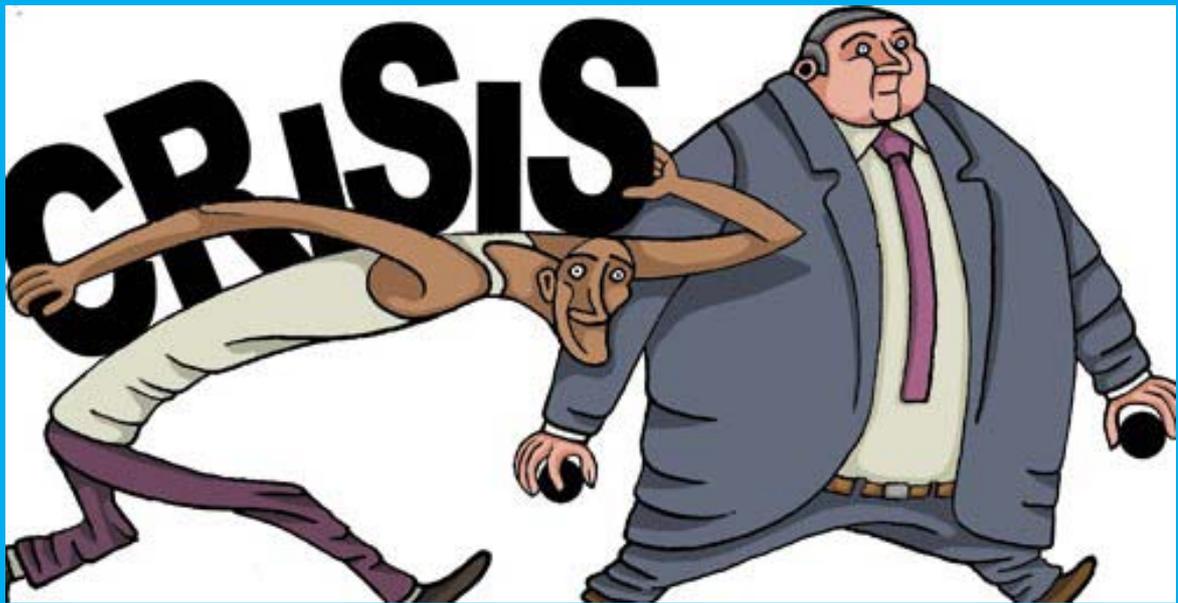


# PEOPLE'S MARCH

*Voice of the Indian Revolution*

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BREAK THE SHACKLES OF OPPRESSION



*Dandakaranya Adivasi woman – an icon of militant struggle*



Ten years of  
'Janathana Raj' the  
organ

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# Fight back RSS-BJP-Brahmanical Hindutva fascism

Under the leadership of Narendra Modi the BJP has get clear majority in recently held 17<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha elections for *Indian parliament*. The Indian people were heavily drifted to Hindu Nationalism this time. The BJP was acquired 49% of vote share in this elections. The BJP was not only regained old number of seats in all the northern states, but enhanced her strength in the eastern Indian states like Bengal and Odisha. The BJP was over all dominated in all the northern Indian states, but miserably lost in the south Indian states in this fray. As the result of this election, the Brahmanical Hindu fascism has established strong roots in people of India. It is very danger to the country's future.

Narendra Modi has widely opened the country to imperialists' loot in his first tenure. He took many decisions in favour of imperialists and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The BJP government is subservient to imperialism and more cringing than the congress government. Result of this, The Workers, peasants, employes, students and other sections of people have lost their rights. Small and medium industries, business people and poor people have been suffering economically by abolish of big notes and implement GST. The Dalit, Adivasi, religious minorities and minority sections of the people are suffering by Brahmanical Hindu Fascist offences. The Peasants in distress, unemployment raised to 6.1% in the country.

All these issues were dominating on the political scenario in the country by the December of 2018. By that time the people's anger was clearly against the BJP government. The RSS-BJP has taken this in account and took damaging control measures. These were started with the budget session in parliament. But after the Pulwama attack and fallowed by Balakot surgical strike, the country's political scenario was changed and situation turned in favour of the RSS-BJP. They were formulated a very big aggressive scheme by concentrating all the forces of money, men and power, media and with the support of imperialist Multi-National Companies and the corporate companies and landlords of the country to win the elections. Ultimately they have won election with massive mandate.

The election Commission, imperialist agencies and the Indian corporate organisations created a roar of propaganda with many new manoeuvres since 2019 January in an unprecedented manner to gain 100% polling in these elections. In spite of many circus feats by the Election Commission to increase the percentage of polling it was not above 63% as per official numbers. This is 3 percent lesser to that of the earlier elections to Lok Sabha. If we keep aside the percentage of rigging with large scale money, muscle power and state power and the domination of government armed forces, the actual percentage of polling will be much lower. Hundreds of polling booths were shifted to places where there are police stations and camps of the Para-military forces with the difficulty to conduct polling in the strong areas of revolution and nationality liberation movements. There was large scale rigging in such booths. However the percentage of voting is not above 5-30 in the areas of movement in Chattisgarh, Maharashtra, Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana and other states. As a part of controlling votes with guns and as a part of self-defense from police attacks PLGA fighters with the help of the people conducted several heroic attacks on the mercenary forces of the government in Dandakaranya, Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha, Andhra-Odisha Border area and Telangana and wiped out 35 and injured 76 armed police. Though frightening atmosphere was created in a big way in Kashmir there was only ten percent polling in some areas. The slogan 'freedom for Kashmir' reverberated once again. In the North East areas too people boycotted elections in many places. The people boycotted elections in many places of the country for solving their local problems. Above

3 percent of voters preferred the 'NOTA' button. It shows that the lot of displeasure in the people against government.

The imperialist war and crises is breeding the revolutionary situation and as well as centre rightist fascist forces on the worldwide. The war has created catastrophe in Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Yemen, Libiya and now looming large on Iran and Venezuela. The financial and economic crisis is still continue the world scale. The World Bank latest report says that upcoming recession, the GDP rate will be come down in all the countries including America and Europe. The rightist forces are growing in all the countries with diverting people from their real problems. In India also the RSS-BJP diverting the people on the agenda of the Hindutva, national Chauvinism, 'intruders' of Bangladesh, anti-Pakistan sentiments, anti- Kashmir people and war frenzy. However, the Socialist, democratic forces are growing day by day steadily India and the world. This is also reality in the current world.

In spite of the boasting of the opposition parties to bring down Modi they could not unite. All the parties including the Congress lost the capability to utilize the severe opposition among the oppressed classes, sections and nationalities towards the Modi rule. The opposition parties does not give strong fight against fascist forces. The BJP has get strengthen day by day all over the country.

The BJP government has scrapped undemocratically article 370 (Jammu- Kashmir special constitutional status) in first week of August. The government was introduced two statutory resolutions in parliament and passed in both the houses. Two special resolutions and a Bill creating the Union territories of Jammu-Kashmir and Ladakh, while the union territory of Jammu and Kashmir will have a legislature, the one in Ladakh will not. The state has been achieved, without any legislative input, consensus with Kashmir people. On the whole process, Kashmir was locked down and the government has been using heavy repressive methods on Kashmir people.

The brahmanical Hindu fascism is a challenge to the revolutionary and democratic forces and the people in our semi-colonial, semi-feudal India. The Brahmanical Hindu fascism can defeat by revolutionary, nationality and democratic forces.

Revolutionary party should lead the all streams of struggles against Brahmanical Hindu fascism, comprador big bourgeoisie and Imperialism. Therefore the people of oppressed classes and nationalities, democrats, patriots, well-wishers of people, students and youth, women and other progressive forces of the country, realize the great danger from the Brahmanic Hindu fascists! Build broad, powerful people's movements by uniting all of them against all kinds of exploitative ruling classes, especially Brahmanical Hindu fascism. Expose the Brahmanical Hindu fascist reactionary ideology thoroughly. Lead the militant mass movement and advance the peoples war. Establish a genuine Democratic Federal Republic by rooting out all kinds of reactionary, fascist, counter-revolutionary forces by uniting all the forces in struggle.

PM

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close manner; they have to pay attention towards the strategy and tactics to unite all the friends and isolate the main foe and all the foes one by one and gain hold in efficiently utilizing these tactics; they have to pay attention to study the strategy and tactics of the People's War according to the modern technological warfare and provide efficient leadership to People's War; they must take up unrelenting criticism-self-criticism and oppose the left and right opportunist trends not only in the Party but also all kinds of bourgeois ideological trends that come forth in the society;

they have to enlighten and unite the people; they have to keep politics in command in every aspect and take class struggle as the vital link; they must not become selfish, not be bureaucratic, should not be dominating, should not fall in individualism and careerism, should not crave for prestige; they must fight against revisionism and work as selfless and reliable servants of the people until the end; they have to develop communist culture in the society. This is what the people of India and all over the world wish from our Party. This is the message I give to the cadres and members of all levels in our Party and sympathisers!

PM

# Victory of Modi is the Victory of Hindutva national Chauvinistic Politics of Hatred

*Political commentator*

The general elections for 17<sup>th</sup> Loksabha are over amidst the cacophony of fake promises of the bourgeois political leaders. None of the issues that the common people are facing have come up for discussion during the campaign. Money and liquor were used in a very uninhibited manner and the caste and religious sentiments were whipped up and the people were instigated on pseudo-nationalism and jingoism to garner votes. After achieving victory in that fashion, they are once again boasting that democracy has once again won in the so called biggest democracy in the world. BJP, under

Modi's leadership has once again taken the reins of power at the centre by achieving majority on its own. While BJP on its own got 303 out of the 542 parliamentary seats, NDA, that includes BJP's allies along with BJP, got 353 seats. Opposition parties were trounced in this elections. On the whole UPA got only 90 seats. Mahaghatbandhan got only 15 seats in UP. All the regional parties together got 99 seats. Only BJD in Odisha, DMK-Congress united front in Tamil Nadu, Congress in Kerala, YSRCP in Andhra Pradesh and TMC in West Bengal withstood this BJP juggernaut. BJP could not open its account in Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala. In North India, where BJP and Congress were in direct contest in 189 seats, while BJP won in 174 seats Congress won only in 15 seats. Congress lost representation in 20 states. Assembly elections were held along with the general elections in AP, Odisha, Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim. While BJP was victorious in Arunachal Pradesh, regional parties won in the other states.

We have to deeply analyze the reasons for the huge success that BJP obtained in these elections. The political prestige of the BJP was on a downhill path during the five years rule of Narendra Modi. This trend continued till December, 2018. As the elections approached and all the political parties were getting prepared for elections, Phulwama

attack on the convoy of CRPF happened and Modi's government conducted the Balakot air-strike to avenge the Phulwama attack. This created a huge favourable atmosphere in the country for BJP. BJP resorted to a blitzkrieg propaganda, that the country is safe only in the hands of the BJP under Modi; that we could give a fitting reply to Pakistan

only by the bold decision taken by Modi; that there is a need for a strong central government; with the slogan "Phir Ek Bar Modi Sarkar". BJP instigated people throughout the country to take out demonstrations against Pakistan.

With this instigated jingoistic propaganda, opposition parties were isolated. They were pushed into a defensive position. This political change was utilized by RSS-BJP to their advantage. To turn this into electoral advantage they resorted to propaganda in every village by linking up Hindutva with the security of the country. This had a deep impact on the people in north, central and west India (except in Punjab). It is also in these parts that BJP was directly in contest with the Congress. With this propaganda, it extended into eastern India (West Bengal and Odisha) and North-East India. In these elections, BJP emerged as a strong contender to TMC in Bengal and BJD in Odisha.

BJP and Modi left no stone unturned in utilizing Balakot air-strike for electoral gains by appealing to people to vote for only those who conducted Balakot air-strike. It even went to the extent of saying Indian army is Modi's army. Thus it tried to instigate jingoism among the people and garner votes. Issues like unemployment, note-ban, GST, Rafael jet deal, the miserable condition of the peasantry, raised by the opposition parties did not find much appeal among the people. Though they had a deep understanding about these issues that they are facing, people were blown away by the immediate jingoistic propaganda.



NDA on the one hand and UPA on the other hand and Mahaghatbandhan (grand alliance) in UP and regional parties in other states contested the elections. Though 22 opposition parties came together in some forums with the slogan of "Modi Hatao", they could not hold together and form a united front, which benefited BJP by splitting the anti-BJP votes. As congress attracted Muslim votes in UP, many SP candidates were defeated.

Nobody among the opposition leaders today enjoys the prestige that Modi enjoys. Therefore, people gave more importance to Modi's propaganda. Modi's propaganda in every meeting that every vote the lotus symbol gets goes to Modi was one of the reasons behind the BJP's victory. No opposition leader including that of congress could emerge as an alternative to Modi. Thus the Modi factor helped BJP. 'Lokniti', the survey team of 'The Hindu' said that the mode of campaigning was in the style of presidential campaign by making it a person-centric campaign. In states like Karnataka and UP, caste equations and configurations and OBC, Bahujan alliances could not garner many votes while the consolidation of BJP under Modi laid the basis for its electoral victory.

The Election Commission played a completely partisan role in this election, further helping BJP. Election schedule was devised in such a way that Modi and Shah could concentrate their election campaigning in some states. In UP, Bihar and Bengal, elections were held in 7 phases so that Modi and Shah get adequate time to concentrate in these states for campaigning. This gave them their desired results. In the seventh phase of the Bengal polls, taking the plea that TMC activists attacked Amit Shah's road show, the EC cut off the campaign period by a day. But the same EC did not take any action on Modi even though he violated the election code time and again by referring to the Balakot attack. EC punished some of the opposition leaders for far lesser violations of the code. The impartiality of the EC had come in for some serious questioning and people were in fact left with no doubt about the partisan nature of the EC.

Apart from the above reasons, the people of the country clearly wanted to give another term of power to Modi.

We can see the influence of three kinds of forces behind the electoral victory of Modi. First, transforming the country into a society of majority community, Second, Hinduisation of the society, Third, majority of the people getting bogged down

in the aspirations of the middle class. Though this trend of mobilization was seen prior to and during 2014 elections, it further strengthened during 2019 elections.

Everybody believed that BJP would loose at least half of its seats in UP because of the alliance between SP, BSP and RLD. Everybody believed so because the Alliance won the bi-elections to the Loksabha seats in Gorakhpur and Phoolpur. Some papers also wrote that BJP is planning to gain in Odisha and West Bengal to overcome the losses that it will get in UP. But election results proved all these estimates wrong. The losses of the BJP in UP were only minimal.

RLD was in the main dependent on the votes of Jats in Western UP. But 91% of the votes of Jats went to BJP. SP got only 3/5<sup>ths</sup> of the Yadav votes. Though BSP got 3/4<sup>ths</sup> of the Jatav dalit votes, BJP could get 50% of the non-Jatav Dalit votes.

There was consolidation of the votes of upper castes, kurmis, koyirees and the lower rungs of the OBCs towards BJP. Such consolidation of the votes of Jats, muslims and yadavs towards the Grand Alliance did not happen. On the whole, while Upper castes, OBCs other than Yadavs constitute 50% of the voters, Dalits, Muslims and Yadav's constitute only 40%. BJP was far ahead of other parties in this caste consolidation. There is dissatisfaction to an extent among the people towards Yogi Adityanath government in UP. 83% of the people are disgruntled that they are facing a lot of problems with the vagrant animals, because of the Goraksha policies of the government. In spite of the local issues and problems, BJP overcame them and achieved victory. While the Grand Alliance depended on the caste mobilization of the votes, BJP divided the society and depended on the mobilization of the majority Hindu votes and achieved success in UP. BJP was also successful in Bihar in the same fashion while alliance under the leadership of RJD failed miserably. RJD failed to get even a single seat though it had a strong base among Yadav's and Muslims.

In West Bengal, competing with TMC, BJP obtained 18 seats out of 40. RSS has been working in the state for the past many decades in a planned manner. Here also, BJP and RSS worked towards consolidating the majority Hindu votes. They tried to instigate Hindus against the concessions given to Muslims by TMC. Mamata Banerjee tried to prevent big mobilisations by the BJP in the name of Durga Puja etc. BJP-RSS campaigned in a big way

against this. While trying to consolidate the votes of the Hindus in this fashion, on the other hand, BJP also concentrated on splitting the TMC wherever it is weak and tried to wean away its cadres into BJP. More over, even the CPM cadre who were victims of TMC supported BJP in a big way. Modi and Amit Shah attended many meetings in Bengal and gave speeches instigating the BJP cadre in a huge way. With the result, BJP won many seats in Bengal.

