



PEOPLE'S WAR

Theoretical Organ of the Central Committee
Special issue of the
Fiftieth Anniversary of Great Naxalbari

July 2017

12

Central Committee
Communist Party of India (Maoist)

A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another.

- Mao

If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticized, because we serve the people. Anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them. If what he proposes will benefit the people, we will act upon it.

- Mao

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

- Mao

The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them.

- Mao

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

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Homage to martyrs



Com. Narayan Sanyal



Com. Kuppu Devraj

The Comprador exploitative ruling classes of India with the support of the imperialists are much more eager in 2017 to eliminate our Party that is coming in the way for their exploitation and that is firmly taking forth the alternate revolutionary path in the country and the ongoing People's War in its leadership. As a part of it since the last issue of People's War, i.e., from 2017 April to July CC/PB members Comrade Narayan Sanyal, one DvCM, one ACS, 9 Section/LOS Commanders/AC members, 27 comrades and revolutionary masses were martyred. Five of them were woman comrades.

In fighting back the brutal offensive of the hired police and Paramilitary forces of the central and the state governments as a part of Mission-2017, intensifying the third phase of Operation Green Hunt, PLGA forces made heroic ambushes in Bejji and Burkapal. In Burkapal ambush Comrades Anil (Commander, PI-24, DK), Ravi (LOS Commander, Khammam, Telangana) laid down their lives. DvCM Comrade Kailash (East Bastar, DK), three ex-activists of the Party and a villager were brutally

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murdered by the enemy forces in fake encounters. Fighting heroically in the various encounters with the enemy forces, seventeen comrades including Comrade Shamila, ACS (Rajnandgaon-Kanker Border-RKB), Comrade Jaising, Area Commander-in-Chief (North Bastar), Section/LOS Commanders/AC members Comrades Singanna, Lakshminath of EBT, Comrades Sameer, Raju of RKB were martyred. In the Thondamarka ambush that the PLGA forces made, to fight back the operation of the enemy, Comrade Korsa Lakku, ACM (South Bastar, DK) laid down his life. Comrade Vinod, Commander, PI-5 (North Bastar) died out of snake bite. Let us pay humble revolutionary homage to all the martyrs who laid their lives in the People's War. Let us pledge to go forward with firm will, great dedication and sacrifice overcoming the difficult conditions, hurdles and betrayals in the path of Protracted People's War.

Comrade Narayan Sanyal (Bijay, Prasad), Politburo member of our Party and one of the last of the Naxalbari generation of revolutionaries passed away on 16 April 2017 in Kolkata due to cancer at the age of 80. He was made to suffer nearly nine years of imprisonment by the enemy on fabricated charges and harassed. He was released on bail in November 2014. Prolonged confinement and willful neglect by the Indian government in providing him medical care in prison had exacerbated the ailments he was suffering from at the time of arrest. It is the Indian government which is squarely responsible for creating the conditions of his untimely death. His demise is a great loss to our Party, the Indian revolution and the people. The CC of our Party pays its humble red homage with a heavy heart to our beloved Comrade Bijayda and pledges with clinched fists to its final victory to realise the aspirations for which he lived and died.

Comrade Narayan Sanyal was born in a middle class family in West Bengal in 1937. He was inspired by the anti-colonial struggle, partition of India and the communist movement, particularly the Tebhaga movement in Bengal. He completed graduation. He started his political work as a student's activist, as a member of the CPI and an activist of the Bank employees Organisation. By then the leadership of CPI was neck deep in

revisionism. Influenced by the Great Debate and the GPCR launched by the CPC led by Mao against the Khrushchev revisionist clique of CPSU and the capitalist roaders in CPC, genuine communists started to question the revisionist leadership of CPI. Though the party split and CPI (Marxist) was formed, genuine revolutionaries like comrades CM and KC launched serious theoretical and political criticisms against it and proposed the correct, alternate path for revolution. The great Naxalbari Revolutionary Peasant rebellion broke. Comrade Bijay firmly supported CM's revolutionary line and hailed the revolutionary peasants of Naxalbari. He became a member of the newly-formed CPI(ML) and a Professional Revolutionary.

The CPI(ML) sent him to rural Bihar in the late 1960s to organise the peasantry reeling under feudal oppression and establish base areas. The tremors created by Naxalbari had already fuelled the anti-feudal struggle in Bihar. Thousands of comrades were martyred or arrested in the repression of the state in 1969-72. He stood firm upholding the line of Naxalbari in this difficult situation. Com. CM firmly led the fight against the splittist, right-opportunist and liquidationist line of Satyanarayan Singh in 1970-71. Comrade Bijay was arrested within a short time after he became the Secretary of the Bihar State Committee in 1972.

He faced brutal torture in police custody, but remained firm and inspired others to boldly face the enemy. With them, he actively participated in many struggles of the jail inmates on many demands including for the rights of the political prisoners. Comrade Narayan Sanyal built close relations with like-minded comrades in jail and they collectively reviewed the revolutionary movement led by the CPI(ML). Comrade Bijay played a very important role in making efforts to unite the genuine revolutionary forces from jail and rebuild the movement.

In 1977, after the Emergency was lifted, Comrade Bijay and a large number of comrades came out of the jails. They continued their efforts for the unity of the revolutionaries and also realised that their efforts

would not materialise much unless they developed the revolutionary movement on the basis of their review. In 1978 November they held Party Conference and established CPI(ML)Party Unity. In 1980 and the beginning of 1990 many revolutionary groups united with PU. Comrade Bijay played a principal role in this effort. At the same time PU started work with the aim of rebuilding and developing the agrarian revolution in Magadh region of Bihar in the direct leadership of Comrade Bijay. Learning from the revolutionary peasant struggle of Naxalbari and applying the mass line, a powerful anti-feudal struggle was built up in Koel-Kaimur, Jehanabad and Aurangabad region. Similarly, peasant revolutionary struggle was continued in the plains of Bengal. In Patna city, Kolkata, Krishnanagar, workers, students, youth, women and other oppressed sections were organised in worker's, student's and youth fronts. A women's front was developed in rural areas. The rural revolutionary movement was developed in some pockets of Punjab and Andhra Pradesh. In this way, the Party developed a revolutionary movement in eastern India. Comrade Bijay played a crucial role as a member of the Central Organising Committee (COC) in this whole theoretical, political, organizational and struggle efforts.

At such a time the then Party secretary Ashok brought forth a right opportunist line. Comrade Bijay resolutely led the struggle against this wrong line and defeated it in the Central Conference of the Party in 1987. He supported the correct path and preserved the Party. The line of Protracted People's War with agrarian revolution as the axis of the New Democratic Revolution was reaffirmed. Comrade Bijayda became the Party Secretary in this Conference. The Central Conference of PU in 1997 played a very important role in the unity of PU and PW. Until the unity with CPI(ML) (People's War) in 1998 and the formation of new PW he efficiently led the Party as the Secretary. He had an important role in the successful completion of the Ninth Congress of the erstwhile PW in 2001. As a senior comrade in the CC he played important role in defeating the left sectarian line in this Congress. As the PB in-charge from the CC, Comrade Bijay

worked as the secretary of the South West Regional Bureau of the Party. He fought back the right-opportunist line in Karnataka together with other comrades and defeated it. He consolidated the new revolutionary forces in Asom and spread the Party there.

With the PU-PW unity, a large majority of the ML stream in the country were united. But the ongoing clashes between PW and MCC in Bihar worried him seriously. With sincere efforts from both sides and the fraternal Parties, MCC and PW stopped the clashes with a self-critical attitude. It paved the way for the resumption of bilateral relations in 2001 which led to unity talks. On behalf of the CC of CPI(ML)[PW], Comrade Bijay played an important role in the unity talks with the MCC and preparing documents for the united Party. This led to the merger of PW and MCC and the emergence of CPI(Maoist). This made him extremely happy. He became a CCM and PBM of the new Party and the secretary of the newly formed Central-East Regional Bureau. He got arrested in 2005 December within a short time after this bureau was formed.

The police foisted many false cases on him in Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand. A local court in Chhattisgarh convicted him life imprisonment. The conviction and long confinement, however, failed to break his revolutionary will and spirit. Without bothering about his health, Comrade Bijay soon got involved in open activities.

The loss of our beloved Comrade Bijay dada is a matter of profound grief for the CC, Party, the revolutionary movement and the oppressed masses of the country. He worked for five decades as a firm Communist leader among ebbs and flows. His role in the unity of the genuine communists and the PU-PW and PW-MCCI merger is very important. His role in the CC and the Party will continue to inspire us. His indomitable spirit, youthful enthusiasm, initiative, sacrifice of everything he had for the liberation of the masses, remaining firm on MLM and the basic line of the Party without ever wavering, fighting and defeating right and 'left' opportunism, integrating with comrades and the masses, his unbending

communist resolve while in prison and the enthusiasm he displayed after release from jail will be etched in our memory for long.

Comrade Bijay's great communist qualities are ideal for us. He never hankered after any recognition for himself. He maintained close and friendly relations with his comrades and the oppressed masses. He led a life of plain living and hard struggle. He had deep interest in studies and his knowledge was wide-ranging. He was always frank, straight-forward and pointed in expressing his opinion. He refrained from expressing himself without study and investigation of an issue under discussion. He always respected democratic centralism and collective functioning. He followed the opinion of the majority even when he was not in agreement with any issue. He was always ready to contribute and extend his help to his comrades as an elder in the CC. He remained unmarried to dedicate his whole and sole to the revolution. His selfless life is an ideal to all the Party comrades.

Each and every one in Party, PLGA and the revolutionary mass organisations must learn from him. We must practice his communist ideals. We must take inspiration from Comrade Narayan Sanyal and boldly advance the Protracted People's War to victory by fighting back the attacks of the exploitative ruling classes and imperialists and the Brahmanical Hindu-fascist forces at their service by taking inspiration from Comrade Narayan Sanyal. Red-red salutes and humble homage to our beloved Comrade Bijay dada! Let us take pledge to continue on the path of PPW by surmounting every hurdle to fulfill the dreams for which he lived and died! Red Salutes to Comrade Bijayda!

Editorial

Naxalbari is a great historic revolutionary heredity

- It is a constant fire

It shall continue revolutionary guidance to the Indian masses

'A peal of thunder has crashed over the land of India. Revolutionary peasants in the Darjeeling area have risen in rebellion. Under the leadership of a revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party, a red area of rural revolutionary armed struggle has been established in India. This is a development of tremendous significance for the Indian people's revolutionary struggle.

In the past few months, the peasant masses in this area, led by the revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party, have thrown off the shackles of modern revisionism and smashed their trammels. They have seized grain, land weapons from the landlords and plantation owners, punished the local tyrants and vicious gentry, and ambushed the police sent to suppress them, thus demonstrating the enormous might of the peasants' revolutionary armed struggle. All imperialists, revisionists, corrupt officials, local tyrants and vile gentry, and reactionary army and police are nothing in the eyes of the revolutionary peasants who are determined to strike them down to the dust. The revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party has done the absolutely correct thing and done it well. The Chinese people enthusiastically applaud this revolutionary storm of the Indian peasants in the Darjeeling area as do all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the whole world'.

'The Spring Thunder of 1967 in Naxalbari, the storm of Armed struggle shook the broad areas of India initially. It broke the chains of the 'path of non-violence' and 'parliamentary system' and developed as the struggle

for Indian people's liberation. The Peasant Revolutionary Armed Struggle spread from West Bengal to Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Odisha, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Tamilnadu with Agrarian Revolution as the main basis. The Peasant guerillas of Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh transformed 800 villages into red villages and prepared to start armed struggle. A strong revolutionary situation was formed in entire India. The Revolutionary Armed Struggle successfully established in India of 500 million people shall certainly make wide influence'.

'Naxalbari struggle is the symbol of a new era in the history of India. It is an initial index to end the exploitation of old rule of the imperialists and their agents. The message that Naxalbari Agrarian Revolution going on under the leadership of the proletariat is the only way for the construction of National Liberation struggle and Socialism in the country, filled enthusiasm in the proletariat and the peasantry that were bogged down in grief and disappointment and enhanced revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary responsibility. The Naxalbari struggle gave a blow to the revisionist politics that was separating the Indian toiling masses from the revolutionary masses of the world working against imperialism and the reactionaries in countries like China, Vietnam and Burma. It formed a proper place for the Indian toiling masses in the group of the world revolutionary forces.

It tore open the veil of neo-revisionist leaders Ranadive, Namboodiripad and Sundarayya and gave them a death blow. It not only threw the neo-revisionists working as the last reserves for the reactionary ruling classes mired in severe economic and political crisis, but also contributed to the onward march of the revolutionary people in the struggle for people's democracy and Socialism'.

These are the statements from the Communist Party of China after the Naxalbari Revolutionary Peasant struggle on 23rd May, 1967. After these statements the struggle gained international prominence.

The leader of Naxalbari movement Com. Charu Mazumdar explained the importance of this struggle thus -

'Naxalbari lives and will live. This is because it is based on invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We know that as we move forward we shall face many obstacles, many difficulties, many acts of betrayal and there will be many setbacks. But Naxalbari will not die because the bright sunlight of Chairman Mao's Thought has fallen on it like a blessing. When Naxalbari receives congratulations from the heroes in the rubber plantations of Malaya who have been engaged in struggle for 20 years, when congratulations are sent by Japanese comrades who have been fighting against the revisionist leadership of their own Party, when such congratulations come from the Australian revolutionaries, when the comrades of the armed forces of great China send their greetings, we feel the significance of that immortal call, "Workers of the World, Unite", we have a feeling of oneness and our conviction becomes more strong and firm that we have our dear relations in all lands. Naxalbari has not died and it will never die'.

Naxalbari solved the main problems related to the strategy of Indian revolution. Along with the other issues it highlighted the Marxist theory that force is the mid-wife for the old society bearing the new society in its womb. It rejected the peaceful parliamentary line and parliamentarism that is mixed with non-parliamentary economic struggles. It broke the long silence of the Communist movement on which peaceful transition and revisionist theory gained control for a long time and dominated. The second is - Our great revolutionary leaders Comrades Charu Mazumdar and Kanhai Chatterjee applied Mao Thought to the Indian conditions and emphasized that Indian revolution is protracted. Due to the unequal social, economic and political development, it is impossible to gain power through urban rebellions, through the simultaneous rebellion of the workers and peasants or through a country-wide rebellion. It is possible only through Protracted People's War. It is possible to seize power only by first creating liberated areas in the rural areas where the objective and subjective conditions are comparatively more favorable than in the other areas, gradually spread them and then expand the power country-wide.

The third is - Our leaders emphasized the importance of the role of peasantry in Indian revolution where Agrarian revolution is the main essence. They suggested that the peasantry will be the driving force in revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. They taught that the petty bourgeois intellectual class unites with the oppressed masses to play a revolutionary role.

The impact of the historic turning point of Naxalbari clearly spread over the countries in South Asia. In 1967-72 the spate of Naxalbari struggle continued all over the country. From Naxalbari it spread like wild fire to Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh, Mushahari in Bihar, Bhirbhoom, Debra Gopi Vallabhapur, Lakhimpur Kheri, Sonarpur, Kanksa in Bengal, Odisha, Asom, Punjab, Kerala, Tamilnadu, Kashmir and Tripura. It made a strong impact on the students of the Universities. Students and youth started urban guerilla war in the streets of Kolkata. The student's movement in the Punjab and the Hyderabad Osmania University and other places led to a spate across the universities of the country.

At the same time the Dakshin Desh group in Kolkata chose Protracted People's War and started building the movement in the light of Mao Thought. The leadership of this movement tried to build a Party together with Com. CM. But they could not achieve political and organizational unity and so unity was not possible. CPI (ML) was formed in the leadership of Com. Charu Mazumdar and the leadership of the Chintha group later formed the Maoist Communist Centre in the leadership of Com. Amulya Sen and Com. Kanhai Chatterjee. Both these parties intensified class struggles in the country and gained many experiences. Both these parties merged and Communist Party of India (Maoist) emerged in 2004.

As Comrade Charu Mazumdar said in the initial days of Naxalbari struggle, history proved that struggle advances facing 'many hurdles, difficult conditions, many kinds of betrayals and many setbacks'. More than fifteen thousand revolutionaries laid their lives in this struggle. They laid their lives with the great confidence that revolution would be successful. Com. Charu Mazumdar said that the sacrifices of revolutionaries are 'greater than the Himalayas'.

By 1972 the country-wide revolutionary movement set back. Opportunists and disruptors split the Party. There was no Central Committee. The rest of the leadership in various states of the country started efforts to build the movement.

The genuine revolutionaries took valuable lessons from Naxalbari and worked with firm will and sacrifice to develop the three magic weapons – Party, People’s Army and United Front. Party was reconstituted with proper theoretical, political, organizational and struggle efforts against the wrong tactics inside the party and the right and ‘left’ opportunists outside it. Revolutionary movement arose once more. As a result the revolutionary forces were brought together.

With the efforts made in the leadership of CPI(ML)(Peoples War) in Andhra Pradesh and CPI(ML)(PU) and MCC in Bihar since 1978, another revolutionary spate broke. The peasantry was mobilized in the Armed Agrarian Revolutionary Guerilla War and the students, youth, workers and intellectuals in the revolutionary and democratic movements and thus mass base and subjective forces developed in a considerable manner. By 2000 the movement gradually spread in waves to the vast plain areas, the strategic areas and many towns and cities of 16-17 states. The slogan ‘land to the tiller, all powers to the Revolutionary Peasant Committee/ Revolutionary People’s Committees’ echoed in all the areas of the movement. People’s guerilla squads developed in a big way. Red resistance areas and guerilla zones emerged.

In 1972-80 party was consolidated in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Tamilnadu, Maharashtra and organisations of movement were developing. After the setback of the Srikakulam struggle, struggles like Karimnagar and Adilabad peasant struggles of North Telangana, peasant struggles in Bihar plain and forest areas, struggles in Dharmapuri district of Tamilnadu, worker, student, youth and cultural movements in Mumbai came forth in 1978. During this time in an attempt to unite the genuine revolutionary forces that were divided into various groups the CPI(ML)(People’s War) was formed in 1980. During the same time peasant movement developed

in a big way in the leadership of MCC in Bihar. CPI(ML)(PU) took up peasant struggles in Jehanabad and some areas in Bengal and in Palamu district.

Naxalbari group of the revolutionary stream was working in a few states along with Kerala. With the aim of achieving unity of genuine revolutionaries there were talks between our Party and Naxalbari Party that led to the unity of the two parties in 2013 December. Thus CPI (Maoist) united all the revolutionary forces and is working to build country-wide movement.

This united party became enriched in the light of the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It stood as great inspiration to the International Communist Movement. It came as a ray of hope to the Indian masses and instilled confidence among them in revolution. The successes of the Maoist Party shook the ruling classes. The Indian ruling classes decided to suppress the Maoist Party right in the beginning and initiated severe repression saying it to be 'the main danger to the internal security of India'. Five and a half lakh Para-military and police forces were deployed country-wide and suppression and encirclement offensives are taken up in the name of Operation Green Hunt. But the ruling classes are not achieving the expected result. The people are fighting back this offensive in the leadership of our Party. Travelling through a process of ebbs and flows the Party brought forth revolutionary politics as an alternative to ruling class politics and is emerging as an alternate political power.

It is fifty years since Naxalbari struggle began. Party gained many rich experiences during this period. In the ongoing revolution, this Naxalbari kind of Armed Agrarian Revolutionary Struggle going on for such a long time against Imperialism, Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie and Big Feudal classes is seen only in a few countries in the contemporary history of the world.

A small spark like movement in Naxalbari reached great heights in the past 50 years. It spread Armed Revolutionary Struggles across the country with Armed Agrarian Revolution as the centre. It is going forward with the aim of formation of liberated areas through intensifying class

struggles in the backward areas and forest areas of the country, forming red resistance areas, guerilla zones and guerilla bases. People's Liberation Guerilla Army was formed in the leadership of the Party and is taking up guerilla attacks and armed actions with the nature of primary mobile war. It is giving severe blows to the government armed forces. The government is having tough time in facing the PLGA. As a part of building strategic United Front, the power of exploitive ruling classes was destroyed in some strategic areas in the Central and East India, Revolutionary People's Committees were formed and Guerilla Bases were established. In areas where Guerilla Bases were formed, the Area and District level Revolutionary People's Committees are being consolidated. As a part of mobilizing the people on various problems in tactical United Front, workers, peasants, students, adivasis, dalits, women, minorities and various sections, democrats and intellectuals are mobilized in struggles. People are taking up struggles for Jal-Jungle-Zameen-Ijjath-Adhikar for which these United Fronts are providing leadership. The leadership of our Party is the central point for these struggles.

There are considerable changes in the social, economic and political conditions in the past fifty years. Our Party is leading revolutionary struggles in view of these changes. Our practice proves that the basic line of our party is correct. Revisionism, neo-revisionism and post modernism are in the way of the people making revolution. These wrong theories need to be defeated theoretically. Such bourgeois theories come forth time to time in various forms. We must be constantly alert towards them and defeat the same. The Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie and Feudal classes with the support of the Imperialists are deploying beast like police, Para-military and military forces upon the revolutionary movement and are implanting wrong theories into the brains of the people to divert them. They are imposing outdated feudal and reactionary imperialist culture on the people. They are propagating that revolutions are not possible through armed struggle. The ruling classes are implementing reforms along with repressive policy on the people to control the revolutionary movements rising in the country time to time. But the revolutionary movement is advancing in waves.

The great Marxist teacher Comrade Mao commented thus on the future of Indian Revolution immediately after the success of the Chinese revolution – ‘Like the free China that became a member of the Socialist and democratic family of the world, India too would emerge one day. That day in the history of human race would end the reactionary imperialist era’. Mao’s comment shows the future. At present there is no alliance of socialist countries in the world. China too emerged as an imperialist country. In such a time the revolutionary war going on since Naxalbari is a ray of hope to the World Revolution. In the existing conditions in the contemporary world, Indian Revolution is providing revolutionary spirit to the proletariat and people of the world and became an inspiration for the formation of another World Revolutionary Centre. Indian Revolution is going forward with invaluable sacrifices to root out imperialism and its agents that are neck deep in severe economic and financial crisis, from this earth.

Imperialism is in death bed said Comrade Lenin.

Com. Mao said that imperialism and its agents look fierce, but in fact they are only paper tigers. Imperialism is faced with people’s resistance all over the world. Imperialism is making war on the people to suppress the resistance of the people of the world. People are fighting militantly in imperialist countries too and are depriving them of sleep. Imperialists and their agents are on blazing fire ball. It is ready to break soon. Imperialism is able to sustain since though the proletariat and the people are fighting in many places, there are no strong revolutionary Communist parties or a Socialist base in most of the countries or a strong International Organisation.

The central and the state governments in the leadership of BJP Modi intensified Brahmanical Hindu fascist offensive on the struggling people of the country. The central and the state governments are unleashing Green Hunt operation in the country to suppress the revolutionary movement. Party is fighting with the aim of defeating the same. Party shall certainly achieve success in this struggle. The flag of Naxalbari struggle

is being waved in all corners of the country for the past five decades advancing towards success and shall certainly accomplish New Democratic Revolution in the country and advance the World Socialist Revolution.

Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law. When we say "imperialism is ferocious", we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom.

Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again . . . till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. This is another Marxist law. The Russian people's revolution followed this law, and so has the Chinese people's revolution. ["Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle" (August 14, 1949), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, P. 428.]

Long Live The Heroic Peasants of Naxalbari!

Charu Majumdar

[Translated from the Bengali original, which first appeared in the Autumn 1967 issue of Deshabrati, it was published in Liberation. Vol. V, No. 1 (July 1971-January 1972)].

The social system that exists in India is semi-feudal and semi-colonial. So the democratic revolution in this country means agrarian revolution. All the problems of India are related to this one task. On this question of agrarian revolution there has been difference of opinion in Marxist circles from the beginning of this century and among Marxists the struggle between the two policies—the one revolutionary and the other counter-revolutionary—continues. The Mensheviks side-tracked the question of State power and searched for a solution in municipalization. Lenin declared a crusade against it and said that it was not possible to solve the problem by side-tracking the question of State power. He showed that however progressive the legislation framed by one might be, the present State structure could not implement it. The condition of the peasant will remain the same. That was why he said that only the democratic State of workers and peasants, led by the working class, could solve this problem. Only the other day even the Soviet Party writer, Yudin, while criticizing Nehru's Basic Approach, said that Nehru had not till then been able to solve the peasant problem. He challenged Nehru to show, in practice, how this problem could be solved in a peaceful way and added that Nehru would fail to do so. History has proved that, far from solving this problem, Nehru was not able even to bring about an iota of change.

After the twentieth congress of the Soviet party, the door to revisionism was opened wide and, as a result, the Soviet State has been transformed from a Socialist State into a capitalist State. By making the theory of peaceful transition to socialism—adopted at that twentieth

congress-their basic guiding principle, the revisionists of our country are shouting loudly that the peasants' struggle for land is a struggle for realization of economic demands and that it is adventurism to talk of the State machinery. What strange similarity between the words of Dange and Basavapunnia!

What strange cooperation between Biswanath Mukherji and Harekrishna Konar! This is not accidental since its source is one and that is the Menshevik counter-revolutionary ideology. That is why the cunning rulers of the Soviet State have repeatedly declared that it is only by using fertilizers, improved seeds and agricultural implements that India's food problem can be solved. It is in this manner that they are coming forward to save India's reactionary ruling clique; they are concealing from the masses the basic and effective way of solving India's food, unemployment, poverty and other problems. This is because the Soviet State is today collaborating with British-American imperialists and has been turned into a State which exploits the masses of India. With the help of the native bourgeoisie the Soviet Union is also trying to invest capital in our country. In the sphere of trade and commerce with our country it has come to enjoy special facilities. That is why the arguments of the reactionary ruling clique are pouring out from the mouths of its spokesmen in a continuous flow and at an uninterrupted speed. That is why, as a collaborator of Britain and the U. S. A., the Soviet State also is our enemy and it is by taking shelter under their wings that the reactionary Government of India weighs like a corpse upon the shoulders of the masses. But even then Naxalbari has been created and hundreds of Naxalbaris are smouldering. This is because on the soil of India the revolutionary peasantry is heir to the heroic revolutionary peasants of great Telengana. The then Party leadership betrayed the heroic peasant struggle of Telengana and it did so by using the name of great Stalin. Many of those who are occupying the positions of Party leaders today were a party to the act of betrayal on that day! On bent knees, we will have to take lessons from those heroes of Telengana, not only to have strength to carry the red banner of revolt

but also to have faith in the international revolutionary authority. What boundless respect they had for the international leadership—the name of Stalin made them place their lives fearlessly at the disposal of the reactionary government of India. In all ages and in all climes this revolutionary loyalty is necessary for organizing revolutions. We must learn from the experience of the heroes of Telengana: we must take the mask off the face of those who oppose Marxism-Leninism by using the name of Stalin. We will have to snatch from their hands the Red Flag dyed with the blood of hundreds of workers and peasants. The traitors have, by touching that Flag with their hands, stained it.

Naxalbari lives and will live. This is because it is based on invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We know that as we move forward we shall face many obstacles, many difficulties, many acts of betrayal and there will be many setbacks. But Naxalbari will not die because the bright sunlight of Chairman Mao's Thought has fallen on it like a blessing. When Naxalbari receives congratulations from the heroes in the rubber plantations of Malaya who have been engaged in struggle for 20 years, when congratulations are sent by Japanese comrades who have been fighting against the revisionist leadership of their own Party, when such congratulations come from the Australian revolutionaries, when the comrades of the armed forces of great China send their greetings, we feel the significance of that immortal call, "Workers of the World, Unite", we have a feeling of oneness and our conviction becomes more strong and firm that we have our dear relations in all lands. Naxalbari has not died and it will never die.

One Year of Naxalbari Struggle

Charu Majumdar

[This article by Comrade Charu Majumdar appeared in the Bengali weekly *Deshabrati* of May 23, 1968. It was published in *Liberation*, Vol. I, No. 8 (June 1968).]

Full one year has passed since the peasant struggle in Naxalbari began. This struggle is different from all other peasant struggles. Where is the difference? Peasants have always struggled against various injustices and oppressions. This is the first time that the peasants have struggled not only* for their partial demands but for the seizure of state power. If the Naxalbari peasant struggle has any lesson for us, it is this: militant struggles must be carried on not for land, crops etc., but for the seizure of state power. It is precisely this that gives the Naxalbari struggle its uniqueness. Peasants in different areas must prepare themselves in a manner so as to be able to render ineffective the state apparatus in their respective areas. It is in Naxalbari that this path has been adopted for the first time in the history of peasant struggles in India. In other words, the revolutionary era has been ushered in, and this is the first year of that era. It is for this reason that the revolutionaries of all countries are heartily welcoming the Naxalbari struggle.

India has been turned into a base of imperialism and revisionism, and is acting today as a base of reactionary forces against the people struggling for liberation. That is why the Naxalbari struggle is not merely a national struggle; it is also an international struggle. This struggle is difficult, and the path we have chosen is in no way easy or smooth. The path of revolution is difficult, not smooth or easy, and difficulties, dangers and even retreats will be there. But the peasants who are fired with the spirit of the new internationalism have defied all this and refused to submit. They continue to persist in their path of struggle.

Our experience during the last one year shows that the message of this struggle in a small area has spread to every corner of India. Each one of the existing political parties has opposed the Naxalbari struggle, yet the people are thinking in terms of this struggle and are coming forward to take the path charted by this struggle. The heroic leaders of the Naxalbari struggle are still living and the reactionary government, in spite of all their attempts, has not been able to destroy them. This shows how true are the words of Chairman Mao: **“All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying but in reality are not so powerful.”**

The Chairman has said, **“the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism and all systems of exploitation, and the complete emancipation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off.”**

Let us march forward to usher in that brilliant sunshine of liberation!

Notes

The word ‘only’ was omitted by mistake from the Liberation translation.

Spring Thunder Over India

The following article appeared as an editorial in Renmin Ribao (People's Daily) on 5 July 1967. Renmin Ribao was the organ of the Communist Party of China

A peal of thunder has crashed over the land of India. Revolutionary peasants in the Darjeeling area have risen in rebellion. Under the leadership of a revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party, a red area of rural revolutionary armed struggle has been established in India. This is a development of tremendous significance for the Indian people's revolutionary struggle.

In the past few months, the peasant masses in this area, led by the revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party, have thrown off the shackles of modern revisionism and smashed their trammels. They have seized grain, land weapons from the landlords and plantation owners, punished the local tyrants and vicious gentry, and ambushed the reactionary troops and police sent to suppress them, thus demonstrating the enormous might of the peasants' revolutionary armed struggle. All imperialists, revisionists, corrupt officials, local tyrants and vile gentry, and reactionary army and police are nothing in the eyes of the revolutionary peasants who are determined to strike them down to the dust. The revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party has done the absolutely correct thing and done it well. The Chinese people enthusiastically applaud this revolutionary storm of the Indian peasants in the Darjeeling area as do all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the whole world.

The Indian peasants' rebellion and the Indian people's revolution are inevitable; reactionary Congress rule has left them no alternative. India under Congress rule though nominally independent, in fact is still a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. The Congress government represents the interests of the Indian feudal princes, big landlords and bureaucrat-comprador capitalists. Internally, it mercilessly oppresses and ruthlessly

exploits the Indian people. Internationally, while continuing to be dependent on its old suzerain, British imperialism, it throws itself into the lap of its new boss, U.S. imperialism, and the latter's number one accomplice, the Soviet revisionist clique, thus selling out the national interests of India on a big scale. Thus imperialism, Soviet revisionism, feudalism and bureaucrat-comprador capitalism weigh like big mountains on the backs of the Indian people, especially on the toiling masses of workers and peasants. The Congress government has intensified its suppression and exploitation of the Indian people and its pursuit of the policy of national betrayal in the last few years. As a result, famine has stalked the land year after year. People dying of starvation is a common sight. The masses of the Indian people, above all the peasant masses, have found life impossible. The revolutionary peasants in the Darjeeling area have now risen in rebellion, in violent revolution. This is the prelude to a violent revolution by the hundreds of millions of people throughout India. The Indian people will certainly cast these big mountains from their backs and win complete emancipation. This is the general trend of Indian history which no force on earth can check or hinder.

