their study and the theoretical struggle they waged against the clique formed a theoretical basis for the future Party organisation in the state. It also helped the team to later develop into the State Committee. The team also helped the AP Committee during the time of repression. With the help of this team the AP Committee could successfully perform certain important tasks and thus developed good relations between these two movements and served each other mutually.

In the First State Conference in 1987, Comrade Azad was elected as State Committee secretary (SCS). Saketh Rajan and Kuppu Devaraj were members of the committee. This conference adopted a perspective for agrarian revolution. It considered the uneven social, economic and political situation in the state and decided to start the movement in the northern plains of Karnataka flanking Andhra Pradesh. Devaraj took the responsibility to lead the rural movement as a State Committee Member. He understood that the movement would advance only in the direct leadership of the leading comrades. In this area a landlord was punished and his land seized. The struggle went on for about two years. Students too were quite active in this area.

They worked among the peasantry in Bidar and Raichur districts. They mobilised the peasantry, started the peasant organisation and took up anti-feudal, anti-state struggles. At the same time the struggle against the Kaiga nuclear plant came up. They extended into the field of students and formed student organisations in the districts of Bidar, Raichur, Chitradurga, Shimoga and Dharwad. The struggle in Kaiga and the work among the students all put together made the Party known across the state.

Due to the crisis in CC between 1985-87 it came to a standstill for quite some time. There was no centre for coordinating the movements in the states and to guide them. During this period, comrades Azad and Yogesh together worked to maintain the cadre intact. Comrade Devaraj played a very important role in maintaining the cadre in Tamil Nadu also.

In 1990 the Party conducted the Second State Conference. In this Conference it reviewed the struggles. The conference felt that there were a few shortcomings in the anti-feudal struggle. They took lessons from this experience and decided to consolidate the Party and provide direct leadership in order to take the movement forward. The Party also conducted a State Plenum in 1993 to rectify the alien class trends. In this plenum, the Party took up the task to develop the Party to take forward the movement to address the people's problems.

Nationality question arose in Karnataka. Party realised the necessity to take up the issue of the Kannadigas and formed an organisation to address the same.

There was a second crisis in the Party at the All India level in 1991. In this crisis the Karnataka State Committee wrote a document exposing the wrong tendencies of the minority group. They called upon all the cadres to fight against the opportunistic clique in '92. It gave this call with the objective that all the cadres in the Party must understand the disruptionist clique and fight ideologically.

Before the All India Special Conference of the Party in 1995, there was a State Conference in which Devaraj took up the responsibility of Secretary of the State Committee. In the conference he became an Alternate Member of the CC and a full time member of the CC in '97. Since the same period there was an internal struggle in the Party in Karnataka that slowed down the advancement of the movement.

In 2001, the erstwhile CPI(M-L)[People's War] held the Ninth Congress and Comrade Devaraj was once again elected into the CC. The CC also formed the South Western Regional Bureau (SWRB) and Comrade Devaraj was a member of the Bureau. At this time the State Committee proposed to the CC to shift the perspective area. The CC approved the proposal and worked out a thorough plan. The Committee studied the socio-economic and political conditions of the perspective area. Together with Comrade Saketh Rajan, Comrade Kuppu Devaraj had a key role in starting the movement in the perspective area in the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

As soon as work started in the perspective area, opportunists started attacking it saying that it would not work. They were also against the merger of the two parties and the formation of Maoist Party. In such a situation, Comrade Saketh Rajan was martyred fighting the enemy in a heroic way. After his martyrdom Comrade Devaraj continued the fight against the right-opportunist clique, with the help of the SWRB. A majority of the comrades stood with the Party line. Finally, the crisis was resolved in the State Conference in 2006. The opportunistic clique left the Party.

A document was released to counter the opportunists with the title 'Opportunists Never Understand Revolutionary Dialectics'. Devaraj played the main role in preparing the document. Meanwhile, armed guerilla squads were started in Madurai and neighboring districts of Tamil Nadu. Devaraj took the main responsibility in preparing the perspective and the cadre for the armed struggle.

In 2004, CPI(Maoist) was formed. Devaraj as a CCM contributed to the formation of the new Party. He subsequently became a member of the South Western Regional Bureau. He participated in the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress and contributed ideologically and politically.

In 2007, the Party held it's Unity Congress-Ninth Congress. The Congress elected Comrade Devaraj into the CC and thus he was a member of the SWRB. By the end of that year and the following years, other comrades of the RB were arrested and martyred. Comrade Devaraj took the responsibility of the three states of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala. In this difficult situation he was firm and helped the cadre sustain in the revolutionary movement.