BJP was in the main strong in western and northern Karnataka earlier. But this time it could make entries in to the strongholds of JDS in the erstwhile Mysore region. It also made inroads into Hyderabad Karnataka. Utilizing the weaknesses of the JDS-Congress alliance government and its loss of prestige among the people with frequent squabbles between them, BJP achieved significant victories in this state.

Though the Congress party won the assembly elections held in December 2018 in MP, Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh, it lost heavily in the parliamentary elections in these states. As soon as the Congress formed governments in these states, it announced some people friendly measures like waiver of loans up to Rs. 2 lakhs to the farmers, new policies to supply electricity to agriculture, providing pension to small and middle peasantry etc. Though there was not much anti-incumbency factor against these governments, people favoured BJP in a big manner in the parliamentary elections. The propaganda of the BJP about the nuclear capabilities of India, national security, war on terrorism, Balakot surgical strike and need for a strong central government etc. had an impact on the people. So they voted heavily in favour of the BJP and the BJP won 62 out of 65 seats. Congress could win only 3 seats. People exhibited a difference between the assembly elections and the parliamentary elections.

In three of the southern states – AP, Tamil Nadu and Kerala – BJP could not get even a single seat. It however won in four seats in Telangana. We can gauge the level of antipathy towards BJP in the southern states. Opposition to BJP started brewing in Tamil Nadu since the BJP started to interfere in Tamil politics starting from the Jallikattu movement. It increased as the AIADMK government started behaving like a stooge of the central BJP government. Students and youth were in the forefront of many struggles like the 'Occupy Marina beach' against the BJP and Centre. As the

DMK was in supportive of all these movements, people voted for it over whelmingly.

After Andhra Pradesh was divided into two states, the centre did not accord special category status to AP as per the promise. This raised a lot of dissatisfaction among the people. Jaganmohan Reddy, the leader of the regional party YSRCP emerged as a very strong leader and so not only did the TDP lost the elections very badly, BJP also lost its earlier seats.

People in Kerala did not gravitate towards BJP though it tried to rake up the issue of Shabarimala in a forceful manner apart from its murderous Hindutva politics. Regional aspirations of the people, the language and nationality specificities and strong regional leadership worked strongly against the BJP. BJP could not effectively counter these. Especially in Tamil Nadu, anti-Hindutva, anti-north Indian and anti-Hindi feelings are very strong.

In Telangana, BJP won in the constituencies of Adilabad, Karimnagar and Nizamabad of north-Telangana apart from the Secunderabad seat. The north-Telangana constituencies are strongholds of TRS. Local factors worked in favour of BJP here instead of Hindutva politics. Congress concentrated in south Telangana and won three seats. We can gauge the growing dissatisfaction against the TRS among the people. Kavita, daughter of the Telangana Chief Minister, KCR was herself defeated from the Nizamabad constituency. Had Congress concentrated even in north Telangana to encash the growing anger of the people against the TRS, it could perhaps have won even there, thus denting the number of BJP seats.

The opposition parties tried to utilize caste equations and soft-Hindutva to win over people instead of exposing the failures of the BJP apart from the economic and social problems being faced by the people and failed miserably. These parties do not have a history of mobilising people into struggles and standing firm against the BJP. More over, these parties had been implementing anti-people policies when they were in power. They used to promise a lot to people, but were ever in the service of the big corporates and imperialists. Cashing in on these failures of the opposition parties, BJP is consolidating its hold and power and imposing Brahmanical Hindutva Fascism on the people of the country.

The economy of the country is in shambles under the Modi government. GDP rate fell to 6%.

Unemployment rose to 6.1%. People had to face a lot of economic burden as a result of demonetization and GST. Farmers are pushed to a desperate situation and may be committing suicides. The rights of the workers are under attack. Small and medium scale industries are badly affected. FDI is allowed 100% into the public sector companies by opening up the doors wide open to the imperialists. Exports have gone down. The value of the rupee has gone down vis-à-vis dollar to Rs.76. BJP government has written off bank loans worth three and half lakh crore rupees to the big comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and transferred that burden on to the common people of India. BJP is implementing cruel repression with its Brahmanical Hindutva politics on the minorities, dalits, adivasis and various nationalities. It is carrying out attacks on secular, democratic and patriotic forces. It is imprisoning many intellectuals and democratic forces in the name of urban-Naxals. It is instigating anti-Pakistan feelings in the country to gain political mileage.

Even while the country is reeling under these problems, Modi is going to throw the doors of the Indian economy further wide open for the imperialists. Imperialists are going to loot the natural resources of the country further. They are going to resort to further fascist repression on the people. They are going to implement the Samadhan policy more vigorously and increase repression especially on the adivasis and poor people. The efforts to establish 'Hindu Rashtra' by amending the constitution in the name of 'New India' are going to further accelerate. Mob attacks are going to increase further in the name 'Gau

Raksha'. Some BJP leaders are propagating that there won't be elections at all after 2019. The attack on the economic, political, social and cultural rights of the people is going to intensify.

The slogan of Modi – 'Sab ka saath, sab kaa vikaas, sab kaa vishvaas' is going to prove only to win over the confidence of the imperialists and not the confidence of all sections of the people.

The Hindutva politics is gaining strength in the country. BJP, RSS and its branches all over the country are further expanding and with the propaganda of Hindutva they are consolidating the votes of Hindus and achieving victories in elections. In the recent elections, BJP put the agenda of development on the back burner as it had nothing to show to the people in the name of development in the past five years of its tenure. People should recognize the danger of its Hindutva political agenda. The coming days are going to be very tough for the people. But people should get ready to boldly face the Brahmanical Hindutva Fascism and fight against it. The Brahmanical Hindutva ideology has to be exposed. People have to take up struggle everywhere on their issues and problems. All the forces, individuals, organisations and parties that can come together on these issues should unite in these movements. The revolutionary party must be defended, protected and further consolidated. PLGA should be further consolidated and it should stand in support of the revolutionary movement. People can get freedom, independence and liberation only by fighting against the Brahmanical Hindu Fascism that has become very dangerous and bury it.

PM

(contd in p.29)

Rs.3000 and the cooking staff Rs.2000. This was a recent hike decided by the 'Preparatory Committee of the Zonal level Janathana Sarkar' from the previous years. Some of them are full timers. The teachers of the Janathana Sarkar Schools (JSS) are trained by the EDC comrades through workshops and training programs.

Each school has 30-40 students and 3-4 teachers. The students take part in the routine activities of the school like getting water for cooking, cleaning the premises and getting their supplies. Wherever possible they take a bullock-cart to get them. The students have a cultural team and periodical rehearsals and programs. The CNM helps them with training in songs, dance and play-lets.

The government armed forces made many attacks on the schools in all parts of DK. But not

only the children but also the parents are keen to get their children educated. In some places of severe repression the school packs up in the evening. The younger children are sent home and the older and the teachers take shelter in the forest. It resumes in the morning after a patrol around the village. The militia is on sentry and makes patrols and the school gets the signal of the police.

In the ongoing 'SAMADHAN' strategic offensive of the ruling classes of the country Janathana Sarkar is facing certain challenges. But the people are very keen to keep it functioning. In one RPC where the leaders were arrested and encountered the concerned higher committee was discussing with the people whether they could continue the functioning of the RPC. The people instantly responded, 'No! We shall not dissolve the RPC. We shall run it in a secret manner! Tell us how to do it!'

PM

# Interview with Comrade Ganapathi

*Comrade Ganapathi retired from the responsibilities of the General Secretary of the CPI (Maoist) and Comrade Basavaraj was elected as the GS. On this occasion People's March interviewed Comrade Ganapathi early this year. This is the full text of the interview – Editorial Board*

**People's March:** What are the reasons for your retirement from the responsibilities of General Secretary?

**Com Ganapathi:** The reason for my retirement from the responsibilities of General Secretary of our Party is my increasing ill-health and age. The Central Committee of our Party faced very severe losses due to the ceaseless counter-revolutionary offensive. Our Party is witnessing new challenges and new opportunities. In such conditions I proposed to the CC to elect another comrade as the GS so as to provide active, efficient leadership to our Party from the highest position. In view of the protracted, rich experiences of the leadership committees of our Party and as the interests of the Party and Revolution are the most important for me I proposed to the CC. The Fifth meeting of the CC thoroughly, deeply discussed and approved it and unanimously elected Comrade Namballa Keshavarao as the new GS. On this occasion I convey my hearty revolutionary greetings to Comrade Namballa Keshavarao, the new GS of our Party. I believe that in his leadership our Central Committee shall develop into a stronger, collective and centralized leadership and provide efficient leadership to the Indian Revolutionary movement. As a veteran I shall work to the best of my strength until the end for the development of our Party and to advance the Indian Revolution.

Just as the Protracted People's War going on in a jig-jag manner, new generations taking over the central leadership of the respective Communist Parties for the past fifty years in several countries of the world, there are similar changes in the revolution of our country and in our Party. This shows the character of the present times in the dynamics of the World Socialist Revolution. Leadership changes, new generations come forth but the World Socialist Revolution and the Indian New Democratic Revolution as a part of it shall continue in the protracted path until the final success. People are the makers of history. The future belongs to the new generations!

**PM:** The Revolutionary movement of our country has been sliding for the past seven to eight years. What are the reasons? What are your efforts to overcome this situation?

**Com. GP:** The intensity of the counter-revolutionary offensive and our subjective mistakes and weaknesses are the main reasons

for the weakening of the Indian Revolutionary movement for the past eight years. Coming to the enemy offensive the central and the state governments are taking it up in the name of 'Operation Green Hunt' and 'SAMADHAN'. They deployed five and a half lakhs of police and Paramilitary forces in the areas of the revolutionary movement and widened carpet security. As a result the mass base became weak. The area of the movement shrank. We could not extend the class struggle to the vast plains, the rural and the urban areas. Coming to our subjective mistakes and weaknesses, we considerably lost leadership cadres and subjective forces due to the enemy offensive. We are short in understanding the interrelation of the central task and the other immediate tasks and in working accordingly. The Party could not formulate new program and tactics of class struggle depending on social investigation. There were shortcomings in the rectification campaign that the Party took up to rectify the non-proletarian tendencies in the party and so could not achieve the expected results. Due to all these there were a lot of limitations in building movements in the central and the state level.

In order to overcome this situation and to advance the movement in the country without further setback, our Party presently took up the main task of developing People's War by formulating tactics according to the changes in the international and domestic conditions, in the relations of production and in the social conditions. For this purpose social investigation is taken up to study the changes in the mode of production and social relations due to LPG policies being implemented since 1991 is and to adopt corresponding tactics. We are working for advancing the People's War through – theoretical, political, organisational and military consolidation of the Party, PLGA and the United Front; the protection of the leadership, cadres and PLGA forces; persistent guerilla war; reorganizing the affected Mass Organisations and strengthening the mass base; consolidating the people mobilizing in the struggles to solve people's problems in class and sectional organisations; enlightening the organisations with the politics

of Armed Agrarian Revolutionary class struggles against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie; maintaining friendly forces starting from the ground level to the central level and the neutral sections on the side of the revolutionary movement; isolating the main enemy and utilizing various contradictions so as to help for the advancement of the movement; and through reconsolidating and expanding the areas of the movement.

**PM:** Brahmanic Hindu fascism reached its zenith and became a great danger to the oppressed people of the country. What is the opinion of the Party about facing it?

**Com. GP:** Fascism is internationally an utmost reactionary, counter-revolutionary, theoretical and political movement. The ruling classes unleash fascism whenever economic and political crisis intensifies and whenever there is a danger of people's movements and revolutionary movements. Hindu fascism in our country came forth in this international background. Since Modi came to power these fascist forces are putting the traditional forces among the people and a section among the urban middle class and lumpen proletariat in a frenzy. They utilize their majority in the Parliament and cruelly quashing the people's movements through their utmost dictatorial rule. They even attack the parliamentary opposition parties and try in many ways to hegemonise them. They are aggressively and harshly unleashing theoretical, economic, political and cultural policies. Due to the aggressive implementation of fascist policies opposition, protest and movements of the people are on the rise and since there is an increasing situation of these to turn into a revolutionary crisis, in a bid to divert it, the US imperialists and the ruling classes of the country brought the diehard Modi clique of the RSS-BJP to power. These classes are unleashing Brahmanic Hindu fascism in the country. This is the main difference between the Modi government and the governments of the earlier other parties. This took the Brahmanic Hindu fascist offensive to a severe level in the country.

Since the Modi clique seized power in the centre it is working with the agenda to make the country into a 'Hindu raj'. With the slogan of 'Minimum government-Maximum rule' the Modi clique took all the government powers into its hands, into the hands of the RSS and into those of its reliable agents. It aggressively brought forth Hindutwa and fake nationalism. It is not allowing even nominal democracy and federalism. It made the judiciary fascistic. This was revealed when four

judges of the Supreme Court spoke out that 'democracy' was in danger. The Modi clique is unleashing an emergency like situation.

Coming to how our Party faces Brahmanic Hindu fascism, the religious minorities, Dalits and the people of the oppressed nationalities are fighting against it. These struggles are going on separately and are gradually picking up. Our utmost important political task is to target the politics of the Brahmanic Hindu fascist exploitation and suppression of the people; to mobilise the whole oppressed people; to take up constant agitation and propaganda programs against Brahmanic Hindu fascism through our class organisations and other organisations; and to develop a militant movement through building a broad United Front to defeat those politics. It is the responsibility of our Party to provide proper direction and proper leadership to those movements and bring them into the path of revolution. We must have the initiative to mobilise Dalit people, religious minorities, especially the Muslim people, the secular and the democratic people. We have to take up ideological, cultural and practical efforts to go and work deep among the rural and urban middle class and the lumpen proletariat to destroy the social basis of the Hindu fascist forces in these classes. We must work together with all those who come forth in this struggle, however vacillating friends they might be. For this purpose we have to absolutely explore the strength of the people. We have to take up various tactics and actively and militantly mobilise the people in all legal-illegal, open-secret struggles and only thus we can defeat the danger of Brahmanic Hindu fascism. However the collective effort of various organisations, associations and forums shall be vital. These must form into a broad United Front and take up the issue. Only then we can contain and defeat Brahmanic Hindu fascism. Our Party feels that this effort shall work as the basis for a countrywide strong United Front against Brahmanic Hindu fascism.

**PM:** How do you fight back the 'SAMADHAN' strategic offensive that the Modi government formulated to totally eliminate the Maoist movement in India by 2022?

**Com. GP:** The present 'SAMADHAN' offensive too is a strategic offensive like the counter-revolutionary Operation Green Hunt (OGH) that was unleashed from 2009 to 2017. The 'SAMADHAN' strategic fascist offensive was intended for building 'Nava Bharath' that the Modi clique speaks. Whatever it boasts about the objectives of building 'Nava Bharath' that it wishes

to complete by 2022, its actual objectives are – to aggressively implement neo-liberal policies in the country and intensify the exploitation and oppression of the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and big landlords; to impose Brahmanism on all the people of the country and put an iron heel on the people's resistance to it; to stabilize Brahmanic caste order and hegemony of higher castes in the country; to suppress the Kashmir and the North East Nationality Liberation struggles fighting for freedom against the conspiracies of 'Akhand Bharath' that is against the Dalit and other oppressed castes, religious minorities and transforms the country into a prison of nationalities; to eliminate the Maoist party that is taking up Armed struggle against the exploitation, oppression and repression; and to establish 'Brahmanic Hindu fascist rule'. The Indian Comprador bureaucratic ruling classes took the lives of 195 Maoist revolutionaries, 100 revolutionary people, hundreds of Dalits, Muslims and Adivasis and more than 300 Kashmiri fighters in the present 'SAMADHAN' offensive.

As a part of the 'SAMADHAN' strategy the ruling classes deployed Para-military, Commando and Special police forces in big numbers in the areas of the revolutionary movement and are strengthening carpet security with the objective of absolute elimination of the revolutionary movement. They strengthen and expand intelligence system to intensify counter-guerilla operations in the guerilla bases, strategic areas and in areas where the movement spread newly. They implement reforms among the increasing middle class sections in the adivasi areas where the movement is strong and divert them from the revolutionary movement. They intensify attacks on social activists in the name of urban Maoists. They stop funds for our Party.