What road to take in the Indian revolution is a fundamental question affecting the success or failure of the revolution and the destiny of the 500 million Indian people. The Indian revolution must take the road of relying on the peasants, establishing base areas in the countryside, persisting in protracted armed struggle and using the countryside to encircle and finally capture the cities. This is Mao Tsetung's road, the road that has led the Chinese revolution to victory, and the only road to victory for the revolution of all oppressed nations and people.

As long as 40 years ago our great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung pointed out : "In China's central, southern and northern provinces, several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. They will sweep all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry into their graves."

Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out long ago that the peasant question occupies an extremely important place in the people's revolution. The peasants constitute the main force in the national-democratic revolution against imperialism and its lackeys; they are the most reliable and numerous allies of the proletariat. India is a vast semi-colonial and semi-feudal country with a population of 500 million, the absolute majority of which is the peasantry. Once aroused, these several hundred million Indian peasants will become the invincible force of the Indian revolution. By integrating with the peasants, the Indian proletariat will be able to bring about earthshaking changes in the enormous countryside, and defeat any powerful enemy in a soul-stirring people's war.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us : "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries."

The specific feature of the Indian revolution, like that of the Chinese revolution, is armed revolution fighting armed counter-revolution. Armed struggle is the only correct road for the Indian revolution; there is no other road whatsoever. Such trash as "Gandhiism," "the parliamentary road" and the like are opium used by the Indian ruling classes to dope the Indian people. Only by relying on violent revolution and taking the road of armed struggle can India be saved and the Indian people achieve complete liberation. Specifically, this means to boldly arouse the peasant masses, build up and expand the revolutionary armed forces, deal with the armed suppression of the imperialists and reactionaries – who are temporarily stronger than the revolutionary forces – by using the whole set of the flexible strategy and tactics of people's war personally worked out by Chairman Mao and persevere in protracted armed struggle and step by step seize the victory of the revolution. In the light of the characteristics of the Chinese revolution, our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out the importance of establishing revolutionary rural base areas. Chairman Mao teaches us : in order to persist in protracted armed struggle and defeat imperialism and its lackeys, "it is imperative for the

revolutionary ranks to turn the backward villages into advanced, consolidated base areas, into great military, political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution from which to fight their vicious enemies who are using the cities for attacks on the rural districts, and in this way gradually to achieve the complete victory of the revolution through protracted fighting.”

India is an enormous country; the countryside, where the reactionary rule is weak, provides the extensive areas in which the revolutionaries can maneuver freely. So long as the Indian proletarian revolutionaries adhere to the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung’s thought and rely on their great ally, the peasants, it is entirely possible for them to establish one advanced revolutionary rural base area after another in the huge backward rural areas and build a people’s army of a new type. Whatever difficulties and twists and turns the Indian revolutionaries may experience in the course of building such revolutionary base areas, they will eventually develop them from isolated points into a vast expanse, from small areas into extensive ones, in a wave-like expansion. Thus, a situation in which the cities are encircled from the countryside will gradually be brought about in the Indian revolution to pave the way for the final seizure of the cities and winning nationwide victory.

The Indian reactionaries are panic-stricken by developments in the rural armed struggle in Darjeeling. They have sensed imminent disaster and they wail in alarm that the peasants’ revolts there will “become a national disaster.” Imperialism and the Indian reactionaries are trying in countless ways to suppress this armed struggle of the Darjeeling peasants and nip it in the bud. The Dange renegade clique and the handful of revisionist headmen of the Indian C.P. are vigorously slandering and attacking the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party and the revolutionary peasants in Darjeeling for their great exploits. The so-called “non-Congress government” in West Bengal open sides with the reactionary Indian Government in its bloody suppression of the

revolutionary peasants in Darjeeling. This is added proof that these renegades and revisionists are running dogs of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism and stooges of the big Indian landlords and bourgeoisie. What they call the “non-Congress government” is only a tool of these landlords and bourgeoisie.

But no matter how well the imperialists, Indian reactionaries and the modern revisionists may cooperate in their sabotage and suppression, the torch of armed struggle lighted by the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party and the revolutionary peasants in Darjeeling will not be put out. “A single spark in Darjeeling will start a prairie fire and will certainly set the vast expanses of India ablaze. That a great storm of revolutionary armed struggle will eventually sweep across the length and breadth of India is certain. Although the course of the Indian revolutionary struggle will be long and tortuous, the Indian revolution, guided by the great Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung’s thought, will surely win final victory.

Aim and Lessons of Naxalbari Peasant Struggle that Showed the path of liberation for the Indian people

(The historic Naxalbari Peasant Struggle indeed took place like a Spring Thunder in the month of May 1967. A few months later on the 6th of January 1968, the official organ of the erstwhile MCC, 'Dakshin Desh', Volume 2, Issue No. 16 was brought out as a Special issue on 'Naxalbari Agrarian Revolution'. None of the articles published in this magazine ever carried the name of the author. So it is difficult to say who wrote this article. Anyway any special article, theoretical article or editorial article, especially an important article like the historic aim and lessons of the Naxalbari Peasant Struggle might have been written by Comrade Kanhai Chatterjee. Even if some other comrade had written he must have certainly edited it. Along with the other special articles on the occasion of celebration of Fifty years of the historic Naxalbari Peasant struggle we are publishing this too as a special article. This would give a good understanding of many aspects of that historic peasant struggle to the comrades of the present generation. It would also give a good understanding about why this struggle is still so relevant – Editorial Board).

A guide to the oppressed masses

The toilers of the country were under severe exploitation of their owners, the Capitalist and Feudal classes in the Mines and Companies and the lands and paddy go-downs. The toiling masses had no way out of being crushed under the helms of exploitation. The Middle class Intellectuals, Students and Teachers could not avail the necessary means for their food. There was no Revolutionary Party to show the proper path. Exactly at such a time the Naxalbari Peasant masses showed the way. The laborers who experienced innumerable atrocities showed the light of Revolutionary path. The Naxalbari Peasant masses are genuine friends of the toiling masses. They paved the path of Armed Struggle to seize Power. They made brilliant effort as vanguards of a genuine revolutionary path for the oppressed masses.

Its International aim – To expose the forms of Revisionism, Neo-Revisionism

The contribution of Naxalbari Peasant masses is considerable in one more aspect. Various Parties claiming to be proletarian parties were following all kinds of opportunist and non-revolutionary paths in the name of proletarian class struggle. They were trying to attract the revolutionary masses to the theory of Parliamentary democracy. Exactly at that time the great and heroic struggle of Naxalbari peasants removed the veil of not only the Indian opportunists and revisionists but also Khrushchev's 'Peaceful transition' theory once more. Thus Naxalbari Revolutionary struggle has an international objective too. In this regard Naxalbari Peasant struggle demonstrates unity and brotherhood towards Vietnam struggle. It thus stands as an inseparable part of the World Socialist Revolution. The peasantry of Naxalbari once more brought forth the practical expression of the revolutionary theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. It announced that Imperialism and Revisionism are only paper tigers. Their Parliamentary democratic theory too is a mock cry of this paper tiger. The toiling masses put to neo-colonial exploitation and rule can liberate themselves only through destroying this in the leadership of the proletariat and through Agrarian Revolution. There is no other way. Naxalbari highlighted the above mentioned revolutionary teaching. Here lies the boundless importance and speciality of Naxalbari.

Naxalbari struggle is a national struggle

India is an agriculture based country. Seventy per cent of the people of the country are dependent on agriculture for their livelihood even now. The peasantry is suffering with hunger deaths. Due to exploitation by the feudal lords the lives of the peasantry are severely suffocated and have become horrible. Those who wish the development of the country must wish the development of the peasantry. It is because everyone feels that country means peasantry. Majority of the people in the country are dependent on agriculture. In order to bring a change in this present situation Armed Agrarian Revolution is the only path. It means the

purchasing power of the ordinary peasants must be enhanced. If the purchasing power is less, majority people of the country can never extend support for industries and businesses. If the national industries do not develop, the development of the country too is not possible. The problem of the workers, middle class intellectuals, teachers-students is the same as that of the peasantry and is nothing different. Thus the struggle of the peasantry is a national struggle. If there is no success in this 'National Revolutionary struggle', the crisis in the national industries too would not be solved. It means the difficulties of the toiling masses too are nothing less. Naxalbari peasant struggle is an inseparable part of the national struggle. The only way for solving the problems of nationalities and sub-nationalities starting from Punjab to Asom and from Kashmir to Kanyakumari is the path of Armed Agrarian Revolution and nothing else. It means the national struggle of the peasants would pave the way for the liberation of all the nationalities. This national importance of Naxalbari peasant struggle too must be understood. This is a considerable factor too. Naxalbari is inseparable from the national struggle and similarly the enemy of Naxalbari is a stark enemy of all the nationalities too. Naxalbari declared open these enemies and all their compradors.

Who are friends and who are enemies?

Naxalbari clearly declared to the country that landlords, domestic-foreign capitalists and their masters, the US imperialists are the stark enemies of the toiling masses of the country. It is because these enemies indulge in atrocities on the peasants and labourers utilizing the police and military that protects Parliamentary democracy. They also unleash exploitation. Any part of this reactionary state including cabinet or that with a revolutionary name is in fact a so-called legal form to unleash exploitation on the toiling masses. Naxalbari clearly exposed the reactionary compradors and comprador left parties in the veil of revolution. It also made it clear that the united strength of the vital forces of peasantry-middle class intellectuals in the leadership of the proletariat are the friendly forces of the people in the actual sense. Thus Naxalbari struggle declared who are friends who are enemies.

Not thirst for land, a dynamic process

The reactionaries propagate that the Terai Peasant Struggle is basically a struggle with a thirst for land. They mean to say it is a struggle only for land. Their objective is clear. They wish to limit the movement within the four walls of economism or economic demands. Opportunist left roaders think nothing else than economic struggle. They do not wish to understand more. Even if they do so they would only repeat such kind of words due to economism. Land is a big source for seizing power. This is beyond doubt. It is also a big instrument for production. The Feudal class deprives the ordinary peasants of right of ownership on land and exploits them. It had been exploiting them. Eighty per cent of the agricultural land of the country is in the hands of the Feudal classes. According to the statistics of the government the amount of loans of the peasants from the money-lenders (Mahajans) reached to one thousand crores. The interest on these loans reached one hundred crores. Thus the peasants lose everything out of loan and interest and become poor. Along with the broad peasant class labourers, middle class and intellectuals too suffer from the exploitation of the landlords. For centuries together the Feudal landlord class not only made the peasants as their property but also made their family members as land-slaves. The peasants of Terai know very well that land has great importance. So they hit the base. They started the struggle to achieve power on land. Seizure of land temporarily is not the solution for the problem of land of the peasants. So Naxalbari peasantry plunged into struggle to maintain permanent power on land. It will be able to destroy the enemy camps in village to village only by achieving power or efficiency. As a result it can establish a liberated area of the peasants or an independent, fundamental base area of the people. Starting from here the people of each struggling nationality in India can root out the neo-colonial administrative system.

Thirst for land is not the only source of Naxalbari struggle. On the contrary there are some more objective reasons for this. If thirst for land was the only thing then the struggle would have come to a stop when the

government distributed waste land to the villagers. But it did not happen so. On the contrary the struggle became and is becoming severe. It is because Terai peasants clearly know that the government distributes waste land temporarily to the people for superficial betterment and deceives them and the condition of the farmers would not change. Until the state of the Feudal class is destroyed the peasantry cannot achieve power on land. This is the fundamental, new teaching of the Terai peasants. These are new politics. This is the theory of People's War of Armed Resistance. This is the new consciousness of the peasantry of Bengal that would eliminate the old and the new Feudal practice for the past generations. This consciousness is a total and qualitative change.

But this does not mean that Terai peasantry became Socialist humans. We must talk against all kinds of propaganda of the opportunist reactionaries. We have to emphasize that according to the Marxist perspective, we should not view anything separate but as a part of the collective. It means that we have to say that we have to see the peasant struggle in this area as a part of a dynamic process. It must be seen as the beginning of people's democratic revolution. Saying that it achieved totality right in the beginning would be against the Marxist perspective. Putting it objectively, during the time when those who claim to be Marxists sing the 'song' of Parliamentary democracy and wish to make the broad masses absolutely dumbfounded, Terai peasantry started people's democratic revolution with a new consciousness. This is qualitatively new. This dynamic process of this incident has a special importance and a remarkable plane.

Revolutionary politics – Liberated Area in an embryonic form in the Rural Areas

As said above Naxalbari peasantry highlighted the politics that had a qualitative change. These revolutionary politics held the Red Flag of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao's ideology. It once more proved the practice of the revolutionary theory that was taught from Marx to Mao – that weapon is the primary source of seizing power through revolution. It also

proved that revolutionary masses are the ultimate decisive power. The entire bourgeois and reactionary state is only a paper tiger. The liberation of the toiling masses is possible only through the armed power in the hands of revolutionary politics and through the destruction of the reactionary state with armed power. The revolutionary peasantry of North Bengal once more declared this in a standard manner.

Revolutionary organisation too was formed depending on this revolutionary theory. The activists did not claim to be revolutionaries simply by giving superficial long speeches. They are being tested in a standard difficult path in words and deeds. They took the valuable theory of Comrade Mao as the standard and are analyzing who are revolutionaries, who are counter-revolutionaries and who are against revolution.

The activists who are tested in these standards started efforts to build a primary liberated area related to organization (Party). Enemy is very much afraid of the primary liberated areas. The toiling masses are secure in this area. In fact the primary liberated areas in the rural area of South Vietnam are creating problems to the extremely diehard U.S. Imperialism. The present extremely important task is to establish a liberated area of the people as said above and that which puts the enemy in real apprehensions. Naxalbari peasantry started implementing this primary task in the leadership of the proletariat. Depending on this liberated area the program of destroying the power of the imperialists, their compradors by plucking the total of their 32 horns with nuclear weapons will begin. At the time of taking pledge to establish liberated area in Naxalbari it once more reminds us that we have to hit the weakest place in the exploitation and oppression of the enemy according to the Marxist revolutionary teaching. Such a liberated area would be the focus of revolutionary forces. This group of liberated areas shall be the mother who gives birth to revolutionary forces. This mother shall bring them up. It shall take them into its lap, strengthen the revolutionary forces that emerged from it and dedicates its whole strength to fill youth enthusiasm

into them. This will become everything, a big school or a university for revolutionary politics, organization and social, economic and cultural training. These primary liberated areas would build or create the broadest liberated areas like a powerful fort in the People's War. As a result the work of crushing U.S. Imperialism and its compradors would be speeded up. The whole revolutionary masses would learn to make People's War against U.S. Imperialism and its compradors. Though they do not have any earlier experience, now they will take the weapons into their hands and learn war. They would expertise in making People's War. US Imperialism would have a blow here and another blow there and would be put to ashes in the raging People's War. This is already facing People's War inevitably due to its deeds. It is possible to build this primary fort of People's War in the broad rural areas only in the path of Naxalbari. We, Communists must learn the lesson that we would become efficient in liberating the Indian masses facing exploitation and oppression only through hundreds of such liberated areas. Only thus we would be efficient in crushing US Imperialism and its servants. Naxalbari peasantry built such liberated area in the leadership of proletariat in Naxalbari. In this regard they stood firm with Mao Thought. They implemented Mao Thought in practice and once more highlighted the universal truth of this Thought.

The lesson Naxalbari taught is the objective or practical form of Comrade Mao's teaching. This is the real form of this lesson, the lesson that liberated areas must be built in rural areas. Thus revolutionary liberated areas would emerge one after another and gain the strength to encircle all the towns. This would be so strong that the enemy would not be able to escape.

The present immediate task of Revolutionary Communists is to turn the fire raged in Naxalbari into a flame. It is necessary to build revolutionary resistance by building liberated areas in the broad rural areas and encircle the towns. Naxalbari showed this way of revolutionary resistance.

Revolutionary Resistance – A Lesson

Naxalbari Peasant resistance is very much different from the normal much popular forms of resistance of the farmers. This resistance was not only for a few economic demands or to gain land but the aim of the resistance is very broad and great. 'It is a political resistance' - it is the resistance to bring down imperialism, the armed resistance against the police-military of the domestic and foreign capitalist class and the feudal lords. The whole bourgeois class and its compradors are very much afraid of this qualitatively different resistance. In fact they were full of apprehensions.

We must change our work style

As the crisis of the reactionaries in the country is getting very severe, the crisis of the toilers too is nothing less. In fact the crisis of the toilers will be the revolutionary crisis. But why did this crisis occur? It is because in spite of the rising of many kinds of movements and struggles, all those are not united in one stream. It means the Trade Union movement, the problems and struggles of the middle class people and other such things are not united with the primary struggle, i.e., the peasant struggle in the country. Now Naxalbari rejected this problematic path and showed the correct one. It utilized the situation of revolutionary crisis and united the people's struggles and movements with the peasant struggle. Here a revolutionary organization that depends upon the revolutionary theory of the Terai peasant-working class will emerge. But this organization is not the one dependent on the popular petty bourgeois work style. A revolutionary work style has come into practice in this area with high intellect.

Instead of the bookish knowledge and the long grand lectures of the leaders materialist perspective is needed every second. The observation and analysis of the whole changes every day and every second shall be the Marxist Dialectical Materialist perspective. We have to observe, think and analyze all the issues with this perspective. The Naxalbari peasantry in the leadership of the proletariat stood firm on this realistic method.

Let us love workers-peasants – let us pay attention to them

Communists must learn to love workers in the plane of Agrarian Revolution. They must pay attention towards the workers-peasants. The genuine Communists there loved the Naxalbari peasantry. They paid attention towards them. They stood on behalf of them and only thus they are prepared to expend their whole strength. In addition to the love and attention Communists must learn one more thing, to build movements like Naxalbari. They have to become students to the peasants. It means they have to respect productive labor. They have to turn students to the productive class.

In order to become genuine Communists one will have to become a student of the broad masses. Students cannot learn if they act like adviser, like one who knows everything or like teachers or scholars. Similarly Communists too cannot be enough efficient in understanding the ordinary people if they act so. In order to become good teacher one has to become a good student. Similarly in order to become a genuine Communist one has to first become a live dictionary. It means one has to become a student of the workers-peasants. One must reach the workers-peasants with a pure heart shredding aside all kinds of wrong understandings arising out of blind beliefs. One must learn a lot from them. One must identify one's life style with their life style. Starting from the morning to the evening, while sitting or standing, while going around, even in sleep, one must think about peasants, their difficulties and miseries. Only then one can play a proper role in speeding up the work of making the People's Democratic Revolution in the country successful. Only then the Communist would become able in liberating the peasants and in accomplishing the initial effort of the Agrarian Revolution. If one knows the basic fact of the process of daily life of the peasants one can fight to the end. They can make all the peasants part of the struggle. So Communists must become part of the living process of the peasants. The students of Marxism in our country have in fact become the students of Gandhism. The so-called Communists who speak high like them have betrayed the peasants and the peasant movement.

Earlier many peasant movements have absolutely failed – the Congress leadership and the back stab of the reactionary compradors suppressed these movements. Now those who claim to be Communists and take up the name of Gandhi too as a big responsibility backstabbed the peasant struggles in a disloyal and shameless manner. This whole petty bourgeois class of the left does not respect the peasant movements. It does not realize the peasants as primary inspiring power of the new era. In practice all those have become a gang of big talk. The broad peasant masses too do not confide in them. These leaders understand the peasants as uneducated, fools and a dead material who wave their heads loyally saying 'Yes Sir'. The Capitalists too understand their exploited as slaves. There is no difference between them and the so-called Communists. Since both of them collaborated, Naxalbari showed the way of liberation from the exploitative rule. It showed the way to make efforts. It means it explained the importance of revolutionary work. Doing revolutionary work and criticizing the wrongs in this is an instrument that primarily and decisively directs the ideal theoretical fight. Genuine Communists have to pay attention towards the workers and peasants and love them. This is the revolutionary work, a great work. One has to learn how to do this work. In order to advance this work one has to now become a restless warrior. One has to learn what the toiling masses have to say. Learning lessons from their experience too is an inseparable part of revolutionary work. It is not only ordinarily listening to what they say. One must listen with absolute attention. Spiritual persons say about it like hearing the epic stories of vedas and religion and working according to them. Similarly we Communists must formulate the primary theory to make total effort for the good of the workers and peasants. We should not in any manner impose our opinions on the peasants. We must give importance to their words and opinions. We have to give importance to the worker-peasant unity according to proletarian politics and also bear the effort to unite the workers and the peasants on our shoulders. It must be understood that this means attention towards the peasants and loving them. Our efforts too must be in such a manner. In any movement, all must be

mobilized and get down to a discussion-review in order to make all the people part of it. It is not the decisions of the movement in the papers in a subjective manner. On the contrary, the cooperation of all is needed, opinions and different opinions are necessary and decisions are necessary to make decisions related to the actual movement depending on the objective situation. The program for the movement must not be formulated separately, only depending on what the leaders say. This is the only way to rectify our weaknesses and shortcomings between our words and deeds.

We have to stop spreading useless words and rumors. We have to remember that work and only work would prevent all kinds of diseases. We have to give much importance to secret method of functioning and issues. We have to totally change all kinds of petty bourgeois practice, thoughts and ideas and transform our life into new forms. One has to do hard work in order to become a genuine Communist on one's own, have a sacrificing nature and adopt methods of living ordinarily. One must live without lavishness, without waste expenditure and absolutely with ordinary and minimum expenditure.

Our colleague comrades of Naxalbari molded themselves in this manner. The present history is looking forward with great hopes on such Revolutionary Communists, as to who would build Revolutionary Communist Party, who would make the People's Democratic Revolution successful, who would build Socialism and who would totally eliminate US imperialism and its compradors from India.

Let us build Revolutionary Party

The Naxalbari Peasant Struggle handed over one more important lesson. In the present time when the reactionaries on the whole are suffocated in crisis, when the crisis out of their exploitation and oppression pushed them into severe difficulties, the crisis of revolutionary forces too clearly came forward for the sake of the toiling masses. Dry grass is spread on four sides, now a spark is necessary and this would create a prairie fire soon, declared Naxalbari. This spark is nothing else but coordinating the

revolutionary forces and subjective preparation to build revolutionary Party, the work that shows the commitment of revolutionary activities. This would soon build hundreds of Naxalbaris in India. The spark of Naxalbari shall spread fire all over India. The domestic and the foreign Comprador Capitalists, the Zamindar-Jotdar class and their masters, the US imperialists shall fall in this fire and get burnt.

Changes in society are due chiefly to the development of the internal contradictions in society, that is, the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, the contradiction between classes and the contradiction between the old and the new; it is the development of these contradictions that pushes society forward and gives the impetus for the supersession of the old society by the new.

“On Contradiction” (August 1937), *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 314.

**Hail the Fiftieth Anniversary of the
Glorious Naxalbari Revolutionary Armed Peasant
Uprising!
The Path of Naxalbari is the Only Path
For the Liberation of the Oppressed Masses of India!!
CC, CPI (Maoist)
22nd April, 2017**

“Hundreds of Naxalbaris are smouldering in India. Naxalbari lives and will live. This is because it is based on invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. We know that as we move forward we shall face many obstacles, many difficulties, many acts of betrayal and there will be many setbacks. But Naxalbari will not die because the bright sunlight of Chairman Mao’s Thought has fallen on it like a blessing. Naxalbari has not died and will never die.”

- Comrade CharuMazumdar

May 23rd1967 was the day when the heroic peasants of Naxalbari of Darjeeling district in West Bengal fought against the landlords and the semi-colonial, semi-feudal state. Enlightened by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the politics of seizing state power, in the leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar and other Communist revolutionaries, they organized and initiated revolution for their liberation on this day. Naxalbari severely shook the Indian political scene and opened a new and alternative path, i.e., a revolutionary path. This created great enthusiasm in the Communist revolutionary forces, the workers and peasants, students, youth and intellectuals and brought them into the arena of class war. It also created strong enthusiasm among the revolutionary forces of the world, especially the revolutionary forces and oppressed masses in South Asia. It terrorized the Indian ruling classes and the imperialists. In frenzy they continued a counter revolutionary offensive on the Naxalbari peasantry. The heroic peasantry of Naxalbari, their leaders and activists

fought with the reactionary armed forces with traditional weapons and utmost courage. The Communist Party of China in the leadership of Mao described the Naxalbari Armed Peasant struggle as a 'Spring Thunder' and a 'development of enormous importance'. The peasant heroes of Naxalbari made many sacrifices resisting the enemy forces. Naxalbari temporarily suffered setback within a few months. But it stood as the initiation of Protracted People's War for achieving the Indian New Democratic Revolution.

The spark of Naxalbari soon lit a prairie fire all over the country. In addition to the theory of MLM it provided a theoretical and practical understanding about the fundamental concepts of New Democratic Revolution. It has become a synonym of people's anger for generations, people's rebellion, just struggle and just war. It provided an invincible basis to the understanding and practice for a new Party, a new political path, new path of struggle, new army, new political power and new revolutionary traditions for the liberation of India. In a short time it provided the necessary great experiences for a new spate of struggles in Bihar, Andhra, Dandakaranya movements to overcome setbacks and splits and fight back betrayals. Such a great historic Naxalbari revolutionary struggle is going to complete 50 years by 23rd May, 2017. As per the call of our Central Committee to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Naxalbari between May 23rd-29th, the whole Party, PLGA, Revolutionary People's Committees, Revolutionary Mass Organisations and the Revolutionary people should celebrate it with revolutionary enthusiasm in a great way. The slogan, 'the path of Naxalbari is the only path of the liberation of the oppressed masses' should be raised. We must raise the slogan, 'Naxalbari did not die-Naxalbari will never die'. We must pledge to fulfill the aspirations of martyrs of the past 50 years, from the martyrs of great Naxalbari to the founders of our Party, the great revolutionary leaders of India, teachers and comrades Charu Mazumdar and Kanhai Chatterjee, hundreds of leaders and the thousands of martyrs in the ongoing People's War with the aim of achieving the New Democratic Revolution.

It has been half a century since the Naxalbari Peasant Armed struggle. There are considerable changes in the economic, social, political, military, technical, cultural and other fields across the world in the past half a century. There are considerable changes in the International Communist movement too. Since the Socialist system in China turned Capitalist, the main fort of International proletarian revolution turned into the main fort of International Capitalist counter-revolution. The World Socialist Revolution too temporarily suffered a setback. The bourgeoisie intensified its theoretical offensive on Socialism-Communism. But the International Proletariat gained abundantly rich experience of the most scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and also of proletarian Revolution, New Democracy and Socialism so as to overcome such setbacks and make the World Socialist Revolution a success. The loot of colonies and semi-colonies, the merging of Socialist markets in their economy or the LPG policies could not help the imperialists from economic crises like the Great Depression. The fundamental contradictions in the imperialist system intensified further. Regional wars/wars of occupation intensified among the imperialists for world hegemony, competition for re-division of markets, re-organisations and heavy allotments for military budgets. They collaborate in suppressing revolutionary movements and the just national liberation movements. They intensified exploitation and suppression of the working class and the people of the semi-colonial and colonial countries. New Democratic Revolutions and National Liberations movements continue in semi-colonial and colonial countries in spite of any number of ups and downs, fighting against the imperialist-sponsored counter-revolutionary Low Intensity Conflict (LIC). In addition to the working class, students-youths, employees and other middle class people, the black and brown people facing discrimination, the migrants and religious minorities too are struggling in various forms. In many countries Maoist Parties and organisations are learning from the favorable and unfavorable experiences of the Communist movements in their countries and the world and are working with proletarian international tasks with the aim of achieving Socialism-Communism. Communist Revolutionary

Organisations are formed and consolidated in many countries. They are preparing for another revolutionary upsurge. The revolutionary subjective forces must take up the immediate task of developing their strength, capability, mass base and unity according to the objective situation favorable for revolution.

Though the World Socialist Revolution has stepped back and is facing many unfavorable conditions for the past 40 years, due to the fundamental contradictions in the imperialist system, it is challenging and fighting against imperialism and its agents in various forms. Neither the failures, weaknesses or setbacks of the ICM or anything else can divert the proletariat and the oppressed masses from the great revolution going on for the fulfillment of the historic revolutionary mission. Moreover they cannot for a long time help the parasitic Capitalism on the death bed from dying. The World Proletariat and the Oppressed masses would rage like a great revolutionary storm and put an end to it. This is the rule of social development. This is the theory of evolution of history.

The considerable changes in the economic, social, political, military, technical, cultural and other fields that have occurred in our country in the past 50 years are part of the developments in the world. While some of these issues have made, are making and will make a favorable impact on our revolutionary movement, some others are unfavorable.

Indian New Democratic Revolutionary movement continued in waves, speedily or slowly through the Protracted People's War in this period of five decades. Along with great victories it also experienced severe losses and setbacks. The movement developed not only in terms of its level but also in extent, in the process of ups and downs. Our Party (MCCI and People's War parties, before merger) learnt from subjective revolutionary practice, from the experiences of World Socialist Revolution, rectified the mistakes and fought back opportunist trends in many internal theoretical struggles. As a result of prolonged efforts to unite the genuine revolutionary groups in the process of developing People's War, the Party could enrich the political, military, organisational line and several political

policies and establish a historic united Party. It developed theoretical and political understanding and unity. It fought back the repressive campaigns the ruling classes unleashed cruelly as a part of implementing the reactionary LIC policy and developed the People's War. It built People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA) as a specific form of People's Army in the present phase and made it the backbone of the People's War. It formed Revolutionary People's Committees as a specific form of Revolutionary United Front and Guerilla Bases as the strategic centres of it. It built people's movements with various progressive organisations and forces. It strived to rectify the mistakes and shortcomings in the process of practice. Whenever it faced losses and difficult conditions it stood firm keeping in view the great future and its important responsibility. With the understanding that people are the creators of history, it mobilized, organized and politically consolidated the people and is making efforts to strengthen the three magic weapons – Party, People's Army and United Front in the process of the People's War.

Since the spate in 1980 until now, basing on Democratic Centralism and as per the norms, our Party conducted not only the meetings of various committees but also Plenums, Conferences and Congress in which it reviewed the movements, summarized the experiences, took lessons and adopted tasks. The movement developed depending on this. We have before us the victories and failures of our movement and valuable lessons. We have rich experiences in the process of People's War, armed with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism from Naxalbari. We have the courage to swim against the tide. We have tremendous confidence on the victory of World Socialist Revolution.

On the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the great Naxalbari Revolutionary Armed Peasant Uprising we must certainly recollect and understand the historic background of the Naxalbari struggle, the upsurge of Naxalbari struggle, the contributions of Naxalbari to the Indian New Democratic Revolution, the importance of Naxalbari, the main incidents of our movement in the later period, their importance and lessons as a

continuation of the Naxalbari struggle. As a part of this we have to recollect and understand the important changes, successes and failures and lessons of the movement. We must imbibe the ideal of the heroic peasantry of Naxalbari and its leadership for their Armed Rebellion with great courage to end the exploitation and oppression with the aim of achieving NDR in India and Socialism-Communism in the world. Now we must have the same objective, we must fight back the enemy offensive with that much courage, protect the movement, achieve new victories and overcome the present difficult situation and pledge to go forward in the path of success and to achieve the success of revolution.