In 2011, the Party in the South-West region decided to work by concentrating most of our subjective forces in Tri-junction area, the Western Ghats forest area constituting the states of Kerala, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Comrade Devaraj was always eager to open a war front in this part of the country. He was constantly studying the conditions of the various parts of the three states. Thus, he played a crucial role in starting the movement in the area of Tri-junction. He once again led the cadre to extend to Tri-junction. In no time the Party became popular among the traditional tribal populations in the area. The Party led the PLGA to successfully conduct Politico Military Campaign. The squads went deeper into the masses. The governments of the three states became alert. The present movement in the Tri-junction is a heavy blow to revisionism, especially in Kerala. The Party showed them the correct path, in which Devaraj made a dynamic contribution.

When the SWRB took up Leadership Training Program (LTP), Comrade Devaraj took the responsibility and conducted training camps. The training involved cadres starting from the State Committee level. In this program the cadres were thoroughly educated and could develop a clear perspective about the various issues of the movement. Thus, he helped in politically strengthening the Party cadres.

Comrade Devaraj also played a dynamic role in uniting with other revolutionary communists. He took the responsibility on behalf of the CC to conduct talks with the CPI(M-L) Naxalbari that later led to the merger of the two parties. Earlier, he conducted talks with the CPI(M-L) Janasakti and succeeded in bringing some of the comrades into the correct path. Comrade Devaraj took keen interest in running magazines of the Party and the mass organisations. He was also serious about documenting the necessary developments that helped the concerned committees.

Another important aspect of Comrade Devaraj's work was his important role in supplying arms and ammunition for the ongoing people's war. He also had a role in conducting grenade manufacturing.

Western Ghats have the potential to bring a new experience to the revolutionary movement in the country. So the Central and the state governments conspired, caught Devaraj and another senior activist of the Party Comrade Ajitha and killed them in a fake encounter.

The loss of Comrade Devaraj in the fake encounter is a heavy loss to the Party that started to consolidate the masses in the area of Trijunction. The people of Kerala never forget Verghese and his sacrifice for the people, martyred fifty years back. People wish to continue the movement as per his ideals. So as soon as the party approached them, they became actively involved. Now they would never forget Devaraj.

Comrade Devaraj belonged to the oppressed Dalit community. He was fluent in English, Malayalam, Tamil, Kannada and Telugu and the local Adivasi language. The Indian Revolution lost a promising leader. He took up bitter internal struggle ideologically and theoretically. He was steeled in this struggle. He led the movement with little subjective forces and relatively less experience with great courage and strong will. He mingled with one and all and developed a democratic atmosphere among the cadres and the masses and gained their confidence. His memory will thus be etched forever in their minds.

He was a selfless personality. He took up whatever his committee decided as his task. Devaraj would be remembered in the Indian Revolution, particularly in the Western Ghats and also in AP, Telangana and Dandakaranya. His ideals would live forever. His commitment, hard work, sacrifice would certainly take the party forward. Comrade Devaraj's unwavering commitment towards the goal would serve to overcome the present losses for the future cadre. One can learn from him how to swim against the tide.

The work-style, the willpower, the dedication, the courage of Comrade Devaraj are exemplary for all the cadres of the Party. The CC calls upon the cadres to imbibe these ideals of the martyr. The CC especially calls upon the cadres of the three states to take up his task with his great spirit and continue to work like him. Following the path he laid, one can become a good communist worker. This will be the actual homage to the great martyr. We once again express our grief and extend condolences to his comrades and his family.

With the help of comrades he raised high the red flag in the Western Ghats. However much be the repression and loss, the movement would advance to eliminate the exploitative ruling classes and bring People's state power and establish a new democratic state and advance to Socialism and then to Communism.



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

# Red Homage to the Heroic Martyrs of Ramguda



The unprecedented assault on the revolutionary movement at Ramguda village on Andhra-Odisha Border by the reactionary ruling classes of India at the behest of their imperialist masters which led to the martyrdom of 31 valiant sons and daughters of the oppressed Indian masses was followed by indignation and protest that was unprecedented in its scale and scope. Not only the revolutionary masses of the various Guerrilla Zones but also outside them, particularly in several cities and towns in different parts of the country, a series of protest programmes were organised by revolutionary and democratic organisations and individuals. Braving an undeclared prohibition by the government, a number of fact-finding teams composed of civil and democratic rights activists, advocates, journalists, intellectuals, students, etc. visited the site of the massacre and brought out the truth about brutal class violence of the rulers on the revolutionary activists and the masses waging the protracted people's war. Many press meets, public meetings, statements, booklets and other means were used to disseminate the news of several fake encounter killings and other atrocities by the fascist AP Greyhounds during several days of mayhem starting from the morning of 24 October 2016. Similarly, people of the movement areas of Andhra Pradesh, Odisha, Telangana, Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra spontaneously responded to the bandh called by the Central Regional Bureau of CPI(Maoist) on 3 November against Ramguda massacre. Internationally too, fraternal parties, organisations and forces as well as well-wishers of the oppressed masses of India raised their voice against the War on People presently led by the Modi government. This outpouring of support for the revolutionary movement and the condemnation of the Indian state's white terror has once again proved that the undying desire for complete social transformation cannot be crushed by killing any number of revolutionaries and by perpetrating any number of Ramgudas and Nilamburs.