Our Party is making efforts to mold the Party, PLGA, RPC and the revolutionary Mass Organisations on par with the severe change in the enemy offensive, with the aim to defeat this cruel, multipronged 'SAMADHAN' offensive that is in fact war against the people. It is mobilizing the broad people in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal class struggle and is enhancing its mass base. It is training new leadership forces. It is bolshevizing and rectifying the alien class tendencies among the leadership forces. It is expanding-intensifying the People's War-Guerilla War and is resisting the 'SAMADHAN' offensive. In this process it is developing its strength for political mobilization and for organization and

struggle. Our Party opines that we can defeat the SAMADHAN offensive only through mobilizing the worker, peasant and other oppressed classes and oppressed social communities in broad people's struggles, by integrating with the struggles of the oppressed nationalities for their liberation, by coordinating these struggles with the Protracted People's War and by united fight with the common enemy.

**PM:** The International Communist Movement is weak! How would the movement advance?

**Com. GP:** Yes! The International Communist Movement is weak. There are objective and subjective reasons. An objective situation is maturing for another revolutionary spate in the world. Along with it a favorable situation is developing for strengthening the proletarian revolutionary subjective force. In view of this the international proletariat and the revolutionary Communist parties must get ready. The monopoly capitalists and their governments of the imperialist system are developing utmost modern technology, bringing great growth in production, brought utmost destructive development in the military sector and great changes in administration, social, cultural and all such sectors. They and their compradors brought changes in neo-colonies and semi-colonies. All these are nothing but to exploit the crores of broad toiling people and to eat them away in the interests of the minority capitalists and their compradors. They violate the freedom of the people and suppress their struggles. The World Wars, aggression wars, interventionist policies and fascism are to persistently destroy the humankind and to push them into unrest and insecurity and unleash their hegemony. The international proletariat or the Communist Parties must understand without doubt that the so-called development that they brought and are bringing cannot change the character of the wage slavery system or that of the semi-colonial, semi-feudal system; they must profoundly realize that Socialism is the actual alternative to the capitalist-imperialist system and the neo-colonial/semi-colonial, semi-feudal system.

It is necessary to make a concrete study of the social, economic, political and cultural conditions in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in every country and adopt appropriate political line, revolutionary line and revolutionary strategy and tactics. For this purpose we have to study the history of the respective countries, especially the history of proletarian revolution and the history of international proletariat. It is necessary to study

not only the great victories of the international proletariat but also its defeats and mistakes. We must not be enthused with victories and depressed with defeats. We must learn from mistakes and demonstrate proletarian courage to achieve successes.

The imperialists and reactionaries are always afraid of people's struggles and revolutions. The reactionaries learn from their earlier defeats and take up theoretical, political, military and cultural offensive to see that the scattered proletariat revolutionary forces do not rise once again and try to drown the rising revolutions in blood. It is the historic responsibility of the proletariat and revolutionary communist parties to prepare and dare to fight back this offensive. The international proletariat and the revolutionary communist parties must remember the historic experience that the path is jig-jag and work to fulfill their historic responsibility.

The proletariat must give utmost importance to self-dependence. They have to adopt appropriate tactics with a strategic view to unite and integrate with the people, to gain friendly forces, to isolate the enemies, especially the main enemy and achieve success. We must utilize the contradictions between the enemies with the objective to achieve success in revolution but must never rely or depend on them. In each and every revolution of the world all the enemies united to attack it but never helped the revolution. We must make temporary compromises and agreements with the enemies with this understanding.

We must constantly pay attention to the strategy and tactics. There will be changes in the social conditions, in the balance of forces between the forces in conflict due to class contradictions and in the ebbs and flows of the revolutionary movements. So they must be studied in time and periodically. The revolutionary leadership must adopt and improve tactics with a strategic view and foresight and work.

We must take care that we never distance from the people. We must deepen and expand mass base. We must pay importance to the political mobilization of the proletariat, peasantry and the broad oppressed people. Especially we must work with special attention to mobilise new generations, the youth into revolution, in the theoretical, political, organizational, education, social, cultural, sports and media sectors. We must give special importance to work in ideological sphere, work in the cultural sphere, among the students and intellectuals and in the media.

We must unite with all the proletarian revolutionary struggles. We must support all the democratic and nationality liberation struggles against the imperialists, landlords and comprador bureaucratic capitalists. We must relentlessly make efforts to integrate with the proletarian, revolutionary communist parties, various oppressed classes, oppressed social communities and the people of oppressed nationalities of all the countries, to extend support to them and to be organized. In the country/countries where revolution was a success, we must take up continuous revolution in the superstructure to successfully take up Socialist construction in the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must understand that this proletarian internationalism is a precondition for the success and existence of revolution in every country.

We must never divorce from the fundamental principles of MLM. We must creatively apply them to revolutionary conditions. We must keep politics in command in all aspects and take up class struggle as the vital link. We must always follow class line and mass line. We must learn from practice. We must sincerely take up criticism-self-criticism and follow the method of rectifying mistakes, of strengthening the party and of learning from practice. We must oppose all kinds of revisionism. We must fight against all kinds of bourgeois ideological trends. We must adopt appropriate tactics to protect and develop subjective strength and to achieve new victories.

Only thus, depending on the unique revolutionary objective condition of various countries, with the unique strength of the revolutionary subjective forces and efficient leadership revolutionary movements of many levels shall rise and advance all over the world. Firstly when the revolutionary leadership can efficiently lead in a weak link and the domestic and international situation is favorable, revolution/ revolutions achieve success. Revolutions are not achieved basing on subjective wishes. Only thus the International Communist Movement shall overcome the present situation and advance. Thus it abolishes capitalism, semi-colonial, semi-feudal policy, labor exploitation, neo-liberal policies, wage slavery and all kinds of social oppressions through the utmost complex, difficult revolutions in human history involving bloodshed, courage, sacrifices and the great wonders of crores of oppressed people and realizes the great ideal of Socialism-Communism.

**PM:** It is fifty years since the beginning of Naxalbari movement. What is your assessment of the success of Indian Revolution?

**Com. GP:** Yes! Fifty years passed since the Naxalbari movement began. But the Indian New Democratic Revolution did not succeed. Moreover our CC assessed that the Indian Revolutionary Movement is facing a difficult situation. Counter-revolution is making the most intense offensive to eliminate the mere existence of revolution. Our country is one of the strongest bastions of international reaction. If this bastion comes into the hands of the people the foundation of the imperialists and reactionaries starts shaking. So the offensive on the revolution in our country is not that of the Indian reactionary ruling classes. It is being taken up by all the imperialists including the US imperialists that are the centre for world reaction. It is because our country is always favorable to the development of social revolution due to its semi-colonial, semi-feudal character. Moreover the present revolution is related to our country but the character of this revolution is international. Its origins, the impacts and consequences are international. The reactionaries of the country and all over the world are clearly aware of this. We must understand the ebbs and flows of Indian Revolution in the background of the International Communist Movement. There is no Socialist revolutionary camp or a revolutionary base in the world and so our Party and every Maoist party must provide efficient leadership to make their revolutions successful to establish such a base and such a camp. We must work efficiently with the objective of fulfilling this task with our bit of responsibility as the vanguard detachment of the international proletariat. In this view too our Party must make much more serious effort to advance in order to overcome the present difficult situation of the movement and to learn from the experiences of not only the revolution in our country but also the International Communist Movement. We must sincerely work to rectify our mistakes and overcome weaknesses; we must make changes in our tactics and tasks depending on the changes in social conditions and in revolutionary war and in this view we have to concentrate on training our Party, PLGA and people theoretically, politically and organizationally; we have to pay special importance to develop mass base and subjective forces and to the political mobilization of the people; we have to intensify and expand class struggle and guerilla war in view of the concrete socio-geographical situation of the

various areas of movement in the country and our strength and the level of movement in those areas.

On this occasion I wish to make one thing clear. Though Indian New Democratic Revolution did not succeed even after fifty years of Naxalbari movement, we must remember that the rich experiences our revolution handed over during this period, the subjective strength we developed, the mass base, the revolutionary traditions that we established, its great impact on the society and the great experiences the International Communist Movement handed over during this time developed our theoretical, strategic and tactical understanding necessary for advancing the Indian Revolution. In the present situation where Protracted People's War is going on in a jig-jag manner there are severe challenges and also great opportunities. I believe that our Party can overcome the present difficult situation and successfully advance only if the whole party works in a united, strong, courageous and efficient manner. Our Party took up the red flag of invincible Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and is making People's War and I strongly believe that it will step forward towards achieving the final success.

**PM:** What message do you wish to give to the ranks of our Party, revolutionary sympathisers and the broad oppressed people?

**Com. GP:** I hope and profoundly believe that the cadres and members of all levels in our Party and revolutionary sympathisers shall work with a foresight and strong will to develop our Party, People's Army and People's political power as an invincible force in the process of revolution and fulfill the ideals of thousands and lakhs of martyrs to make success the Indian New Democratic Revolution as the inheritors of the Indian Communist movement of the past one hundred years and the International Proletariat Movement for the past 170 years for which – they have to mold and deepen their world outlook with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism for achieving Socialism-Communism in the world for the success of World Socialist Revolution; they have to live a simple life and do hard work, make tireless study, follow daring style of struggle; they have to work with the three guidelines for the great style of work that Mao taught; they have to develop the consciousness to fight with strong will to achieve the aim bearing the hardships and losses in the process of Protracted People's War; they have to develop the foresight and efficiency to escape the unseen dangers in the process of revolution; they have to integrate with the people in an extremely

(contd in p.2)

# Brexit – increased instability in the British Ruling class parties

*Arun*

The 2017 agreement between Britain and the European Union (EU) is causing consternation among the British ruling class parties. As per this agreement, Britain was supposed to exit the EU within two years but there is continuing uncertainty about the exit even to this day. The British PM Theresa May negotiated with the EU and obtained time till October 2019 to enforce the Brexit agreement. However, she failed to convince the British Parliament in pushing through the agreement and submitted her resignation. Thus, the political scenario in Britain is taking unexpected turns.

Three years ago in 2016, the British citizens – mainly students, researchers and businessmen – worried that Britain's continuing membership in the EU will adversely impact their interests, brought pressure upon the David Cameron Government to not continue in the EU. As a result, he held a referendum on this matter in which 51.4% were in favour of exiting the EU while 49% were against it. But, before Britain's exit from the EU was completed, Cameron resigned as prime minister and Theresa May took over from him. Even though she is not in favour of Brexit, the responsibility of enforcing the result of the referendum fell on her. In the last 2.5 years, she made several attempts to get the British Parliament to accept the resolution concerning Brexit.

Lakhs of displaced persons reach Europe every year as refugees. They travel from the African continent to Italy in risky, insecure boats and from there they go to other European countries. In another direction, lakhs of Syrians and others reach Europe through Turkey. Since Britain is an island, it can easily protect itself from these illegal immigrants. But, if it continues in the EU, it has to put up with the massive migration of people from East European countries. The EU citizens can work in any European country without the need for visa

and work permits. Britain is afraid that with increased number of immigrants, they may control the British politics in the future. Also, the money to be paid yearly to the EU keeps increasing. Both these factors contributed to Britain's move towards 'Brexit'. There is also the worry of European Court influencing the British laws.

The business matters also became major aspects for leaving the EU. Brexit gained support from businessmen on the grounds that the EU is imposing too many restrictions on business dealings, it is collecting hundreds of crores of pounds as yearly membership fees, and ultimately it is causing losses to Britain. From April 2019, the EU is introducing new tax laws. The enforcement of these new laws against tax evasion will prevent financial irregularities. So far, the corporates have been using the differences in laws between countries in their favour. That will no longer be possible. Therefore, the wealthiest persons in Britain manipulated people's opinion to be in favour of 'Brexit' through various ways.

Germany and France have been the decisive forces for the 28-nation EU. This has become problematic for the United Kingdom (Britain) since 1973. As a result of this, Britain established a special relationship with the USA. Another key instrument that acts as an obstruction to Britain's predominance is NATO. Under these circumstances, differences arose in the Conservative Unionist Party (Tory party) about Britain continuing in the EU. At the same time, in order to camouflage and divert attention from the failure of globalization policies, the conservative forces raised a controversy about EU membership. They brought into play their nationalism and anti-immigration agendas.

On November 25<sup>th</sup>, 2018 Britain signed a 585-page Brexit agreement with the 27 countries of the EU. This agreement directs Britain to pay 3900



crore pounds as compensation for leaving the membership of EU. On the other hand, Northern Ireland that is a part of the UK, is insisting that the EU rules continue to be applied to it. Both these clauses are being strongly opposed by a majority of Labour party and Conservative party members.

### **The Backstop Solution**

In arriving at a consensus on the Brexit agreement, there are serious differences with respect to the border between Northern Ireland (part of the United Kingdom) and Republic of Ireland (which is part of the EU). This has become a rather intractable problem.

All concerned parties accept that there should not be any restrictions imposed at the border. The check posts between these two countries have been eliminated after the 1998 Good Friday agreement and they no longer function. However, if the Brexit agreement is signed and UK and Northern Ireland leave the EU, the customs check posts have to be restarted at the border.

The social and economic relationships between Northern Ireland and Republic of Ireland have been strengthened so far through the constant flow of people and vehicles across the border. There is a fear of the old conflicts (Ireland conflict) starting again if the flow across the borders is stopped with the check posts. There is also a fear that the entire UK may be subject to EU sanctions if the check posts are put in place. For both these reasons, the British MPs as well as the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), that is a staunch supporter of the Brexit, are opposing the check posts. Backstop has been proposed in the Brexit agreement as a way to circumvent this problem. As per that, there will be no hard border and check posts between the two countries but there will be a backstop policy with a definite set of rules. The DUP party is strongly opposing even this solution and it has become an uphill task to get approval for the Brexit agreement in the British Parliament.

The agreement that is supposed to govern the relationship between Britain and the EU after Britain exits from the single market and customs union of the EU has been subject to a lot of criticism that it is against the interests of the British people. All those opposing Brexit do not necessarily want Britain to continue in the EU. There are different view points among them. Conservative parties such as UKIP which are anti-immigration and racist hope to restrict or stop the influx of refugees and immigrants if Britain comes out of the EU. Some

people from the ruling Tory party argue that it is better for Britain to continue in the EU. The Labour party and left parties hope that the EU imposed austerity measures and the anti-labour reforms can be stopped by Brexit.

Theresa May started the Brexit process from March 29<sup>th</sup>, 2017. Britain was expected to leave the EU in two years, i.e. by March 29<sup>th</sup>, 2019. As per article 50 of the Lisbon Agreement, a member country cannot be given more than 2 years to exit the EU. The EU Court ruled that the Brexit agreement can be set aside as per article 50. Many members of the Parliament are opposing the agreement. If Britain leaves the EU, the border between Ireland and Northern Ireland will become the border between EU and Britain. British businessmen are raising a hue and cry that such a border will adversely impact free trade. Due to all these reasons, Theresa May ended up in a tight spot. Over 18 months, she made desperate attempts to convince the members of Parliament.

As per the rules of the Brexit agreement, Britain was supposed to leave the EU by 29<sup>th</sup> March 2019. But, the lower House of the British Parliament rejected the Brexit agreement negotiated by Theresa May with the EU. On March 14<sup>th</sup>, 2019 May proposed in the lower House that Britain should leave the EU even without the Brexit agreement. However, even that proposal was rejected by the members of Parliament. A proposal to hold a second referendum in UK regarding the Brexit was also rejected in the House with a massive majority. The EU refused to change the agreement but extended it temporarily till April 12<sup>th</sup>. On April 11<sup>th</sup>, the EU announced that it is extending the agreement by 6 more months, i.e. till October 31<sup>st</sup>, 2019.

One important aspect of Brexit is that students can no longer go freely to other EU countries to pursue higher education. In this context, Theresa May held successful discussions with the EU leaders and they agreed to extend the deadline for Brexit.