Historic background of Naxalbari

By the beginning of the twentieth century Capitalism transformed into its highest stage, Imperialism. It brought forth new contradictions due to its inherent economic and political reasons. This pushed the world into the turmoil of economic and political crises. There were two World Wars immediately followed by the success of Russian October Socialist Revolution and New Democratic Revolution of China. Apart from these there was an upsurge of working class movements and national liberation movements in colonial countries. The Imperialist system became weak with wars and revolutions. Socialism and National Liberation became an advancing trend. So, after the Second World War, the imperialists unleashed a most deceptive and very cruel new method in the place of direct colonial exploitation, control, hegemony and occupation. This is the neo-colonial system of the imperialists. The colonies under the direct rule of the imperialists turned to become semi-colonies under the neo-colonial form. With the end of colonial rule in these countries people expected freedom, independence, democracy and a better life. But in every country where the Big Bourgeoisie led the anti-colonial struggle, these Big Capitalists and the Big Landlords who served the imperialists as their pet dogs, Compradors came to power in the place of Colonialists. They deceived the people of the country with slogans of national independence, democracy, development, social justice, self-reliance and

other such things, thus implementing policies that served the interests of the imperialists and intensified their exploitation and oppression. Thus the living conditions of the people were undermined, their difficulties and repression increased and serious discontent and anger started brewing against the rulers. By the time of Naxalbari all the countries that achieved 'independence' were more or less in the same situation.

Shortly before the Second World War and mainly after the war, independence movement against the British colonialists intensified in our country. There was a situation where the Compradors could not hold control the movement. The British imperialists were quite crushed in the Second World War and they could not continue direct rule in India through suppression like before. They handed over the power to their agents Big Capitalists and Big landlords on the 15th August, 1947 and went behind the scene. Since August 15th 1947, the British colony, India became a centre of neo-colonial exploitation and oppression of the Anglo-American imperialists and later also of the Soviet and other imperialists.

With the end of colonial rule in our country, there were a lot of expectations among the people. In the name of building a self-reliant, developed economic system the ruling classes adopted policies increasing the dependence on imperialist capital, loans, capital goods and technical knowledge. Due to these anti-people policies Big Comprador Capitalists like Tata and Birla grew at a fast pace. The hold of imperialist capital increased on all the fields of Indian economic system. Feudal exploitation, inhuman Untouchability continued in the rural areas. In addition to these, the attacks and the cruel atrocities of the landlords and higher caste hierarchs on the Dalits, atrocities on women continued as usual. Attacks on the people fighting for their rights, on the various nationalities fighting for self-determination and on the religious minorities increased. The Prime Ministers of the country changed. The slogans of mixed economy, socialism and Non-alignment of Nehru era and Sastri's Jai Jawan-Jai Kisan are no longer heard. Later Indira Gandhi's *garibi-hatao* slogan appeared. The tiller did not get land. The 'land reforms' of Indira turned out to be fake. It was

twenty years since the colonial rulers left the country. The situation turned terrible. The laws, structure and values of the colonial days continued in the same way. The Parliamentary system became the centre of Bureaucratic rule, misappropriation and reaction. The system of Parliamentary elections became another name for the domination, corruption, deception, conspiracy and betrayal of the Brahmanical, higher caste Feudal and Comprador Capitalist forces. There were increasing conflicts among the Parliamentary parties. The people of the country lived in utmost poverty. Famine, hunger and unemployment turned the lives of the people miserable. The rulers of the country suppressed the cries of the people seeking justice just like in the British rule. The dissatisfaction among the people towards the rulers increased. With all these pro-imperialist and anti-people policies of the ruling classes the situation in the country matured into an economic, political crisis by the time of Naxalbari. The semi-colonial, semi-feudal India fell into a permanent crisis.

People's Daily, the official organ of the Communist Party of China said in its editorial 'Spring Thunder over India' on 5th July, 1967 on the situation in India at that time –

'India under Congress rule though nominally independent, in fact is still a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. The Congress government represents the interests of the Indian feudal princes, big landlords and bureaucrat-comprador capitalists. Internally, it mercilessly oppresses and ruthlessly exploits the Indian people. Internationally, while continuing to be dependent on its old suzerain, British imperialism, it throws itself into the lap of its new boss, U.S. imperialism, and the latter's number one accomplice, the Soviet revisionist clique, thus selling out the national interests of India on a big scale. Thus imperialism, Soviet revisionism, feudalism and bureaucrat-comprador capitalism weigh like big mountains on the backs of the Indian people, especially on the toiling masses of workers and peasants. The Congress government has intensified its suppression and exploitation of the Indian people and its pursuit of the policy of national betrayal in the last few years. As a result, famine has

stalked the land year after year. People dying of starvation are a common sight. The masses of the Indian people, above all the peasant masses, have found life impossible.....’

At the same time under the leadership of Comrade Mao China was advancing on the path of Socialism and enthused the World Proletariat, especially the oppressed masses in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. It showed a new path for their liberation. As soon as the modern revisionist Khrushchev clique came to leadership, Soviet Union that was in the position of leadership in the World Proletarian Movement immediately became a Capitalist country and soon transformed into an Imperialist country and a Super power. It joined the Imperialists and became one main enemy of the world people. This development led to split in the International Communist Movement, to the bourgeois, reactionary theoretical attack on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and also to the intensification of the attack of the fake Communists and revisionist trend. Meanwhile, CPC under the leadership of Mao tore into pieces the counter-revolutionary theory of the Soviet modern revisionist clique, enriched Marxism-Leninism and achieved a great leap in the re-unification of the International Revolutionary forces on this basis. In this process the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that started in China in the leadership of Mao speeded up the new spate of proletarian revolutions in the world.

Since the formation of the Communist Party in our country in 1925 until 1947, Workers, Peasants, Students, Youth, Intellectuals, Middle class people, Women and other sections of the people fought with utmost daring and sacrifice in the leadership of the Party to end the very cruel, violent and miserable British colonial rule and the exploitation and oppression. They carried out many historic movements. The activists of the Communist Party and the people were in the vanguard of all these movements. They did not fear the bans, arrests, tortures, atrocities and cruel repression unleashed by the colonialists. All of them believed in the Communist ideal and dedicated everything and their life to achieve the liberation of the country. Through their political practice, Party

organization and the Mass Organisations achieved a country-wide structure. Lakhs of people felt that the Communist Party was fulfilling their aspiration. Communist cadres, the secondary-level leadership, people and especially the peasantry played a great role in the great Punnapra-Vayalar, Tebhaga and the Telangana Peasant struggles. Their great will, courage and daring, the forms of struggle and organization that they brought forth, their sacrifices, the victories they achieved, the ideals they established and the great experiences and lessons they handed over to the future Indian Revolution are very important and historic.

Though CPI led the Communist movement of the country from 1925 to 1951, the leadership mainly played the role of tailing the left nationalist, reformist, Big Bourgeois class leadership but never played the role of proletarian vanguard revolutionary leadership. This leadership never digested the essence of the universal theory of Marxism-Leninism and never took it up in a sincere manner. So this leadership utterly failed to apply Marxist theory to our social conditions to make a class analysis and know the class contradictions and adopt a proper revolutionary program to solve them. So it utterly failed in taking up a revolutionary line of establishing proletarian dictatorship through revolutionary violence that was the life to Marxism-Leninism right from the beginning. It never took up the universal theory of continuing Socialist Revolution under proletarian dictatorship after the success of revolution. So this revisionist leadership utterly failed to take up the path of revolution. It never made efforts to politically mobilise the people for building revolutionary movement with the aim of seizing state power through Armed Struggle. So this traitorous leadership betrayed the great Telangana Armed Peasant struggle that was developing on the path of Indian Revolution into a Protracted People's War and made a serious loss to Indian Revolution. In this period the leadership fell into the mire of right opportunism for a long time and at times left opportunism for a short time and caused enormous loss to revolution.

Since 1951 these leaders of the Communist Party adopted class collaborationist politics and took up as a sacred task to describe the policies

of the ruling classes as beautiful and to keep the people under control with all kinds of theoretical betrayals. They were neck deep in opportunism and absolutely loyal to the Congress leaders, towards Nehru and his family. They were never loyal towards Marxism-Leninism. They always looked down upon and opposed Mao Thought. They were thoroughly accustomed to the peaceful path and the rotten Parliamentary politics. They highlighted the three peace theory that the modern revisionist Khrushchev clique brought forward. They demonstrated bankrupt theoretical, political attitudes. In 1964 when the CPI split to form CPI (M), there was only a slight change in the theoretical and political issues between them. The Seventh Congress of the CPI (M) of November 1964 decided to achieve People's Democracy and Socialist transformation through peaceful transition. They formed opportunist alliances with Parliamentary parties. In 1967 March, they formed the state cabinet of West Bengal with CPI (M) as the main partner and deceived the people about distribution of land taking the side of landlords and exploiters. Thus by the time of Naxalbari, CPI and CPM degenerated into outright revisionist parties. The leadership of these parties became an inseparable part of the ruling class-Parliamentary system as agents protecting the interests of the Imperialists, Big Comprador Bureaucratic Capitalists and Big Landlords (they have been playing their typical ruling role as the vehicles of bourgeois feudal dictatorship from Naxalbari until now). They betrayed the Indian Revolution and the people for a long time. This helped the party cadres to demystify the ruling class agents in the guise of Communist Party leadership by the time of Naxalbari.

Since the formation of CPI until Naxalbari there was a constant internal struggle in various forms against the right and left trends dominating in the Indian Communist movement. In the first one and a half decades, the Third International, China and other such Parties suggested the CPI about the correct path. But the leadership of CPI lent a deaf ear. Even when it received these suggestions it did not implement it firmly. It meant that there was a theoretical struggle in the international level too. All through the period of great Telangana struggle in 1946-'51,

the state leadership took up the fight for a correct path against the wrong path of the central leadership. Even later in the Party Congresses, especially in the Seventh Congress of the CPI (M), there was a struggle against the wrong path for a correct path. The lower ranks and ordinary members who were constantly among the people and were in constant class struggle were vexed and dissatisfied with the policies of the leadership. They denied the wrong guidance of the leadership in various forms. In some places when the district and the state level leadership cadres opposed the bankrupt policies of the Central Committee and made relatively correct proposals, the opportunist bureaucratic central and the state leadership pushed them aside and suppressed them unilaterally. On the occasion of the great Telangana struggle and in the Seventh Congress of the CPI (M) the efforts of the state and the central level cadres for a correct path had limitations, lack of clarity, petty bourgeois formalism-liberalism and vacillation. So they could not achieve a break-through even in the Indian Communist movement in the favorable International and Domestic conditions. In the same conditions the Naxalbari leadership and the Naxalbari Revolutionary Peasantry achieved a break-through in the Indian Communist movement through their correct thoughts and practice for a correct path and in the light of a correct path and started a new phase.

Historic Naxalbari Revolutionary Armed Peasant Uprising

Naxalbari is a village in Siliguri sub-division in Darjeeling district of West Bengal. Siliguri comprises Naxalbari, Kharibari and Phansidewa Police Station areas. There were one and a half lakh people mainly comprising of Santhals, Oraons, Rajbanshis along with Medi, Lepcha, Bhutia and Gurkha tribes in an area of 274 square miles. Fifty thousand of them were workers in Tea plantations. The farmers brought seeds, sickles, and animals for cultivation and received a part of the crop. They were called Adhiyars. Comrade Charu Mazumdar worked for a long time among the peasantry and workers of tea plantations in Darjeeling district and led militant agitations. The tea workers went on strike for sixteen days in September 1966.

Preparations were on for Armed Revolution in the sub-division of Darjeeling district all through 1965-66. The 'Siliguri group' (the secret group the revolutionaries of the CPI(M) formed in the leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar) brought out nearly six cyclostyled pamphlets giving a call to the peasantry to immediately start Armed Revolution in 1965-66. One of them also called upon to start Guerilla War in Terai area within six months. Throughout 1966 revolutionaries organised peasant cells in every part of Siliguri sub-division. Bows and arrows, and even a few fire arms were gathered and liaison established with the Nepalese Maoists active a few miles away. In late 1966 a Revolutionary Peasant meeting was organised in Siliguri. The Eight documents Comrade Charu Mazumdar wrote in 1964-67 as a part of theoretical efforts in fighting against the revisionist leadership and revisionism and adopting the line of Indian revolution provided guidance as theoretical preparation for the Naxalbari Peasant Struggle. These historic documents explained about – MLM guiding theory, the semi-colonial, semi-feudal nature of the Indian state, New Democratic Revolution as the phase of revolution, the revolutionary path of Protracted People's War path, proletariat as the revolutionary leadership, peasantry as the main force, United Front of the four classes depending on the basis of worker-peasant alliance in the leadership of the proletariat, Agrarian Revolution-Armed Struggle, Soviet Union becoming the enemy of the people of the country and the people of the world after the seizure of power by the revisionist Khrushchev clique, building a new party fighting against revisionism and the revisionist party, opposing revisionist economic Mass Organisations and Mass struggles and forming Mass Organisations and building mass struggles with a revolutionary purpose, supporting the right to secession and for self-determination of the nationalities.

On March 3, 1967 land struggles broke out in Naxalbari. The conflict started when armed agents of a local Jotedar beat an Adhiyar, Bigul Kisan. A group of peasants surrounded a plot of land of a landlord with traditional arms and red flags. They put up red flags round the field and harvested

the crop. They declared that the land belongs to the Peasant Committee. The same day 150 Adhiyars raided the house of a Jotedar in village BaramaniJote and seized paddy. There was a spate of peasant struggles in March 3-22 in Naxalbari, Kharibari and Phansidewa. The Peasants mobilised like a wave and occupied the lands of the landlords, seized the crops and paddy, destroyed the records and other such things. By the 15th of May there were 60 incidents and 42 peasants were detained. By May the areas under Hatighisha of Naxalbari Police Station and Choupukhuri of Phansidewa PS were totally in the control of the revolutionaries. Without their permission no one could enter the area.

On March 18 a meeting of the Peasant Committee was held and it was the signal for the peasant upsurge. It called the peasantry – ‘End the monopoly of the landlords on land. Re-distribute the land in the leadership of the Peasant Committees. Organise and Arm the peasantry to wipe out the resistance of the landlords and the reactionaries of the rural areas’. It also gave a call that it is necessary to prepare for Protracted Resistance. This call of the Naxalbari peasantry was the initiation of war against the oppression of landlords and for land and state power. The struggle engulfed the entire area in four months. The U.F. government in West Bengal sought to diffuse the movement by announcing token land reforms. The revolutionary peasants gave an answer to the revisionist rulers by setting up peasant committees to take over the land of the Jotedars (Landlords). Huge processions and demonstrations of landless and poor peasants were organised by the Peasant committee members, many of whom were armed with lathis, spears, bows and arrows. A sea of red flags struck terror into the hearts of the landlords and the countryside reverberated with the slogan “March forward along the path of armed peasant revolution.”

There were violent clashes and the forcible seizure of land and confiscation of food grains with the support of armed units of the Kisan committee. Any resistance by the landlords and their gangs was smashed and a few killed. Nearly 15-20 thousand members of the Kisan Sabha

worked as activists. Thus the Peasant Revolutionary struggle intensified. Firearms and ammunition were snatched from the jotedars by raiding their houses. People's courts were established and judgments passed. The upheaval in the villages continued till July. The tea garden workers struck work a number of times in support of the peasants. By end May the situation reached the level of an armed peasant uprising.

The CPI (M) leaders, who were now in power, first tried to pacify the leaders of the movement.....having failed, JyotiBasu, the then home minister of West Bengal came forth as a social fascist and ordered in the police to suppress the movement. On 23rd May police camps were established in Hatighisha under the limits of Naxalbari police station and Buragunj under PhansidewaPS. The police obtained directions from the Sub-divisional Magistrate to clamp Section 144 in the limits of Naxalbari, Phansidewa and Kharibari PS. It banned moving around with bows and arrows, spears and five or more than five persons were not to move together. Rallies too were banned. On the same day the police started arresting the activists of the Peasant Committees participating in the land struggle. People held a meeting in the fields of Borojorujot village to discuss the plan to resist these arrests. Then the police went there and tried to arrest the leaders. The peasants retaliated against the police. There was an armed clash between the people and the police. Nearly 300 people participated in this incident. The police saw bows and arrows in the hands of the peasants and brought additional forces. In this heroic retaliation an inspector Sonam Wangdidied and a few other police constables were injured. To take revenge, on May 25 the police went berserk in Prasadjote village killing seven women – Dhaneswari Devi, Seemaswari Mallik, Nayanswari Mallik, Surubala Burman, Sonamati Singh, Phulmati Devi, Samsari Saibani, two men – Gaudrau Saibani, Kharsingh Mallik and two children. Police first fired five rounds and another eight rounds immediately. There were around one thousand people during this incident. This incident had a deep impact on the revolutionaries and the people across Bengal.

The central and the state governments became panicky. On July 12th, the Chief Minister of West Bengal said that there was a reign of terror in Darjeeling district. The Central Home Minister said in the Lok Sabha that there was severe anarchy in that area and that extremists were doing all this irrespective of the CPM leadership. They sent a cabinet committee to Naxalbari. In this committee there were CPI and CPM ministers too. The committee appealed to the people to shed violence and the people answered it with their struggles. The leaders of these parties tried to claim that they were no way related to police action. Then on July 19, a large number of Para-military forces were deployed in the region. In ruthless cordon and search operations, hundreds were beaten and over one thousand arrested. Some Peasant Revolutionary leaders like Jangal Santal were arrested, others like Charu Mazumdar went underground, yet others like Tribheni Kanu, Sobhan Ali, Gorkha Majhi and Tilka Majhi became martyrs. A few weeks later, Charu Mazumdar assessed the struggle and wrote "Hundreds of Naxalbaris are smouldering in India. Naxalbari lives and will live. This is because it is based on invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We know that as we move forward we shall face many obstacles, many difficulties, many acts of betrayal and there will be many setbacks. But Naxalbari will not die because the bright sunlight of Chairman Mao's Thought has fallen on it like a blessing. Naxalbari has not died and will never die" (1967, Autumn).

The Communist Party of China, then the centre for world revolution, hailed the uprising. On June 28, 1967 Radio Peking broadcasted: "A phase of peasants' armed struggle led by the revolutionaries of the Indian Communist Party has been set up in the countryside in Darjeeling district of West Bengal state of India. This is the front paw of the revolutionary armed struggle launched by the Indian people....." Within a week, the July 5th edition of *People's Daily* carried an article entitled '**Spring Thunder over India**' which said:

"A peal of spring thunder has crashed over the land of India. Revolutionary peasants in Darjeeling area have risen in rebellion. Under

the leadership of a revolutionary group of the Indian Communist Party, a red area of rural revolutionary armed struggle has been established in India. This is a development of enormous importance in the revolutionary struggle of the Indian masses.

What road to take in the Indian revolution is a fundamental question affecting the success or failure of the revolution and the destiny of the 500 million Indian people. The Indian revolution must take the road of relying on the peasants, establishing base areas in the countryside, persisting in protracted armed struggle and using the countryside to encircle and finally capture the cities. This is Mao Tse-tung's road, the road that has led the Chinese revolution to victory, and the only road to victory for the revolution of all oppressed nations and people.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries."

The specific feature of the Indian revolution, like that of the Chinese revolution, is armed revolution fighting armed counter-revolution. Armed struggle is the only correct road for Indian revolution; there is no other road whatsoever.

No matter how well the imperialists, Indian reactionaries and the modern revisionists may cooperate in their sabotage and suppression, the torch of armed struggle lighted by the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party and the revolutionary peasants in Darjeeling will not be put out. "A single spark in Darjeeling will start a prairie fire and will certainly set the vast expanses of India ablaze. That a great storm of revolutionary armed struggle will eventually sweep across the length and breadth of India is certain. Although the course of the Indian revolutionary struggle will be long and tortuous, the Indian revolution, guided by the great Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung's thought, will surely win final victory".

Meanwhile, revolutionaries in Kolkata, who had also been running a campaign against revisionism, took up a massive campaign in support of the Naxalbari Armed Peasant uprising. The walls of college streets were plastered with posters that said: "Murderer Ajoy Mukherjee (the Chief Minister) must resign." The revolutionaries [still within the CPI (M)] held a meeting in Ram Mohan Library Hall in Kolkata and formed the 'Naxalbari Peasants Struggle Aid Committee' (Naxalbari Krishak Sangram Sahayak Samiti), which was to become the nucleus of the Party of the future. Like the big discussion against revisionism in various countries of the world, discussion on this Naxalbari struggle reached its peak in the Indian Communist camp too. Thus Naxalbari represented the deep struggle in the International Communist Movement against revisionism as much as it represented the deep struggle in the Indian Communist Movement against revisionism. It became the center of polarisation of revolutionary forces in CPI and CPM. By bringing armed struggle into the agenda of Indian revolution in a conscious manner it became a clarion call for the Maoists in the sub-continent.

Since 1964, the State Committee of CPM opposed all the militant class struggles in the rural area and the tea plantations in Siliguri sub-division and the comrades related to these struggles. It tried to stop the Naxalbari Peasant Revolutionary movement right from the beginning. Immediately after the Naxalbari Peasant Struggle broke out, there was police action and it also expelled a large number of their members who supported the Naxalbari struggle and the new path. By mid-June CPM started openly criticising the Naxalbari movement, the leadership and the supporters. On 20th June the CPI (M) Polit Bureau decided to boycott all of them as they were opposing the Party line. Immediately the state committee of West Bengal dissolved the Darjeeling district committee and Siliguri sub-divisional committee. Sushital Roy Chowdhary, a member of the West Bengal State Committee and editor of their Bengali party organ too was among the expelled. So were other leading members like

AshimChatterjee, Parimal Das Gupta, AsitSen, Suniti Kumar Ghosh, SarojDatta and Mahadev Mukherjee.

Countrywide upsurge

After Naxalbari, the Indian political scene has never remained the same. Naxalbari took place at a time when not only the Indian masses were getting disillusioned with the twenty years of fake independence, but in mid 1960s when the entire world was in turmoil. Small countries like Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea were striking major blows at the might of the U.S. Army; national liberation movements were surging forward in a number of underdeveloped countries; in Europe and America massive anti-imperialist demonstrations against US involvement in Vietnam merged with a violent outburst of the Black and women's movement; the student-worker revolt in France shook the de-Gaulle establishment; and, most important of all, in China, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (in the backdrop of the Great Debate) attacked the revisionist ossification and distortion of Marxism. In the Communist arena all Parties throughout the world were compelled to take positions in the Great Debate, between the CPC (Communist Party of China) and the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) which had been going on since the modern revisionist Khrushchevclique restored capitalism in the USSR in the late 1950s. Great Naxalbari Armed Peasant Struggle was a product of the revolutionary practice of a main section of the revolutionaries of our country who took the correct stand as part of this ideological-political struggle taking place throughout the globe.

Most importantly, Naxalbari restored the revolutionary essence of Marxism on the Indian soil which had been distorted, corrupted and destroyed by the revisionist semantics of the CPI and the then the nascent CPI (M). Naxalbari provided the answers to these wrong interpretations both ideologically and practically.

Though Naxalbari was suppressed in a short time it gained tremendous importance in the history of Indian Communist movement. It achieved a breakthrough and leap in the Indian Communist movement.

The clarion call of Naxalbari upsurge enlightened the Communist Revolutionary forces and the people. It brought a great turn so that the Communist movement turned in the correct direction. A great debate started about the revolutionary line not only in the Communist party but also among the Indian masses. This split the Communist camp into two. It is not an exaggeration to say that Indian politics changed totally after Naxalbari. The struggle showed its impact in every field. The spark of Naxalbari soon set aflame the fires of revolution in Srikakulam, Birbhum, Debra-Gopiballavpur, Mushahari and Lakhimpur-Kheri in the vast rural areas. In the next few years the Armed Peasant movement spread to over ten states. These revolutionary struggles raised aspirations in the oppressed masses about land, life and liberation. They enhanced their revolutionary consciousness. The peasantry enthusiastically invited revolutionaries wherever they went. Every such area became part of the Naxalbari flame.

The Armed Revolutionary struggles spread to many states in the country and formed a strong base not only in West Bengal which stood as the centre of the movement but also in Andhra and Bihar. For the first time weapons were seized from the enemy forces and the landlords and guerrilla formations were established as an embryonic form of People's Army. Moreover, as a result of these movements Revolutionary Peasant Committees were formed and the People's Revolutionary power was established in India for the first time, though in an embryonic form. This was especially seen not only in Srikakulam, Birbhum but also strikingly seen in other areas. Due to this, the path of Protracted People's War came into existence not only in a theoretical form but also through specific practice. Thus a new era started in the Indian Communist movement.

Impact of Naxalbari on various fields

Naxalbari gave a big jolt to the whole superstructure. It shook so as to remould the metaphysical, bourgeois perspective, the petty bourgeois reformist perspective within the Communist Movement with dialectical materialist perspective, i.e., Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought (now

Maoism). It made one deeply criticise each and everything, to see critically, to deeply criticise the bourgeois perspective, to defeat it and to prepare themselves so as to fight firmly against them. It showed the way to the revolutionary forces and those attracted towards Naxalbari to mobilise their forces. It mainly inspired the agricultural labourers, Adivasis, Dalits and Women jump into Armed Struggle and play a militant role. Similarly, it not only made a great impact on the students and youth but also the literary and cultural fields and intellectuals, the urban poor and mobilised them in a revolutionary manner. It introduced a new genuine scientific perspective, method of observation and a revolutionary line to advance in waves. Since then the alternative literature, culture, alternative education system, alternative paths of liberation – liberation from classes – liberation from exploitation of labour, liberation from social exploitation and oppression, liberation from patriarchy, liberation from national oppression, the according alternative aims - and thoughts, struggles, organisations and leadership for a higher and broader unity developed. The practice of the revolutionary, progressive forces in all these fields made Naxalbari a phoenix and created a material (people's) force at a higher level for the establishment of a new society.

With the influence of Naxalbari Armed Agrarian Struggle and that of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought, thousands of students and youth jumped into the revolutionary movement sacrificing their studies, property, families and everything for the liberation of the oppressed masses of our country. They demonstrated death-defying courage, faced the enemy bullets and inhuman torture, united with the landless and poor peasantry withstanding hard rural life and enlightened them for the sake of revolution.

For such revolutionaries, University campuses of West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Delhi and Mumbai became the centre. The progressive leftist students and youth vexed with the slavish education system and the deception, misappropriation, selfishness, anarchic opportunism ultimately found a

meaning for their lives. They saw Naxalbari as the symbol of justice, equality, humanity and self-respect that the present society would never provide for the oppressed. With this great spirit they came forward to eliminate injustice and inhumanity. They dreamt to build a bright future where no one would experience hunger, where none would suppress another, where there would not be discrimination on the basis of caste, religion and gender, where unselfish nature, loyalty and cooperation would take the place of selfishness, greed, chauvinism and competition, where one would think not about self but about others. Hundreds of these youth laid down their lives to build struggles like Naxalbari in many areas of the country.

Regarding ideology, it strongly upheld Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought as Marxism of the present day. Particularly, it established Mao's thought as a development of Marxism-Leninism and undertook a big campaign to popularise it. It fought uncompromisingly against all kinds of revisionism in the proletarian movement and against bourgeois ideology. This had a lasting impact, particularly on the students and youth of the country. Specifically, inspired by the on-going Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, it responded enthusiastically to Mao's clarion call "*It is right to rebel against reactionaries.*" It thoroughly imbued the spirit of the GPCR's call to "*Fight self and repudiate revisionism*", by displaying a death-defying spirit of self-sacrifice, total devotion to the oppressed masses and burning class hatred against the perpetrators of exploitation in the country. Thereby, it struck at the class-collaborationist approach of the revisionists and the pseudo-liberal approach of the intellectual Marxists and gained enormous affection from the poorest in our country. This great theoretical, political and practical effort is reflected in the literature of the Party. Liberating this from the Octopus hands of the revisionists and establishing it in a revolutionary way was a breakthrough.

Regarding Program, it attacked the revisionist concepts of the CPI and CPM which saw India as basically a capitalist country with 'feudal

remnants'.....and clearly analysed India as a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. It also attacked the revisionist theory that the ruling bourgeoisie in India is basically national in character and that India achieved genuine independence in 1947..... and clearly stated that the ruling bourgeoisie is comprador, Indian independence is fake, and that India is a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. It outlined the stage of revolution as New Democratic, the enemies of revolution as imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism, while the friends of revolution being the workers, peasants, petty-bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie - with peasants as the main force and working class as the leading force. It held that the immediate aim is to establish people's democratic dictatorship (four classes) in the leadership of the proletariat. It said that Communism is the ultimate aim. It also said that the Indian New Democratic Revolution is a part of the World Socialist Revolution.

Regarding strategy, it opposed the path of 'peaceful transition' put forward by the CPI and CPM, and upheld the path of protracted people's war. It clearly stated that the path to liberation lay in guerrilla warfare, building a people's army, creating liberated base areas in the countryside and gradually encircling and capturing the cities.

Regarding tactics it rejected parliamentarism and called for the boycott of elections. It fought against economism, legalism and reformism in methods of work and organisation.

Regarding political questions, it pin-pointed the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet Social imperialism, as the main enemies of the world people; it exposed the modern revisionists of the Soviet Union; it declared India as a multi-national country and supported the right of nationalities to self-determination including secession.

Regarding New Party, Naxalbari broke organizationally too from the CPI and CPI (M) that turned out to be dead weights on the revolution stinking with opportunism, groupism, bureaucracy, selfishness and corruption. The process of the formation of a New Party as a main instrument to make the New Democratic Revolution a success started

with the group of revolutionaries secretly formed in Siliguri sub-division and on 22nd April, 1969, the Marxist-Leninist Party was formed.

While the Naxalbari movement was temporarily crushed, the politics and ideology behind the Naxalbari uprising soon spread throughout the country. The 'Naxalbari Peasants Aid Committee' (or 'Naxalbari Krishak Sangram Sahayak Samiti') held a conference which decided to form the 'All India Coordination Committee of Revolutionaries of the CPI (M)'. On November 12, 13, 1967 communist revolutionaries of seven states established the 'All India Coordination Committee of Revolutionaries of the CPI (M)' to coordinate revolutionaries all over the country, consolidate them and coordinate struggles like Naxalbari. In December 1967 this committee published an announcement in the magazine *Liberation*. Peking Radio broadcasted highlighting the formation of AICCR.

With the objective of propagating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought; uniting all communist revolutionaries on this basis; waging an uncompromising struggle against revisionism; developing and coordinating the revolutionary struggles, specially peasant struggles of the Naxalbari type; preparing a revolutionary programme and tactical line; and forming a secret, centralised, new kind of Party, on 14th May 1968, at its second meeting held on the eve of the first anniversary of the Naxalbari uprising, the coordination committee was re-named as the 'All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries' (AICCCR) decisively breaking with the CPI (M). Comrade Sushital Ray Choudhary was elected its convenor.

Earlier, the communist revolutionaries decided to bring out a political paper to propagate the revolutionary line. The initial issues of '**Deshabrati**' was brought out in Bengali with Comrade Saroj Dutta as the editor and '**Liberation**' was brought out on November 11, 1967 with Comrade Susheetal Roy Choudhary as its editor. At its peak the circulation of 'Liberation' touched 2,500 and that of 'Deshabrati' 40,000.

Meanwhile, Naxalbari kind of struggles spread like wild-fire throughout 1968 and the struggle in Srikakulam was growing into a major uprising. Under these conditions the AICCCR in its February 8, 1969 meeting adopted the resolution to form a new kind of Party. At the plenary session meeting of the AICCCR held from April 19 to 22, 1969 the final decision was taken and on the hundredth birth anniversary of Lenin the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) was founded. A central organising committee was formed to draft the Party Program, Party Constitution, to prepare the Political and Organisational Report and prepare for the Party Congress. The Party's formation was announced by Kanu Sanyal at a mammoth May Day rally held at the Kolkata Maidan.

The new announcement of the AICCCR correctly explained the guiding theory of the Party, the nature of Indian state, immediate and ultimate aims of the Party, the path of Indian revolution, the targets, revolutionary leadership and about friends. It gave a call to all the revolutionaries to unite all the revolutionary forces to form a new Party. It announced that it is once more appealing to all the revolutionaries of the country who adopted MLM in this historic moment to unite all their forces, coordinate their struggles to move closer to the victory of Indian Revolution. It called, 'Let us mobilise under the red flag of Chairman Mao, let us interpret his Thought to the specific conditions of India, and let us form a genuine Communist Party of India in the process of revolutionary struggles like Naxalbari. It is because without a revolutionary Party revolution would not be a success.'

State coordination committees were formed in thirteen states in the leadership of AICCCR. These committees coordinated and led the Armed Agrarian upsurges in the respective states.

By mid-1969 the central and the state governments had moved in the Police, Para-military forces into all the states where struggles were going on and a hunt was launched for the leaders of the CPI (ML). The leadership of the movement went fully underground. There were arrests, fake encounters and severe repression on the leadership of the movement.

In April 1970 the police raided the office and printing press of 'Liberation' and 'Deshabrati' which too continued from the underground. Thus the central and the state governments began a campaign of liquidating the communist revolutionaries all over the country.

On May 15 and 16, 1970 the Eighth Congress [in continuation of the 7th Congress held by the CPI (M)] of the CPI (ML) was held under conditions of utmost secrecy. The Congress was held on the first floor of a building in the railway colony in Garden Reach, Kolkata. The Congress was attended by about 35 delegates from West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab, U.P, Tamil Nadu, Odisha, Kashmir and Kerala. The Congress adopted Party Program, Party Constitution and a Political Organisational Report. A 21 member central committee was formed with Com. CharuMazumdar as the General Secretary.

This Congress synthesized the experience of the revolutionaries of various states in leading the Armed Peasant Movements and in the struggles against revisionism and economism. This Congress correctly analysed the nature of the Indian society as semi-colonial, semi-feudal, through creatively interpreting MLM theory to the specific conditions of India. The Congress adopted the general line of New Democratic Revolution with Socialist perspective and the path of Protracted People's War that makes NDR a success. The Congress put an end to the decade's long revisionist practice.

CPI (ML) was a new kind of Party, a secret Party. This Party rejected the Parliamentary path. It rejected all kinds of revisionism. It was firmly committed to the line of Protracted People's War of seizing power in the rural areas, ultimately encircling the cities and achieving country-wide victory. This Eighth Congress would stand as a historic Congress that adopted a new revolutionary line for the Indian Revolution and that which permanently and totally broke with all kinds of revisionism.

Setback of Naxalbari upsurge

With the cruelest repression of the ruling classes on the revolutionary movement all over the country, the Party in at all levels, especially the

Central and the State Committees, faced very severe losses. The Party leadership made some theoretical, political mistakes and tactical mistakes too. Renegades and opportunists like SNS indulged in disruptive activities. Their understanding in the first phase was immature. They lacked experience. Due to all these reasons by the time Comrade CharuMazumdar was martyred, the revolutionary upsurge that began with the Naxalbari struggle suffered a setback. Then the right opportunists and disruptors inside the Party came out more openly and took up attack on the Party line and on Comrade CharuMazumdar. The left adventurists created much loss to the unity of the Party. The Party split much more. The Central Committee was totally lost. Many Party Committees starting from the State Committees to the Area Committees were damaged to a large extent. In addition to this there was no Party centre to guide and coordinate the rest of the Committees. Due to all these, there was theoretical and political confusion in the Party from top to bottom. The period since the martyrdom of Comrade CharuMazumdar until 1977 could be said to be a period of setback.

In the decade of the 1960s, in the process of the fight of Comrade CharuMazumdar against the revisionism of CPI and the neo-revisionism of CPM, he proposed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought as the guiding theory and Protracted People's War of China as the path of Indian Revolution for the Party (Revolutionaries) and also interpreted these creatively to the specific conditions of our country. As a result, the Naxalbari Peasant Struggle and the immediate upsurge of Peasant movements occurred. We have seen the importance of these in brief. This was the main part of the history of revolution in the country at that time. At the same time, another new revolutionary stream came forth and developed in our country in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought. We need to know about the role this revolutionary stream played (briefly in the context of this article). Only then will we be able to understand how the line of PPW in the light of MLM came forth and developed in practice in our country.

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 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 peasantmasses 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 People's 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-advasi 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 Kanhai Chatterjee with some leading comrades working in the Kanksa 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 and Commands for this on the 22nd 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.

CPI (ML) (People's War)

When Naxalbari upsurge temporarily suffered a setback, the CPI (ML) AP State Committee in the leadership of KS prepared a self-critical report, 'Let us Review the Past and Advance in the Path of Armed Struggle Successfully' in 1974. This report deeply reviewed the movement from 1967 to 1972 in the leadership of Comrade CM in the light of MLM. It very firmly held aloft the positive factors that were the main ones in the movement and showed the theoretical, political, organizational and tactical mistakes that led to the negative factors and the mistakes in practice. It took lessons. Basing on this review the state leadership worked patiently to educate the Party in 1974-77. This was like a big Education-Rectification movement. In this process Party, peasant, students-youth, literary and cultural movements and mass base developed in the state of Andhra Pradesh in 1977-80. A big theoretical and political criticism was taken up against the right opportunist disruptive trends of various ML Parties. Due to this the Party line and tactics that were adopted during the Naxalbari upsurge could be developed another step. CPI (ML) (People's War) was formed on this basis on the 22nd April, 1980. Preparing the self-critical report, the practice based on this, the victories achieved were a leap in the history of the movement after Naxalbari. It developed the necessary theoretical basis and the subjective strength to constantly develop as a countrywide movement in the future.

Since the formation of People's War Party till mid-2004, the revolutionary movement and the Party developed in leaps in its spread and level. The AP State Conference in 1980, the All India Conference in 1995 and the Ninth Congress in 2001 summarised them. These

Conferences played a historic role in the Marxist-Leninist movement of the country. These reviewed the decisions of the leadership committees in the respective periods, the policies adopted, the tasks, the tactics, the internal struggles that took place, theoretical, political, organizational and military effort, i.e., the whole movement in the respective periods. They formulated the lessons, higher objectives to be achieved and the necessary theoretical, political and organizational tasks. They are in the form of political and organizational reviews. The AP State Conference proposed amendments to enrich the Party Program and Party Constitution adopted by the Eighth Congress. The All India Special Conference (AISC) and the Ninth Congress considerably enriched the documents on Party Program, Party Constitution, Strategy-Tactics and Political Resolution.

CPI (ML) Party Unity was formed in November 1978 after a review of the Marxist-Leninist movement (1967-72) since the Naxalbari upsurge, holding high the positives that were the main aspect and showing the negatives that were the secondary aspect and with the aim of uniting the revolutionary forces on this basis and to build the movement. The Central Conferences of the PU Party in 1983, 1987 and 1997 were very important in its history. The Conferences reviewed the theoretical, political, military, organizational and tactical issues. They highlighted the positive aspects and showed the shortcomings and weaknesses. The first conference stabilized the PU Party. The Second Conference fought back the bankrupt line of the then Secretary through internal struggle and protected the Party line. The Third Conference enriched the Party line through internal struggle and helped to identify and rectify the theoretical, political and organizational weaknesses. Thus the leadership successfully conducted the Third Conference and formed the correct basis for the merger of People's War Party and the PU. Soon (in September 1998), the two parties merged. With this merger the All India structure of the united People's War Party widened. The Ninth Congress of the CPI (ML) [People's War] in the beginning of 2001 reviewed the long practice of the erstwhile People's War and the erstwhile PU Parties and summarized the experiences.

In 1980, the Guerilla Zone perspective was formulated and extended to Dandakaranya; in 1987 Dandakaranya Forest Committee was formed; in 1995 Guerilla Zones were formed; on 2nd December 2000 People's Guerilla Army (PGA) was formed along with Military Commissions and Commands; in the Congress in the beginning of 2001, Central Committee, the Polit Bureau, the Central Military Commission, Regional Bureaus, departments of the Central level were formed; in 1980, '85, '95 and 2000 Party Conferences were conducted from the district to the State level and the movements were reviewed. The CC document on the Deng revisionist clique in 1983; the Political Resolutions of 1984-'92; the internal theoretical, political (polemical) documents of the Party; the polemical documents on the right opportunists in the ML camp; the Policy documents; Education-Rectification documents; formation of SCOMA and the consolidation-development of the military field; notes of study classes, Party circulars – are very important in the history of the Party.

The path of Protracted People's War of China personally applied to the Indian Revolution by Comrade Charu Mazumdar, the Revolutionary Party he built personally, the Armed Guerilla Squads that were an embryonic form of the People's Liberation Army, the Revolutionary Peasant Committees as the specific form of Political Power in the process of struggle, were developed in leaps in the process of People's War that continued in a higher plane for a long time in the next two decades with clearer understanding and in broader areas. These successes were achieved by learning from experiences, fighting against the right and 'left' opportunist trends and defeating them, uniting the genuine revolutionary forces in a principled manner, by overcoming losses and making many sacrifices. The summarization of these by the Ninth Congress of the People's War Party enriched the understanding of the Party about the political and military line and tactics of the Party and the three magic weapons necessary for the success of revolution. Basing on this a more favorable situation for the movement was established for the Party to stand firm and to develop the People's War. In a short time the Marxist-Leninist stream and the Maoist Communist Centre stream merged and one great stream was formed. This is our great Party CPI (Maoist).

The genuine continuation and development of Naxalbari – CPI (Maoist)

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. Charu Mazumdar 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 21st 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 fulfil 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 21st 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.

Lessons from the revolution

The lessons we have to learn from the long revolutionary practice in the past five decades since Naxalbari until now are –

We must always stick to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) as our guiding theory. We have to remould our world outlook in accordance with MLM. We must continue our thought and practice in the light and perspective of this theory. Where did Comrades CM, KC and other comrades gain the strength to fight and theoretically tear to pieces when CPI and CPM leaders distorted Marxism-Leninism, deceived the people in the guise of the Communist Party and served the ruling classes? It came only because they took up Revolutionary Marxism/MLM as a guide for their thought and revolutionary practice and get down to practice. By applying MLM to the conditions of our country in a creative manner they could build the revolutionary movement, the Party, the Army and mass base at least at the primary level. They could fiercely fight against the domestic and foreign revisionists. The Party could expose the right-opportunist trend, fake revolutionaries who openly came out after the setback of Naxalbari, united the revolutionary forces and advanced the Party and the movements only by practicing MLM. It was possible to defeat

the 'left' and right deviationist trends in the Party and develop the unity of the Party only through this. Only thus can we demarcate between the right and the wrong, between good and bad, between friends and foes, between revolution and counter-revolution, between the developing and the dying ones, between the opposite aspects. We can thus continue our whole practice in the light of theory. If we do not take MLM as the guide and do not apply it to practice we would deviate from the line and fail. In order to correctly apply MLM –

1. On any issue we must not decide basing on subjective wishes but on concrete facts.

- We must combine theory with concrete practice.
- When we formulate specific policies on specific issues we must see that they certainly help the general line and general policies.
- We must formulate the policies for practice according to the Marxist principle of 'People are the makers of history, people would liberate themselves'.
- We must take the mass line of 'from the people to the people' for mass work and practice.

2. We must stick to the general political line of the Party to make the New Democratic Revolution a success through Protracted People's War. The line which our great leaders Comrades CM and KC established and implemented by exposing the betrayal of the revisionist leadership which lacked an understanding of the objective of the Indian Communist Movement and a way to achieve the objective, without leadership, without an understanding about friends and enemies and spent time in class collaborationist politics, is the correct one. We can unite the ninety percent people in the process of People's War under the leadership of the proletarian vanguard CPI (Maoist) and isolate the ten per cent people's enemies and their agents

and achieve success only by properly implementing this line. Only through continuing this line strongly can we make the Democratic Revolution a success. We can fight back the 'left' and right opportunist trends that come forth in the process of revolution.

We can make the Indian New Democratic Revolution success only through Protracted People's War – with Agrarian revolution as its axis. Rural areas are the main fields of practice for the Protracted People's War. Proletariat is the leadership force, peasantry is the main force. We have to build the People's Army and continue Armed Struggle, we have to establish base areas. We have to form the United Front of Workers, Peasants, Urban petty-bourgeoisie and the National bourgeoisie basing on the unity of workers and peasants in the leadership of the proletariat. We have to bring about a change in the balance of forces. We have to ultimately encircle the towns and seize country-wide power. There is no other way to seize power in our semi-colonial, semi-feudal country which is the central task of revolution. We must firmly stick to this line. We must be firm and work creatively and effectively.

Usually the opportunists first attack the general line in a bid to negate the Protracted People's War. If we are to firmly stick to this line we must definitely study the social changes, formulate tactics and strengthen the general line. Metaphysical approach towards social changes is an enemy to us. Dialectical historical materialism is our great theoretical weapon.

3. In order to make the revolution a success we have to transform our Party into a strong Party, a genuine Bolshevik Party and a genuine Maoist Party. For this, we have to develop the Party at all levels – world outlook, work style, the courage to tread the difficult path of PPW, strong will, sacrifice, capabilities and everything of the cadres as per the ideal. Only a strong leadership, its continuation and a trained and disciplined broad, effective

Party would be able to mobilise the people politically, defeat the imperialists, the ruling classes of the country and their mercenary armies and make the revolution a success. Apart from the principled fight against the non-proletarian trends that liquidate the Party and weaken its fighting capacity, the Party will be able to gain the strength to lead the Ninety per cent oppressed people to the success of the Democratic revolution, through the method of self-criticism-criticism to rectify mistakes, education-rectification campaigns and bolshevization campaigns and thereby strengthen the Party.

4. The revolution will succeed only by fighting with counter-revolution and by smashing it. Counter-revolution constantly tries to eliminate and make the revolutionary leadership and the revolutionary forces surrender and thus deprive the people of leadership and revolution. No revolution will succeed without a conscious, consolidated Party with dedication, courage, discipline and unity, the Army, Mass organisations and that kind of people. Since Naxalbari until now, hundreds of leaders, thousands of cadres and thousands of people have been martyred for achieving the objective. Sacrifices are inevitable in any revolution. No revolution was successful without great sacrifices. The losses in the past twelve and a half years have put the movement in a difficult condition. But we will succeed if we reduce the strength of the enemy in a planned manner and increase our subjective strength gradually. However much we make sacrifices, we must lessen unnecessary losses by following this principle. We have to protect the subjective forces. We have to enhance our subjective strength.

5. One main lesson that the prolonged revolutionary experience gives us is about tactics. We achieved successes as long as and whenever we mobilized the people by formulating tactics according to the changes in the political conditions or the

conditions of the movement and with appropriate slogans. Only by doing so, we could develop our mass base, organizational strength, fighting strength and also the impact of the movement on the people. We could gain leaps in the movement. It is wrong to think that the PPW strategy and tactics are only related to the military. There are political and military tactics in revolution. We have to formulate two kinds of tactics to achieve political aims according to the conditions and implement the same. The strength of the People's War depends on the flexible implementation of its strategy and tactics. It is necessary to develop the understanding on strategy and tactics in the Party. As a part of improving the political work among the masses we have to increase political and organizational training of the Party, Army, Mass Organisations and United Front forums about the political and military tactics. It is now very much necessary to widely develop talented Party cadres, military commanders and leaders of mass organisations who can adopt appropriate tactics as per the conditions for the Party to provide effective leadership to the revolutionary movement. It is necessary to make serious efforts so that the Party leadership has a good hold on the tactics to overcome the present difficult situation and advance.

6. People are the makers of history. The people will liberate themselves. In Protracted People's War, People's Army and the people are the decisive force. Only through mobilizing and consolidating the democratic classes in the leadership of the proletariat politically it will be possible to sustain them in the democratic revolution in an active and firm manner. We would be able to overcome any number of difficulties and losses that we face in the path of PPW only by widely mobilizing the people and fighting militantly against the imperialists and their agents, the Big Comprador Bureaucratic Capitalists and Big landlords. For this we have to politically mobilise the oppressed classes and the

oppressed sections in the country, in the strategic areas, plains, towns and in all fields. We have to organize the vast mass force in various organisations. We must arm them in the process of Agrarian Revolution. It is highly necessary to help build political power, run them and develop them. Without doing this it is not only not possible to develop a deep and wide revolutionary mass base, but it is also very difficult to develop the revolutionary subjective forces (Party, Army, United Front) or to expand the People's War, very difficult to protect subjective forces or to sustain the successes achieved. Without this, it is also difficult to overcome the present difficult condition and advance the movement. Now there is a great importance of developing our mass base. A strong Party and a strong Army are a must for the success of revolution. Similarly, a strong mass base too is a must.

Comrades,

Revolutions go through a difficult path. There are no short paths for this. There are no easy paths too. When we face big, strong enemies like imperialism, feudalism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism temporary losses and set backs are inevitable. But we can lessen the losses and advance with more experience in class struggle with a deep understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, with a better realization of the objective conditions.

Revolutions never advance in a straight line. This can be seen in all the successful revolutions. The path has twists and turns. There are ups and downs. Before the ultimate victory successes and defeats will repeat. Until the ultimate victory and Communism is reached, the proletarian leadership must continue revolutionary class struggle.

The Naxalbari Spring Thunder will resound again and again on earth and in sky until freedom, justice and equality are established in the society. The lives of heroic martyrs will not be wasted. Their voices will again and again echo in the hills, valleys of rural areas, in the towns and plains. This

thunder will create tremors in the hearts of the reactionaries. Like a phoenix Naxalbari will not die. It will rise again and again. It will again and again shatter the long and dark nights of disappointment and desperation. Naxalbari Spring Thunder will again and again resound in the vast country, in a more fierce and enthusiastic way. It will awaken the people of our country and inspire them to achieve the ultimate victory. Let us pledge to turn the clarion call of New Democratic Revolution raised by the heroic peasantry of Naxalbari! The sacrifices of the martyrs of Naxalbari and the sacrifices of thousands of martyrs of the Indian Revolutionary movement will not be wasted! The people are invincible! The People's War is invincible! Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is invincible! People will ultimately win victory! Imperialists and their agents will ultimately suffer defeat!

'Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law. When we say "imperialism is ferocious", we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom.

Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again . . . till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. This is another Marxist law. The Russian people's revolution followed this law, and so has the Chinese people's revolution.'

(Mao Vol. 4, Cast away illusions, prepare for struggle, *August 14, 1949.*)

Long live Naxalbari!

Naxalbari will not die!

Naxalbari path is our path!

Long live Protracted People's War!

Long live New Democratic Revolution!

**Down with Imperialism, Feudalism and Comprador Bureaucratic
Capitalism!**

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

Long live World Socialist Revolution!

Long live Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China!

Long live CPI (Maoist)!

If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people to defeat imperialism and its running dogs.

- Mao, "Revolutionary Forces of the World Unite, Fight Against Imperialist Aggression!" (November 1948), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 284

**Let us never forget the essence and importance of the
historic
Naxalbari Peasant Rebellion on the occasion of its
Fiftieth Anniversary!
Naxalbari is the only and correct path to People's
Liberation!**

Kishan

Genuine Communists know that the siren of the historic Naxalbari Armed Revolutionary Peasant struggle in fact sounded as a Spring Thunder in the month of May 1967. It gave a heavy blow to the revisionist stream that was dominating the Communist movement for a long time in India through a qualitatively different process- a split and a step forward. As a result genuine Communist Revolutionaries could politically and organizationally separate themselves from the stranglehold of the diehard revisionist CPI and CPI(M). Great Debate started at the international level in the leadership of Comrade Mao against the revisionism of Khrushchev. In this debate there was mainly ideological, political, theoretical discussion and logic between revisionism and armed struggle. Naxalbari struggle greatly highlighted the understanding of armed struggle in this discussion, that the then Communist Party of China (CPC) in the leadership of Mao brought forth.

Why did Naxalbari Peasant struggle become historic and decisive?

Genuine Communists must imperatively deeply think of the many fundamental factors regarding this struggle. They must come to a proper understanding. The fundamental factors are like this –

1. Right from the beginning certain fundamental weaknesses such as lack of proper political-organisational-military line for the liberation of the Indian masses, failure in applying the successful revolutionary path, i.e., Armed Agrarian Revolution, the path of Protracted People's War (PPW) to the specific conditions of India repeatedly came forth from the core of

the leadership of the Communist Party of India (CPI) that was formed outside the country in 1921 and in the country in 1925. We have to clearly remember and keep this in view. At times right and at times 'left' deviation dominated the then unified party. It means at times the diehard right-revisionist line of Dange and Ajay Ghosh and at times the opposite 'left' deviation of B.T.Ranadive dominated. Later in 1964 the Communist Party split and CPI (M) was formed. Even then in fact revisionist-reformist line dominated the leadership of both the parties. In practice both the parties had the work style and actions of taking up the parliamentary path and drowning themselves in the game of votes in the contemporary deceitful electoral system. The line of the two parties of participating in elections in the higher plane is normally a tactical issue of Marxist-Leninist policy. In a direction totally different to this, they took up the line of 'Peaceful transformation into Socialism' that traitor Khrushchev brought forth, that brought a split between revisionism and Communist movement in a conspiratorial manner. The line of taking up all kinds of actions with only strategic perspective dominated these parties. They entirely left Armed Revolution and the game of seizing power through elections to Assembly-Parliament-Panchayat, the way Comrade Lenin described as 'pigsty' became the only path for them. Naxalbari Armed struggle drew a pronounced, decisive line of demarcation from this parliamentary-reformist-revisionist line and their actions. This is the reason why the 'Naxalbari Peasant struggle' is called a historic struggle.

2. Since the formation of Communist Party of India the question of Armed struggle did not find place in the agenda of its meetings. It is the 'Naxalbari Peasant struggle' that gave a great blow to this revisionist stream going on in a diehard form and brought a qualitative change. The Armed struggle brought the question of real liberation of 90 percent toiling masses into the agenda of Communist Revolutionaries. Due to this reason too Naxalbari struggle is said to be a struggle with historic importance.

3. 'Naxalbari Peasant struggle' proved that this struggle is not only to occupy a little land or for land but on the contrary it is a struggle to

seize state power. Land problem is certainly one important problem in New Democratic Revolution. But if it does not have the main aim of seizing state power, the peasantry would be drowned in the struggle for land their life long. They will have to be mired in the struggle to submit charter of demands to the Village Development Officers (VDO) only for achieving general-outdated demands that have been going on for centuries. This is why the 'Naxalbari struggle' was said to be historic.

4. 'Naxalbari struggle' did not only bring forward the problem of seizing state power. It also brought forward the entire politics of New Democratic Revolution that is the first stage of Revolution for achieving a society of People's Democratic Dictatorship through Armed Agrarian Revolution and Protracted People's War.

Naxalbari also provided an understanding regarding 'who were friends and who were enemies' and also about organizing real friends against real enemies in the stage of New Democratic Revolution. It declared that all the imperialist powers including US, the Feudalism, meaning big feudal class, the agents of imperialism - the Indian big bourgeoisie as the real enemies. Similarly it made it clear that workers-peasantry, petty bourgeois class and national bourgeois class are the real friends. The analysis of friends and foes was not as clear as it is now. However, it could put forward a qualitatively different class analysis from the repeated wrong class analysis of the past revisionist leadership. This too made 'Naxalbari struggle' historic.

5. If we see the erstwhile Communist Movement in India, in fact Telangana Armed Struggle began in the leadership and supervision of the Andhra state committee following the path of Chinese Revolution. On one hand the then party leadership betrayed and on the other the comrades following the path of struggle were not firm on the ideological-political line, they did not demonstrate the firmness to be prepared to split organizationally implementing the understanding of the line of Comrade Mao and so the Telangana movement temporarily faded away. It erupted in an extensive and qualitatively different form in Naxalbari.

The Naxalbari Peasant rebellion emerged through the process of totally divorcing from the old revisionist-reformist understanding and method of work. So too Naxalbari movement was said to be a movement with historic perspective.

6. 'Naxalbari Peasant struggle' made clear the necessity to build a Revolutionary Communist Party divorced from the diehard revisionist CPI and CPM that totally imbibed the revisionist theory and revisionist organizational structure and work style in content and form and is based on the correct line-policy, style of work, to all the Communist Revolutionaries. The 'Naxalbari Peasant struggle' also taught thus – 1. The leadership of the Revolutionary Party must not be imposed from the above but it shall be formed by achieving coordination between the theory and practice and through participating in the revolutionary movement. 2. The path of Protracted People's War is the path of seizing state power. 3. People's Liberation Army must be formed to establish liberated areas in the rural areas and area wise power must be seized. It should be gradually spread and the towns that are the bases for the strength of the enemy must be encircled. Ultimately the towns too must be seized.

7. Naxalbari struggle brought forth the importance to lay the foundation for a strong worker-peasant unity by organizing the broad peasantry that is the main force in the stage of New Democratic Revolution in the leadership of the proletariat. Moreover the working class cannot blend with the peasantry through going to the villages from the cities in intervals and give a few speeches. On the contrary it must personally declassify and take up a hard, difficult process and only thus can fulfill the work of blending with the peasantry, said Naxalbari. This too made Naxalbari movement to be called as one with historical perspective.

The relevance of the aim of Naxalbari Peasant struggle is as much as at that time!

The historic Naxalbari Peasant struggle is going to complete fifty years now. Fifty years is not a little time. However we must say that the relevance of the Naxalbari Peasant struggle is as relevant as it was at that time. Naturally a question arises. What is its relevance?

It is not enough for us to only say ‘Naxalbari is the only correct path to liberation’, ‘Naxalbari ek hi raastha’ (the only path) with the clear theoretical understanding that we gained basing on the present understanding and experience but we also have to say that the main work is to implement it on the land of India. A correct theoretical-political-organisational-military line is necessary to successfully implement this main work. Documents providing many more fundamental guidelines in the direction of this theory are also necessary. Our Party, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) said thus in the document Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution –

‘The aim of Strategy and Tactics will always be to successfully complete a given stage of any revolution based on the programme related to that stage. It is important to bear in mind the guidelines given by Com. Stalin that theory should guide the Programme; Programme should guide the Strategy; and Strategy should guide the Tactics. The strategy can be correctly worked out only by basing itself on the data provided by, and the conclusions drawn from, the theory and programme of MLM.

The Strategy and Tactics of the Indian Revolution should be formulated by creatively applying the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism Maoism to the concrete conditions prevailing in our country. This means that the Strategy and Tactics should be evolved by basing on an objective class analysis of the Indian society; the character of the Indian State; the Fundamental contradictions and the Principal contradiction; and by taking into account the specific characteristics, the special features as well as the peculiarities of the Indian situation.

The strategy of the Indian Revolution in the present stage should thus serve to fulfill the New Democratic programme by successfully completing the New Democratic Revolution. The tactics that are to be formulated in every twist and turn of the movement in the various regions at various times should be subordinated to the strategy and to serve to effectively implement the above strategy. Such is the dialectical relationship between the Programme, Strategy and Tactics of the Indian Revolution’.

In view of the above quotation, it is clear that we need MLM, Party Program, Strategy-Tactics, Party Constitution, Political Resolution and other such things to make Indian Revolution successful. It also needs

special policy documents with special guidelines to successfully accomplish many more practical tasks. But it would not be enough to only have many basic documents and documents regarding policy-program. We have to build a strong Party organizing the comrades who stand in the forefront through theory and practice. We have to formulate guidelines to decide whether the path of Indian Revolution shall be General Insurrection or whether it takes up Strategy and Tactics of Protracted People's War (PPW). If we follow the path of Protracted People's War, we have to select strategic areas and deploy the available forces in the area. The formation of army and liberated areas should be decided as the main, central and immediate task. We have to form United Front of the four class alliance (worker, peasant, petty bourgeois, national bourgeois) through the process of Armed struggle. We have to successfully complete the contemporary New Democratic Revolution. For this purpose we need to have clear theoretical understanding about the formation of three magic weapons – Party, People's Army and United Front.

Why was the Naxalbari struggle that took place fifty years back with the above mentioned standard criteria not successful as expected? We must search the reasons. We have reviews to search. Since the set back of the Naxalbari movement in 1971-72 there are many such reviews.

Depending on the issues that came forth in these reviews, though our general line is correct, we can say that we could not take up special lines, special tactics and programs according to this line. As a result, as the POR of CPI(ML)[PW] said and the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress accepted, 'Splits began in the Party as a result of- severe tactical mistakes and certain ideological, political and organizational weaknesses; there was severe repression, heavy losses; lack of experience, the internal actions of sabotage of the right opportunists; temporary setback due to this and political/ideological illusions. When Comrade Charu Mazumdar, the leader of Naxalbari movement and one of the founders of our Party, of our teachers and leaders was in police custody in 1972, he was tortured and became a martyr. His martyrdom was a severe loss to Indian Revolution

and the entire ML movement. Later the movement suffered loss and temporary setback. The above mentioned shortcomings and weaknesses are seen even after completion of fifty years of Naxalbari movement. We did not achieve the expected results.

So we take lessons from the erstwhile movement and with a strong will step forward firmly facing many kinds of complex, difficult problems and the conditions of ebbs and flows in the leadership of CPI (Maoist) to advance the Indian Revolution. In view of this we can say that the historic aim of Naxalbari movement is as much relevant as at that time.

Never forget the necessity to constantly fight against all kinds of revisionism and its evil tactics!

Since Marxism emerged revisionism too came forth against it. Struggle started between two mutually different factors, Marxism and Revisionism in the form of conflicts. In the process of struggle between Marxism and revisionism the Telangana struggle arose (this did not have theoretical firmness. Due to the betrayal of the then revisionist leadership it ultimately failed. The flame of that Telangana struggle faded off). Later in May 1967, the historic Naxalbari movement broke as a Spring Thunder. The great and favorable factor of this struggle is in the efficient fight against the diehard revisionist line and tactics of the leadership of the CPM party. It could divorce from it organizationally in proper time. Thus it could implement a fundamental rule or principle, the principle of separation or a leap, of the entire rules or concepts of Marxist Dialectical Materialism in practice, achieved and showed the historic objective of it.

Again in 1971-72 when the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement started setting back it gave way for many kinds of wrong and revisionist lines. Almost all these lines are like 'old wine in a new bottle' and on the whole these brought forth revisionist line and tactics with a revolutionary jargon. For example the revisionist line of the cent per cent diehard revisionist and Party disruptor Sathyanarayana Singh is worth mention (there is no need to discuss this in detail in this article. Discussion has been going on about this as and when needed).

On the whole our movement is facing a difficult situation and in a few places it temporarily setback too. Even now we realize the danger of various kinds of revisionist-reformist wrong lines aimed to give a blow to the line of Protracted People's War and the necessity to give a strong fight against the same. In fact these wrong lines not only revealed the possibility of danger but also the necessity to take up a strong fight against it as an immediate and imperative political task. The resolution of CC-4 said thus – 'In such conditions right and left opportunist trends would arise here and there in the Party.....where the right-opportunist, disrupting, revisionist political arguments are brought forth, there.....they are bringing forth right trend in the veil of left line.....few say that semi-colonial-semi-feudal relations of production in India have changed and capitalist relations of production have come up. Basing on this they are bringing forth the wrong arguments that Protracted People's War does not suit India. In the veil of implementing the correct line of the Party, few people have sectarian and bureaucratic trends and are harming the Party and the movement.....we have to formulate a strategic scheme to bring a stage of advancement from the present difficult situation of the movement. The first thing in this is to strengthen the whole Party theoretically and politically, condemn anti-Marxist bourgeois, revisionist theories, expose and defeat them. As a part of it we have to face the Post-modernist theories in the present conditions. We have to educate the whole party abiding to the political line of our Party'.

We can strengthen the entire Party in all ways only through the process of bolshevizing, we can thus eliminate the shortcomings and weaknesses in the Party and the movement and advance the work of reorganization!