The MP's from Tory party were constantly bringing up the Brexit controversy. In order to resolve it once for all, the then Prime Minister David Cameron conducted a referendum on it. The results of the referendum turned out to be the opposite of what Cameron hoped for. As a result, Cameron resigned as the Prime Minister, Theresa May came to power and now she has also resigned. But, the Brexit problem is still not solved. If anything, it has become even more complicated.

***The European Steel and Coal Community was established in 1952, which enabled industrial cooperation among its member countries such as Germany, Italy, France and others. The European Economic Community (EEC) was formed in 1957 by the Treaty of Rome. The Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg formed the 'Benelux' Union which represented a politico-economic union of the three countries. This sort of a union of three countries was a significant political advance. Britain joined the EEC in 1973. The EEC morphed into the EU in 1993 with the Belgian capital Brussels as its capital. Initially, Germany and France opposed the entry of Britain into the EU. The number of countries joining the EU has been steadily increasing. In contrast, the British Commonwealth did not make as much progress as the EU did. The fact that 28 countries joined the EU in the past three decades is indicative of the rapid advance of the Union. The boundaries between the countries in the EU are only nominal. As per the rules of the EU, people and goods can be transported across the countries of EU without any obstacles. There is a single 'Schengen' visa for these countries (which is a formal document replacing the passport and visa of individual countries). This visa is a great convenience for tourists. In the name of Eurozone, nineteen countries in Europe gave up their individual currencies and opted for a common currency – the 'Euro'. Europe is a good example of the advantages that various countries gain when they come together in a union.***

Just like the Tory party, the opposition Labour party's leader Jeremy Corbyn also did not show foresight with respect to the referendum. After the referendum, differences cropped up within the Labour party too. Thus, there is no consensus emerging in both parties to resolve the Brexit conundrum.

In 2017, Theresa May conducted elections to the lower House of the Parliament in order to obtain a majority which can help her resolve the Brexit problem. But, the Tory party could not get a majority in these elections. So, she had to come back to power with the help of Northern Ireland's Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) which is a staunch supporter of the Brexit deal. But, the stance taken by the DUP only made the Brexit problem worse.

The 'Leave' campaign of 2015 that was started in the context of the referendum influenced the outcome of the referendum. There is currently an enquiry going on in Britain regarding a big businessman Arron Banks funding the Leave campaign with 8.4 million pounds, which is the largest political donation in British politics. The British government is now considering if the Brexit referendum has any value since it is so strongly influenced by the funding to the Leave campaign. These facts make it clear that the referendum was conducted with the instigation of corporations and banks in Britain. It is not the highly qualified but the squeezed middle class that voted strongly in favour of Brexit in the referendum. The unemployment problem in Britain is increasing

due to the increasing economic crisis. As a result, the middle class that is affected most by it became the biggest supporters of Brexit.

Currently, the Labour party leader Jeremy Corbyn is also in difficulties. The people are suffering greatly due to the austerity measures imposed by the EU. The Government did not make adequate financial allocations to the National Health Scheme. The number of homeless has reached record levels. About 3.7 million children are living in unbearable conditions. Due to the cost cutting measures initiated by the government, there is no devolution of adequate funds to local governing bodies, which are not able to work well. Due to paucity of funds, they are taking measures such as reducing the number of working days in an academic year which is in turn causing a fall in educational standards. Instead of carrying out struggles on the unbearable conditions being faced by the British people, all parties including the Labour party have focused only on the referendum. Now that the consequences of the referendum are playing out, the political and economic crisis in Britain worsened. Currently, no political party is able to resolve the crisis. After Theresa May, the new Prime Minister Boris Johnson came to power in July, whoever that might be. But, the solution to this problem is not that easy.

Imperialist wars and crises are destroying humankind. The occupation wars started by

(contd in p.35)

# World Capitalist system slipped into prolonged depression and Major imperialist powers moving towards conflicts

*Ashish*

As a part of the general crisis of imperialism, imperialism once again fell into economic crisis after World War II in the first half of the 1970s. In fact by that time large amount of financial capital was already accumulated in the hands of the imperialist financial oligarchy. The financial capital was commercially active and decisive in a level beyond the jurisdiction of the national states. However the protective policies (duties and regulations) of the respective countries all over the world became a hurdle to the expansion of this financial capital. Milton Friedman and other such theoreticians brought forth the 'globalisation' theory so as to remove these hurdles and create favorable conditions for the expansion of the financial capital. They spoke of less intervention of the state and emphasized free capitalism. Thus the movement of financial capital was much more facilitated. This necessity made them to gradually keep aside the Keynesian theory that capitalism was until then following that said that the 'state must intervene so as to increase demand in the market' and started to bring forth the 'globalisation' theory so as to let the financial capital easily capture all the markets. In the decade of 1980 for the first time the President of US, Reagan and the Prime Minister of Britain, Margaret Thatcher initiated changes in their economic policies. They firstly made cuts in welfare activities against the concept of 'welfare state'. A prominent feature was that the main imperialist countries of the world imposed 'liberalisation' and 'structural changes' through IMF and World Bank on the backward countries. Since the ruling Comprador, Bureaucratic Bourgeois and Feudal classes became agents for the imperialists and their interests too were involved in the exploitation of the imperialists, they willingly accepted these structural changes. This broke the protective forts of duties between the countries in international commerce. There were almost no hurdles for the flow of capital. The economic and commercial relations between the countries increased and the world speedily developed as mutually dependent. During this period there was one more important political development. In

mid-1991 Russia became economically weak and lost its status as a super-power. It stepped aside from the cold war with the US for world hegemony. In such conditions even though the imperialists temporarily colluded and made several agreements for re-division of the world market they went on competing among themselves to increase their own share.

This 'globalisation' (free market) model that have been being described as a 'common medicine' to lessen the intensity of the crisis for the past three and a half decades proved to be a failure with the US sub-prime (house loan) crisis in 2008 September. In fact the imperialist economy was pushed into stagnation even before this financial crisis in the US. Before 2008 there was a little increase in the growth rate of the world but the real wages of the workers did not rise. Permanent workers went on decreasing and contract and casual labor went on increasing. While the wages of the top officials increased extraordinarily those of the ordinary workers reached a pathetic state. The CEOs of the major MNCs received six to seven crore rupees per annum and the ordinary workers did not have money to fulfill their minimum necessities. The 'globalisation' model highly increased economic inequalities and poverty along with unemployment. Many reports reveal that the total property of eighty super-rich of the world equals to that of 360 crore people. These reports also reveal that among these 500 super-rich, there are 23 Indians and that the owner of Reliance Mukesh Ambani secured the 20<sup>th</sup> place among them. This breach between the rich and the poor is increasing day by day in a level that cannot be filled. Due to these severe inequalities the purchasing power of the crores of laborers was affected, market demand came down and the efficiency to utilize the strength of productivity has been gradually going down. These developments decreased the growth rate and led production into stagnation.

In such conditions the Multi-National Companies have been increasing investments mainly in the financial sector (share business-derivatives, securities, bonds, futures, options, forward

trading) instead on the basic sectors of industries and agriculture in a bid for more profits. However after the capitalism turned into imperialism the imperialist countries naturally gained a 'rentier' character of gaining 'money from money' by investing mainly in the financial sector. We have to see the above changes in this background. On this occasion they mainly invested in share market and real estate. The banks gave loans for low interests to increase the purchasing power of the people. Few loans were given without mortgage. The share prices and those of the housing plots were artificially increased and business in this sector gained momentum. This artificial, anarchic, temporary 'development' did not last long. The prices of shares and plots came down. Those who took loans from the banks could not repay. This led to a large scale liquidation of the banks. Thus the 'development bubble' in these sectors burst and financial crisis broke firstly in the US in the form of 'house loan crises. This crisis spread all over the mutually dependent world. Especially it made a severe impact on the economies of the world that were mostly related and dependent on the US economy.

This financial crisis pushed the world capitalist system that was already in depression to severe economic crisis and much more weakened it. This economic crisis can be compared with the great crisis of the 1930s. This is much bigger, deeper and wider crisis than all those that came after 1930s. It is continuing for a long time too. This crisis is little different from the earlier great crisis of 1930. In that crisis though the level of stagnation is severe inflation did not rise due to control on prices. But now prices too increased along with stagnation and so inflation reached its peak. The present situation of stagnation and inflation together is said to be 'stagflation'.

The imperialists, their agents (comprador, bureaucratic bourgeois and feudal classes) and their theoreticians are having a tough time to lessen the intensity of the economic crisis that is circling daily and suffocating the world economy. Thousands and lakhs and crores of rupees of people's money are being given to the Multi-National Companies, Corporate Companies and Banks for 'bail-out packages'. In India the Modi government handed over 2.2 lakh crore rupees to the government banks that are heading towards liquidation due to non-repayment of loans. On the other hand the central banks of the world are lessening interest rate in the name of 'liberal fiscal

policy' and are increasing financial supply. With this inflation is reaching a high level. The US Federal bank is continuing zero interest rates. All these policies are once again increasing the intervention of the state in the economy as per the Keynesian theory. In addition to these policies, in the recent time the main imperialist countries are taking up 'protective measures' against 'globalisation'. During elections Trump propagated 'America first' (meaning importance to the interests of the US) but immediately after coming to power imposed restrictions of H-1B visa. Capitalist countries like Australia and Canada too are going in the same path. The separation of Britain from EU through referendum, the Brexit is a part of this. All the main imperialist countries including the US are taking up protectionist policies and are dictating backward countries like India to open the doors wider. FICCI already stated that due to the exports to India in the defense sector the US could provide jobs to two lakh sixty thousand people. These unequal agreements are exposing the character of free market. However the imperialists and their agents are still talking about 'globalisation' and are putting more and more pressure to indiscriminately loot the backward countries.

These 'globalisation' policies that have been going on for the past three decades are unable to help out the imperialists that are neck deep in economic crisis. These developments reveal the end of 'indiscriminate free market system'. They expose the lie of the free market theory that 'market adjusts all the conditions on its own'. Now they expect new innovations in the field of science and technology and another revolution to overcome this difficulty. Although the revolution in the IT sector in the recent time provided slight relief to capitalism this too fell into crisis. Presently there are no new jobs in this sector and there is retrenchment. The youth are unsure of their future and there is a fearful atmosphere in various societies. The new 'fourth industrial revolution' (Artificial Intelligence-AI), Internet of Things (IOT-Robotics and other such) that they expect too cannot make the world capitalist system overcome its crisis. According to the assessment of 'Mckensy global institute' 15 percent (40 crores) of the international worker's force shall lose their employment by 2030 due to future new technology. So these new innovations too cannot lessen the intensity of the crisis and moreover make preparations for another crisis.

In these conditions the capitalist theoreticians and experts say that 'the present world economy is slipping into a great crisis like that of the 1930s, in the attempts to increase 'growth' in order to overcome this situation we are going into the mire of 1930s and that they are unable to imagine the new measures to take up'.

Naturally this economic crisis is leading to political and social disturbances. The exploitive ruling classes are indulging in caste, religious, regional hatred and fascist repressions to divert the rising struggles. They are making local wars. In fact the present international, political, social objective condition reflects the economic situation of the present world in crisis.

### **Fundamental contradictions of the world sharpening**

As said above the mounting economic crisis is leading to political and social conflicts, crises and changes over the world. It is bringing changes in the composition of balance of forces among the imperialist forces. Although these changes reflect the unequal development in capitalist system this economic crisis is speeding it up. Especially it is intensifying the international and domestic fundamental contradictions.

Coming to the present international conditions specifically, we see that the contradiction between the imperialists and the oppressed nations and the people is intensifying day by day. The imperialists, especially the US imperialists are forcing 'globalisation' and indiscriminately looting the natural resources and markets of the backward countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to overcome their present economic crisis. For this purpose they are utilizing the ruling classes of those countries (comprador, bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal classes) working as their lackeys as vehicles. They are indulging in aggressional wars on the countries that do not accept their dictates. Especially the US imperialism is taking up aggressional wars on Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Libiya, Yemen, Somalia, Mali and other such countries. In Iran and North Korea it imposed unilateral sanctions against the manufacture of nuclear weapons and is bringing severe pressure to make them surrender. Crises looms over the Persian Gulf, with Iran down a U.S. surveillance drone over its territorial waters and the U.S has imposed more punitive sanctions and military threats on Iran. The war with Iran will send oil prices soaring and disrupt the world economy.

Meanwhile China's imperialism that entered the arena as a new competitor in the re-division of the world market is coming forth in an aggressive manner posing to be the 'champion' of implementation of 'globalisation'. It tied many countries of the African continent with its tentacles of loans and assistance and is sipping the people's blood. In South Asia too it is gradually gripping the countries one by one in its tentacles. As a part of its economic agreements with Sri Lanka, China built the 'Humbantova' port that has come to a standstill. There are severe losses and Sri Lanka is forced to repay the loan in heavy installments. It found it difficult and so in order to withdraw from this port that is creating losses it handed it over to 'China Merchant Portals' (CMP), a Chinese public sector organization that built the port. It gave 85 per cent of the share of the port to this organization and gave it to lease for 99 years.

The issue of Rohingyas in Burma too rose as a part of 'globalisation'. Presently the motherland of the Rohingyas, 'Rakhaine' state turned to be a hub of oil companies of China, US and Europe. It is filled with the ancillary projects of those countries. This is the background of the most inhuman, cruel repression on the struggles of the Rohingyas by the 'Aung San Suki' government that is a lackey of the imperialists. These facts are hidden and this massacre is propagated as a conflict between the Muslims and the Buddhists of the country. Thus the exploitation and oppression by the imperialist countries on the oppressed people and nationalities is leading to a severe rise in poverty in the world, especially semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries. Lakhs of people are suffering, dying or migrating due to imperialist wars, forcible displacement, infectious diseases and cruel unemployment.

On the other hand nationality liberation struggles are going on in a severe level in countries like Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Libya and Yemen against the neo-colonial policies of the imperialists. In India, Philippines and other few countries New Democratic Revolutions are firmly advancing against the imperialists and their agent ruling classes. In Latin America, the ruling classes of Venezuela, Bolivia and other such countries are opposing the US imperialism, but they made their economies part of 'globalisation' in the name of 'Bolivian Socialism'. So here too there is severe economic and political crisis. The people are facing several difficulties. They are opposing the ruling classes and the contradiction between the ruling

classes too is intensifying day by day. All these conditions are preparing the objective conditions for New Democratic Revolutions in the backward countries.

Meanwhile all the economic, fiscal and political policies that the ruling classes of capitalist, imperialist countries like Russia, China, Japan and Europe including the US failed. Consequently the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in those countries is intensifying. Unemployment rose. Economic development lagged behind. Especially capitalist economies like Greece, Italy and Spain were severely affected. Thus the proletariat of those countries is taking up agitations in a large scale opposing the critical conditions imposed by the IMF and the WB, mainly the fascist policies, thrift measures and anti-welfare activities of those governments. The working class is holding rallies and demonstrations in large numbers and expressed its protest to the annual meetings of the 'World Economic Forum' in the city of Davos in Switzerland in the leadership of the imperialist countries. This year too workers are organizing in big numbers to protest. The rising contradiction between the capitalists and workers in capitalist countries is expressed in various forms. In Spain the people of Catalonia held voluntary referendum and declared they would form a separate country. But the bureaucratic rulers of Spain repressed the democratic aspiration of the people and the workers of the area. The exploitive ruling classes of the imperialist countries are instigating racism in order to divert the discontent among the workers and people. Trump came to power in the US encouraging fascist ideology on the basis of racist chauvinism. There is a rise in the national chauvinistic attacks on the black, Muslim and non-US migrant people in the US immediately after Trump came to power. In Europe too fascist parties are severely trying to come to power basing on the discontent of the people.

Meanwhile the advanced forces of the proletariat are raising the consciousness of the proletariat, the people of various classes and leading militant struggles to wipe out imperialism. Genuine Revolutionary (Maoist) parties are emerging out of these struggles. All these conditions reveal the intensity of the rising contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the capitalist countries. They are establishing the necessary objective basis for Socialist revolutions.