We gave a call to bolshevise the entire party to advance this great work in the leadership of our Party in a proper manner. We did not give an ordinary call but released many circulars and necessary letters to the cadres abiding the general call to make it successful –

1. We have to regularly take up theoretical-political education for the gradual development of the theoretical-political level of understanding

in the entire Party as a campaign; we have to select leadership comrades, pay special attention towards them and implement the process of educating them in both theory and practice. Thus we will be able to train few comrades to provide qualified and efficient leadership. We have to investigate the changes in economic-political sectors (condition) in the past thirty years and the present time and enrich our understanding regarding the same. Thus we can formulate our tactics according to the necessity.

2. We have to take up rectification movement as a campaign from top to bottom to entirely eliminate the petty bourgeois, bourgeois tendencies and all kinds of non-proletarian tendencies and practice of the same arising inside the party.

3. We have to constantly take up theoretical and political struggle against all kinds of revisionism, whether it is 'right or left'. We have to take up the process of relentless fight against the views and understanding of post-modernism, the understanding and line that capitalism developed in every sector in India; we have to take up the process of bolshevizing as that of arming the Party gradually with proletarian character and proletarian qualities; we have to do unrelenting work to provide deep understanding about the dialectical materialist analytical methods, the rule of 'unity between two mutually opposite factors', the principle of seeing everything as 'one dividing into two'.

4. We have to protect all the leadership comrades starting from the highest committee CC to the Area Committee; we have to protect the party committees in all formations in PLGA like the BnPC, CyPC, PPC, members, entire commanders, deputy commanders and members of various levels of commands; we have to protect the leadership and activists of RPC, KKC and other Mass Organisations.

5. We have to pay special attention towards building the Party, PLGA, KKC and other various Mass Organisations with Party as the fundamental foundation and taking the village as a unit, following class line-mass line to strengthen much more the foundations of the Party according to the

class line and taking it among the masses. Thus we have to strengthen the basis of the Party so that it can sustain and withstand any number of losses. Thus we have to strengthen the Party from the basic level in various forms, select a few out of them as Professional Revolutionaries and recruit them into the appropriate level of organization and other such things.

6. It is necessary to have hold on implementing the principle of 'unity-struggle between two mutually opposite things' and 'one divides into two' in practice in order to achieve successes in any work in the ongoing comprehensive revolutionary movement.

We can make proper analysis and inferences about the reason behind the ordinary weaknesses, especially the domination of revisionist line, revisionist tactics and occasionally the deviation and domination of the 'right' that have been continuing in the Indian Communist movement since the past and about the favorable results and the unfavorable factors achieved through the movement, only if we gain hold on implementing the principle of 'unity-struggle between two mutually opposite factors' and in practice 'one divides into two'. Anyway there are a lot of weaknesses in doing so. So we have to certainly gain hold on implementing the above principles.

This is the call of CPI (Maoist) on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of Naxalbari - Let us do hard work to achieve complete success in the revolutionary movement going on in the leadership of the Party and advance in the direction of first forming People's Democracy and later Socialism-Communism!

The unjust offensive war going on since the Spring Thunder of the united, newly formed CPI (Maoist) and the situation of just war of resistance against it proved to the people of India that the line of Agrarian Revolution and the Protracted People's War of the Party since the historic Naxalbari rebellion to the present time is entirely correct. Especially the offensive war in the name of Operation Green Hunt for the past ten years and the war of resistance to totally fight it back are going on in a fierce way and became a prominent point of discussion in the Indian political

situation. Thus as a part of the process of implementing the line of Agrarian Revolutionary Guerilla war in practice, the programs we are taking up to overcome the situation of ebbs-flows, the difficult situation and the setback situation, our strategy-tactics have been enriched. However our Party is yet very weak to the level expected. Many non-proletarian trends, patriarchal habits and practice exist inside the Party. So we have to take up constant struggle against these entire wrong trends and eliminate them. Along with this we have to advance firmly the process of bolshevizing the party constantly. Whatever the conditions may be, we have to control losses to the Party.

Along with the formation of the united Party, we could make a leap in the progress of the Indian Revolutionary movement by forming People's Liberation Guerilla Army in the leadership of the Party. During this period we could also learn the science of war with MLM perspective. We could also understand the dynamics of war to some extent. We could develop the art of war to some extent only in the method of 'learning war through war' and from the lessons achieved from the sacrifices of the countless brave commanders and warriors. By implementing Protracted People's War with the aim of formation of liberated areas we could form many guerilla zones. We achieved many tactical successes by facing the very strong enemy army by implementing guerilla war tactics with dare, efficiency in thought and according to the terrain. With this we are able to gain support to advance our guerilla war in the direction of mobile war. We advanced the immediate, main and central task. We concentrated in the strategic areas implementing the Party line and formed red resistance areas and guerilla zones with the perspective to establish liberated areas. We established guerilla bases. We are pouring in all our energies in the present People's War with the firm will to transform guerilla war into mobile war, PLGA into PLA and guerilla zones into liberated areas. We faced heavy losses and achieved certain successes. Though we faced certain severe losses and reached the situation of a setback, there are opportunities to develop guerilla war to a much higher stage. But we must absolutely discard complacency. We must see that we do not repeat

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our mistakes. On the contrary we have to gain inspiration from our victories. We must not be disappointed with the failures but take lessons from them. We have to decide specific tasks according to our condition and subjective forces.

We could establish units of people's revolutionary power from the lower level to area level in few places in the country. However, in view of the objective situation, the possibilities and necessities, we could not give a practical form to the people's alternate democratic system in one big area. This is our one serious weakness. It is our immediate task to overcome this as soon as possible. We know that the international and domestic situations are more favorable to revolution than ever before. We have to utilize this favorable factor in a proper manner and thus can totally rectify our shortcomings, weaknesses and limitations in a specified period. Then there is a possibility to make a leap in the revolutionary war in the background of the favorable and unfavorable impacts we gained in the process of advancing our People's War for the past ten years. We have to advance People's War and concentrate our attention on the task of uniting all the forces against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism to form United Front of four classes (worker, peasant, petty bourgeois, national bourgeois). We have to pay attention on recruiting young women and men from among the workers, peasants, adivasis and dalits. We must work to transform PLGA to PLA. We have to creatively implement our tactics, take up tactical offensives against the enemy forces, conduct appropriate counter offensive actions against the inhuman military campaign or the offensive war and defeat the constant attacks of the enemy, the Maoist elimination campaigns, 'encirclement-elimination' campaigns and various counter-revolutionary campaigns. We have to develop guerilla war into mobile war, establish organs of people's revolutionary power and transform the guerilla zones in our strategic areas into liberated areas. We have to develop new guerilla zones and red resistance areas in all the rural areas. We must spread guerilla war. Thus we have to create a revolutionary great storm. We have to implement our immediate tasks and be firm in strategy and flexible in tactics. The

leadership must make active efforts to transform the unfavorable conditions favorable. We have to consider the enemy as an actual tiger tactically and as a paper tiger strategically and develop our tactics accordingly. Thus we have to work to build and strengthen the three magic weapons – Party, People’s Army and Revolutionary United Front all over the country.

Including US imperialism in 2008, all the imperialists are now gradually facing severe unprecedented crisis. The fundamental contradictions in the world are becoming severe than ever before. People’s movements, national liberation struggles and revolutionary movement are brewing up against the suppression, oppression and exploitation of the capitalist-imperialists and reactionary ruling classes. Come, let us utilize this favorable situation to achieve a great leap in the contemporary People’s War going on in the country!

Comrades, it is clear that the major task of Modi government is to entirely wipe out the Maoist Party and the Maoist movement. But this is not the decision of the wish and will of one party in India. It cannot be so, because the Indian ruling class parties are the compradors of imperialism. Therefore any party or government of any color would be according to the direction of imperialism, especially US imperialism and should entirely implement the various factors in LIC (Low Intensity Conflict) policy. This happened in the UPA rule. Now it is going on in the NDA rule. Therefore this has become the major task of not only the Modi government. If we see the rule of UPA-1 and 2 governments both of them took up the elimination of our Party and the Maoist movement saying it to be ‘the biggest danger of the internal security of the country’ as the major task and implemented the same. The first and the second stages of ‘Operation Green Hunt’ took place during the rule of this government. What was the result of this? History is the evidence that they have entirely failed. On the contrary Maoist party and the movement rooted among the masses. Though there was heavy loss out of the martyrdom of thousands of warriors, Party strengthened with many experiences and lessons.

Presently Modi government is taking the support of all the imperialists and reactionaries including US imperialism and is implementing the third phase of 'Operation Green Hunt' to wipe out the revolutionary movement. Modi government brought a total transformation in the 'encircle-wipe out' campaign, many kinds of repressive campaigns, surrender policy, the policy of ill propaganda in the form of psychological war, various kinds of programs said to be 'reform' programs or programs in the name of development. As soon as Modi government came to power on one hand it announced the elimination of Maoists and on the other it continues to say it shall form large number of Para-military battalions and deploy in Maoist areas. It is also forming 'Bastariya battalion' in one place and 'Local Adivasi Battalion' in the other as a part of the reactionary policy to 'pluck out the thorn with a thorn' and is implementing the reactionary LIC policy more consistently so that 'Adivasis fight the Adivasis'.

The surrender policy, another cruel method started during the UPA government is said to be made 'more attractive' by giving more money.

The foremost and the main task will be to protect the leadership from the CC to the AC and the mass organizations and to fight back such kind of anti-revolutionary policies. We have to bolshevisize the Party much more. We have to train the entire Party cadres and the struggling masses and make them capable to fight back the multipronged offensive of the enemy through multipronged counter offensive. We must train them so that they can at least take up retaliatory actions. Thus they must be able to transform the counter offensive into People's War. We must certainly advance the political, organizational, military preparations as a campaign. We must absolutely work for building people's struggles like on the severe problems of the people by taking up counter offensive action to the enemy's military offensive and counter propaganda campaign to the enemy's ill propaganda.

Comrades, we can advance the coming phase of the advancement of Indian revolution only by successfully fighting back the heavy challenges. So we have to complete all kinds of preparations to face all kinds of

challenges. It means it is our immediate and major task to totally implement ways and tasks to rectify all kinds of the above mentioned weaknesses.

Only thus we will be able to build and constantly strengthen the three magic weapons – Party, People’s Army and United Fronts. We cannot go one step forward without bolshevizing the party in a proper manner. Come! Let us determine to remove all types of shortcomings and weaknesses not only in words but also deeds. Let us protect the internal unity of the Party with great care and strengthen it much more. Let us defeat all kinds of revisionism, whether it is ‘left’ or right revisionism and firmly implement the proper line, policy and style of work of the Party.

No doubt the path has twists and turns and is difficult and complex. But if we stick on to MLM and the Party line, we can speedily advance the major and the immediate task of turning guerilla war into mobile war, PLGA into PLA and guerilla zones into liberated areas to advance the Indian New Democratic Revolution by overcoming all kinds of obstacles.

Come! Let us jump into the arena of class war daringly to accomplish the dreams and the incomplete tasks of our great martyrs. History is the evidence that masses achieve the final victory. If darkness of the night ends, the red rays of dawn would be definitely seen. Indian Revolution will certainly succeed. First New Democratic Revolution and later the Socialist Revolution will definitely become successful. As the historic Naxalbari Peasant rebellion announced, the correct path of ‘Naxalbari is the only way to liberation’ and the slogans ‘Naxalbari is the only path’ will certainly come into practice and turn to be a reality on this land. This is the great call of our Party.

Brief introduction of Andhra Pradesh and Dandakaranya movements (from 1969 to 2007)

[Few aspects in this article have been published as the brief history of the erstwhile CPI (ML) (People's War) in the first issue of People's War. On the occasion of the Fiftieth anniversary of Naxalbari and as its continuation and development, we felt that studying the revolutionary movement in the leadership of CPI (ML) (People's War), especially the Andhra Pradesh and the Dandakaranya movements would help to develop a theoretical-political understanding. So we edited the above things and added certain important aspects in the post-merger POR and brought it to the readers. – Editorial Board]

Movement in Andhra Pradesh

1. Srikakulam struggle-11th State Conference (from the beginning of 1969 to May 1970)

The Naxalbari struggle enthused the revolutionary forces across the country. 'All India Coordination Committee of Revolutionaries' was formed in 1967 in the leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar to unite the revolutionary forces that came forth breaking revisionism and neo-revisionism and take forward the revolutionary struggles. Among the revolutionaries of Andhra Pradesh who accepted Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought as the guide, Tarimela Nagireddy (TN), Devulapalli Venkateswararao (DV) and others first refused to join this committee. Though they joined the coordination committee unable to bear the pressure from their followers, they took different stands on the assessment of the revolutionary situation, tactics of armed struggle and methods of revolutionary party organization in the specific conditions and refused to lead the Srikakulam struggle. Thus the leadership of Srikakulam rejected their leadership in the interest of revolution and so the coordination committee too dissociated with them. If it did not do

so, the great Srikakulam struggle would not have happened. The intense struggle of the coordination committee in the leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar with the TN-DV group and the daring leadership of the Srikakulam peasant struggle are inseparable. Revolutionary party was formed in AP through fighting the right opportunism of TN-DV group.

State Coordination Committee of Revolutionaries was formed with nine members in the meeting in Guthikondabilam in 1969 March to consolidate the revolutionary forces in the state. This meeting decided to form Regional Committees and thus before the end of 1969 RCs were formed in Telangana, North Andhra-South Odisha and Rayalaseema.

By then the Srikakulam Peasant struggle was in a good momentum. The meeting in Guthikondabilam helped to spread revolutionary fire across the state and also later sowed seeds for the left deviation in the Party. We made an intense fight against the right opportunism of the TN-DV group and decided in the Guthikondabilam meeting to start annihilation of class enemy in every area where we had contacts in the state, with the aim of diverting the concentration of the enemy on Srikakulam struggle at that time. We did not consider the preparation of the people, their organizational strength and the organisational strength of the Party and started annihilation of class enemy with an adventurist understanding of making struggle without people.

The All India Coordination Committee of Revolutionaries became the Central Organizing Committee of Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) on 1969 April 22nd. With this the Andhra Pradesh Coordination Committee of Revolutionaries became the State Organising Committee. In this process the eleventh State Conference was held in 1970 May. A nine member State Committee was elected with Comrade Adibhatla Kailasam as Secretary. This Conference saw the depth of the impact of revisionist trends in a few leading comrades of Srikakulam struggle and gave powers to the new State Committee to take appropriate actions.

The Eighth Congress of the Party was held in 1970 May. While delegates from other places of Andhra Pradesh could not attend the

Congress some of the Srikakulam comrades attended. This Congress elected Comrades Vempatapu Sathyam, Adibhatla Kailasam, Appalasuri and Nagabhushan Patnaik into the Central Committee from AP.

The eleventh State Conference was successful but group conflicts between the Srikakulam leadership (this was the main part of the then State leadership) arose and they not only led to disappointment but later created great loss to the development of revolution and the organizational development of the Party. Due to these conflicts the Party cadres of Srikakulam district worked as internal groups of the Party in the forest and the plain areas. While Comrades Vempatapu Sathyam and Adibhatla Kailasam led the cadres in the forest areas Comrades Choudari Tejeswara Rao (from the Jail) and Mamidi Appalasuri led the cadres in the plain areas.

In 1969 the Srikakulam struggle achieved many successes facing enemy repression. Starting with the loss of Comrade Panigrahi squad in an attack, there were severe losses in succession. Within a few months of the Party Congress the beloved leaders of the oppressed masses of Andhra, Comrades Vempatapu Sathyam and Adibhatla Kailasam became martyrs at the same time and the struggle stepped back.

In fact the eleventh State Conference took place in the conditions when there was severe enemy offensive on the Srikakulam struggle and losses. The differences in the understanding related to the political outlook and Protracted People's War in the Party until then hidden surfaced in the form of group conflicts in conditions of loss to the struggle.

Before another meeting of the State Committee, two comrades the Conference elected including the Secretary became martyrs and another four were arrested. Finally two from Telangana and one from Rayalaseema were left in the State Committee. Thus the entire State leadership faced a loss. By that time except for the comrades elected into the State Committee from Srikakulam, members elected from the other areas did not have a state wide recognition or statewide contact.

Before the State Conference, apart from the Regional Committees in Telangana and Rayalaseema there were 8-9 Party professionals. There were two Area Committees in Guntur district. After the State Conference they too became defunct and the members worked as individuals in the respective places. Until 1969 Srikakulam was strong and later Guntur district became organizationally strong. But in this district too group conflicts arose. The District Committees of Krishna, West and East Godavari became defunct by the time of the State Conference and a few individuals remained. The State Committee did not have any contact with them. The District Committees of Visakha and Srikakulam worked in the direct guidance of the State Committee until the Conference.

This is briefly the organizational condition of the Party in the state by 1970. At that time only full time activists were considered to be Party Members. The State Committee was not clear about Party Organisation of part-timers. Party organization and squad formation were alike. Where there was Area Committee or Regional Committee, except for the members of the Committee there was no discretion between organisers and members. All the activists were in the squads and so there was a distinction between the Commander and members of the Squad. Where there was no squad formation, individuals did whatever the Regional Committee told them to.

1. Attack of opportunists on the Party – Reorganisation of the State Committee – (from 1970 to November 1973)

Tejeswara Rao and Appalasuri did not like the decisions of the State Conference. They received those decisions with a group attitude. Tejeswara Rao was not at all ready for self-criticism and developed enmity towards the State Committee and Comrade Charu Mazumdar and started collaborating with the TN-DV group in jail. It was a condition where a main part of the State Committee was affected and there was an opportunity to build relations with the rest of the members of the State Committee and the Srikakulam leadership. But Tejeswara Rao did not attempt to do this and he put Comrade Paila Vasu in the centre as a state

leader and took up activities in Srikakulam and Visakha districts. In a few days there was a difference of opinion between Tejeswara Rao and Appalasuri regarding appointing Defense lawyer in the court and they inevitably wrote to the State Committee members for their opinion. So in 1971 March the State Committee members got the chance to meet Srikakulam comrades.

The meeting of the State Committee in 1971 March co-opted Comrade Paila Vasudevarao and elected him secretary. In the State Committee that worked from 1971 March to 1972 March with Paila Vasu as the secretary, there were differences in a lot of issues between the secretary and the rest of the members. The secretary agreed during discussions but attempted to implement the directions of Tejeswararao from jail. Due to the internal struggle in the state committee, in its meeting in 1972 February-March it made unanimous resolutions that we have to utilize mass organisations and partial struggles, we have to annihilate class enemies as a part of class struggle, to build party with part-time members, not to dissolve squads in Srikakulam, utilize legal opportunities, use Errajenda (Red flag) magazine for internal discussion and that none should distribute Sathyanarayana Singh's literature in the party (by that time Paila Vasu was distributing). Since all these resolutions were against the policies of the CC, in order to work abiding the rule of democratic centralism, they decided to send two PC members to submit them to the CC. But Comrade Vasu went and directly joined the Sathyanarayana Singh group. Thus Comrade KS was elected secretary of the State Committee.

By that time there was setback in the Srikakulam struggle and shortcomings in the party, utilizing which the right opportunist disruptive forces tried to split and disrupt the party. The competitive party formed in the leadership of Sathyanarayana Singh in mid-1971 was the result of this.

The two members of the State Committee met Comrade CM in 1972 July and discussed the resolutions. After discussions Comrade CM accepted to implement them. Within a few days Comrade CM was caught by the enemy and became a martyr.

The period of 1972 July to 1973 November was a very difficult time in the history of our Party. Since Comrade CM was martyred the PC lost contact with the Central Committee. In the attempt to revive contact with the CC a SCM was arrested in 1972 November. In 1973 February another SCM was arrested and the secretary was left alone.

During this time Souren Bose turned traitor and came to Visakha jail. He and Kanu Sanyal joined hands with the TN-DV group in the jail and attacked Comrade CM. They released an open letter of six in the leadership of Tejeswararao in the name of suggestions from the China party. Various kinds of opportunists and betrayers of revolution attacked the Party policies and Comrade CM inside the jails and outside.

Poets and writers influenced with the Naxalbari-Srikakulam Peasant struggles, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought formed Viplava Rachayitala Sangam (Virasam-RWA-Revolutionary Writer's Association) in 1970 July. Right from the formation of Virasam the State Committee had close relations with it through a few party members. Virasam made theoretical fight in the initial period with neo-revisionism and later with those in the influence of right politics of TN-DV group and strengthened organizational unity. In this period there was unprecedented amount of revolutionary literature in the history of revolution in Andhra Pradesh.

'Errajenda' (Red flag) theoretical magazine was started secretly.

During this time except for Srikakulam sixteen class enemies were wiped out by our squads in other areas of Andhra Pradesh. By 1970 Srikakulam Peasant Armed struggle setback and Guntur district and Rayalaseema that were to be the centre in the later period fell into temporary stagnation. After Srikakulam, Telangana came forth as the centre of Party activities. It is but natural that such changes occur in the path of Protracted People's War that advances in waves.

In the end of 1972 Jananatyamandali (JNM) team was formed with Hyderabad city as the centre in the guidance of the State Committee. The

activities of JNM created revolutionary enthusiasm among the people of Andhra Pradesh as much as the Prajanatyamandali created before the Telangana struggle.

State Committee started 'Pilupu' (Call) magazine from 1972 August with the legal opportunities. The magazine contributed a lot to guide the Party Members on National and International issues and to fight back the political ill propaganda of the opportunists and disruptors on the Party.

There was no Central Committee from the above and no State Committee in the state and in such a situation, removing the theoretical confusion spread in the party ranks, establishing party unity, holding State Conference and electing a new state committee was the main problem before the State Secretary. In conditions where there is no central leadership it is very difficult to take up such a responsibility. Anyhow since Comrade CM accepted the resolutions of the 1972 February-March State Committee meeting, the then secretary discussed with the leading members and took the final decision to tell these resolutions to all the cadres of the party and achieve political unity. The serial articles in 'Pilupu' helped to fight back the attacks of the disruptors and highlight the Party line. In this process they came into contact with the centre in 1973 November and so the State Conference was stopped and importance given to establish relations with the centre.

3. 3. Joining the COC-Self-critical report-Reorganisation of the movement (from 1973 November to 1977 May)

Within a short time of the martyrdom of Comrade CM a Central Committee was established in the leadership of Comrade Mahadev Mukherjee. Though the APPC came into contact with that committee, due to the absolute sectarian conditions for unity, there was no way for discussions with them. But the task at that time was to control the attempts of the disruptors, mobilize all the genuine revolutionaries for this purpose, build a Central Committee that gained the confidence of all such people depending on self-criticism; this work is possible through patient discussions but not closing the doors idiotically by imposing stern conditions.

Only after the failure of all attempts to meet the Bengal comrades due to their stringent conditions the AP secretary met Punjab comrades. By that time the Punjab comrades took initiative and a four member Central Committee was formed. Comrade Sharma of Punjab was the secretary of this committee. Out of them except for the Bihar comrade the rest three were elected in the Congress. This committee lacked political unity. In 1974 January AP secretary joined the CC. But in order to not give chance to those who raise doubts that since this was called CC it would permanently be so, this meeting of the CC resolved to form the Central Committee as the Central Organising Committee, to make a comprehensive self-criticism and formulate tactics regarding the past, to unite the splinter groups into one party to the extent possible and later hold Party Congress and elect an efficient Central Committee. It decided to implement the unanimous decisions of this committee until the Congress.

In 1974 September APPC prepared a self-critical report 'let us review the past and successfully advance in the path of armed struggle' [the CC of CPI (ML) (PW) accepted this document in 1980 with little changes]. This document was the guide to practice in Andhra Pradesh since 1974 and to the entire People's War party from 1980. The positive and negative aspects of our practice mentioned in this document are already mentioned in the foreword to the Central Political and Organisational Report. Other members of COC prepared two self-critical reports. They formulated the tactical path (path of revolution) unanimously. But since the formation of COC it lacked political unity and so it could not achieve organizational unity too and was disrupted in 1977 May.

With the arrest of the State Committee members there was no State Committee from 1973 March to 1974 July. State Committee was formed in 1974 August with Comrade KS, Comrade Appalasuri who broke from jail and Comrade Mahadev who was released on bail.

As per the resolutions of the PC meeting in 1972 February-March, Party started working in the workers, students and peasantry. PC prepared

the document 'Party work in the urban areas' in the end of 1973. Radical Students Union (RSU) was formed in the beginning of 1975 only through fighting back the wrong tendencies of keeping the student organisations away from revolutionary politics. Since the beginning of 1974 until the imposition of emergency, we took up wide propaganda in all the corners of the state through Jananatyamandali, Virasam, RSU and other organisations. Party spread to new areas.

The attack of the disruptors was fought back satisfactorily through the 'Pilupu' magazine but the mistakes of the party were not made clear. Only after the self-critical report in 1974 the party cadres were educated properly. On seeing this document Comrade Attaluri Mallikharjunarao and very few others criticized that our party took up the revisionist line and left the party to join Lin Piao group. But the activities of our party increased in various areas of the state.

Within a few days of starting our activities in the youth field emergency was imposed in the country in June 1975. During emergency repression on our party exceeded that on the other parties. Government banned our party and all kinds of open activities. Many activists of RSU and Party Members became Professional Revolutionaries. Classes were conducted for them and sent to forest areas. While all attempts in 1969, 70 and 72 failed another attempt was made with much more arrangements. We concentrated on Karimnagar and Adilabad districts.

The party cadres were educated basing on the self-critical report, party unity enhanced and as a part of the attempts to hold the State Conference of the party, First Conference of Telangana Region was held from 1976 December 29th to 1977 January. The conference echoed with the slogans 'Let us unite with the oppressed masses', 'let us build a party invincible to the enemy and entwined with the oppressed masses', 'let us make special efforts to create organisers from the oppressed masses', 'let us build secret mass organisations to widen the mass base', 'let us prepare the people for armed struggle basing on mass line', 'let us sow the seeds for the formation of red army by laying foundation to spread into the forest through organizing the tribals by sending two armed squads'.

4. Change of tactics – Karimnagar, Adilabad peasant struggles – (from 1977 May to 1979 March)

In the parliament elections in 1977 March dictator Indira faced a big defeat and Janata Party came to power. Emergency was lifted. The Janata Party that came to power opposing the emergency rule and propagating democratic rights, released the revolutionaries on bail. Ban on meetings was lifted. Utilizing these changes in the conditions, a document was written changing the tactics to implement the decisions of the first conference of Telangana. This document that was accepted after wide discussions in various districts guided the activities of the party as the 'August Resolution'.

District Committees were formed on the occasion of the discussions to decide on this document. Comrade Mahadev of the State Committee reorganized in 1974 August was caught by the enemy in 1976 and became a martyr. In 1977 March Comrade KS was arrested and put in jail. Appalasuri was the only person left in the PC. PC was reorganized in 1977 August with another three members. But immediately Comrade Appalasuri was arrested and declared his difference with the August Resolution. Comrade Rawoof in jail criticized that the leadership divorced from armed struggle in the name of change of tactics and split from the party with some others.

As per the changes in tactics PC started openly publishing its political mouthpiece 'Kranthi' (Revolution) and revolutionary literature. 'Radical March' came out openly as the monthly magazine of radical students and youth. These magazines played a vital role in politically educating the party forces, students and the youth.

There was correct revolutionary guidance to the mass organisations through the documents, 'Do not distance the mass organisations from the political aim in the name of formation of united mass organisations', 'letter to the executive members of RSU' and radical student and youth organisations were formed all over the state. The word 'radical' was a synonym for revolutionaries. In 1978 February and June the conferences of radical students and youth were held.

In 1978 January PC brought the document 'Coming Assembly elections-Our tasks' and conducted a campaign for boycott of elections. The slogan 'boycott the fake Assembly elections, prepare for Agrarian Revolution' enthused the oppressed masses across the state. PC gave a call 'students and youth, go to villages' in the summer holidays of 1978 and conducted the campaign. JNM took up statewide propaganda starting from 1977 September. The political propaganda, the struggle and organisational activities of the student and youth organisations during this period contributed as the preparation for initiating peasant struggles from mid-1978.

Jagityal peasant struggles started as a spate from 1978 June. Within three months the government started repression and announced Jagityal and Siricilla talukas as disturbed areas.

PC prepared a comprehensive action plan to spread these struggles to other areas amidst repression. As a result peasant struggles broke in Karimnagar and Adilabad in a short time. The Jagityal struggle that started in forty villages spread to Karimnagar and Adilabad areas like wild fire. It established people's power rooting out feudalism. The slogan of all powers to the organization reverberated all over the rural area. Tribals of Adilabad district rebelled against the exploitation of the landlords, money-lenders, forest officers and government. The struggle of the tribal peasantry of Asifabad against the money-lenders and the tribal rebellion of Indravelli in 1981 brought a turn in the tribal movement. Gradually the peasant struggles spread to Warangal, Khamman and later to Nizamabad. By the end of 1979 party activities started in the student, youth, worker, peasant and literary fields to some extent in all the corners of Andhra Pradesh. The spate of the peasant struggles in Karimnagar and Adilabad is the result of the protracted effort to mold the party from the left line into the correct path through the PC meeting in 1972 February-March, 1974 September self-critical report, Telangana Regional Conference and 1977 August resolution.

With the spread of revolutionary activities many joined the party. Many comrades in jail too were released. All of them do not know much about party history and politics. Many more are coming forth in various struggles as activists. In order to consolidate all of them State Committee took up the third campaign of consolidation in 1978 July. Though this campaign helped to consolidate the party it failed to build the party with part-timers at local level. All the organisers and members of the district committee were new and lacked any kind of experience in the building of the party and more over it also failed in providing direct guidance. The second is the main reason. Though the party failed in building in the local level it expanded in 1977-79. By the end of 1979 there were 120 Professional Revolutionaries (PR) in our party. Sathyamurthy was released in 1978 and Comrade KS was released in 1979. They were taken into the State Committee. Until Comrade KS came Mukku Subbareddy was the secretary of the State Committee for a while.

The immediate task of transforming Karimnagar, Adilabad, Warangal and Khammam districts into guerilla areas and laying foundation for Protracted People's War came forth the party by the end of 1979. Then the movement in our state was in four levels – 1. The above four districts where there were peasant struggles and guerilla zone was to be formed. 2. The other districts of Telangana where anti-feudal struggles broke and the Rayalaseema districts. 3. Few districts utilizing legal opportunities and taking up propaganda activities. 4. Urban areas that started work as a part of the strategy of Protracted People's War.

5. Formation of Central Committee – Guerilla Zone perspective – Twelfth State Conference (from the beginning of 1980 to the end of 1984)

The Central Committee of CPI (ML) (People's War) was formed on 22nd April 1980.

According to the decision of the PC regarding guerilla zone perspective the 12th Conference of the State was successfully completed in 1980 September. District, Regional and State Committees were elected for the

first time with comrades who were tested in practice to some or the other extent. The State Conference passed the self-critical report of the Central Committee, the document of tactical line, the State Political and Organisational Review, Political Resolution and Party Organisation-Our tasks. There were amendments to Party Program and Constitution. An eleven member State Committee was elected in the Conference. In the PC meeting the next month Comrade KS stepped out from the responsibility of the secretary and new secretary was elected.

In 1980-84 peasant struggles spread to all corners of Andhra Pradesh. Radical Students' movement continued all through the state. Until 1984 there were 6 state conferences of RSU, 4 of RYL and 3 of RCS. The strength of people's mobilization grew in a considerable manner. JNM teams were formed in various district levels and propagated widely. Writers' and Civil Rights movements expanded to a big extent. The urban movements in Warangal, Singareni, Hyderabad and Visakhapatnam became strong. Since 1978 students and youth of the rural areas moved in hundreds to the villages in the summer holidays and took up propaganda campaigns. All through this period mass organisations in the leadership of our party widely mobilized the people on many kinds of partial demands and political agitations and became an influential force. Party started to be built in the local level and classes were conducted to party members in various levels. In a way, party organization and the area of operation of the party spread extensively. Class struggle intensified and armed formations began. The movement fought back the attacks of the landlords in various forms and the repression of the government (including encounters from 1982) and developed in waves.