In this background the contradiction between the various imperialists too is intensifying day by day. By mid-1991 Russia lost the status as a superpower and stepped out of the cold war with the US. Then the competition that was in the primary place between the imperialist superpowers was temporarily replaced by collusion. But due to the economic crisis in the world capitalist economy there are gradual changes in the balance of forces among the imperialist countries. Russia lost its status as superpower by 1991 but it has large oil reserves, it is the biggest supplier of weapons, has a wide industrial basis, achieved the first place in space technology, steel and other such sectors and has a strong base. In the later period it utilized these favorable factors, solved the problems like shortage of consumer goods and food, stabilized fascist rule that can stamp the democratic rights of the people and got ready to seize its earlier markets. It created civil war in Ukraine and seized 'Crimea' from it in the veil of referendum. It deployed its army in Syria in support to the Bashar Al Assad government. It is giving strong support to all the measures of North Korea.

In China the Communist Party of China became a revisionist party and the proletarian dictatorship became bourgeois dictatorship after the demise of Comrade Mao, these exploitive ruling classes in the veil of communism powerfully utilized the socialist economic resources and speedily developed capitalism in all the fields. In this process China became an imperialist force and is severely contending with the US for re-division of market. It built artificial islands to sustain its hegemony in the South China Sea, deployed thousands of army in this area and is imposing sanctions on sea ways of other countries. China conflict with Japan for control on 'Sen Kaka' islands in East China Sea. It is expanding its financial capital in Africa, Latin America and South Asian countries and is increasing its influence contesting with the US. In 2013 Xi Jin Ping initiated the One Belt One Road (OBOR) in the name of reviving 'Silk Road'. China is spending 124 billion dollars (80 lakh crores) on this. It plans to link the economies of various countries and gain hold on them.

The US imperialism that emerged into an invincible force after World War II took up relentless wars for its world hegemony. It molded its economy as a war economy according to it. Anyhow it not only could not achieve its aim but wasted lakhs of crores of dollars of people's money

and became politically, economically and strategically weak. In this situation it is unable to maintain its allies on its side. As a result of the rising contention between the US and the EU in the economic sector it is not able to allot funds like earlier to the NATO. It is not able to sustain the alliance united. However there is no decrease in its hegemonic attitude or war frenzy. The aggressive statements and measures of Trump reflect the ideas of the US ruling classes. Its aggressive character is revealed in the statement to attack North Korea, in its withdrawal from nuclear agreement of six countries with Iran, withdrawal from the Paris environment accord of 195 countries, declaring to continue war in Afghanistan and throwing the biggest non-nuclear bomb (mother bomb) in the name of hunting the 'Talibans' and in other such frenzy statements and actions. Moreover the US is attempting to play a vital role in the Indo-Pacific area by forming a rectangle with Japan, India and Australia to contain the expansion of China. It is sending its submarines to South China Sea to keep a vigil and thus give a blow to the hegemony of China. It formed 'Free Syria Army' to topple the pro-Russian government in Syria and is providing all kinds of help and cooperation to its armed actions. It is intensifying economic sanctions on Russia with various reasons. In South Korea it established the THAD (Terminal High Attitude Defense) missile protection system and is trying to aim Russia and China. In the report of national security strategy in 2017 December it stated that 'Russia and China are the main competitors' and decided to increase the defense budget in a big way. It is paving way to cold war. This report identifies India as 'the main force of the world' and US tries to keep it in its fold. The China-Russia alliance entered the arena to compete with the US and Europe alliance for world hegemony. China and Russia jointly brought together South Africa, Brazil and India and formed 'BRICS' commercial organization. 'Shanghai Cooperation Organisation' was formed in the leadership of China. India and Pakistan joined it as member countries recently. 'BRICS bank' was formed in the leadership of China and Russia to contend with the IMF and WB. 'Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank' was established in the leadership of China. China and Russia intensified competition with the US alliance in the economic and commerce sectors by forming these financial organisations. This competition for the re-division of market has intensified between the US and

China in the recent times. The two countries highly increased commercial duties mutually. The U.S. has raised tariffs on \$250 billion worth of Chinese imports to 25% from 10% in May. China responded with tariffs on \$34 billion worth of commodities from the U.S. The U.S. accuses China not playing fairly on trade, while China says the U.S. is being protectionist. Rather, tariffs are becoming part of longer term strategy to unplug China from Globalisation contain its economic power and give the U.S. greater strategic advantage.

These conflicts and measures were not solved but intensified and are making a severe unfavorable impact on world commerce. This competition is gradually entering the military field and tensions are on the rise. In this situation there are changes in geo-political realignments. Turkey was the only Asian country that was very close to the US and European countries and part of NATO. It is now gradually distancing from the US alliance and improving friendly ties with Russia. The main reasons are geographical and political. Turkey alleges that the US is providing protection to a spiritual teacher who caused military coup in Turkey in the recent past. The US alliance is lending support to the Kurds regarding the dispute between the Turks and the Kurds. This is increasing the distance between Turkey and the US alliance. Philippines that was favorable to the US for a long time is having better relations with China since Duterte came to power. The change in the attitude of China towards Philippines is the main reason for this. In order to face the US, China is relaxing its contentious attitude towards Philippines and is making capital and commercial agreements in the economic sphere. Thus there are good relations between Philippines and China and the dispute regarding the South China Sea went one step backward. The US is absolutely unhappy with this. In the present conditions although India is mainly dependent on the US economically and strategically and is leaning towards it (it is so for the past few decades), it is trying to bargain utilizing the contradictions between the imperialists to serve its own interests (in view of the changes in their balance of forces). The exploitive ruling classes of Pakistan too seem to be stepping on two boats like the exploitive ruling classes of India but in the changing political conditions it might depend more on the China-Russia alliance.

(contd in p.30)

## Message

**Observe martyrs' day  
from 2019 July 28<sup>th</sup> to August 3<sup>rd</sup>!  
Let us advance People's War!  
Let us defeat 'SAMADHAN'  
strategic offensive!**

**Let us take forward the ideals of the martyrs!**

**Call to the ranks of CPI (Maoist), worker, peasant, student,  
intellectuals and the  
People of all oppressed classes!**

**Let us advance People's War!  
Let us defeat 'SAMADHAN' strategic offensive!**

The people are making People's War in the leadership of our Party against the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and feudal classes. The exploitative classes have more intensified 'SAMADHAN' strategic offensive for the past one year to eliminate our party and people's war. Nearly 125 comrades were martyred in the past one year to defeat this offensive and make successful the Indian New Democratic Revolution and ultimately Socialism and Communism, travelling in the path of Protracted People's War that the great leaders of Indian revolution, founders of our party and teachers, martyrs Comrade Charu Mazumdar and Comrade Kanhai Chatterjee formulated in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

The Communist Party of India (Maoist) calls upon all its ranks, worker, peasant, student, intellectual and the people of all the oppressed classes to observe martyrs' week from 2019 July 28<sup>th</sup> to August 3<sup>rd</sup>. On this occasion the Central Committee of the party pays humble homage to all the martyrs of the Party, People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA), Mass Organisations, the leaders and activists of Revolutionary People's

governments, the revolutionary people and all those who laid their lives in the Maoist People's War and national liberation struggles in the world.

It pledges to fulfill their ideals until the end.

**Dear comrades and people!**

In the past one year three from Bihar-Jharkhand, one from East Bihar-North East Jharkhand, 96 from DK, 14 from AOB, one from Telangana, three from Odisha, two from MMC and one from Andhra Pradesh laid their valuable lives. Thirty-nine out of them are women comrades. On the whole five are Divisional Committee members—Comrade Meena (Pramila, Malkangiri of AOB), Comrade Bando Lakke (Roshini of PLGA Battalion), Comrade Tati Bheema (Surya, in-charge of the DK instructor team), Comrade Kamala Naroti (Ramko of South Gadchiroli), Comrade Sagen (Jamuna of Balaght in MMC). 20 are of AC/PPC cadre, 20 Party/PLGA members, 8 GPC members/RPC presidents and members, two comrades from the Mass Organisations, 42 People's militia commanders and members and 13 revolutionary people. In Andhra Pradesh senior communist woman Comrade Kondapalli Koteswaramma died of old age. We are yet to receive the details of 9



comrades martyred in the massacres carried out by the enemy forces.

Out of the martyrdoms 40 were in encounters, three in enemy ambushes, 64 in fake encounters (15 woman comrades out of them were caught by the police forces, sexually assaulted and murdered). Two comrades were martyred in heroic attacks conducted by the PLGA. Six comrades died of ill-health, one out of old age and four in accidents.

We faced these losses mainly due to the unceasing theoretical, political, military and cultural offensive of the enemy. Fierce enemy offensive is a major challenge for us. Earlier the repressive campaigns were carried out in the name of Salwa Judum, Sendra, later in the name of Operation Green Hunt and now in the name of 'SAMADHAN'. All these campaigns are of the same essence. Each campaign includes new aspects with the experiences of the earlier ones and with the study of our weaknesses. In a bid to wipe out the Maoist movement leading the people and is coming in the way of their exploitation the imperialist capitalist system in general crisis and the comprador bureaucratic capitalist, feudal classes of India that are a part of it are fast changing their tactics in various forms and making multipronged fascist attacks on the movement and the people in order to fulfill their interests and to sustain their power.

As a part of the counter revolutionary programs unleashed with the imperialist LIC repressive policy, in the past one year carpet security has been widened and strengthened and is going on. Additional police and Para-military forces are deployed in the areas of the movement. Patrols are on the rise. The people are unable to take up cultivation work and daily chores due to the constant cordon and search operations. The forces are taking up Long Range Patrolling during which they indiscriminately shell with mortars and rocket launchers. The areas of the movement are transformed into police camps and the peoples' lives are suppressed under iron heel. The people are massacred. With the intensification of information based attacks and expansion of carpet security of the enemy, there are a lot of limitations for the squads to work among the people. The exploitive classes are trying to distance the people from the movement by taking up massacres in a big way.

Dumarinala of North zone of Bihar-Jharkhand, Nulkathong of South Bastar, Maddum

of West Bastar and Thadiballa of Maad division of Dandakaranya are few such incidents. The mercenary forces of the exploitive government massacred revolutionary activists and people in Gumiyaveda of Maad division, Chakiler and Gommugudem-Bheemaram of South Bastar, Gundruvahi of South Gadchiroli all of DK, Pappuluru of Malkangiri and Buradamamidi in Visakhapatnam district of AOB.

We faced losses mainly since we are lagging behind in understanding the changing conditions and in implementing the methods we formulated. This is clear from the martyrdoms in the past one year. The tactics of the enemy include wiping out the leadership from the top to the bottom, intensifying counter guerilla war, preparing traitors from villages of our stronghold, giving a blow with a study on our weaknesses, creating terror by carrying out massacres on revolutionaries and people.

Mao taught that guerilla war is made basing on the masses. The people inform the movements of the enemy constantly. But we must not keep aside the principles of guerilla war. We shall lose if we do not assess the situation properly. So we must always analyse the conditions and view each and every aspect in a critical manner.

Informers network is a part of the repressive strategy of the state. Villagers, employees and students are deceptively forced or lured and turned informers to collect information about the movement. Crores of rupees are spent for this network. When we come to know about informers we are placing them before the people. We are taking actions as per mass line. However we shall face loss if we are not constantly on the vigil about the network. Therefore we have to enhance political work among the people to control the problem of informers.

Some of the martyr comrades were exemplary in their heroic fight against the enemy in the war front. Few others laid down their lives with firm will without revealing party secrets in spite of the severe torture by the police forces. We cannot fulfill their loss immediately. Every incident of martyrdom instills more class hatred in us. It makes us more responsible. It teaches us lessons. Let us pledge to advance the movement to fulfill the ideals of the martyrs with courage, dare and sacrifice avoiding unnecessary losses.

As the movement progresses many leaders, activists and people are laying down their lives. But these losses do not fill the people and the

people's activists with fear. They increase class hatred. New generations come into the war front with doubled revolutionary consciousness and courage. The enemy is weak in view of strategy but strong in view of tactics. That is why we too must go on changing our tactics and method of work in a speedy manner. Our efforts to overcome the weaknesses that we reviewed from the martyrdoms in the past one year shall be the real homage to the martyrs.

The contradictions between imperialism and the oppressed people and the oppressed nationalities, those between the capitalist class and the proletariat in the capitalist countries and those among the imperialists are intensifying day by day. The imperialist trade war between the US and China is taking many forms and is intensifying. One is increasing import duties on the other and is trying to take over the world market and for hegemony on the world. The US is strengthening its alliance and is making war on countries like Syria for raw material like oil. China is trying to become close to Europe. There is increasing control of China on African and Latin American countries. While on one hand contradictions among the main countries of Europe are on the rise, on the other hand worker's struggles have become a strong trend all over Europe. The people's agitation well known as the 'Yellow vests movement' in France, the struggles of the workers of the Railways and various industrial sectors in Belgium, Britain and other countries for a change in their working conditions, for a hike in salaries and against the retrenchment in the name of modernization are shaking the ruling classes. The liberation struggle of the people of Palestine against Israel occupation is going on. There is increasing solidarity for these struggles.

The recent elections for Lok Sabha show a rise in the contradictions among the ruling classes of the country. The comprador ruling classes of India serving the interests of the imperialists are exploiting the wealth and labor of the people of the country. Economic recession, poverty and unemployment are on the rise. Minimum democratic rights of the people are trampled.

### **Comrades,**

Future would witness intensification of fundamental contradictions in the international and domestic level due to the imperialist crisis. Fascism is a strengthening trend all over the world. Brahmanic Hindu fascist BJP came to power once again in the mockery of elections to the 17<sup>th</sup> Lok

Sabha. Utter anti-people fascist governments are continuing power in imperialist countries like the US and Israel, in Australia and in countries like Brazil and the Arab countries that are important for international market. This is bent to make the lives of the people more miserable. Repression is on the rise on mass movements. They shall much more intensify. This will lead to more losses.

"The difficulties are immense. But we are accustomed to grappling with immense difficulties. Not for nothing do our enemies call us "stone-hard" and exponents of a "firm line policy". But we have also learned, at least to some extent, another art that is essential in revolution, namely, flexibility – the ability to effect swift and sudden changes of tactics if changes in objective conditions demand them, and to choose another path for the achievement of our goal if the former path proves to be inexpedient or impossible at the given moment".

- V.I.Lenin in 'Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution', *Collected Works, 4th English Edition, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, Vol. 33, pp. 51-59*

These words of the great Marxist teacher Comrade Lenin truly apply to us. As Communists working in the Party, the proletarian vanguard of the people and people's war, we consider the difficulties of the people as ours. The work of the Party committees and PLGA, the efforts for people's struggles, military actions, revolutionary people's committees, work among the broad masses and any such work is being done amidst war. Martyrdom is an ordinary incident in war. Many comrades starting from the people to the leadership are sacrificing their lives for the sake of revolution. We know that revolution will not be successful without sacrifices. This is the heredity of the martyrs. We march forward courageously with firm will and sacrifice in spite of the cruelty of enemy repression and the several physical and mental tortures. We are equipped with the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the political and military line to face and overcome any kind of difficult situation. We have the experience of fighting back repressive campaigns. However we will have to work hard with strong will to transform the unfavorable situation favorable. We will have to work hard.

Coming to our country national liberation struggles, mainly the struggle of the Kashmiri people is going on in a militant manner. Peasants,

(contd in p.27)

# Dandakaranya Adivasi woman – an icon of militant struggle

G. Uieke

*While writing about the women's movement during the war for new democratic society in China Jack Beldon, the American writer and journalist had written, 'The Chinese Communist Party has got the key to the victory of the revolution. They have won over the most oppressed section of the Chinese society'. When I saw the women's movement in DK it were these words of Beldon which came to my mind. In fact, after the Chinese Revolution it was the revolutionary movement in DK that has proven that where there is a people's war, where there is armed struggle against the feudal, comprador, imperialist system for the victory of New Democratic Revolution, the working class women participate actively on a large scale for the emancipation of the whole society as well as for their own emancipation. People's War had shattered the hesitations of the women. It doubled their strength. It showed the path for the liberation of women. (By Anuraadha Gandhi)*

Women of Dandakaranya are in the forefront in resisting the repression on the ongoing PPW. The women of Dandakaranya initially organised in the Dandakaranya Kranthikari Adivasi Mahila Sangathan are now part of each and every sphere of the People's War. As the PPW strengthens the women's resistance becomes more and more militant. There are increasing instances and it has become an important component of the PW. Young women increasingly join the PLGA while elderly women recruit their children. The number of women members reached a little above half of the force. We give here a detailed report. The article focuses on the agitation activities of the women.