New problems came forth the party in the process of development of the movement. Mainly the leadership fell into spontaneity regarding forms of struggle and organization in the guerilla zone area, formation of squads in the local level and the village defense squads, eradicating the wrong tendencies and other such things (though it released letters and circulars time to time). The lack of collective effort to solve these problems

led to the six evils in PC since 1982. These evils became a hurdle to the work of the PC.

The PC identified the six evils in some of its members and took up serious self-criticism-criticism to rectify them in the 1984 July meeting. It changed the state secretary. This meeting decided to eradicate any kind of evils that came up in the specific conditions in the entire party, through criticism-self-criticism.

PC discussed the new Political Resolution that the Central Committee released in 1984 May and decided in this meeting to conduct classes as a part of preparations for the Party Conferences. It engaged in the classes.

Now we need to know the situation of the State Committee. Out of the 11 members elected in the 12th State Conference three were also members in the CC. In 1981, 82 and 83 three members were taken into the PC. After Comrade KS was arrested in 1982 January Mukku Subbareddy was taken as a member of CC. In 1984 February, Comrade KS was released from the enemy's clutches. From 1981 to 1984 July the PC centre worked with three for a while and with five for a while and was later made the Secretariat.

6. First repressive campaign of the government-First crisis of the Party-13th State Conference-Armed People's Resistance (from the beginning of 1985 to November 1989)

There was a qualitative change in the enemy offensive by 1985. There was intense offensive on the people, party and every field of the movement. On the other hand four members in the CC made an opportunist conspiracy and came forth in the February meeting of the CC in the name of internal struggle in the party. As per the decision of the CC, Andhra Pradesh plenum was conducted from May 6th to 11th to solve this crisis. The secretaries of the divisions attended as delegates to this plenum. Plenum understood that without exposing and defeating all the opportunist conspiracies and keeping the party united it would not be possible to face the government offensive firmly and took necessary

It understood the repression and the massacre on the movement since the beginning of 1985 in a proper manner and met the North Telangana Regional Committee, the Division secretaries of Dandakaranya, the Regional Secretaries of Rayalaseema, South Coastal Andhra, South Telangana from May 13th to 16th to form the guidelines to fight back this offensive (undeclared war) and discussed the character of government offensive, the self-defensive resistance and the forms of struggle and organization in the International and National situations at that time and brought out the document, 'Let us defeat the government offensive! Let us protect the party and guerilla squads keenly! Let us fight daringly! We shall gain the ultimate victory'.

The second part mentioned about the political and organizational good and bad regarding the crisis in the Party and the 13th State Conference. Anyway the main mistakes of the PC in 1985-89 are like this – when the secretary of the PC was arrested in 1986 May, the meeting in September reorganized it as a shorter committee of five members. This formation of shorter committee created big loss in the development of the PC as a collective leadership team to provide collective leadership according to the intensifying movement and to understand the new problems concretely and formulate new tasks of organization and struggle in proper time. It was proved in practice that it was wrong for Andhra Pradesh to form Central Committee. Rectification campaign was planned in an immature manner exceeding the practical strength expecting it to be conducted like the Communist Party of China in 1942 and it failed. There were severe mistakes politically, regarding mass organisations, education and other such things, there was lagging behind and falling into spontaneity. Since 1980 there were important mistakes in promotions, committee functioning, political and organizational decisions as a result of which two members of the State Committee were expelled from the Party in 1985-87, two were demoted and another was dropped. One member degenerated.

During this period to a large extent PC took correct decisions in the fight against the opportunists in the Central Committee, in the method of Party work, in identifying the mistakes in the style of work-people's resistance, in developing secret organisations, in conducting rectification and education campaign at least to a limited extent, establishing a secret mechanism and publishing magazines and literature and other such things. The Party provided leadership so that the people can decide the necessity to fight for protection and political power through their own experience and rights. Observing 28th July as martyr's day in 1989 established a great tradition of sacrifice among the people. During this period people created many new forms of struggle and organization and strengthened the People's War. We defeated the government repressive campaign. But we paid heavily. (We lost 19 District, Regional and State Committee members, nearly 250 organisers, brave guerillas, members of organization, sympathisers and people during this repressive campaign). The mistakes, experiences gained and the sacrifices made during this period are the inevitable value paid for the future struggles and the development of the movement.

7. Change in tactics – People's wave – (from December 1989 to 1990 November)

Congress-I lost power in the centre in the elections held in 1989 November. It came to power in Andhra Pradesh. In the background of these consequences the Chennareddy government in Andhra Pradesh invited us to talks. It planned to create illusions through talks, divert us from the path of armed struggle and if we reject talks we could be described as blood-thirsty perpetrators of violence, we could be isolated from the people and given a blow and however it happens they can settle down and then suppress us through heavy repression. PC acted with initiative and took proper decisions to defeat the plans of Chennareddy government and imposed conditions for talks to utilize the contradictions between the enemies.

When the government repressive measures were temporarily stopped, PC stopped armed retaliation and squad actions temporarily and

decided not to make any relaxation in the secret organisations. It took the aim to make political propaganda, agitations of the problems of the vast masses and expanding the squads to the areas of the movement and made the necessary changes in tactics.

Though the relaxation in repression was for only a few months we could achieve the maximum of the expected results. We were successful in utilizing the contradictions between the enemies, defeat the enemy tactics and encircling and isolating the enemy with people's struggles, widely propagating the politics of Protracted People's War, mobilise lakhs of people in a wave of people's struggle including land struggles and creating political agitation, mobilizing youth into the local leadership in a big number, enhance recruitment and expand the squads and the area of movement.

But at the same time there were some mistakes in practice. They took place in conducting people's courts, in solving the contradictions among the people, in punishing, kidnaps and other such things. Few useless persons (a section) penetrated into the local organization. We loosely recruited some into the squads. Since the PC did not take proper decisions in time to mold the people into a collective militant retaliation to fight back police repression, people widely used the form of kidnap for their struggle to protect the leaders of the organization from police repression. Though this is inevitable in a wave of people's struggle PC continued to fail in educating the cadres and so there were many mistakes. There was also no time to understand the conditions and prepare the cadres in utilizing it. PC realized the mistakes in this movement and started attempts to rectify them from mid-1990 in the process of which another crisis rose in the Party and we could not take up these attempts. On the whole this period gave a big experience to the Party.

In the State plenum in 1990 August an 11 member committee was elected. In the COC elected in the central plenum there were four members of APPC. This is another attempt to develop collective leadership teams.

8. The Second Repressive campaign – Second crisis in the Party – Armed People’s Resistance – Preparations for Conference (from 1990 December to 1994 March)

The fiasco of Chennareddy’s talks ended with the heroic struggles of the people and repressive campaign started in May, continued with encounters made by the government in 1990 June and intensified with the police firing and massacre on the people in December. With the intensification of encounter massacre by deploying thousands of BSF, ITBF and CISF forces in 1991 November/December, the repressive campaign intensified. The people and guerilla squads were heroically resisting this repressive campaign. During this period the beloved leader of the oppressed masses of Andhra Pradesh and secretary of the State Committee Comrade Anjanna (Sagar), ten members of the District, Regional Committees, 500 organisers, heroic guerillas, members of organisations, sympathisers and people laid their lives. During these three and a half years of attempts to protect and advance the movement we not only lost leadership but also Arms and Ammunition and money. We wiped out the cruel DIG Vyas, many police and Para-military officers and police. We seized many Arms and Ammunition. We marched forward in the People’s War making sacrifices in each and every step.

We fought another undeclared war launched by the central government in the three states (AP, MP and Maharashtra) from the end of 1990, with ‘defensive war’ tactics. During this period we faced severe losses of leadership in AP. Starting from 1985 AP, MP, Maharashtra and Orissa police machinery have been modernised and turned fascist as never before. On the other hand, people’s armed resistance too has grown.

Again, from the end of 1990, the armed offensive by the enemy was stepped up throughout AP, a ban was imposed on the CPI(ML)(PW) and the mass organizations in May 1992. Fake encounters grew phenomenally and there was a virtual reign of white terror all over North and South Telangana regions and East Division. The Party confronted this brutal offensive boldly through defensive war, organized ambushes and raids,

both opportunity and deliberate, and mobilized the people's militia units in some places into armed actions against the police and state property. Armed clashes with the police and paramilitary forces have become more intense and emerged as the main form, while the clashes with the local enemies became secondary. The guerilla squads of PW took up planned retaliation and resistance during the 1990s. In 1992 a BSF van was blasted in Station Ghanpur, there was an ambush in Bhupalapalli and in 1994 December there was Lenkalagadda ambush. Several police stations and camps were raided and weapons were seized. After the series of raids in 1996 like those on Karkagudem and Sirpur(U) police stations-cum-APSP-CRPF camps, several camps and police stations were withdrawn by the government from the interior areas. Ambushes deterred the police and para-military from venturing into the interior areas. Special forces that were brought from other states such as the Punjab Commandos received severe blows. The heroic armed resistance by the guerillas gave a fillip to the mass movements which increased after 1995. Class struggles on various issues and Land occupation struggles became a common feature and organs of people's democratic power along with various people's committees emerged in several villages of North Telangana. The initiative of the oppressed masses was released after we won a few victories against the police.

PC reviewed the experiences from the 13th State Conference until now and concentrated on political work to unite all the party cadres theoretically, politically, organisationally and militarily in the light of the lessons. Mukku Subbareddy, Nimmaluri Bhaskararao and other such degenerated elements were pushed aside and the entire Party and revolutionary people were totally confident that the Andhra Pradesh comrades would ideally continue their role in the light of the martyrs shedding blood in every step.

Dandakaranya

By the end of 1979 the landlords and the government indulged in much more cruel repression to eliminate the peasant struggle in

Karimnagar and Adilabad. It was inevitable to expand the movement and take it to a higher level in order to sustain this condition and advance. So though the peasant struggles in Warangal and Khammam did not rise to the level of the struggles in Karimnagar and Adilabad, there was a chance that the enemy took these four districts as a whole and intensify repression. So it was decided to develop guerrilla zone comprising Karimnagar and Adilabad districts including Warangal and Khammam districts.

The AP State Committee sent peasant guerrilla squads to the forest (Dandakaranya) in 1980 April-June with the protracted view that if class struggles in the above four districts of the guerrilla area intensify and the brutal measures of the government reach an unbearable level for the party organisation we would have to retreat to this area on the other side of River Godavari temporarily so as to protect the movement of these districts. As a part of it seven squads were sent to the forest area of Adilabad, Gadchiroli, Chandrapur, Khammam, Bastar border, Visakha-East Godavari districts. The APSC decided two main tasks for the squads thus sent to the forest area on the border of the states of Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh (Dandakaranya). The guerrilla zone document clarified thus -

1. 'To protect the temporarily retreated squads from the four districts in the guerrilla area (North Telangana) and help them to counter attack the enemy.

2. To organise the tribals in the forest area, build the Party and Revolutionary Army from among them and expand the struggle, as the second task gains prominence, concentrate all the activities of the squads in the forest form a special organisation like the Forest Committee to advance towards a higher objective'.

Our squads followed the decisions of the APSC regarding the formation of squad, the primary duties of the squad, the important tasks of the squad, the precautions to be taken in view of the necessity to identify with the masses for protection in the primary phase, made the necessary changes in practice, sustained and advanced step by step.

We faced many difficulties and repressions, made sacrifices and sustained in the forest. We gained the love and affection of the tribal people and became their leaders. Though there were certain failures, party organisation spread in the forest area from 1982 speedier than the APSC expected in 1980. As the squads were expanding the necessity to form a special Party Committee for the forest movement came forth. FLC was formed under the SC with the aim to bring uniformity in squad formation and military skill among the squads in the guidance of various committees. A coordinator was appointed for two squads for coordination.

Struggles began against those who exploit the tribal and the non-tribal oppressed masses, the contractors, the paper mill capitalists, bureaucrat forest officials and landlords. By 1982 tendu leaf struggles spread all over the forest areas. The tribal peasantry of Adilabad, Visakha, East Godavari and Bastar districts mobilised in a big scale, cut the forest and occupied thousands of acres of land. People were mobilised in many kinds of struggles for wages, for remunerative prices for forest produces, against illegal money-lending, to reduce the price of liquor and were consolidated in the organisation. In this process our squads had to advance by facing the joint repressive measures of the Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh governments. APSC made special effort to impart political, organisational and military training to the Dandakaranya movement in 1981, 82 and 83. This improved military sense in the commanders and the squad members to some extent.

Thus, until 1984 there was a lot of effort to spread the movement in the forest. With this the class struggle intensified, enemy repression increased and there were many changes in the number and formation of the squads and it developed into a movement of four divisions. Adilabad district that was separated from North Telangana was made part of Dandakaranya organisations. With this Adilabad, Gadchiroli, Bastar and East divisions were decided to be as one organisation and to develop it as a guerilla zone with the higher aim to establish liberated area. As a part of it the Second Conference of Adilabad division that was working under

a district committee and First Conferences of the new Gadchiroli and East divisions were held in 1984 December and 1985 January. Due to lack of leadership teams the Conference of Bastar Division was not held. These Conferences made some amendments and passed the Political Resolution.

In the Dandakaranya organisation, by 1985 there were three squads in Adilabad division, 8 rural and urban centres, four squads in Gadchiroli division, four squads and two centres in Bastar division and four squads and eight centres in East division, two squads and one centre in Mahadevpur-Eturu Nagaram area.

The APSC had the understanding right from the beginning that if the movement reaches a certain level a special committee would be formed to function under the direct leadership of the CC. We formed the Forest Liaison Committee in 1982 to give a shape to this understanding in a process. Since the State Committee was not clear about the guerilla zone there were elaborate discussions. Since alien class tendencies started in the State Committee in 1984 and due to the crisis, the FLC could not fulfil the aim of its formation and the State Committee directly guided the Dandakaranya movement until the Forest Committee was formed. It was decided to hold the First Dandakaranya Conference in the direct leadership of the Central Committee and elect the Dandakaranya Committee (FC) by 1985, but due to the crisis in the CC in 1985 February this decision did not come into practice.

By 1985 there was qualitative change in the enemy offensive. There was severe attack on the people, party and every field of the people's movement. On the other hand four members of the Central Committee made opportunist conspiracy and came forth in the CC meeting in February in the name of internal struggle in the Party. As per the decision of the CC the Andhra Pradesh plenum was held from May 6th to 11th to solve the crisis. The secretaries of various divisions were the delegates to this plenum. Plenum saw that without exposing and defeating the opportunist conspiracies and sustaining the Party unity, it is not possible to firmly face the offensive of the government and so took the necessary decisions.

There was education campaign by conducting study of documents, classes in Adilabad, Gadchiroli, Bastar and East divisions in 1986 December and 1987 January. The First Conference of Bastar division and plenums in the rest of the divisions were held. The First Conference of Dandakaranya party took place with the delegates from four divisions in an enthusiastic manner in February and March. The Conference elected a Committee with the secretaries of four divisions and one comrade sent by the SC to work in DK. The review of the past seven years made in all the plenums and the First Conference of Bastar division was read in the Conference of DK. In all these plenums and Conferences, the documents of the majority in the CC were rejected and those of the minority were passed.

Thus after the discussions, classes, plenums and Conferences in the lower level, the Thirteenth Conference of Andhra Pradesh was held in 1987 May. The Conference expelled the betrayers of revolution Sathyamurthy and Sivaji who were the main reason for the bad trends in the Party, were against the Party and did not have the minimum self-criticism. It cancelled the membership of Narayanareddy who did not put forth proper self-criticism. Thus all the opportunist conspiracies were totally defeated and Party unity sustained. Through the self-criticism-criticism from the top to bottom in the Party, the evils in the party were eliminated and there was a conscious effort to imbibe correct proletarian perspective.

The government offensive was serious in Adilabad and East divisions that were part of the state of Andhra Pradesh. Repression in Gadchiroli and Bastar divisions was relatively less. Efforts were made to defeat the all-out war of the enemy through self-defensive war with the necessary tactics with the understanding in the circular 'let us defeat the government offensive...' and implement them in Adilabad and East divisions in Dandakaranya. Ambushes were conducted in Daragadda and Allampalli in 1987 July and August as a part of the planned program to give a blow to the enemy's aggressiveness in which 18 policemen died. These ambushes not only gave a momentum for the people to prepare for big

struggles but also practically helped to present our path of struggle militarily before the people of the country. Thus by the end of 1987 we could gain relatively upper hand on the enemy. There was a qualitative change in the struggle in achieving great experience in self-defensive war by mid-1988. While many young people laid their valuable lives in the murderous offensive of the enemy to protect and advance the revolutionary movement in Dandakaranya, a few lost heart and left the movement. In the period of 1985-87 the initial confusion and lack of experience out of the cruel murderous offensive of the enemy was overcome, the fact that self-defence is possible only through retaliation was learnt and the party, squads and the people were prepared with self-confidence for struggle.

Work was done to advance the movement by enlightening the people amidst the encounter massacres that took place in Dandakaranya, by retaliating the enemy and helping the people come out of fear and apprehensions from the massacre. The labourers working in the bamboo forest that is the raw material taken to the mills of Thapar, Birla, Bangur and other such Comprador bourgeoisie intensified their struggles for hike in wage rates every year. There were struggles for occupation of waste and forest lands. Two lakh acres of forest was cut and brought to use. There were struggles for remunerative prices of forest produces. People's courts were a normal feature regarding social oppression, suppression of women, facing the atrocities of the landlords and the hierarchs and other such problems.

In 1987-90 many new struggles came forth in the four divisions. Famine raids, paddy collection and distribution for relief in famine, destruction of government properties, burning of houses of the homeguards, police officers and police who are revengeful on the movement, ambushes, kidnaps, workdays and other such things helped to enhance the foundations of the people's movement and advance.

The struggles for occupation of patta lands of the landlords here and there until 1989 extended as a large scale mobilisation of people in

Adilabad and East divisions during the relaxation in repression in 1990. Ten thousand acres of land was occupied and most of it was distributed. In the place of decreasing the price of liquor the struggle for ban of liquor began. There were successful struggles for the hike in the remunerative prices of turmeric, tobacco and cotton.

Mobilising the people in Mass Organisations

In 1980-84 as the struggles were developing Girijan Rytu Coolie Sangam (Tribal Peasant Labour Organisation) came forth as the leading organisation. While in Adilabad and East divisions it was Girijan Rytu Coolie Sangam, in Gadchiroli it was Rytu Coolie Sangam in 1980, Adivasi Kisan Sheth Mazdoor Sangam (AKSS) since 1985 and in Bastar it was Adivasi Kisan Mazdoor Sangh (AKMS) that mobilised people into organisations. In the undeclared war that started in 1985 the organisation in Adilabad and East divisions was affected and was revived again by 1988 due to reorganising it in a semi-legal manner. In Bastar and Gadchiroli divisions we sustained in the repression in the primary phase, mixed with the people, developed class struggle and consolidated the people in the organisations.

Thus the organisations developed into village, area/range and the division levels and by 1989 a state level organisation with a single name of Dandakaranya Adivasi Kisan Mazdoor Sangh (DAKMS) was formed. As the squads extended in Gadchiroli, Bastar divisions and Balaghat sub-division from 1988 to 1993 organisations too extended. They extended to the districts of Bhandara, Chandrapur, North Bastar, Rajnandgaon, Balaghat and Malkangiri.

Right from the beginning women have been participating in class struggle in Dandakaranya. In Adilabad, East, Bastar and Gadchiroli the tribal women's organisations were formed on village basis and by 1991 Kranthikari Adivasi Mahila Sangham (KAMS) was formed in all the divisions. In Gadchiroli division KAMS was formed in the village, range and district levels while in the other divisions they were in village, range/area committee levels.

In addition to this there was an organisation with the name of KAMS organisers and women were directly mobilised through this. KAMS is leading all kinds of struggles for wages and land and against the traditional oppressing customs especially unleashed on women.

During the period of relaxation in Andhra Pradesh in 1990 there were large scale activities and meetings of the mass organisations in Adilabad and East divisions. During this period there was a failure in the functioning of the Executive Committees of the organisations without being exposed. Since December 1990 there was intense offensive in which the mass organisations were affected and started working in a secret manner. On the 21st of June, 1992 the Congress-I government of Andhra Pradesh banned the Party and the mass organisations. DAKMS was banned in AP. Repression intensified in Gadchiroli and Bastar divisions and Balaghat sub-division and the organisations were affected. In Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh there was undeclared ban on DAKMS right from the beginning. In the severe repression in 1991-93 the organisations were temporarily affected and later revived.

Repression-resistance

In 1985-89 the aim of government repression was to distance the people from the party and the squads and mainly to wipe out the squads and the leadership of the party in Adilabad and East Divisions. Then Congress-I was in power in the centre and in AP the regional party Telugudesam was in power. Both these parties unleashed repressive policies jointly. In Bastar and Gadchiroli divisions we sustained in the repression in the primary phase and in the process of intensifying class struggle repression went on intensifying. Many sacrifices had to be made to retaliate the enemy offensive bravely and sustain the squads. Filling up the losses the Squads gradually advanced.

There was a surge in land struggles in the period of relaxation in 1990. Repression began from July 1990 again. In December 1990 another repressive campaign was unleashed all over the state of AP. In Bastar and Gadchiroli repression gradually increased and the situation of class struggle

and repression were almost alike in the four divisions. In the place of different tactics in retaliating the enemy similar decisions had to be made including Balaghat. In 1991-93 while in Adilabad and East divisions we had to face Para-military forces, in Gadchiroli and Bastar divisions and in Balaghat district we had to face campaigns like Jan Jagaran, Santhisena, Gaonbandi, Gaonyojana and the deployment of special forces of those states.

Formation of joint Command

Before 1991 there were coordination meetings for many years with the higher officials of Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Odisha. Since the movement was rooted strongly the central and the various state governments formulated a joint scheme to take up repressive campaigns in all these areas under one Command. IG and DIG level officers were deployed in many important areas. Communication network was modernised to intensify vigilance. Centre provided all kinds of support to all the states including forces, funds, arms and training.

Repression intensified in the following forms in 1985-93

Hundreds of police attacked the villages and tortured the people en masse. Thousands were foisted in TADA and sent to jail. Crops were destroyed, houses were demolished and the leaders of the Sangh, DAKMS organisers, sympathisers and people were killed in an extremely brutal manner. Thus the enemy tried mainly to create severe fear and apprehensions in the people, isolate the party and the squads from the people and kill the local leadership in large numbers.

In 1985-89 and in 1990-93 many leading committee members, Commanders, squad members, party members, leaders of KAMS and DAKMS, members of the organisations and people were martyred. In a period of 14 years more than 175 comrades became martyrs.

Resistance

With the resistance to the local enemies, special police and Para-military forces, the people were increasingly confident in the Party and

the squads. The role of people continued to rise even in repression. The militant role of the people along with the squads in punishing the landlords, their agents and the police informers who came in the way of struggles increased. In 1985-93 people and mass organisations beat and chased away the police on some occasions. When the leaders of the Sangh were arrested the people fought and beat the police and got them released. People observed bandhs in protest to the repressive actions of the government and fake encounters, retaliated the attacks on the Action Committees in actions of burning and the attacks of the police on the squads and thus the aim of the enemy to wipe out the Party and the revolutionary movement was nullified. Moreover we became strong in terms of politics, organisation and military. In 1987-89 though it was mainly the work of squads, from 1989 to 1993 the role of militants in ambushes went on increasing. With the increase of enemy attacks and the retaliation from our militants and our squads we could make many attacks on the enemy forces. In this background the experience of the people, militants, squads and the Party enhanced. These ambushes were reviewed and appropriate lessons taken.

Expansion

By 1985 the area under every squad grew. With the expansion of squads the total area of movement grew. Expansion was possible only by sending members and leadership from one division to another division. Every squad that went for expansion had to retaliate enemy offensives and sustain. In 1985-89 we filled the losses in Adilabad and East divisions, reorganised the squads, sustained and developed. In Adilabad division we vacated few centres and towns and some CO centres were attached to the squad area. The forest squads gradually spread in almost all the forest and semi-forest areas. The CO centres in the East division were changed as semi-forest squads and in 1988 they too were made forest squads. In 1988 one squad was totally changed to Malkangiri sub-division in Odisha. In Gadchiroli division one CO centre was reduced, there was gradual expansion from 1988 to 1993 and five forest squads were

increased. Thus movement spread to the Northern part of Gadchiroli, Bhandara and Rajnandgaon districts. In Bastar division two CO centres were brought together with the forest squads and the National Park squad was changed to Abujmarh. Later Keskal, Kondagaon, Bhanupratappur areas were spread to North Bastar as four squads. In the beginning of 1990 Balaghat was decided to be developed as a new division and the squad sent for extension gradually sustained in work. Thus the second forest squad and a semi-forest squad were formed. These three squads worked in Balaghat and Rajnandgaon districts.

Squads-Development in squad formation

The forest squads that started with five in 1980 grew with the expansion and development of the movement and became 7-9 and 11 member squads. The CO method of organisation too changed from five to seven semi-forest squad formation. In view of organisational necessities Party cells were formed in the squads starting in 1983 and were completed in all the squads in 1987. Party cells were working in the semi-forest squads right from the beginning.

The post of deputy Commander and Pilot team were newly formed. There was double sentry day long, weapon power was enhanced and the area of operation of the squad was increased. There were changes in the movements and the routes of the squad. The shortcomings in sentry, military practice and other such things were rectified, 'standing orders' and duties of squad members were formulated to strengthen the squad life and they were keenly implemented. Discipline is increasing in the squad life. In Adilabad division local recruitment was the main source since 1982 while the rest of the divisions mainly based on Andhra Pradesh until 1985. Later local recruitment is the main source. Thus now local youth are the majority in the composition. The number of Party members too increased.

The squads were armed with Party made weapons (tapanch and 12 bore guns) in the beginning. Later they seized weapons from the landlords and hunters and gradually seized .303, SLR and LMG rifles and ammunition

from the police. The squads bought some powerful arms and improved relatively.

Squads increased in number, sphere and the level of movement and so there was a need for sub-divisional committee (in the jurisdiction of 2 to 4 squads) under the Divisional Committee to coordinate the squads and take up political, organisational and military tasks. Party cells, auxiliary cells and village protection squads developed and the party cells in the squads had limitations in taking up the increased organisational and military tasks. So Squad Area Committees were formed and came into function including those in the level of deputy Commander. At that time there were four Divisional Committees, seven Sub-divisional Committees and 15 Squad Area Committees under the Dandakaranya Forest Committee.

The AISC and its significance in the development of the Party line

The All India Special Conference, after thoroughly analyzing the significant political, economic and social changes that had taken place nationally and internationally since the 8th Congress, and the experiences gained in the revolutionary movement and the Party over the past 25 years, passed the amended Party Programme and Party Constitution, the documents on Strategy and Tactics, Guerilla zones—our Perspective, and the new Political Resolution (Present Political Situation and Our Tasks). It also approved the 1980 Self-Critical Review regarding the past, taking it as a basic document. It also reviewed the one-and-a-half decades of practice through Political Organisational Reviews and brought out a central Political Organisational Report. The AISC enriched the political, organisational and military line of the Party through this process of upholding its basic line, while simultaneously analyzing the developments in the different spheres and our prolonged practice, all in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This success of the Conference is the first and most significant achievement after the 8th Congress.

Along with this North Telangana and Dandakaranya were identified as primary guerilla zones and it was decided to develop them into higher

level guerilla zones (later the Congress realised that it is not proper to separate the guerilla zone into two phases). Later in the process of development of the movement South Telangana developed as a guerilla zone by 2000. East Region too developed as guerilla zone.

In the prolonged two-and-a-half decade gap since the 8th Congress, facing enormous difficulties with many twists and turns, victories and defeats, and a new resurgence since 1978, there emerged a leadership at all levels in the process of rebuilding, consolidation and development of the Party. In the process of the AISC this leadership got elected at district, state and central-level Conferences. It was the first time since the 8th Congress that a leadership was elected democratically throughout the Party, as a campaign. This was the second significant achievement of the Conference.

The AISC also formulated important tasks for the Party, the most important being the strengthening of the three magic weapons, principally with the aim of building the People's Army and Base Areas to march forward victoriously. The AISC remains as an important turning point in the history of CPI (ML)(PW).

The three-and-a-half-decade history of Party building reveals several positive achievements while it also brings to light the serious problems we faced in building a genuine, proletarian Party in semi-colonial, semi-feudal India.

Firstly, the formation of CPI(ML) was a major breakthrough in the history of the Indian Communist movement. It had shown to the oppressed people of the country how a revolutionary Party should be- a Party that is strictly underground with the most committed, advanced elements forming the nucleus; that functions on the basis of democratic centralism in the real sense; and rectifies itself in the course of intensifying armed struggle. We succeeded in building the revolutionary party by recruiting thousands of professional revolutionaries as a core but failed in building a vast network of part-timers among various sections. It was more a problem related to the concept and understanding regarding part-timers. Party membership was given only to those who came out to work full-time for revolution.

Though this wrong understanding was rectified in the later period and membership was given to part-timers, the role of part-timers is still not of much significance in the Party. When compared with the influence of the Party on the oppressed masses of the country, the number of Party cells of part-timers is very less. The local Party leadership is weak and there is a dependency of the masses on the PRs or the squads for solving their problems or in resisting the enemy. This has given rise to several non-proletarian trends in the Party such as bureaucracy, individualism and subjectivism etc.

Secondly, the formation of a single directing center for the Indian revolution has been plaguing us ever since the setback and disintegration of the CC in 1972 after the martyrdom of Com. CM. The merger of PW and PU in 1998 was a major step in the direction of evolution of a single centre and this was basically completed after the merger of PW and MCCI.

Thirdly, the Party succeeded to an extent in building relatively strong and able Party committees at various levels unlike in the initial period. The consolidation and strengthening of the central leadership was achieved in the course of a protracted struggle—both inner-Party struggle and the armed struggle against the class enemies and the state but lack of continuity of leadership persists as a serious problem at various levels at all times in the Party.

Fourthly, attempts to strengthen the Party through taking up rectification campaigns to get rid of the various non-proletarian trends and ideological-political weaknesses have yielded positive results in some states and special zones. The Party leadership and the cadre have been able to grasp the deviations and weaknesses more deeply and come out of these to an extent but the problem still persists seriously in one section of some leading committees of some states. Despite some improvement over the past few years, the problem of subjectivism, liberalism, spontaneity, sectarianism, bureaucracy, legalism, etc., still haunt the Party at various levels. There is also the problem of lack of professionalism.

Lastly, the Party's class basis, which was more petty-bourgeois in character in the initial period, gradually changed to that of the basic classes.

By 1995 the movement in AP expanded and strengthened and with this there were difficulties in coordinating. In view of this and the development in the movements, party took up geographical changes with the aim of specific concentration in Andhra Pradesh and Dandakaranya. Thus North Telangana was separated from Andhra Pradesh and Adilabad district in Dandakaranya was attached to it. The East Division that was part of Dandakaranya was made part of AP. Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee was formed without Adilabad and East divisions. Thus AP State Committee, North Telangana Special Zonal Committee and Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committees came into existence. In order to strengthen the guerilla zones and help for establishing liberated area the East Region in Andhra Pradesh was upgraded to AOB Special Zonal Committee in 2000. Thus State/Special Zonal Committees were formed and in AP Regional Committees, District Committees and ACs led the movement, in North Telangana district committees, SACs and in DK Divisional Committees, Sub-divisional Committees and SACs in the lower level led the movement. In the villages there were scores of party cells and hundreds of became Party Members. Thus Party strengthened.

The majority of the Party cadre hails from the most oppressed sections-the landless and poor peasantry-while the lower sections of the middle peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie constitute a considerable section. As a result of special attention paid to recruitment and promotion of cadre from special social sections particularly after 1995, the Party now has a good number of cadres from Dalits, women and Adivasis. However, there is need for even more concentration on these oppressed sections especially in promoting them to leadership positions.