The bourgeois state always indulges in sexual atrocity on women as a military, cultural weapon to handle the people's movement. However it is taking many new cruel forms in the present time. On par with it the women all set to achieve their right to life in the guidance of the CPI (Maoist) and the support of the PLGA are developing corresponding forms of resistance. Let us have a look into this.

Mass atrocity and massacre started with the Sarkinguda incident and continued in Kunna, Dabba, Gellur, Nendra, Gottum and Ithawara of Bastar region. In all these places women were mass raped. The rape and murder of Madkam Hidime of Gompad in South Bastar area in 2016 June has

become a point of protest from various quarters of the society. There are almost as many incidents that did not come to light as that came.

During the infamous brutal military offensive Salwa Judum in Bastar from 2005 to 2008

more than one thousand ordinary people were killed and above fifty thousand were shifted to the police camps in the name of 'Rahath sibir'(relief camp). Nearly 640 villages were destroyed. The forms of repression were nothing lesser

to those of the British imperialists. Democratic and Civil rights organisations recorded 500 murders and 99 atrocities on women during this period. They filed a case in the Supreme Court. Everyone knows that the oppressed did not receive justice even after one decade. The Congress party and the BJP together took up Salwa Judum that was steered by the diehard comprador of Bastar, Mahendra Karma. The people and women of Bastar experienced deep pain from this offensive. So the women felt relieved when the PLGA wiped him out in the Jeeramghati attack in 2013 May. SJ was followed by OGH and now it is SAMADHAN, one more strategic offensive that began with a time limit of five years to 'eliminate Naxalism'.

The people of Dandakaranya (DK) have the rich tradition of struggle starting from the anti-British movement. There were struggles all over the present area of the DK Special Guerilla Zone.

Now the men and the women are well aware that they have nothing to lose but chains through struggle. The women's organisation achieved considerable change in the age old patriarchal customs regarding women, their role in production, property and marriage. They broke the custom that does not allow women to sow and harvest, achieved equal right to land, equal wages and marriage out of their wish. They are part of not only the women's organisation, but also the peasant organisation, the people's government, militia and all kinds of people's organisations and struggles. They lead and participate in the revolutionary days, struggles on problems, in the anti-displacement struggles, land leveling program of the Janathana Sarkar and in the implementation of the calls of the Party like boycott of elections. In contrast to the bourgeois 'empowerment' they are genuinely empowered in the people's government. They have a militant and inspiring role in advancing the People's War. As the repressive offensives came forth women became more and more enlightened and we see a rise in their political understanding and military outlook. Women took up fight against both the exploitation and oppression on them and state violence in general and specifically on them.

#### **As the 'eye balls' of the village**

Severe repression made men vulnerable. So it became the responsibility of the women to get the minimum necessities of daily life from the market. It is not an exaggeration to say that at times this becomes a life and death situation for them. Women are on sentry, they go on patrols. They dig spike holes to trap the armed forces coming into their area. They arrange booby traps.

An interesting feature is that whenever they hear the sound of firing they understand that the PLGA made an ambush and immediately start to go there with water and food for the combat comrades. They also bring the injured to safe places. This assures the PLGA forces of people's support. Now the women are also burning crackers to hint the PLGA of police arrival. More than anything it is the women that make reconnaissance of the police in the garb of getting firewood, plucking mahua and other such daily chores.

#### **Legendary resistance**

While the forms of repression go on changing the forms of resistance too are developing. We see that in the recent period the women have evolved exemplary spirit in retorting the police including the traitors of revolution. There are countless incidents in which the women are in the forefront to resist the police when they come to

their villages. They stop the police from taking away their villagers. The women even go up to the police station or the police camp and if not successful would go to the block or the district headquarters. Lack of knowledge in Hindi language does not make them hesitant. On occasions of encounters they dare to go to get the dead bodies of their beloved. The police beat and try to frighten them in vain. We get a clear picture from a few of the number of incidents all over the guerilla zone.

In 2015 October the police made simultaneous attacks and indiscriminate firing on the farmers in Pegadapelli, China Gellur, Peda Gellur, Gundam and Budgin in the jurisdiction of Basagudem P.S. of Bijapur district. They severely bet forty women who opposed the police loot on their houses. The police drowned a pregnant woman and took her out repeatedly and then committed atrocity on her. A fourteen year old girl was raped. In the same area the police attacked the villages Nendra and Gottum in 2016 from January 11<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup>. The police stayed in the houses, ate, drank and looted according to their wish. They sexually assaulted 16 women. Women held a demonstration in front of the Collector's office in Bijapur in protest to these incidents. On one occasion a woman picked up a stone and threw it on the police out of anger. This was reported in the media along with the photograph.

In another incident in Sukma district, as a part of Mission-2016 the police attacked Koona and Dabba villages and beat and looted the people. They gathered the women of the village in the premises of the school and indulged in sexual assault. The women pleaded that they were feeding mothers but the police would not listen. They said the women were lying and squeezed the breasts of the women to check whether they were right! Knowingly they sexually assaulted 8 women. Following such incidents the women out of anguish and anger themselves once squeezed their breasts to show that they were mothers and related to the arrested, to get their kin out of the custody of the patrolling police forces.

In 2017 January Birju Thimma and Sumithra Gota were on their way to Jonnawara village to visit their relatives in Gadchiroli district. The C-60 Commandos caught them on the way and committed sexual atrocity on them. The women of the nearby villages came together to protest the incident in front of the Gatta police station. They demanded punishment of the responsible policemen. The area falls under the Surjagarh mining area.

In the end of the same month Emula Sukmathi and Kadthi Bheemal of Gampur village in Bijapur district down the hill near the NMDC mines in Bailadilla were caught and severely tortured when they went to the weekly market. They committed sexual assault on Sukmathi and killed both of them. They came out with a fake story of encounter beside river Malinger. Women mobilized in big numbers to hold a demonstration in front of the Kirundel police station demanding judicial enquiry into the sexual assault and murder. They said they would not take the dead bodies until the responsible policemen were suspended.

The incident in Palnar government girl's residential school of Dantewada district on the 31<sup>st</sup> of July 2017 was severely condemned by the Adivasi organisations, democrats and women's organisations. The CRPF policemen entered the hostel on the day of 'Raakhi' festival. The Hindu festival Raakhi is a symbol of concern of brothers towards sisters during which the women tie a band called 'Raakhi' to their brother's hands. They gave a new meaning to 'Raakhi'. They tried to sexually assault the girl students. In 2017 November the police attacked Avnar, Thodka and Korsoli villages near the Gangaluru police station in Bijapur district and made indiscriminate firing on the people. A youth Punem Raju died in the firing and some more young men and women were tortured, they tried to rape the girls. Then 200 women of the village came together and resisted the police. The police severely beat the women with rifle butts and sticks. Scores of women were severely injured. However the women succeeded in getting their men and women out of the custody of the police. Later one thousand women went along with the sticks with which the police beat the women and held a demonstration in front of the Bijapur Collector office. They demanded to stop police patrols in the villages, indiscriminate firing on the people, to stop killing ordinary farmers in the name of encounters and to punish the policemen who tortured the women. They showed the injuries and the sticks to the media persons. In fact the police, DRG, SPO mercenary goonda gangs threatened the women not to hold the demonstration. But the women were fearless.

In 2017 July the police fired on the women who were engaged in their agricultural land and were gathering firewood in Gompad village of Sukma district. Soyam Rame was severely injured and another two women were injured. When Rame was undergoing treatment in the Bhadrachalam hospital of Telangana the police tried to kidnap her and her husband Soyam Kanna.

Women protested the attempt and conducted a rally in Sukma.

In 2017 December Podiyam Jogi was killed in a fake encounter in Jarapalli village in the jurisdiction of Pamed police station in Bijapur district. Nearly one hundred women went to Bijapur and held a demonstration condemning the same. They demanded to stop killing in the name of fake encounters. They brought the dead body of Jogi and performed the last rites.

On the 6<sup>th</sup> of January, 2018 the police of Bachel police station attacked Karka, Dumri and Paralnar villages at the bottom of the Bailadilla hills. A twelve year old boy Madkam Sombaru who was searching his missed cattle died in the attack and Madkam Boti was severely injured. Sombaru's mother Madkam Somidi led the demonstration in front of the Bachel police station in protest to this incident. They demanded the treatment of the injured boy. They exposed to the media of the incident. They also put up a case in the High Court with the help of the civil rights organisations.

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of June 2018 women held a demonstration demanding punishment of police officers who were responsible for the indiscriminate beating in Avnar, Thodka and Paralnar villages. The police arrived there hidden in the tractors and made the attack in which 15 persons were severely injured. They included school going students of 8 to 14 years of age.

On August 6<sup>th</sup> the police indiscriminately fired upon the villages of Nulkathong village of Sukma district in which 15 villagers lost their lives. Central Home Minister congratulated the police for having struck down 15 Naxalites! Women and men of Gompad, Nulkathong and Kindrem villages held a demonstration in front of the Dornapal police station condemning the firing. They protested that they would not take the dead bodies. They exposed the fake encounter to the media. The incident attracted attention of several civil rights organisations and the media. There were fact findings that brought the sad facts before the people.

In yet another incident the BSF and the police misbehaved with the women of Gattakal, Kuvvekodi and Badpara villages of Kanker district on 24<sup>th</sup> September 2018. They beat the people and an elderly person of the village to tell the whereabouts of Naxalites. The people held a dharna in front of the Koyilibeda police station in protest to this attack. Women led the agitation. The government had to concede and suspend the responsible ASI.

In Narayanapur district people opposed the police who stopped the weekly market in Kutul in which women took the lead. They submitted a memorandum to the District Collector and the SP following which the market was resumed.

### **The latest incidents**

In 2019 January Aaso, an activist of the Party went to Addam village in the jurisdiction of Darbha PS in Bastar district. CRPF and DRG policemen arrested her. They committed sexual assault and murdered her and later stated that there was an encounter. On the 4<sup>th</sup> February the women of Goddaliguda village near the Chinthaguppa Police station went to the forest for firewood. The CRPF, COBRA and the DRG police who were there already suddenly opened fire on them. A feeding mother of four children, Podiyam Sukki fell dead instantly. Another woman Podiyam Deve was severely injured. The villagers were angry with the incident and immediately took out a rally in protest to the incident. On the 7<sup>th</sup> of the same month people of five to six villages gathered for their traditional program near Thadaballa-Bodaga villages a little distance from River Indravathi adjacent to the Maad hills. On receiving the information the DRG and STF police crossed the river secretly in the night and attacked the people in the morning at around 9'o clock. Five young men and five young women were killed in this incident. Many others were arrested, severely tortured and sent to jail. The dead bodies of the young women showed clear signs of wild animal like behavior towards them. The incident was falsely reported by the police as a heavy encounter with the Maoists in which PLGA members died. Human rights organisations visited the people of the villages and brought out the facts. In another incident, women activists went to Jeedimetta village in the jurisdiction of the Thoyenar police station of Bijapur district to meet the women of the village. Police came to the same forest for grass. They encircled and arrested the women. They put them in their custody for three weeks in Bijapur and Bhairamgarh police stations and tortured them in an un-describable manner. Later they foisted false cases and sent them to jail.

### **Traitors get a tit for tat**

There are quite a number of dropouts that turned to be traitors of revolution. It is a known fact that most of such persons are included in the District Reserve Guard (DRG) specially meant for attacks on the Maoist armed forces. The DRG is trained to be in the forefront in patrols of the Paramilitary and the police forces and also in attacks on the people and their properties. The women feel angry seeing them arresting, beating and

committing atrocities on the people. In fact they gave them food, water and shelter when they worked for their sake. So they ask them, 'Are you not ashamed to come and beat us? You introduced the politics to us. You involved us in the organisation. You led us. So what right do you have to punish us?' They add, 'You are to be punished!'

A woman in the Narayanapur district gave a slap to one traitor when he beat her father-in-law on a patrol. She reminded him that he brought and made her the leader of the woman's organisation and that he served him when he came to her house. Anyway he did not feel ashamed of it but severely beat her husband out of anger from the slap he received. In another incident a woman suddenly came across the traitor that was responsible for the arrest of her husband. She immediately picked up a stick to beat him saying that they sheltered him when he was in the Party and now he wants to destroy them. The women of few villages rallied to their nearby police station demanding to produce before them a traitor who just left the party and was going around their villages arresting their leaders.

On many occasions women could make the traitors speechless as they remind and reprimand them of what they did while in the Party and what they are doing now. If not afraid the traitors do become hesitant to face such a situation from the ordinary women.

### **Cannot be lured – Cannot be managed**

Civic Action Program is one program through which the police try to weaken the people. But the women of Dandakaranya opposed the program and refused to take the saris and utensils that the police offered. They said, 'you kill our children, rape us. We will not take anything from your blood-spattered hands'. Ironically the police even beat the women for not taking anything from them. In 2018 the people of Nagaram area were informed that they would be given bonus for tendu leaf. But when they went the the police of the Jegurugonda PS gave them old age pensions forcibly! The pension money amounted to forty thousand rupees and the women together decided and gave it their RPC. When women go to get rice from the PDS they are forced to tell the names of the leaders and activists of the Mass Organisations and the RPC without which they would not be given the daily necessities.

In certain instances the women are filing cases against the police attacks. The police tried to come to an agreement with the women of Nendra and Gottum of Bijapur district who filed a case against them. But the women questioned, 'Why should we withdraw the cases when you are making cruel

and inhuman atrocities on us? We shall never step back’.

### **Sacrificing their children**

All these incidents show the increasing revolutionary zeal in the women. But this is not the end. The women are going ahead by joining the movement as full time activists. The elderly women are recruiting their children into the PLGA. A mother of the Bijapur district said on the occasion of PLGA day on December 2<sup>nd</sup> in 2018, ‘I sent two sons of my six children into PLGA. Now I send one more son!’

We also see the martyred daughters of such revolutionary mothers and fathers like Comrades Rukmathi who was martyred in the famous Thadimetla attack that wiped out 76 CRPF personnel; Ranitha who fought alone courageously and wiped out two C-60 Commandos before laying down her life; Rajitha who resisted the Commandos knowing there was almost no chance to escape from their encirclement when the police put fire to the house she was in; Comrade Vijjo who gave a tough fight to the police who attacked

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students, workers, women, Dalits, Adivasis, Muslims, Christians and all such oppressed classes and sections are in struggle. Let us utilize these favorable conditions, consolidate the people, build struggles on various people’s issues, develop our mass base and people’s war and fight the ‘SAMADHAN’ strategic offensive.

Victory is ours if we daringly go forward holding the three magic weapons of strong Party, People’s Army and United Front with Bolshevik strong will and dedication. If a revolutionary party pays proper attention towards theoretical, political, organizational and military training according to its great objective, alien class tendencies shall be under control, surrenders and degeneration shall come down. Therefore the whole party must enhance theoretical effort collectively and individually also. The entire Party, the leadership and members must deeply realize the importance of this theoretical aspect. If we strictly follow the rules of guerilla war and are alert in each and every of our work we can gain successes with very few losses. On the occasion of the martyrs’ day let us pledge to march forward in the path of the martyrs in a more responsible manner and with a stronger will. This is the era of revolution – victory is ours if we make revolution!

### **Program**

On the occasion of the martyrs’ week in 2019 conduct programs in the memory of the martyrs in People’s March-2019 August

them; and many such heroic woman revolutionary warriors. The women of Dandakaranya prove the Lenin’s saying that ‘there is no revolution without women’.

### **Opposing fake reforms**

The governments are introducing many programs such as self-help groups and livelihood colleges in a bid to divert the Adivasi women from their genuine path of struggle. But they realize that all this is for nothing but to lure them and are opposing them. They are more interested in the collective farms in the leadership of the RPCs, in increasing their yields and in other such revolutionary developmental programs. They are keen on becoming self-reliant.

The women of Dandakaranya illustrate that achieving New Democratic Revolution is the only way to live with self-respect, right to freedom, forest, land and water and for equality. Their militant struggles, resistance and the revolutionary spirit are inspiring to the oppressed people and women, students, youth and people of all walks of life in the country.

PM

every village, slum, town and unit in various forms. Explain the inter-relation between martyrdom and social change. Build martyrs’ memorial columns basing on the initiative and support of the people. Hail the sacrifices of the martyrs through booklets on martyrs’ life histories, pamphlets, posters, banners and wall writings. Propagate their life histories in various forms among the youth so as to inspire them to be recruited into the People’s War.