A major weakness in our Party building has been the lack of concentration on the working class. As a result, there are very few cadres from working class background. Although in a semi-feudal society like ours the peasantry is the principal source for recruitment, the huge number belonging to the organized and unorganized working class underscores the need to concentrate on this basic motive force and

promote them into leadership positions so that they play their leading role in the revolution.

Building the people's army

Building up of the people's army has been a consistent problem in the history of the Indian Communist Movement. Leaving out the history of the pre-Naxalbari period when revisionism dominated, it was after the seizure of arms from the enemy forces by the people's guerillas in Magurjan that we first declared the formation of the PLA in embryonic form. This could not be developed due to the serious setback to the movement in 1972.

We are building the army from scratch and hence are facing much complexity in the work of building the People's Army. Our party has been working from the beginning with the strategic concept of seizing political power through armed force and settlement of the issue through war. After the setback of the Naxalbari and Srikakulam movements, we tried to build guerilla squads in Telangana and DK. These squads performed both organisational and military tasks. Since then our Party has been developing guerilla squads and guerilla war.

In some areas, we formed special military squads as early as 1993 but these did not become a generalized form for a long period. Special Guerrilla Squads were formed to fight against the state from 1994-95 but we did not give them a generalised form at that time. Thus, by undertaking specialization, separate squads were formed for military and organizational tasks. But LGSs, CGSs and platoons were not brought under a separate military command.

The military formations in Dandakaranya, Andhra Pradesh and North Telangana are specifically like this. In Dandakaranya LGS - ...Military squads - ...Platoons -were formed. In North Telangana there were two platoons, 51 LGS and Action Teams in 1995-99. In AP there were 3 SGS, Protection Squads and later a platoon was formed.

To specialize and concentrate in the military sphere, a separate sub-committee, central SCOMA, was formed in 1996 as well as some state

SCOMAs. All this resulted in specialization in the military sphere and improved our armed resistance. Yet, we did not have clarity on how to build the PGA and separate command structures. Hence, although the situation was ripe by the time of 1995 Special Conference itself, the task of forming the PGA was not taken up due to subjectivism and spontaneity in the CC. At first SCOMA in Dandakaranya and after that SMCs in Dandakaranya, AP and North Telangana were formed. The decision to form the PGA was taken by the CC in August 2000 and was implemented on December 2, 2000.

However in the course of development we acquired knowledge through direct and indirect knowledge and experience, which culminated in the formation of the PGA and a separate full fledged CMC to guide and lead the People's army directly.

In 1995, we took up the task of building the Organs of People's Political Power in NT and DK Guerrilla Zones and in the East Division. From the very beginning, we emphasized on the task of educating the people with the slogan : "All power to the Revolutionary People's Committees!"

These Gram Rajya Committees (GRCs) or Revolutionary People's Committees gave leadership to the people as organs of people's political power at a time when the authority of the state along with that of the feudal forces and caste/tribal elders was undermined as a result of people's struggles and armed resistance. These organs established people's power in an embryonic form. Although GRCs were established only in a few villages, through these we could enhance the consciousness of the people in the GZs regarding new political power.

In the Guerrilla Zone of NT the GRCs became defunct due to severe enemy repression. It had also become difficult to build the GRCs in those areas in DK where the enemy repression was intense like Gadchiroli. The existence of the armed forces of the people and a higher level of consciousness among the people is indispensable if the GRCs are to sustain the new political power and effectively confront the enemy. It is only in the course of smashing state power by defeating state repression and

reforms that the people's political power can be strengthened. If we do not link up the new political power with the PGA, it can't be sustained and developed further. As we could not grasp this aspect clearly, we could not sustain the GRCs.

Although we recognised the role of people's militia, we did not make much headway in building an extensive network of People's Militia. Hence our resistance too did not become extensive. The People's Militia is essential for establishing new political power in the villages and for the people to wage war against the enemy under the leadership of the GRCs. Due to weak militia we could not suppress the local class enemies, check the informers, take up harassment activities against the enemy and arm the masses.

Preparing the Masses for the People's War

After 1972, we rectified the earlier defective understanding regarding the role of mass organizations. We realized that it is through the mass organisations that the masses get organised, are drawn into the class struggles and come to realise through the struggles that there is no other alternative before them but to overthrow the state power of the exploiting classes and establish in its place their own political power in order to liberate themselves from all oppression and exploitation.

While building the mass organisations, we adhered to the Maoist guideline that from the beginning, our orientation, perspective and the method of building mass organisations and mass struggles should be to serve the preparation for war and the war, in turn, would help to further advance the mass movement. Basing on this dialectical interrelation between mass struggle and armed struggle, we tried to mobilize the masses in lakhs. In the development of our revolutionary movement the mass organizations played a significant role, gave several cadre to the war, sacrificed several leaders and members and achieved political prestige, influence and popularity.

All our mass organisations were steeled in the midst of armed struggle mainly. The valiant struggles shook up the base of feudalism, and

threatened the ruling classes and their armed forces. The struggles of oppressed sections in thousands of villages and several cities have struck at the hegemony and the economic, political and social oppression by the ruling classes. They played a great role in smashing the socio-economic and political domination of landlords and later they became the foundation for the Organs of People's Political Power.

In AP, NT and AOB, we succeeded in breaking the lull of 1992-'94 when the massive enemy offensive created serious obstacles to our work among the masses. The post-1995 period has seen a resurgence of mass movements in several states led by our revolutionary mass organisations or by the various cover organisations formed through our initiative. In spite of the massive enemy offensive several struggles were taken up in AP, NT, AOB, DK. That is why the state deployed more special police forces and para-military forces specially trained and equipped with the most sophisticated weaponry. It drew up a plan for better coordination and cooperation between the five states of AP, MP, Maharashtra, Orissa and Bihar, formed a Joint Coordination Committee headed by the Centre in June 1998 and a JOC in April 2000. At the same time, the state had also taken up reforms and dole programmes in a big way in order to divert the masses from militant revolutionary struggles.

While our mass organisations in the initial period functioned openly in some areas of AP for a short period, in the main, they functioned secretly. In some other areas where class struggle was weak they worked secretly while in Dandakaranya our mass organisations were underground and worked secretly from the beginning. Though the mass organisations were officially banned in AP for the first time in 1992, there was an undeclared ban since 1980 in NT, from 1985 in entire AP, and from the initial days itself in entire DK. In spite of this, huge mass rallies have been taking place continuously in these states.

Working class movement

Regarding building of Trade Unions 'We need not build special Trade Unions and split the already split working class. We must guide the workers

identified with our politics to work in the already existing Trade Unions. We must actively participate in the TU activities but in any conditions should not be an office bearer. We must join the TUs and enhance the struggle character of the workers, work to unite the workers, make the workers realise that democratic revolution is the only way for solving the worker's problems'. We decided to take up this as our primary task.

We took these guidelines regarding the functioning of Trade Unions from the teachings of Comrade Charu Mazumdar. We decided this policy in view of the experience of the Indian working class movement mired in economism for a long time and the condition of our subjective forces in the initial period.

The guidelines that we have to join the organisations where there are majority workers, should not be in leadership and should not build organisations from our side were correct to a large extent in the primary phase but it does not apply in all times. There was a speed change in the conditions in the process of struggle. The leadership of the revisionist and neo-revisionist TUs where there are majority workers are creating a lot of hurdles for us to work actively. It is easier to work among the workers in other organisations that are relatively favorable. But majority workers are not in these organisations. Though they implemented the decision that we should not come into leadership, few comrades lost the initiative and lagged behind the workers. The workers are immediately ready to have our active comrades as their leaders whether they are exposed or not. In such conditions the efforts in Singareni (Singareni is a coal mine in Telangana) led us to form 'Singareni Karmika Samakhya' (Sikasa-Singareni Workers' Federation) in 1981.

The Singareni movement has many distinct features in the working class movement. It broke the existing strong revisionist bourgeois TUs and brought the majority working class into the arena of struggle. In this process revolutionary Trade Union Sikasa was formed and the working class movement took new leaps. Perhaps Singareni movement is the only experience in the Indian working class movement that took up legal and

illegal forms of activities for a long time. One more distinct aspect is that the worker's struggles united with the peasant struggles on many occasions.

From the experience in Singareni, Hyderabad, Visakha, Warangal and other areas we understood that there is no need to join only in organisations where there are majority workers, that we have to also fight for leadership, that we have to form new organisations in some kinds of organisations, that we should not make rigid principles regarding forming new Trade Unions and that we have to work in other organisations for a long time in the fields of P&T, Railways, RTC, Teachers, government employees, police and military. There is a difference between the central and the state organisations. Moreover we have to take decisions in view of the changes basing on the phases of revolutionary struggle. In industries, mines and commercial centres and others, though we initially work in other organisations we need not hesitate to form organisations basing on our position among the workers or to come into the leadership. The experiences in building Trade Union vary in Singareni, Hyderabad, Visakha, Warangal and other towns. There were organisations where mainly our forces were in the leadership and as ordinary members. There were organisations where our comrades were only in the leadership and majority of the members were ordinary workers. We worked in some organisations and formed secret units of revolutionary worker's organisation. We were in leadership together with others and the members were ordinary workers. We had the main aim of protection in enemy repression and joined other organisations to build worker's movement. Thus the building of revolutionary TU continued in various forms. These were our main experiences regarding Trade union movement.

Overall, in the mass front, our achievements are primary, and shortcomings secondary. These short comings are: Failure in consolidating the forces which came into these struggles; low level of membership; failure in developing continuity of leadership for mass organisations,

failures in coordination between higher and lower bodies, failure in coordination in secret and open work, sectarian trends in mass struggles, over emphasis on open work before 1984, spontaneity in building mass organisations and mass movement, lack of planning in extending to new areas, etc. Generally these shortcomings apply to state and all India mass organisations.

The weaknesses in the Party committees at various levels, lack of clarity, specialization and experience in the particular field as well as the prevalence of spontaneity and the enormous work pressure on the committees are preventing them from timely and proper guidance to the mass organisation committees at their respective levels. One major problem in giving close guidance to mass organisations is the enemy's concentration in the areas and the white terror through encounter killings of the MO leadership.

There is a mechanical understanding in some of the Party units regarding the forms of struggle and organisation. There cannot be rigid or fixed forms of struggle and organisation. They keep on changing according to the changing conditions and stage of the struggle. Copying mechanically the forms prevalent in one region in another region will give adverse results. Even in the same region the forms practiced today may not be the same tomorrow. Creatively applying tactics to changing conditions and quickly changing from one form to another is a skill that should be acquired by the various Party committees and the mass organisation leadership. Legalism in our mass work is manifested mainly in the form of relying on legal/open methods of work and legal/open struggles to solve the sectional demands and other demands of a general democratic character. Legalism arises from an overestimation of the prospects of legal or open mass movement in India and due to lack of clarity regarding the protracted nature of people's war in our country.

Cover organizations

Cover organizations are indispensable in areas where our mass organisations are not allowed to function openly. We may also form these

organisations in other areas according to necessity. The main purpose behind forming cover organisations is to keep our forces unexposed to the enemy while carrying on open mass work. We must keep in mind that cover organisations are not a substitute for the legal or underground mass organisations. We must form the Party units within the cover organisations and direct them.

Although the attempts to form cover organisations in AP, NT and AOB began since 1985, it was only in the post-'95 period that we achieved some progress. We succeeded in mobilising a large section of the people through the cover organisations thereby foiling the attempts of the ruling classes to render the people leaderless by imposing a ban on our mass organisations.

Some of the shortcomings in running cover organisations are: these are exposed due to loose talk; huge mass mobilisations by the Party to the programmes of cover organisations thereby leading to their exposure; calling exposed speakers to the meetings of cover organisations; meeting the leaderships of the cover organisations in the areas thus exposing them to all the Party and squad members and the people of the nearby villages; the Party and squads getting involved in struggles led by the cover organisation and even issuing threats to the enemy in order to make the struggles a success; selecting progressive or radical-looking names for the cover organisations; giving our slogans and singing our songs on the platform of the cover organisations; forming cover organisations overnight thereby drawing the attention of the police; and so on. Able and experienced PRs and organisers are not allotted for work in the cover organisations.

United Front

We did not concentrate properly on the UF work and there was no specialization at any level. This had a serious negative effect on UF activities. We failed to allot forces for intervening in the spontaneous people's movements or in building joint forums with other organisations. Hence we did not succeed in winning over the forces belonging to the

revolutionary classes. Sectarianism is also quite serious in the movement, leadership and the lower levels in the party. This is seen in two forms; one, not going for joint activity on the common issues with other organisations even when they showed interest and two, engaging in sectarian activities which led to the breaking up of joint action committees.

Due to the ban on erstwhile PW and mass organisations, comrades who are allotted for UF work have to work under severe limitations. Hence it is only by persevering in patient and persistent work over a long period of time that we will be able to establish our leadership over the united front.

9th Congress and after

The 9th Congress saw the emergence of an ideologically and politically mature party — a party of a new type—that had steeled itself in decades of intense class struggle. The party had acquired an All India character with its organisation in over a dozen states, a people’s guerrilla army - the PGA - and several departments.

The Congress saw the further consolidation and enrichment of the party line. While adhering firmly to the party’s basic line that was formulated in the 8th Congress in 1970, the 9th Congress made the necessary changes and enriched several concepts basing on the rich experiences acquired over the years and taking into account the political developments of the preceding three decades. It firmly fought both the “Right” and “Left” deviations that were seen in the forging of the three instruments of revolution - the party, Army and the UF - and in the formulation of tactics. It achieved a higher level of understanding regarding the concepts of people’s army, guerrilla zones, Base Areas and the revolutionary united front.

The 9th Congress thus rectified the shortcomings in the understanding of AISC of PW of 1995 and the Central Conference of PU of 1997 regarding the above concepts and thereby created the ground for achieving a fresh breakthrough in the ongoing people’s war in the country. The Congress firmly resolved to intensify the people’s war and extend it to other parts

of the country. It called upon the entire party to exert its utmost to establish liberated zones and chalked out concrete plans to achieve the same. It expressed its determination to achieve coordination with the ongoing national liberation movements in the country and to continue with the task of unification of the Communist Revolutionaries in all earnestness. It called on the party to cleanse itself of the various non-proletarian trends by undergoing a thoroughgoing rectification campaign and thereby proletarianise the party and make it fit enough to carry out the immense tasks before the party.

Shortcomings identified by the 9th Congress

The Congress identified the lapse that we could not establish organs of people's democratic power on par with the level of the people's war. In hundreds of villages, the old authority of the feudal forces was overthrown and the state much weakened, but the resulting vacuum was not be filled up by the New Power of the people.

The Congress identified the weaknesses in Party building such as a weak network of part-time PMs, lack of professionalism even in some of the leading Party committees were identified as some factors that hampered the pace of the movement.

The Congress gave the call for overcoming the weakness in formulating appropriate tactics to counter the enemy's tactical offensives and their reform and dole programmes in time, to undertake concrete study of the actual conditions, adopt flexibility in the deployment of forces and take up the tactics of temporary retreat of forces from some areas in face of massive enemy offensives, to overcome the defects in the work methods in respect of urban work, and to effectively link the mass struggles to the ongoing people's war.

Basing on the evaluation of the 9th Congress, the erstwhile PW drew up concrete tasks with regard to Party and Army building, building GBs in selected pockets in the strategic areas, organs of people's democratic power, Rectification campaigns and campaigns of Tactical Counter Offensives in a planned manner and achieved significant successes in some

states. It could foil the enemy's attempts to suppress the ongoing people's war through massive repression and reforms, and various other forms.

The Unity Congress-Ninth Congress of the CPI (Maoist) in 2007 reviewed Andhra Pradesh and Dandakaranya movements thus –

In AP, (AP, NT, AOB), we tried to utilise the situation during the period of talks. The mass political campaign during the period of talks until the end of 2004 had created a good political impact and increased our subjective strength in the three zones. But we began to suffer losses soon after the breakdown of talks from the beginning of January 2005. The enemy's plan of multi-pronged offensive, which was going on since 1996, was carried out at a rapid pace with the full assistance of the World Bank and imperialist aid. Combining reforms with repression the enemy had redoubled his planned effort to isolate us by weaning away the masses through various means. He selected one zone after another and concentrated his forces on a massive scale for a certain period of time so as not to give breathing space. His aim is to destroy our leadership in each zone through a well-planned, well-coordinated strategy basing on his vast network of informers and other intelligence networks and by carrying out surprise attacks based on precise information. Besides this, private armed gangs, covert agents are also used on a considerable scale for eliminating the leadership. Fortifications of all stations, even multi-layered in many cases, in all our areas of armed struggle is making it quite difficult to inflict serious losses through raids. Roads and communications are developed to a considerable extent with the help of the World Bank to suppress our movement. Enemy had developed extremely cruel methods in suppressing our movement. Any arrested comrade, whether it is a CC member or a squad member, is never produced before courts but is eliminated in fake encounters.

We did not adopt the correct tactics to counter the above tactics of the enemy in time. We suffered the heaviest losses in AP part during the period of enemy's Action Plan since November 2005, particularly February 2006. This led to gradual decline of the movement finally resulting in a

temporary setback in the state as a whole. The main reasons for the temporary setback are as follows:

Firstly we did not have a correct assessment of the timing and scale of the impending enemy attack during talks. Although we made some preparations militarily during the period of talks, these were not completed by December 2004. When the period of cease-fire was over in December 2004 we thought that the enemy attack may not be serious until another two months i.e., till February 2005. As a result we did not complete our preparations to face the brutal enemy offensive. This was one of the factors that had contributed to losses initially when the enemy began his massive onslaught by the beginning of January itself. But immediately we began to counter the enemy offensive but due to the weaknesses that are persisting since a long period of time we could not offer effective resistance. Second, we did not drive the entire Party to preserve our forces while undertaking planned actions through various means. Third, we did not take up the tactics of retreat in AP part when the situation was clearly unfavourable to us. This shows the lack of deep understanding of PPW and its concrete application. Instead of talking a step back when the enemy was trying to encircle our pockets with the aim of wiping us out, we continued to plan intensification and continuous resistance. Fourth, we had to withdraw our guerrilla squads from the plain areas with increasing repression. We tried to adopt alternative forms of struggle and forms of organisation in the plain areas, achieved some results but these were not sufficient enough in the face of massive enemy repression. Fifth, we did not give serious thought to extend the area of struggle in the earlier period which had a serious effect on the maneuverability of our forces as our areas had shrunk, particularly in AP. Most important of all, our intensification of war did not fetch the desired results as the active participation of the masses had reduced gradually over the years. Although we have a wide mass support we had failed to bring the masses into our organizational fold. We had been planning time and again regarding the involvement of the masses but the increased

enemy repression is making it difficult for us to involve them at a scale corresponding to the enemy attack. Moreover, we did not have proper plan to counter the enemy's multi-pronged strategy i.e., reforms, incentives, psy-war, and various other means besides brutal repression. Overall, lack of consolidated mass base had a serious effect on the scale and quality of our resistance. As a result it became a war between our PLGA and the enemy forces. The CC, PB, CRB and the leadership in charge of the three zones of AP are mainly responsible for the failure in not taking appropriate tactics and preventing the losses. Today we can conclude that the situation in AP as a whole has received temporary setback. It is only by overcoming the above-mentioned shortcomings, building a consolidated mass base, and enhancing the active participation of the masses in the people's war through a systematic plan of work, painstaking effort and creative methods of work in the midst of heavy repression that we can regain initiative in AP. Tactics should be adopted in the three zones of AP in accordance with the specific conditions in each zone.

In DK, we achieved a breakthrough in building organs of people's revolutionary power and establishing GBs, actively involving the masses in the war, building militia in large number, and successfully carrying out several tactical counteroffensives. Today our revolutionary war is facing the counter-revolutionary war and coordinated attack by the combined forces of the state administrative machinery, salwa judum, various political parties and police forces on our movement. As the enemy's attempts to create a network of informers had failed, he has hit upon the strategy of destroying entire villages, following a policy of *"kill all, burn all, loot all"* by using the terrorist organisation of salwa judum to attack the people, and to use helicopters to quickly ferry the police forces to interior areas. The chief form of the enemy offensive since June 2005 has been through the so-called salwa judum campaign that is aimed at clearing up entire villages and herding the people into concentration camps in the name of providing relief i.e., a policy of draining out water to kill the fish. Enemy has succeeded in pitting a section of adivasis against our movement and

creating a wedge between Koya and Muria tribes. Thousands of adivasis were forced to become SPOs and are pitted against our movement. Accompanied by the police and para-military forces, these gangsters enforce the cruelest methods of killing and torturing people in our stronghold villages and force them to join their counter-revolutionary campaign against us. Carpet security system was formed with police-paramilitary camps in close proximity with the aim of destroying our party, PLGA and other revolutionary forces. Pucca roads are being built, communication network is developed at a rapid pace, and enemy fortifications are more strengthened. Local adivasis are subjected to extreme economic distress and tremendous pressure due to the forcible closure of the weekly *haats*. After starting the salwa judum campaign, a vast informer network is built along with the system of SPOs. We lost over 250 people in this mopping up operation unleashed by the central and state government of Chattisgarh along with the private armed gangs.

There are shortcomings in controlling the reactionary forces and the enemy forces. We could not assess the situation in time and take prompt actions on the informers and reactionary elements who had fled from the villages and are organising the adivasis against us. Due to our neglect of work in road-side villages we could not exercise control over the salwa judum gangs. Another major weakness of our movement is our insignificant presence among the various sections of people and weak base in urban areas. But the people made innumerable sacrifices against salwa judum and came forth in a militant manner in struggle. The countrywide democratic forces came forth against salwa judum and declared their solidarity to Adivasis. They took up legal struggles against salwa judum. PLGA in the leadership of our Party wiped out the leadership of salwa judum through guerilla actions. Thus by 2007-08 salwa judum met a total defeat.

Brief history of the Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCCI)

(This article was first published in the first issue of People's War. On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of Naxalbari, as a continuation and development of it, we felt a study of the revolutionary movement and the Bihar-Jharkhand movement in the leadership of the MCCI would help develop a theoretical and political understanding. We added certain important aspects from the MCCI POR and the post-merger POR – Editorial Board)

Preface

It is well known that the decade of the sixties of the 20th Century was a decade of upheaval that shook the whole world. In such a background, genuine revolutionaries, inspired by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung thought (now Maoism), gave the clarion call of rebellion against revisionism. The Great Debate was conducted by the CPC under Mao's leadership against Khrushchvite revisionism at that time, and it was under its stirring influence that the communist movement in India, while waging struggle against revisionism, made a fresh beginning.

It was in such a situation that many extraordinary and front-ranking leadership comrades in the course of the struggle came forward and fought against revisionism. Comrades CM and KC emerged in this way. During the Seventh Congress of the CPM in 1964, the struggle against revisionism in fact arose clearly as a struggle between parliamentarism and the path of Protracted Peoples' War. Thereafter, the earth-shaking Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) had a tremendous impact upon this new stirring of the Communist movement in India. In 1967 the Great Naxalbari Uprising under the leadership of Comrade CM occurred as a spring Thunder over India. All over India a new upsurge began against revisionism and a state of political ferment was generated.

In such a situation, on the one hand the CPI (ML) party was formed under the leadership of Comrade CM on April 22, 1969 and in the same year, the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) was formed under the leadership of Comrade KC on October 20. Thus the two revolutionary streams forged ahead, all along surmounting many hurdles, though remaining as separate entities, until the year 2004 when, on September 21, their confluence gave rise to one big torrent. The CPI (ML) [PW] and the MCCI together gave birth to the CPI (Maoist).

As was inevitable, although the aims and objective of two parties have been the same, their history comprises both the aspect of similarity as well as some differences.

Now, as per the decision taken to acquaint the broad ranks with the brief history of both, we hereby present a part that comprises the history of the MCCI in brief.

The inception of MCCI's history

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 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 area, adopt a line for work in cities, a line for work among workers, student-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 since 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.

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 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 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 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 that was 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 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 political views and practical work of the MCCI.

The struggle of Sonarpur and our preliminary Experience

If theoretical struggle does not get linked with practical work, then on the one hand the theory becomes somewhat meaningless and on the other, we cannot develop a correct understanding of the theory itself. Besides, on giving the back-seat to actual struggle, neither is it possible for the theoretical struggle to advance or extend too far, nor is it possible to isolate the revisionists outright. Therefore, at that time after having got together our forces to a limited extent through theoretical struggle, we took our small force to the countryside to concentrate upon the task of arousing and organising the peasants for guerilla war. We found our first contact in Sonarpur, so it was there that we started our work.

In Sonarpur, 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 defense. As a result, qualitatively, the Sonarpur struggle could not reach an advanced stage.

Even so, it was owing to our direct work at Sonarpur that we could understand better the questions such as class analysis, the peasant problem and agrarian revolution. Moreover, we could also understand that: (a) The revolutionary armed struggle should be built and developed in order to seize state power; therefore constant theoretical and ideological struggle should be conducted against the concrete expressions of revisionism, that is economism, militant economism, legalism, reformism, parliamentarism etc. (b) In our country where the revisionist current has prevailed since long in the name of mass organisation and mass struggle, we should from the very beginning give stress upon secret activist groups as the basic foundation of the party and centring upon them, emphasise upon the formation of Armed Guerilla Units and Peoples' Militia, and practice the method of carrying our work among the broad

masses while keeping the party secret, build mass organisations and mass movements to assist armed struggle, especially emphasise upon the building up of armed resistance struggle and armed struggle as a means of capturing state power and also give special emphasis while building such struggles on building the armed force of the masses, namely Self Defense Squads, Peoples' Militia and Guerilla squads. (c) As an essential condition to build and develop armed struggle in the countryside, prepare cadre and leadership groups from among poor and landless peasants and depend most of all upon poor and landless peasants. (d) Realize the importance of enlightening, organising and involving peasant women and working class women in the armed struggle of the countryside etc.

The revolutionary struggle of Kanksa – Gaya - Hazaribagh could be advanced only after taking Lessons from the Sonarpur struggle. From the Sonarpur struggle the lesson we learnt was that in a vast country such as India, having extreme political and economic unevenness, where the enemy is very powerful and we are weak, it is extremely necessary that we work in some strategic areas that are convenient and conducive to the conduct of guerilla warfare. Therefore, after having obtained some primary and elementary experience during the armed agrarian revolutionary work in Sonarpur, we began working in some selected or strategic areas with Armed Revolutionary Guerilla Struggle and Protracted Peoples' War as the basis. Keeping in mind the concrete conditions of India, how do we at this moment succeed in our political duty through military activities? This was a major question posed before us. In order to resolve this question, we concentrated upon studying some special articles from the military writings of Comrade Mao. We gave special emphasis on studying especially such articles where one could find clear-cut perceptions on the process and method of building the Army and Base Area.

We felt the need to draw a clear-cut line of demarcation on every aspect, which is on political-organisational aspects and the aims, forms and methods of struggle against the trends of reformist, economist and

revisionist movements that had been persisting since long in India. With this view, we decided to draw a clear-cut line of demarcation with the old revisionists on the aims and objectives, orientation and agenda of the peasant movement. While doing so we took notice of the situation in Soviet Russia and the Russian experience, and the situation in China and the Chinese experience, and emphasised upon how the peasant movement could advance in the concrete conditions of India with the orientation and progress of armed revolution. In accordance with this perception and understanding, we decided to give two basic slogans having the underlying political concept regarding the peasant movement, that is the slogans of : *“Land to the tillers !”* and *“Political Rule and Power to the Revolutionary Peasant committees!”*

It was by putting into practice this outlook and the corresponding work method and work style that it was possible to begin the development of a new path and new stream of the revolutionary movement and mass movement in Kanksa-Gaya-Hazaribagh etc. areas. Equipped with the above aims, objectives and orientation, the revolutionary peasant masses and toiling masses began to participate in different types of struggles with renewed vigour. During this period they built new kinds of mass organisations and mass movements, and developed them on the basis of their own experiences. They opted such a path and such a stream that enhanced many times their sense of righteousness and confidence. This helped them understand that they can establish their own political power on the strength of their organised armed force, or in other words on the strength of the gun. They promoted and applied such an ideology of revolutionary struggle and such tactics, forms and methods that pave the way to destroy the law and regime of the ruling nexus and establish the law and regime of the people. Now they did not go to the B.D.O. or S.D.O. or to any officer with folded hands, staging dharnas for food and relief or to raise demands as if with a begging bowl. They did not go to the ruling nexus or government servants asking for alms. They believed in their own organised force, we may say on the strength of the gun alone,

to solve their own problems for which they are going ahead. Instead of begging at the enemy's door for pity and relief, they adopted the path and method of depending on their own organised armed force, asserting to forcefully seize what is rightfully theirs.

They thus brought about a sea-change in the forms and methods of struggle and organisation. Instead of Gandhian, unarmed, fully open and legal forms and methods, they stressed upon mainly armed, secret and non-legal forms and methods.

For instance, dividing into small groups in a secret, armed manner, they got together with speed at one place, as if pulling a net, suddenly attacking the houses or dens of big class enemies who perpetrated atrocities or their hired goons, and as if spreading the net, spread themselves in no time. They maintained a strict vigil on the movements and activities of the enemy side. In all work they abided by the directives of the party. They deposited a small portion of the food items seized or recovered as fine from the class enemies and their cohorts evil gentry, and distributed the rest among the masses. Even when seizing crop from the fields of the enemy, they distributed in the same way. In this way, they tried to help the masses solve their food problem. Though not yet enough in comparison to the need, this instilled confidence among the masses at large. They deposited with the party the guns, cash, gold and silver seized from the enemy with the objective of helping take the struggle further ahead. In respect of penalizing the class enemies and their local agents, they adopted the policy of, "*Give the dog his dues.*" Attempts were made to win over some through persuasion while others were threatened with dire consequences, some were subjected to criticism by the masses while others were beaten up and at the same time persuaded or threatened, still others were totally "finished off".

Generally, only those who committed atrocities upon the people with the help of goons or the police, or those who were known to misbehave with women, or those who conspired to have revolutionaries arrested by the police or murdered were meted out capital punishment with the

consent of the common masses. Following threats issued or selective beating up of a few odd forest guards according to the needs, the forest guards did not now dare to enter many a forest area. Their exploitation and atrocities that prevailed without restraint in other neighboring areas as well did not continue thereafter. Peasants were now addressed to with due respect in the struggle areas for sure, and also in the nearby areas. In some struggle areas, the big class enemies who perpetrated atrocities fled the villages out of fear to take shelter in nearby towns, from where they tried to maintain their reign of exploitation and persecution with the assistance of agents, goons and the police. In reality, with the passage of time, these class enemies have been increasingly relying on police and military wings.

The popularity of such new forms of mass movements and Red Resistance Struggles of peasants and the indications of this kind of struggle spreading to wider areas had shaken the ruling areas; the police and the government machinery were shaken out of their wits. On the one hand, in order to crush the struggle by force, they established police camps and conducted encirclement and suppression campaigns. In area after area, they entered the villages, barged into houses, mindlessly letting loose abuse and persecution, trampling upon the dignity of women, damaging property, snatching away everything from fowl and goat to essential household belongings. They sealed property, beat up both men and women with all brutality, carried out large-scale beatings and arrests and well-planned conspiracies, committed murders of revolutionary cadres. All this was done in the name of preserving law and order, in the name of maintaining peace. On the other hand, they also adopted various other **dirty** ploys to destroy the struggle. They tried to wean away peasants from the struggle by offering various kinds of sops, such as giving land, making good laws, giving money, jobs, installing pumps, digging wells, constructing schools and many other doles. The ruling nexus and their stooges adopted various means such as inciting casteist and caste inequalities, provoking parochialist and nationalist sectarianism, inciting

or promoting various kinds regionalist or territorialist ideologies from districtism and stateism etc, thus creating discrimination among the militant masses at large, attempting to destroy the struggle from within in numerous devious ways. Further, holding the threat of police atrocities and persecution, they tried to weaken the morale of the militant common masses and simultaneously to force the militant masses to surrender before the enemy and thereby to push the struggle towards the same old Gandhian reformist kind of path; they tried to wean away the masses from the revolutionary path to entrap them into the same old mire of peaceful legal struggle. However, all such nefarious designs of theirs were to ultimately fail. No force can extinguish the flame of armed revolution held aloft by the Indian masses, neither now nor ever.