- ☆ **Red salutes to comrades who laid down their lives for the sake of New Democratic Revolution of India!**
- ☆ **Let us take forward the ideals of the martyrs!**
- ☆ **Let us strictly implement the rules of guerilla war and lessen the losses!**
- ☆ **Let us defeat the ‘SAMADHAN’ strategic offensive of the enemy!**
- ☆ **Let us fight back Brahmanic Hindu fascism in all the sectors!**
- ☆ **Long live Communist Party of India (Maoist)**

**Central Committee**

**2019 May 26<sup>th</sup>**

**Communist Party of India (Maoist)**

PM

# Ten years of 'Janathana Raj', the organ of the Janathana Sarkar in DK

Neelima

'Janathana Sarkar' is a word meaning 'people's government' in the language of one of the most ancient Koya/Gondi tribe that has become popular all over the world. 'Janathana Raj' is the official organ of Janathana Sarkar. Janathana Raj completed ten years of its publication and on this occasion it released a special issue. Here are a few aspects from the articles in the issue.

The issue gave a report of the land leveling program that needs a special mention. The land leveling program began in 2011 and is going on in the initial months of every year. Firstly a thorough investigation was made into the class analysis of the villages under one RPC. This identified the landless, poor, middle and the rich peasants basing on class line-mass line. Workshop was conducted in the area level RPC that looked into all the investigation reports and assessed the situation. The ARPC allotted budget to each RPC according to the amount of work to be done. The amount was spent mainly on agricultural implements and to provide collective food for the people working collectively. This program is taken up for 10 to 40 days per year. Led by the Janathana Sarkar all the people of the village that are part of the Mass Organisations and the Militia participate in it.

Children are the most inspiring part of this work. They participate very enthusiastically. Work is also done for the families of martyrs of People's War, the families of the arrested and those of the PLGA comrades. Attention is paid to families without working hands. Apart from land leveling irrigation too is taken up during the campaign. Ponds for storing water and canals to supply water to the fields are laid. The campaign gained momentum as years passed by and we can see a considerable change in the agricultural production.

The Militia provides protection for the land leveling campaign. It stays vigil on all sides of the village and gives signal on seeing the police. The government knew of the campaign and in a bid to stop the people's revolutionary development program it attacked in 800 places all over the DK

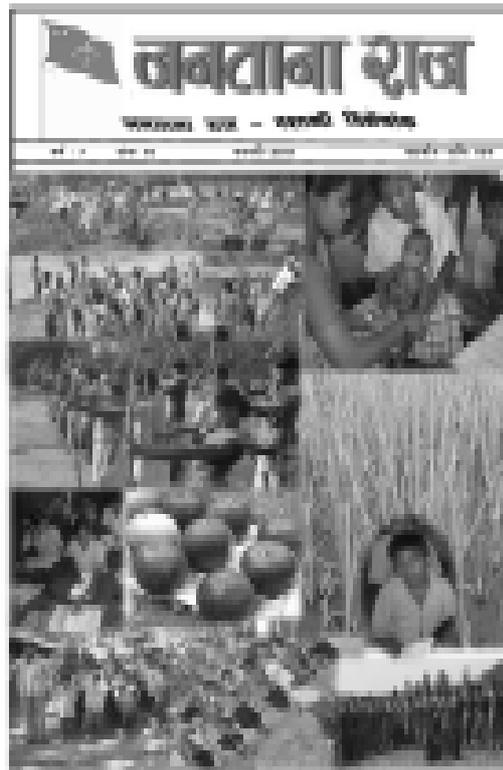
Special Zone in the past eight years. Fifty members of the militia, mass organisations and people lost their lives and 25 were injured in these incidents. The doctor's team of the respective RPC and the area and the division level teams provide the necessary medical help for the people during the program. At times the Chetan Natya Manch (CNM) teams perform near the work sites enthusing the people.

In fact collective work was not new to the people of Dandakaranya. It was part of their life style but certain norms benefiting the traditional hierarchy were practiced. The revolutionary Party politicized it and made it into a genuine,

revolutionary people's collective work. The people eat collectively at the site of work which decreases burden on women. Considerable land was distributed to the needed as a part of this program. It is interesting to note that land will be given with equal rights to women and men in the leadership of the RPC under the guidance of the Party. The RPC is working with the objective to improve agricultural yield.

## The Militia

The people's militia is an important component of the RPC. The state brought one more strategic offensive SAMADHAN to curb the people's war. In view of this the militia is now organized into companies too. The militia is getting more and more active in the increasing repression. They have developed traditional spike holes into mine warfare. Scores of policemen were and are being



injured due to these spike holes. The Militia participates in the Tactical Counter Offensive Campaigns (TCOC) and the retaliation campaigns according to the call given by the Party. Almost no action is complete without the participation of the militia. The militia takes up certain actions on its own. It keeps a vigil on the weekly markets, roads and supplies of the government armed forces. It strikes them in favorable situations. The members of the people's militias are well aware of various kinds of claymores made out of pressure cooker, steel box, pipes and so on. They learn how to blast them for which they are trained for a minimum knowledge of communication. There are instances where they seized weapons too.

A few incidents of the recent past – In March 2017 the militia blasted a mine on the CRPF men who came for protection of road construction between Maraiguda and Gollapalli two were severely injured and one died in this incident. On the 13<sup>th</sup> August 2017 police on duty to see that the bridge near Muraliguda-Konta road was laid were attacked by firing in which one policeman was severely injured. On the 17<sup>th</sup> of the same month one STF policeman died in a mine blast near Dharampenta camp. On 19<sup>th</sup> November 2017 the militia arranged a booby trap in between the villages of Chinthalnar and Narsapur and blasted it when the police arrived there. One CRPF personnel were wiped out and two were injured. On the 15<sup>th</sup> December the DRG was attacked as they were returning after an attack on Gonge and Madom villages. Three were injured in this incident. Activists of mass organisations Lekham Gujja and Oyam Lakhu were killed by the CRPF and the dead bodies were being taken to Basaguda on 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2018. Three of the CRPF men were injured in the booby trap blast near Sarkingudem. A COBRA policeman was severely injured due to a booby trap near the Polampalli P.S on 17<sup>th</sup> August 2018 in another such blast a DRG man died and another injured in Kishtaram in November 2018. Other such incidents include – scores of policemen were injured in the spike holes in Manke-Kake Korma of the Gangaluru area; one policeman died and two injured in a claymore blast of booby traps in Irumagonda-Burgil forest; 9 DRG and STF men were severely injured in the booby traps and pressure bombs of the militia in Palnar-Thodka – all of West Bastar; one BSF died in a blast near Markanar of North Bastar; few policemen were injured in the actions of militia in East Bastar.

Militia is also in the forefront in catching hold of the informers of the police and punishing them. It provides protection during people's meetings and the monthly 'Bhoomkal' (people's gathering)

of the RPC that deals with the routine and specific issues.

People's militia is the base force of the People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA) and its role is increasing in the intensifying repression. The police are more afraid of the traditional spike holes that take them by surprise just like the ambushes of the guerillas.

### Health

Coming to medical activities of the Janathana Sarkar the development in the recent past is that of the local herbal medicine. The primary work of knowing, consolidating and preparing medicine out of the local herbs developed to the extent that almost every ARPC has its own mechanism. The Divisional level RPC even published books



providing information about the herbs and the way of using the medicine. According to the health activists of the RPC there is a rise in the scientific thinking of the people much ahead of their age old blind practices.

### Education

Education is one more sector that the Party too focuses and allocates budget. The readers of People's March are aware that the medium of education in Dandakaranya is Koya/Gondi. The Education Department Committee (EDC) under the DK Special Zonal Committee prepared syllabus from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> standard. The textbooks include Koya/Gondi language and mathematics in the first two classes, Hindi language, Social, Science, History and Culture in the above standards. A few schools provide education up to 8<sup>th</sup> standard. However textbooks are to be prepared for the middle school. Few RPC are running schools in the village level and the ARPC runs residential schools. All the schools are looked after financially by the RPC of that level while the Party too provides funds. The teachers are paid

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There are changes in the balance of forces between the imperialist forces due to the severe economic and financial crises of the world capitalist system. The re-division of the market gained momentum according to these changes. The commercial and military conflicts between the major imperialist forces are on the rise. These forces are encouraging realignments in order to increase their strength. The changes in the balance of forces of the imperialist forces caused the first two World Wars. But now there are large scale nationality liberation struggles, Democratic

Revolutionary struggles and People's struggles against imperialism all over the world. In view of the whole situation, in order to mold the present crisis into a revolutionary explosion, in order to build and continue the revolutionary wars to end these wars by mobilizing the oppressed nationalities and people against all these unjust wars, workers, oppressed nationalities, oppressed people, revolutionary, democratic nationality liberation organisations of the world, unite! Work with the objective to wipe out the imperialists and their lackeys on this earth and achieve liberation!



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contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses; (iv) Indian culture today.

(c) The character of the present Indian national economy.

(d) The Indian social system and social crisis.

(e) The character of Indian revolution; two stages of Indian revolution.

(f) On the internal relationships and the leadership of National revolution and Democratic revolution.

(g) The basic duty of democracy: (i) Democratic state and politics - the specificities of the state system; (ii) Democratic economics; (iii) Democratic culture.

(h) The basis of unity of nationalities.

(i) The path of revolution - the central task of revolution is to capture political power through Peoples' War; the path of Protracted Peoples' War demonstrated by Chairman Mao is the path of India's liberation.

(j) The protracted nature of the Peoples' War in India is determined by the specificities of the actual conditions.

(k) Expose the Treacherous Façade of Elections, Take to the path of Protracted Peoples' War.

(l) Three Magic Weapons of Revolution.

(m) The international significance of the great Indian revolution.

Then, the points on which a line of demarcation was drawn with revisionism in the document regarding tactics were:

(a) The central task of revolution is to seize political power by armed force.

(b) The path of revolution in Russia or the path of revolution in China? The path of the new democratic revolution of India is the path of the great Chinese revolution.

(c) The vast countryside is the enemy's weakest area - the storm-centre of revolution. The peasant masses are the firmest friends of revolution, the Agrarian Revolutionary War is the basic key that would make the peasant masses join the Peoples' War.

(d) The focus of all work is to establish Protracted Peoples' War; the primary, principal and central task at present is to form a Peoples' Army and Base Areas in the countryside.

(e) The work in the rural areas must be principal. On the correct relation between the work in villages and cities, on the line for work in the cities.

(f) The principal form of struggle and organisation are Peoples' War and Peoples' Army.

The relationship between the main and secondary forms of struggle and organisation.

(g) Maintain a firm hold over the class line and mass line, centralise work on among the working class and poor and landless peasants.

In fact, the above document on Strategy and Tactics presented by Comrade KC is a concrete expression of the political views and practical work of the MCCI.

In order to give a practical form to the line of Protracted Peoples' War and the building of the Agrarian Revolution, Army and Base Areas, MCC initially started work in Sonarpur of West Bengal. But even before the organisation could be built up and made concrete and functional to some extent, the enemy began attacking it. In such a situation it was not possible to adopt any tactics

other than the method of retreating in self-defence. In terms of result and quality, the Sonarpur struggle could not reach an advanced stage. The revolutionary struggle of Kanksa- Gaya - Hazaribagh could be advanced only after taking Lessons from the Sonarpur struggle. The history of the Kanksa Struggle is one of serial episodes. It began in the year 1970-71. In 1970 some economic and political struggle commenced here and there. Between February-March and June-July in the year 1971, many economic and political struggles were waged under the leadership of the Kanksa Area Committee. There was a good mass participation in these struggles.

#### **Lessons of the Gaya - Hazaribagh struggle in undivided Bihar**

Keeping in mind the experience of the Kanksa struggle, where the task of timely expansion of the area and political and organisational preparations within the area, that is, the task of preparations regarding the Party, Army and United Front could not be done in good time, an attempt was made now to advance the revolutionary struggle in Gaya-Hazaribagh of former Bihar in a more systematic and planned manner.

By then, the revolutionaries had developed an understanding regarding military matters that in order to carry out military activities in a proper manner, a vast expanse of area was required so as to advance and retreat, or maneuver from time to time. This thinking was later reflected in practice with the formation of the Bihar-Bengal Special Area Committee.

Anyway, in the then Dhanbad and Hazaribagh area (Hazaribagh district then included the present Chattra, Giridih and Koderma districts) and in the Gaya area (Gaya then included Aurangabad, Jehanabad, Navada and such districts) work started with the perspective of advancing with the concrete orientation of building the Army and Base Area in the middle of 1969 and the latter half of 1968, respectively.

Hazaribagh had plenty of hills and forests and was inhabited by the Adivasis with the influence of the nationality movement i.e., the separate Jharkhand movement. Gaya was a vast plain area (also having a few hills and forests), in the strong hold of the crude feudal system.

The clarion call of Armed Agrarian Revolutionary Guerrilla struggle had echoed in the Parasnath and Jilga hills of Dhanbad and

Hazaribagh and the Neri-Mehudia hill of Barkagaon and surrounding areas in 1971 itself. Similarly, in the latter half of 1972 the red flaming torch of Agrarian Revolutionary struggle was lit in the Chalho hills and the surrounding areas of Gaya area.

In the struggle of the Hazaribagh area, owing to the broad participation of the adivasi masses as well as non- adivasi masses, a revolutionary upsurge-like situation was created. The enemy was alarmed at the revolutionary struggle in this backward and adivasi-inhabited area. Thus, the brutal "encirclement and suppression" campaign started. In order to defeat this "encirclement and suppression" the process of advancing further also began from the side of the revolutionaries. The "encirclement and suppression" campaign of 1974 was stinging and intense, wherein some comrades were martyred and some other leading comrades were arrested. Therefore, the struggle was forced to retreat for a while.

However, within a year or two the work began to be advanced afresh and with a new plan in a vast expansive area comprising Hazaribagh (including Hazaribagh, Giridih, Koderma, Chattra districts) and Dhanbad (including the present Bokaro district). Especially, as the enemy conducted his "encirclement and suppression" campaign, and efforts were made on our part to defeat it and gradually to expand the struggle further and take it to a higher plane, this process enabled us to acquire new experience in political and military aspects as well as in organisational aspects.

Meanwhile, the struggle in Gaya area too had surpassed the Chalho area, spreading into many new areas. An earth-shaking struggle against feudal landowners, their goons and private armies made it a powerful upsurge. By the thousands, the peasant masses and toiling masses participated in this revolutionary struggle, devastating the old rotten system and taking firm steps ahead to build a new system that is a peoples' democratic order.

The idea of forming a Special Area emerged in order to give practical shape to the task of building the army and base area. Although it was decided very early that building the Army and Base Area was the primary, principal and central task, yet how it would be translated into reality had always been a big question posed before the revolutionaries. In what practical form would

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (then Mao Tse-tung thought) be implemented in the concrete situation, or concrete specificity of India, was also posed as a big question.

It was realized that to seek a proper answer to this serious issue, it would not suffice to merely give a general call regarding the Army and Base area, but it was also necessary to actually determine a concrete task to form the Army and Base Area. In order to carry out this task, it was also necessary to select some strategic area where a Base Area self-sufficient in economic, political and military aspects could be built.

Therefore, in order to build the Army and Base Area on the soil of our country, the idea emerged of considering Bihar (now Bihar - Jharkhand) and some areas of Bengal (West Midnapore-Bankura-Purulia) as a Special Area.

Efforts began in 1975 itself to form the Special Area, and in mid-1976 a Bihar-Bengal Special Area Committee was formed under the direct guidance and leadership of Comrade KanhaiChatterjee with some leading comrades working in the Kanksha area of Bengal and Dhanbad, Giridih, Hazaribagh, Gaya, Aurangabad, Navada and other districts.

The formation of a committee by the name of Special Area had a very positive impact. This nomenclature had aroused much interest about why a Special Area was formed and what would be its tasks. Thus, a clear concept was formed for an Army and Base Area, and the building of a Special Area in order to enable this. It was understood by the revolutionaries that not even a single step ahead could be taken as regards forming the Army and Base Area in a spontaneous manner, without any plan or without the concept of Strategic Area.

Right from the beginning MCC held aloft the great Naxalbari Peasant Struggle. It acknowledged the role of great Naxalbari in the Indian revolution and the positive role of Comrade CM as the founder and leader of Indian Revolution. At the same time it was critical of Party building in 1969 and a few of its tactics. MCC was critical towards the splits after the temporary setback of the movement in the leadership of ML Party in 1972 and their practice. MCC leadership took the positive and negative experiences till the setback of Naxalbari movement along with the experiences of the revolutionary peasant struggle in Sonarpur and Kankshainto view in developing the movement in Bihar.

At the time when the movement was advancing in the leadership of MCC, the founders of MCC Party Comrades AmulyaSen and KC who not only guided the movement but also led it directly were martyred due to ill-health within a few months. Central Organising Committee formed with Comrade SushilRoy who came up under the direct guidance and training of these great leaders led the movement.

The State and the Central Conferences in 1989 and 1996 and the Bihar-Bengal Special Area Conference in 2001 were historic. These Conferences summarized the experiences of the movement. As a part of it they adopted the favorable and unfavorable factors and lessons and tasks. The movement was developed considerably through proper theoretical, political, organizational and military efforts. The movement spread to various states, vast areas and various fields. Party, Guerilla forces (Military Management Committee, Formations and others), and the Mass base developed considerably. With the relentless and firm efforts Party could enhance its understanding about Party line, Party, People's Army, formation of Political power, tactics and other things.

The Party produced a body of rich literature – Party Basic documents, Polemical Documents, on Nationality question, on the separate state of Jharkhand, documents on woman's question, political organizational reviews, on the revisionism of Deng, on the Three Worlds theory, documents on Maoism, political-military documents, political, military training notes, circulars and other valuable theoretical, political, organizational, military and tactical documents in abundance. All these were adopted in the process of practice in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. They were embedded in the development of the Party line.

With the theoretical struggle in the Central Committee in 2001, the Party took a leap in its understanding and practice. This internal struggle, the end to the clashes with the People's War Party, unity of the Party, casting away dogmatic and sectarian attitudes led to a favorable condition to achieve a breakthrough in the formation of People's Army-Development of People's War-Liberation areas. The unity process speeded up, a few genuine Marxist-Leninist groups and forces merged with it and MCC developed as an All India Party – the MCCI. It formed PLGA and Commissions

## The genuine continuation and development of Naxalbari – Hail the 15th Anniversary of CPI (Maoist)

and Commands for this on the 22<sup>nd</sup> April, 2003. MCCI took leaps and developed in a qualitative manner in these fields very soon only after an internal struggle over all these issues. MCCI and People's War Parties merged and a new Party CPI (Maoist) emerged.

Genuine revolutionaries like Comrades CM, KC and other revolutionaries made theoretical, political struggle against the opportunist leadership of CPI and CPI (M) in 1960s. Our Party Program (February 2007) says the following about this fight, about the Naxalbari Armed Rebellion that took place in the leadership of Comrade CM, its importance, the efforts of the erstwhile two Parties that formed into a new Party and about the Unity of the Party –

'In India, the genuine revolutionary forces, representing the revolutionary ranks, continued their struggle against the opportunistic, erroneous and the revisionist lines and treachery of the dominant leadership of the CPI, and thereafter the CPI (M), from the very beginning. But during the late 50's and 60's, this struggle assumed a completely new dimension. The Great Debate against modern revisionism conducted by the CPC led by comrade Mao Tse-tung marked this new beginning. So far as this Great Debate continued to intensify further and further and finally culminated in the earthshaking GPCR, so this struggle also continued to intensify further and further towards the breaking point. The beginning of the GPCR proved to be a new turning point in this process. Under the direct impact of this process, the forces representing the struggle against revisionism of the then leadership of the CPI, and then CPI(M), began to uphold and assimilate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, now Maoism, both in theory and, more particularly, in their revolutionary practice. Thereby, a large number of Maoist forces including the most outstanding and front-ranking leaders like comrade C.M. and K.C. emerged on the scene, condemning the 7th congress programme of CPI(M) as revisionist. The great Naxalbari revolt led by com. CharuMazumdar in May 1967 proved to be a clarion call of 'Spring thunder over India'.

Thereafter, the history of the communist movement took a qualitatively new turn. Besides finally breaking from and greatly exposing revisionism, it marked the first conscious application of M-L-M and the seizure of political power through the shining path of the protracted people's war, already illuminated by comrade Mao Tse-tung, in the Indian sub-continent also.

Although the movement suffered a temporary setback, it began to advance once again under the leadership of the CPI (ML) and the MCC, traversing through several ups and downs, taking lessons from the past, and bravely resisting the enemy repression. These two streams of the Maoist revolutionary forces continued the legacy of all that is revolutionary in the Indian communist movement by basing on a correct revolutionary line and waging a relentless struggle against revisionism of various hues.

The new Party—CPI (Maoist)—as the consolidated vanguard of the Indian proletariat, will lead the New Democratic Revolution in India to victory and persevere until the establishment of Socialism and Communism on a world scale.'

The formation of CPI (Maoist) on the 21<sup>st</sup> September, 2004 was written with indelible red letters in the history of the Indian Communist movement. We saw how the spark of Naxalbari became a prairie fire, how it was latent at times and again became a prairie fire, how the two parties – People's War and MCCI followed the path of Protracted People's War adopted by our leaders Comrades CM and KC, how the two parties enriched this line in prolonged practice and merged to form CPI (Maoist).

After the formation of CPI (Maoist) we made efforts to unite the units of the two parties in various states into single Party units and to educate the entire Party on the basis of the new basic documents. We molded this theoretical, political campaign as the preparation for the Party's Unity Congress-Ninth Congress. With the enhanced understanding, developed subjective forces, developed self-confidence we took up political, organizational and military tasks of the movement. We united the majority of the revolutionary forces after Naxalbari and conducted this Congress on a wide scale with the representation of Party units of all the fields. We conducted the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress as a great theoretical political campaign. This Congress enriched the Party's understanding and the basic documents of the

Party. We could centralize democracy through internal discussion in the Congress and develop Party unity. We elected a strong Central Committee as the highest leadership. We also formed a Polit Bureau, Central Military Commission, Regional Bureaus and Central Sub-committees as a part of it. We mobilized PLGA, Mass Organisations, Revolutionary People's Committees and the people in the People's War in the leadership of the Party in an effective manner and decided to take up higher-level tasks. We conducted the Congress successfully without falling under enemy attack. Thus, this Congress summarized the rich and vast experiences, implemented Democratic Centralism in a lively way, united the Party strongly and pledged to fulfill the dreams of thousands of martyrs. This Congress was historic and of utmost importance in the course of the Indian Revolutionary Movement.

Now let us view the important experiences of the new party advancing along the path of Naxalbari for the past twelve and a half years by enriching the path.

The last twelve and a half years of the fifty years after Naxalbari has been distinct in the Indian Communist movement. The distinctness is – Since September 21<sup>st</sup> 2004 now there is only one Party, one Army (PLGA), organs of new political power of the same political character-Revolutionary People's Committees. All this is unprecedented in the history of the Indian Communist movement. People's Army-People's War, Mass Organisations-Mass struggles continue in the leadership of a single Party. There are efforts to achieve the specified targets by implementing the Centralised decisions of the Centralised leadership in the direct guidance of this leadership. Decisions are made and practice taken up with the same method under the purview of the various lower committees. There is relatively better coordination between various Party Committees and various fields. We have very valuable documents that summarized and formulated the rich experiences. Unity was achieved with CPI (ML)Naxalbari in 2013 December as a part of uniting with the rest of the genuine Maoist forces. The subjective forces developed. Work style improved. There is a wider impact of the revolutionary movement on the masses all over the country. In the favorable objective conditions of constant social, economic, political crisis since 1947 in semi-colonial, semi-feudal India, the favorable subjective factor is the

main reason for the successes in the past twelve and a half years.

In order to correctly understand the favorable and unfavorable factors during this period we have to divide it into two parts. The first is from September 2004 till 2011 and the second after 2011. Until 2011 almost all the great victories we achieved in all the main fields of the revolutionary movement are unique. They are – Party provided effective leadership to the New Democratic Revolution as a single guiding centre. Protracted People's War was developed in level and spread and new higher experiences were gained. The enemy offensives were fought back in an unprecedented level and the Party, PLGA and People's organisations were strengthened. The masses were brought into the political field actively. Organs of New Democratic Power (Revolutionary People's Committees) were formed in the place of the present rotten political system and a new form of practicable alternate system of political power was brought forth. PLGA and revolutionary people achieved great political and military successes in the leadership of the Party in the process of fighting back the counter-revolution. There was a fight against the International revisionist trends by firmly sticking on to correct proletarian International line. In addition to striving for the unity of the Maoist Parties-Organisations, efforts were made to the maximum extent for making the New Democratic Revolution a success with the aim of making the World Socialist Revolution a success.

After 2011 gradually considerable unfavorable conditions emerged in relation to the subjective aspect. Since the formation of the new Party the ruling classes adopted a strategic scheme for the suppression of the revolution and are unleashing counter-revolution in a very cruel manner. Though we fought back the counter-revolution politically and militarily and achieved considerable successes, due to certain alien class trends, weaknesses continuing in the Party and severe losses, due to our certain mistakes and shortcomings in this period and due to the difference in balance of strength the country-wide movement entered a difficult situation. We have to understand the theoretical basis of these and make appropriate efforts to strengthen the Party accordingly. In this way we can protect the movement and develop it to a higher level. We have the necessary objective conditions for it. We have rich experience, the

victories we achieved and considerable strength. On this occasion the whole party must necessarily keep the following in view. Even now we are gaining certain victories only through proper theoretical, political, military and organizational efforts and nothing else. These successes we are achieving by heroically fighting back Operation Green Hunt are helping us to sustain and to advance in certain aspects.

There is a shortcoming in enhancing the level of the party theoretically, politically, organizationally, militarily and technically so as to provide effective leadership to the People's War and advance the movement in the process of practice. We are lagging behind in politically mobilizing and consolidating the democratic classes and people of socially oppressed sections and build militant movements according to the objective condition, the level and spread of the People's War. We are falling behind in developing a deep mass base. We could not form Mass Organisations of Workers, Peasants, Dalits, Adivasis, Women, Religious minorities, Students, Youth, Literary-Cultural and on problems such as against Brahmanical Hindu fascism, imperialist-sponsored LPG policies, State violence at the state level and All India level and Mass Organisations and forums of United Front on issues like Environment. Though we formed few Mass Organisations in various states from the local level to the state level we did not develop them into

strong Mass Organisations. We were lacking in mobilising and consolidating the people politically with appropriate slogans keeping in view the unequal social, economic and political development of various areas in the country and extending the revolutionary movement to the extent needed. We were lacking in making conscious effort in mobilizing and consolidating the people of all the areas where there is no Guerilla War to do their bit, in order to make success the central, main and immediate task of the Party and in making conscious efforts to strengthen the subjective forces; in bringing the non-peasant people of the areas of rural movement into the political field and develop the subjective forces. There is a lack of efforts in building organs of political power according to the level and spread of the movement; in developing Guerrilla War to the necessary extent; in fighting back the psychological war and the fake reforms of the enemy aimed at diverting the revolutionary forces from the path of revolution in an effective manner. To put it briefly, all these shortcomings are related to theoretical, political, organizational, military and tactical aspects. These are also the problems that we have to solve. They are an important part of our immediate tasks. We can overcome the present difficult situation of the movement and advance the People's War successfully by making conscious efforts to rectify these mistakes.

PM

(contd in p.14)

America and other imperialist countries in Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria and Yemen have resulted in lakhs of people in those countries being displaced and fleeing the wars as refugees to European countries. The conservative fascist parties in Europe and Britain are trying to come to power by inciting racist hatred among their people against the refugees. The monetary and economic crisis of 2008 is still ongoing in the imperialist countries. The imperialists are placing the burden of the crisis on working class and other sections of the population.

In order to rescue the multinational banks caught in the crisis, America and other European countries pumped in millions of dollars of government money into them. They enforced austerity measures and cut down the pensions of working and middle classes. Due to this, working class and middle class are participating in large numbers in agitations. People's demonstrations

have become common in Europe and Britain. As a consequence of this crisis, the British people voted in favour of Brexit and an agreement on Brexit is still elusive. Britain always tries to protect its special identity. It is unable to tolerate the big brotherly attitude of France and Germany in the European Union. All these contradictions along with the controversial aspects of the Brexit agreement are the reasons for lack of support for Brexit in the British parliament. The working and middle classes are being subjected to more difficulties. The working and middle classes of Britain and the EU countries should take up agitations against their respective governments. The working class should unite with other sections of people and launch struggles against the neo-colonialism of the imperialists. It is only by fighting against the occupation wars and the anti-people and anti-working class policies of the imperialists that a people-friendly Brexit can be brought into being.

PM

# Hail the 50th Anniversary of Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCCI)

Drawing a clear-cut line of demarcation on political and organizational issues with revisionist views and path, as a firm commitment was made to build a genuine revolutionary party on the basis of revolutionary theory and in the course of revolutionary struggle, soon after the revisionist Seventh Congress of the CPM in 1964 a revolutionary centre was established, followed by the emergence of the organisation as MCC on October 20, 1969.

At the outset, the nature of this organisation formed by the initiative of Comrade KC, Comrade AmulyaSen and Chandrashekhar Das was that of a revolutionary centre. This organisation then was very limited in strength and was isolated. In such a situation, Comrade KC had described what should be our important duty, which in brief can be summed up thus : as a guiding line for the Indian revolution create public opinion on the basis of a concrete line regarding Strategy and Tactics; build Professional Revolutionary cadres; a line for work in the rural areas, adopt a line for work in the cities, a line for work among workers, students-youth etc. and, as the principal and central task, adopt a concrete plan for building the Army and Base Areas in accordance with our strength and capacity; and must in fact, to get involved in practice fully.

As concrete reflections of revisionism the various expressions against which under Comrade KC's able leadership it was then decided to conduct struggle were: (1) Economism (2) Spontaneity (3) Legalism (4) Bureaucratic Centralism (5) Bourgeois Parliamentary System etc.

The various opportunist perceptions that we had to vigorously struggle against in the course of our struggle against revisionism were: (i) The view that did not accept neo-colonialism as a new form of Colonialism, that is the method of indirect exploitation instead of direct exploitation-rule by imperialism; (ii) The view that did not accept the (neo-colonial type of) semi-colonial and semi-feudal character of the Indian state and rejected the national and democratic character of Indian revolution.

It was in the process of parting ways with the undivided Communist Party in 1964, right from the Seventh Congress of the CPM wherein the banner

of revolt was raised to rupture ties with the revisionist line of the CPM, that the question emerged as to what should be the correct line of the Indian revolution, what would be the stage and path of Indian revolution and who would be the friends and enemies of the revolution, and so on.

In fact, to find answers to such questions, an attempt was made through documents called '*Chinta*', published in 1965 [It was to vigorously struggle against revisionism secretly within the then CPI (M) party, that '*Chinta*' was published, of which 6 documents were brought out]. Later in 1966, the political and theoretical debate was continued vigorously against revisionism through a magazine called '*Dakshindesh*'. However, the need was felt for a consistent line presented through a basic document. In this process, as an effort to find answers to the above questions, Comrade KC presented (for discussion) a document on the '*Outline of a Strategic and Tactical Line for Indian Revolution*'. Comrade KC had prepared this document basically on the basis of Comrade Lenin's Colonial Thesis and articles on Nationality Problem; Comrade Stalin's article on Nationality, the '*History of the Bolshevik Party, Problems of Leninism*'; the important documents related to the Great Debate published by the CPC led by Mao, especially the General line of the International Communist Movement (the June 14th letter), '*Apologist of Neo-colonialism*'; Mao's '*On New democracy, Analysis of classes in Chinese society, The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*', important articles on military matters etc.

Through this document presented by Comrade KC, a sharp line of demarcation was politically drawn with the revisionism of the CPI and CPM. The political points on which the document on Strategy drew a sharp line of demarcation were:

(a) Indian revolution as an inseparable part of world revolution.

(b) Indian society today - (i) Has imperialism been eliminated? On the contradiction between imperialism and the broad masses; (ii) Indian polity; (iii) Has feudalism been eliminated? On the

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