Our principal weakness has been that our masses are not very much active and organised. The areas of our struggle also are very small. The enemy wields a well-organised police and military wing. In an unorganised condition we cannot combat the well organised police and military wings. Then, without extensive areas it is not possible to conduct a guerilla war against the enemy's armed wings.

Therefore, the weaknesses must as far as possible be overcome very quickly. The publicity campaign must be made more creative and more developed. The political education, fighting morale and level of activity must be advanced many times over. Along with building the guerilla war and building mass struggles to assist guerilla war and red resistance struggles, the struggle must spread out as widely as possible in waves. Mass organisations that would be useful for struggle have to be built. With those who can be organised, Revolutionary Peasant Committees must be built. Revolutionary Peasant Committees must be built as the embryonic form of peoples' power through a process. The Party organisation must be built. All these organisations must be built and gradually developed. We must maintain coordination in creative ways between the increasing pace of struggle and the concerns, consciousness and militant mind-set of activists and common masses. We must definitely

understand that if we do not correctly put into practice our actual organisational line in coordination with our political and military line, then the political and organisational work would suffer seriously. If we do not understand the mutual relationship between the three aspects, namely, revolutionary propaganda, revolutionary struggle and revolutionary organisation, and fail to build all these three tasks together in creative ways and in a powerful manner, then we became severely weakened. Along with the politics of self-defence and retaliation, a very important task before us is to arouse the masses fully with activity and initiative, and organise and arm them as a consolidated and disciplined force in the above three organisations.

The Three upsurges of the Kanksa 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 police station (Area) Committee. There was a good mass participation in these struggles. Yet, what were the main shortcomings of the struggles of this phase?

(1) Shortcomings in carrying out political mobilisation in a better way; (2) Lack of organisational preparedness and taking up struggles spontaneously to some extent; (3) Lack of continuity and comprehensiveness in the various forms of programmes; (4) Shortcomings in adopting the guerilla rules and methods etc.

Basically, the struggle that began since February 1972 generated an upsurge. This struggle was limited to the Kanksa Police Station Area in the main. In this area this upsurge was at its peak from February 1972 to January 1973. It is also noteworthy that the crop defence and crop seizure struggle of 1972-73 had first begun from a small pocket in the village of Ausgram.

In 1973 despite some kind of struggle having occurred in Kanksa, the upsurge in the struggle basically took place in the Ausgram-Budbud Police

Station Area.. This struggle was at its peak beginning from March-April 1973 until October-November.

The upsurge of the struggle that followed lasted from March 1974 till June 1975. That is, until the massive military encirclement and suppression that persisted thereafter. In this period, though there was some struggle, the peak in the upsurge of struggle remained only in Ausgram and Budbud in the main.

Thus, three periods can be seen as regards the upsurge in the struggle. We identify these as the three upsurges of the struggle.

On the positive aspects of the experience related to Squad formation

First, an outlook was in the making regarding squad formation and actual understanding was being acquired. Gradually a correct perception developed on why we should form an “Army”, who should be in this “Army?” “How and in what process can this “Army” be formed, why were “squads” formed?

On this an enthusiastic atmosphere was created among the people and activists of the entire area.

Activists came from almost every village. The mentality of leaving one’s household to join the squad has become like a festival. We do not say that there was no spontaneity in this mentality. However, that this spontaneity was not the main thing. The reason being that the events that unfolded in later years helped us even more in acquiring the confidence that which working in any area on the basis of “armed agrarian revolutionary” politics, whenever a call is given to form an army, a force can certainly be organised.

At the time of the enemy’s massive conspiracy and counter-revolutionary attack, it is very effective and useful to form a mobile squad.

It becomes convenient to carry out propaganda work in an organised form. It becomes a regular activity for local activists to go in the shape of a squad from village to village, holding meetings. A squad in every work, discipline in every thing - everyone learns from this example.

Even in waging war this mobile squad plays a reliable, powerful and important role. Generating a “Bolshevik spirit” during struggle, how the masses are engaged in struggle in a disciplined manner; how the village-based militia squads are made courageous and experienced - all this has proved to be the brilliant role of the mobile squad.

Be it scorching heat or rain or cold, the hard labour of treading on foot each day, seeking out special secret routes to tread on and to walk on only in this manner, giving up the usual routes to use new routes, using the tough tracts in forests and traverse distances, walking without light at night, holding meeting and then going out in the middle of the night from one place to another, swimming across rivers in spate during heavy rains, advancing the work even in the midst of police camps, encirclement and heavy vigil, facing every kind of situation - how can such a mentality and experience be gained ?

Only as a consequence of forming mobile squads is it possible to have such positive development.

Shortcomings and lessons of the Kanksa struggle

Shortcomings and weaknesses of the struggle and organisation in 1972 with regard to the organisational line (Party, Army, Committee). :

Among the decisions taken at a Zonal Committee meeting in August 1973 following a review of the 1972 struggle, the following was mentioned “Merely the attempts of the Party do not suffice. It is also necessary to set up a coordination with the masses along with the attempts of the Party. The three weapons of revolution - Party, Army (Regular Army, Local Guerilla Army and Militia) and Peasants Committee must be formed.” A decision was also taken to form “Peasant committees” and “Militia Squads” from village to village and area to area , and to give them a specific form. Thus the “Organisational line” was discussed at length and decisions taken during this 1973 review.

It was also decided to have not separate programmes at the local or area levels, but “a concrete agrarian revolutionary programme”. This was decided as there was also a lack of such a programme.

The “agenda” was to be prepared or approval given not by the party, but the Peasants committee formed at the village level and area level would prepare the “agenda” (with the help and consultation of the broad masses). The party would only keep an eye on such work, give guidelines, provide assistance. The Peasants Committee was not to be replaced by the Party. If things were done otherwise, not only the efforts of the masses, but also the development of the struggle and organisation would be obstructed. Of course, Party Members would be present among the Peasants Committee and they would in fact be the “organisational linkage” of the Party with the Peasants Committee. In the rural areas, the party unit would be the meeting point of the advanced elements of the Peasants Committee and other mass organisations.

In 1972 itself it was the ideal period to form “Peasants Committee” or give them a definite form. However, although there were means to do so at that time, we could not pay attention to form them. We only thought of Party Committees. (This can be said also for the struggle of 1972). In 1972, it was decided in the review that Peasants Committees would be formed, but we could not implement the decision. (We started implementing it only since 1975). This was the shortcoming in our understanding of the political and organisational line; there was a lack of proper understanding of the process of forging the three weapons of revolutions - the Party, Army and “Peasants Committee”. It is true that there was broad mass participation in the struggle. However their participation was not in the form of village based militia, in the shape of organised units. The masses from villages got together for the struggle in large numbers. Thereafter, “squads” should have been formed. This was a weakness of the organisation and struggle. In the beginning for quite some time, there was no conscious effort to operate militia squads in the form of regular and definite squads, giving them a “consistent”, firm and more disciplined form. Village-based militia existed in an unorganised and loose form. In some villages although the form of “militia” did exist, yet efforts were not made to give them a conscious and firm political and organisational form.

It was because the task of making political and organisational preparations for extending the area and also within the main area was not fully completed, or there were serious shortcomings in this regard, that the Kanksa struggle was forced to retreat temporarily. This was our bitter experience.

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, we 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 move to one side or move to the other side 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 later half of 1968, respectively.

Hazaribagh had plenty of hills and forests and was Adivasi-populated with nationality movement i.e., influence of the separate Jharkhand movement. Gaya was a vast plain area (also having a few hills and forests), having an influence of the crude feudal system.

The clarion call of Armed Agrarian Revolutionary Guerilla 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 later half of 1972 the red flaming torch of Agrarian Revolutionary struggle was lit in the Chalho hills, Gaya area and surrounding areas of the Gaya area.

In the struggle of the Hazaribagh area, owing to the broad participation of the adivasi masses as well as non-advasi masses, a revolutionary upsurge-like situation was created. The enemy was alarmed at the revolutionary struggle in this backward and adivasi-populated area. Thus started the brutal “encirclement and suppression” campaign. In order to defeat this “encirclement and suppression” the process of advancing further also began from our side. 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 we had decided very early that building the Army and Base Area was our primary, principal and central task, yet how it would be translated into reality has

always been a big question posed before us. In what practical form would Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (then Mao tsetung thought) be implemented in the concrete situation, or concrete specificity of India, has also been posed before us as a big question.

We 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 Kanhai Chatterji with some leading comrades working in the Kanksa 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 on us. This nomenclature had aroused in us much interest about why a special Area has been formed and what would be its tasks. Thus, a clear concept was formed to form an Army and Base Area, and to form a Special Area in order to enable this. We understood that we could not take even a single step ahead as regards forming the Army and Base Area if we went about it in a spontaneous manner, without any plan or without the concept of Strategic Area.

In reality, we had, under Comrade KC's initiative and able leadership, begun work first of all by selecting Assam and the border areas of Assam-Tripura as a Strategic Area, and as the second Strategic Area a vast area comprising Bihar (now Bihar-Jharkhand) and some parts of Bengal.

However, since the entire ML movement was dealt a massive blow in Assam on the whole, we arrived at the conclusion that it was not possible to advance the work there as the First Strategic Area. Therefore, in accordance with Comrade KC's advice we took a decision to consider the Second Guerilla Area, the Bihar-Bengal area as the First and to make maximum efforts there, as per our strength and capacity, to build the Army and Base Area.

The stand of the CC of the MCCI on the changes in the domestic and international situation after Com KC's demise

On July 18, 1982 our leader and teacher, Comrade KC passed away. Comrade KC's demise is a great loss to us and to Indian revolution. So far it was Comrade KC who presented the basic political line, specific line and tactical line and everything, including the corresponding work-method and work-style. Now, in the wake of Comrade KC's demise, this responsibility came upon the rest of the CC.

This CC then reiterated its stand on the following points -

(i) After the demise of great Mao, the comrades who were arrested as the "Gang of Four" were in fact genuine comrades. The way these four comrades were arrested was in reality a counter-revolutionary coup d'état; in fact soon after the demise of great Mao, the HuaKuo-feng - Deng Xiaoping clique arrested the four revolutionary comrades through a coup d'état, changing the colour of socialist China and installing in China a bourgeois dictatorship.

(ii) The Three World Theory was proclaimed by the degenerated HuoKuo-feng as a compromise on principles and abandonment of class struggle. [Later when during talks with some revolutionary groups, the M.C.C. was urged to present its views on the Three World Theory in writing, we published a document, titled, "Three World Theory, a Counter-Revolutionary Theory," in which the Three World Theory was rejected].

(iii) On the international plane, the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nationalities and people was declared as the decisive and principal contradiction.

(iv) Feeling the need to reiterate our earlier stand since the time Comrade KC was alive on the reports of the 9th and 10th Congresses of the Communist Party of China, we said that the Report of the 9th Congress regarding continuing the class struggle and advancing the construction of socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat was a Basic Report and that the Reports of the 9th and 10th Congress were not mutually contradictory.

(v) We held that the interpretation of the current era as a strategic Concept, as presented in the 9th Congress, should necessarily be considered as a correct concept, and at the same time, upheld the interpretation of the historical significance of Mao thought (now Maoism) made in the 9th Congress.

(vi) In the decade of the nineties, following the disintegration of Soviet Russia, we characterised the Russian superpower as a weak superpower. However, what “weak” meant could not be properly analysed. Later during the November meeting of the CC in 2002, as we understood that it was not correct to characterise Russia as a weak superpower, we decided to characterise it as a powerful imperialist country that had an abundant stock of nuclear weapons.

As regards the question of political analysis of the domestic situation and the political line, the following -

(i) On the character of the state, the assessment remained the same. That is, India was a neocolonial type of semi-colonial and semi-feudal country; (ii) The comprador and bureaucratic big bourgeoisie of India did not have any relative or partial independence, but they are the compradors and loyal servants of imperialism. Their capacity to bargain is not an indication of any basic change having occurred in their character, but an indication of pocketing some more wealth as a consequence of service as agents, (iii) The perception regarding participating in the elections is not merely related to tactics, but amidst the background of the emergence of Khrushchev revisionism and the talk of transition to socialism through

elections or by peaceful means, it acquires the importance as that of strategy; (iv) During the latter part of the Russia-dominated Indira regime itself, the rise of US domination began with the huge amount of loan borrowed from the International Monetary fund, which in the Rajiv period increased even further and US domination became the main form during the NDA regime; (v) The CPI (ML) Liberation was openly declared as modern revisionist and as an opposing element in revolutionary class struggle; (vi) It was decided to give up without delay the mentality of always treading the beaten track or the stereotyped approach in the work of building the Army and Base Area, and further advance and develop the military line, military organisation and military warfare with firmness and in a creative manner.

Two-line struggle is the basic key to party's development

While writing the history of the CPSU, Comrade Stalin said that the history of the Soviet Party is a history of internal struggle, and Mao put this in such words that the Party is a unity of opposite things.

Looking back at our own history too, these facts seem to be quite correct. For instance: (a) A sharp two-line struggle against CPM revisionism, prior to rupturing relations with the CPM; (b) The debate on what is right and what is wrong among Communist Revolutionaries after having ruptured relations with the CPM; (c) The debate and discussion on the process and method of party formation; (d) A sharp two-line struggle against the wrong line that emerged within the MCC on encountering white terror during 1970-71 according to which "it would certainly not be appropriate right now to wage armed struggle in the city and the rural area adjoining the city, and for that matter even in the remote countryside," and a two-line struggle against a handful of leadership comrades who fled the arena of struggle at 24 Parganas, Kanksa and Hooghly raising the issue that "The MCC was practising a 'left' line;" (e) A two-line debate on an issue raised by a leading comrade of Assam-Tripura in 1971-72, that "in the present condition we can advance only by making continuous squad attacks on the class enemy and state power;" a two-

line struggle carried out in varied forms since 1977-78 with Badal when he raised the issue that “The line in Dakshindesh (or LalPataka) Special Issue No. 1 was a ‘left’ line” etc. This two-line struggle went on since the demise of Comrade KC in 1982 until 1994-95. Later, there was a bitter two-line struggle between 1999-2001 (which we shall discuss shortly). Thus through every debate and two-line struggle our line and practice was further strengthened.

The sharp two-line struggle between 1999 and 2001 shook-up the MCCI and helped us in every aspect in taking a qualitative leap

From the very beginning in our organisation Mao Tse-tung thought and Maoism have been synonyms. This has been a general understanding. Then many a time a strong voice was raised for using the term, Maoism. In 1986-87 some arguments were raised in this regard in the Kolkata City Committee. However, the debate could not be concluded then. The reason being that the situation had not become ripe enough to conduct two-line struggle on this issue.

However, it was apparent that within the CC of our organisation, the then CCM Badal was of the firm opinion that it would be politically wrong to consider that “*Mao thought and Maoism were synonyms and it would be more precise to use the term, Maoism*”. It took a few more years for this argument to be advanced, and finally in 1996-97 it did get expressed as such. The fact was that after our Second Central Conference of 1996, within our CC, virtually all except one comrade were of the firm opinion that the use of Maoism instead of Mao thought would be more precise, scientific and appropriate.

Then in 1999 a sharp debate began within the CC on the serial order in which to arrange the portraits of the founders of the MCC - in the order of Comrade KC, Comrade Amulya Sen, Comrade Chandrashekhar Das or of Comrade Amulya Sen, Comrade KC, Comrade Chandrashekhar Das. It was decided in the CC that the question of arranging photographs would be resolved during the CC meeting of August 1999 and the question

of using the term, “Maoism” would be resolved during the CC meeting of January 2000.

In the August 1999 meeting, in the course of a lengthy debate and polemics a decision was arrived at by consensus with all CCMs signing it. Accordingly, the order of arranging the portraits was to be as follows : Comrade KC, Comrade AmulyaSen and Comrade Chandrashekhar Das.

Yet on returning from the CC meeting, Badal and Bharat adopted a course a clique formation within the Party in a conspiratorial manner against this decision, and confusion began to spread among party members and cadres.

Then in the CC meeting held in January 2000, after nearly 7 days of discussion, debate and polemics, it was decided with consensus that it would be appropriate and correct to use the term, Maoism , instead of Mao thought.

However, it was on returning from this meeting that Badal and Bharat stooped to engage in mal-propaganda and cliquism through non-organisational procedures and conspiratorial methods. Now the polemic on “Maoism” occupied the centre-stage. Along with this, they also added some other points, such as : (a) Comrade Stalin should not be assessed according to the Great Debate, but the assessment should be done afresh; (b) There should be no relationship with RIM; (c) The declaration of unilateral cease-fire with the PW was wrong etc. etc.

On all these questions, it becomes necessary to conduct a two-line debate within the party, culminating in a decision at Plenum or Conference, but the wrong attitude adopted by Badal and Bharat on this made this impossible. All the same, there was an intense discussion throughout the organisation on these questions. Ultimately except for Badal, Bharat and a handful of comrades from West Bengal, 98 percent of the membership extended wholehearted support to the CC’s line and there was warm support for the decision to use the term, Maoism.

As has already been said, in the course of this two-line struggle, we underwent a qualitative change in every aspect. This two-line struggle

shook us up so much, that we were motivated to cast away our many weaknesses and filth. It inspired us to understand our serious shortcomings in relation to the dark chapter of mutual clashes between the MCC and PW, and to openly offer self-criticism. It helped us to shed the dogmatist and sectarian trends from within us. Also, it helped us understand the need to form Military Commissions from the Central level to the Special Areas and to two Regional levels under it, and a state level, and to form the Peoples' Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA) from the armed military forces of the people, as the form of the Peoples' Army in the present condition. It accelerated the task of building the Army and Base Area. Finally, it helped us advance towards uniting with the RCCI (M), RCC (M), CPI (ML) Second CC, RCCI (MLM) and other such genuine Maoist revolutionaries, and especially the CPI (ML) [PW], in order to build an all-India Party.

Extension of the struggle in many other places and accelerating the work of building base areas

On taking lessons from the struggle of Kanksa and Hazaribagh, when the struggle developed in the then Hazaribagh-Dhanbad districts and Gaya-Aurangabad districts, it then rapidly developed in Ranchi-Singhbhum and some districts Orissa under the former Jharkhand Region and in Deoghar, Dumka, Jamui, Munger, Banka, Bhagalpur of Bihar, until the level of Guerilla Zone could be reached. Meanwhile, the struggle of Gaya-Aurangabad under the former Bihar Region also developed and expanded very fast, helping extend the organisation rapidly in the Chatra, Palamu, Latehar, Gumla, Lohardagga, Garhwa districts of present Jharkhand; Sarguja, Jaspur, Koriya, Korba districts of Chattisgarh; Rohtas, Bhojpur, Bhabhua districts of South Bihar; further on to Sonbhadra, Chandauli and Mirzapur districts of Uttar Pradesh and Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Vaishali, Madhubani, Khagariya, Sitamarhi, Sheohar, West Champaran, East Champaran, Katihar, Purnea and other districts of North Bihar, thus leading to the development of the struggles there and raising the struggle even in this region to the level of Guerilla Zone. The struggle of North Bihar soon had an impact on

the northern part of Uttar Pradesh and thereon extending to the Uttarakhand area of Uttaranchal, thus building and accelerating the struggle.

Thus, with the development and expansion of the struggle under the Bihar-Jharkhand-Bengal Special Area, in a very short time the work of constructing the Army has gathered speed in a natural manner. As the struggle developed in the Guerilla Zone, the development and expansion of military formations also gathered speed. Beginning with Self Defence Squads and Peoples' Militia Squads and going on to form Local Regular Guerilla Squads, they were imparted education and training in political and military matters. Then, with Squad Members trained and tested in struggles, Platoons and Companies too were formed. Well-systematising all these military forces, on April 22, 2003 the PLGA was formed and this was declared. At the same time, evaluating the revolutionary struggle in a SAC meeting held in February 2003, 80-85 percent of the struggling area under the Bihar-Jharkhand-Bengal Special Area was identified as a Guerilla Zone and 8 areas were selected as Guerilla Bases. In order to develop these as Base Areas, the struggle is being continued with the perspective to obtain the desired objective within a definite time frame as part of a definite Plan. One after another many important successes have also been achieved as the struggle continues to advance steadily. Now what is needed is to take a big leap.

The Unity Congress-Ninth Congress of the Party reviewed the Bihar-Jharkhand movement thus -

Coming to Bihar-Jharkhand, according to the decision of the newly formed CPI (Maoist), the Bihar-Jharkhand-Bengal Special Area Committee of the erstwhile MCCI and the Bihar-Jharkhand joint State Committee of the erstwhile People's War were merged and the Bihar-Jharkhand SAC was formed. One and a half years after the formation of Bihar-Jharkhand SAC, the process of merger was completed in the lower levels. Though some problems of unification exist even now, the unity we achieved is remarkable. This is the area that where the conflicts between the two

parties led to bloodshed and recognised as a black chapter in the history of Indian Revolution and so it is a main success of the Bihar-Jharkhand SAC. Eighty percent of the area under Bihar-Jharkhand SAC is identified as Guerilla zone. BJSAC selected nine places to build guerilla bases in the guerrilla zone that work as the processes of transformation for achieving the immediate aim of building base areas, to implement the plan of the CC. It took up many counter offensive programs to fight back the enemy offensives. There were historic raids such as the raid on the Giridih armory and the Jehanabad jail break.

In Bihar-Jharkhand enemy improved their intelligence mechanism and the informer mechanism, made large scale arrests, banned our revolutionary mass organisations, coordinated combing operations with the neighbouring states and intensified the counter offensive. The police stations were fortified to an extent. Killing the arrested comrades are killed in fake encounters is increasing. This is becoming an ordinary affair. There is a considerable decrease in shifting the police forces in vehicles. We must take up the counter offensive tactics so as to give a blow to the enemy forces coming by foot. Another important tactic of the enemy in Bihar-Jharkhand is to make attacks on our forces by organising private lumpen gangs in the name of Sendra. The police formed Gram Suraksha Samithis (Village Security Councils) in many villages against our movement. The reactionary classes are severely attempting to put one section of the people against another. Almost the whole police force is involved in suppressing us. Many battalions of CRPF are deployed. Whenever necessary Army too is prepared. Helipads are built for the landing of helicopters engaged in attacking us. The Long Range Patrols concentrate on our strategic villages and strong holds, major changes are made in the departments related to state and many such measures are being taken up as a part of the country wide strategic scheme of the enemy.

Degenerated, corrupt renegade forces came together as the Thrutheeya Prasthuthi Committee (TPC-Third Conference Organising Committee) with the plan and active support of the state. They are

working as open agents of the police. They occasionally attack us. We formulated a political and military plan to overcome this problem and are working in this direction.

The consolidation of our forces in the village level, means mass organisations, militia and others is weak. We have to develop the quality of leadership in the Party, PLGA and mass organisations through education, training and handing over independent responsibilities. There is an immediate need to take up rectification movement to eradicate non-proletarian tendencies in the party. The second meeting of the BJSAC identified that the non-proletarian trends and attitudes are quite strong. We also identified various alien and degenerated values to be rectified in the rectification movement but could not take up the movement in a proper manner. We can intensify war and spread to the broad areas of BJ by overcoming these weaknesses. We also identified the sources to develop guerilla bases with the aim of establishing base areas. We also identified the order of importance. On this occasion we also took up certain organisational changes. We can achieve success in establishing RPCs in the selected areas if we take up the proper perspective, proper plan and program. We also announced the aim to form a battalion in the first half of 2007. But since we were involved in the long process of merger of the party units in the lower level and in conducting classes on basic documents we could not pay proper attention on achieving the above task. We failed in taking a special drive in advancing the organisations to a higher level in the areas selected as guerilla bases and to intensify them. All these must be considered to be the main weaknesses in the area under BJSAC.

In view of the vast opportunities in Bihar-Jharkhand we have to formulate a well worked out plan to utilise these and reach a qualitative leap.

Some of our specificities

During the forty years from the second half of 1964 till the present day, our organisation first came to be widely known as the Chinta and

Dakshindesh group; assumed the name, Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) in 1969 under the leadership of our founder leader and teacher, Comrade KC; went on while following and carrying forward his line after his death in 1982, to unite with several Maoist revolutionary groups in 2003, and acquired the name, Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCCI). Meanwhile, all over India, MCCI earned recognition as a front-ranking, main revolutionary organisation.

The question is what have been the specific features of the MCCI that enabled us to emerge through numerous unfavourable circumstances from the stage of inception as a very small organisation, and assume the form of the relatively large organisation that it has become today.

First Specific Feature

Drawing a clear line of demarcation theoretically and practically with revisionists on political and organisational and every matter. This is such a point, which if not solved in a proper way, would stand in the way of advancing towards building a correct line and correct revolutionary struggle, and could confront us as an hurdle even if we could make some advance to an extent.

Second Specific Feature

The document *Strategy and Tactics* presented in 1969, provided such a strong foundation, on whose strength we could, while analysing the concrete situation of India, reject the path of elections and the question of participating in elections, and adopt the path of armed agrarian revolution and protracted people's war as the only path of liberation.

Third Specific Feature

While adopting an outlook to advance the protracted peoples' war, always stressing from the very beginning that to carry out the primary, principal and central task of building the Peoples' Army and Red Base Area, some favourable areas would have to be selected as strategic areas, in accordance with our strength and capacity, we made and are still making efforts to advance our work by adopting a concomitant cadre policy.

Fourth Specific Feature

In order to constitute the leading bodies of the body, we could take the combination of theory and practice as the correct method of leadership, and with those comrades who had advanced through this process, we could form a team of leading comrades (however few they might have been in number). On this basis we could more or less maintain a continuity of leadership. In spite of some very difficult situations following the demise of Com KC and Com AmulyaSen, there was no division in our organisation; instead we could uninterruptedly advance their line while forging better unity in the organisation.

Fifth Specific Feature

While firmly carrying out the class line and the mass line, we could prepare such sons and daughters of the soil from among the basic classes (however few they may be in number), who are today providing capable and adept leadership to the party and revolution.

We have noted above only some of our many specific features. As a matter of fact, only while remaining steadfastly on the correct line and policy, and correct method and style; drawing a clear line of demarcation on political and organisational matters with the revisionist standpoint and path; adopting the course of revolutionary struggle on the basis of revolutionary theory; uniting with genuine Maoist revolutionaries and taking the Indian revolution ahead with firm determination towards victory, was our organisation built, soon after the revisionist 7th Congress of the CPI (M) in 1964, as the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) in 1969, and as the Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCCI) now since 2003.

Positive achievements

Our journey had commenced with the objective of drawing a clear-cut line of demarcation with revisionism and of building the three magic weapons of revolution on having determined a revolutionary line, so that after the successful completion of the new democratic revolution of India, the path could be paved for the world proletarian revolution. All that we

could do towards achieving this goal could be called our positive achievements. These are following:

1. In this long period, we were able to defeat the old and new revisionism inside and outside of organisation in theory and practice, and were successful in advancing and developing our revolutionary theoretical line on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

2. We were also successful in advancing our strategic and tactical line, and were able to develop it to the present situation.

3. We could adopt a strong party programme.

4. We were successful in uniting with genuine revolutionaries of the CPI (ML) and with genuine revolutionaries the MCCI. Besides, we were also able to unite with various Maoist forces.

5. In the international arena too we were successful in our efforts at uniting with Maoist revolutionaries.

6. Today, we are on the verge of achieving historical success in forming an All India Maoist Party.

7. In order to be efficient in all military matters, we have built a Central Military Commission (CMC). We formed the PLGA with the objective of forming a Peoples' Army and Base Area, and advanced our military line. Besides, we are now engaged in the task of building guerilla base areas.

8. We are in a position to play an effective role in rallying the various forces at our initiative in the building of a strategic and tactical united front.

9. We have been successful in expanding the armed agrarian revolutionary guerilla war and protracted peoples' war on our own independent initiative, and in advancing and spreading the revolutionary struggle.

10. We were able to wage struggles at one advanced level after another in all old and new areas of struggle, and in building able commands and commanders, and the army.

11. We were successful in building revolutionary culture.

12. We have also been engaged in constructive development of our economic policy and the task of economic production.

Negative aspects

Our journey since our inception has covered a long period till today, and it has been a very challenging journey. It was as challenging from inside as it was outside. There have also been some negative aspects during this long period. They are following:

1. The opportunist elements within our organisation, remained ensconced in the highest committee of our organisation for long time, which caused a substantial loss to the organisation, and the political and military spheres remained obstructed. In particular, the task of making the party more dynamic and active, while viewing it as a unity of opposites and implementing this law in a lively manner, was highly obstructed. The task of developing all military aspects, the military line, military organisation, military activities etc. also was highly obstructed. This was a manifestation of treading the beaten track for long time.

2. For a mature communist revolutionary party-organization, remaining engaged in armed clashes for such a long time with another revolutionary organisation and not being able to work out a correct political solution at the earliest was also a negative experience.

3. Educating the entire ranks on the party line and on other topics was less than the required.

4. In comparison with whatever achievements we could gain in our work in countryside in accordance with our line, the development of our work in the urban areas was far less.

Cultural field – Present tasks

Sadhana

Discussing about cultural field would normally mean speaking about literature and art. This is indeed a very important issue and so it gained prominence. We see culture from the understanding that ‘the culture of a society is the theoretical reflection of the politics and economic system of it’. To see it in more detail – we define our country as semi-colonial, semi-feudal. It means here there are semi-feudal politics and semi-feudal economic system. Culture is the theoretical reflection of both these. We also have culture that is the theoretical reflection of the politics of imperialism and that is indirectly exploiting and ruling our country and its economic system. ‘Imperialist culture and semi-feudal culture are two great brothers’ says Mao. He adds that ‘both these have become reactionary cultural unity. This serves the imperialists and landlords. Imperialist politics and culture as the theoretical reflection of its economic system are in the leadership of the alliance of both these. Both the cultures are bad and should be wiped out. It is certain that without wiping out those we cannot build any new culture. The new culture formed by wiping out these shall be the reflection of the new politics and economic system’. Let us see one more thing here. We feel that politics are the centralized expression of the economy. This is our understanding in saying economic system as the base and culture as the superstructure.

We are making revolution to bring a fundamental change in the politics and economy of a society. We are making serious efforts to change the culture that is the reflection of the same. We are working in the background set in our basic document ‘Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution’ - ‘Establishing New Democratic Culture means rooting out semi-colonial, semi-feudal culture and modern revisionist ideology and establishing scientific democratic people’s culture and this is the task of the cultural field in the present revolutionary stage’. This work is of two

types. One is in the form of agitation and propaganda and the second is organizational work. Out of the two, there is more work in agitation and propaganda and work in organization is weak. Consolidating the forces inspired with the agitation and propaganda organizationally, expanding by paying proper attention and strengthening them, educating the organisation and bringing them into practice means creating literature and art. The process of participating and gaining experience in propaganda and agitation is like a cycle. Only if we understand the dialectical relation between them that wherever there is a violation to this process it would entirely face loss and that too it would be useful to achieve the task only if we give primary importance to organisations. This work must go on according to the primary Marxist understanding that only the organized people make revolution. Anyway organizational work is relatively hard and complex than agitation and propaganda. It has to be taken up according to the discipline and democratic centralism mentioned in the Constitution of the organization. How can we wipe out the exploitive culture without this work? How can we enlighten the people?

We need to give serious thought to how the writings and art created by persons can fulfill the revolutionary task without going among the people, without direct relation with the movements and without organizational consolidation. How can those who believe that - 'writings and art pieces are the expressions as a result of the reflection of life of a society in one's brain', 'the necessary raw material and source for literature is the people's life', 'art is the expression of people's life, thoughts and feelings' - create literature and art without totally identifying themselves with the revolutionary people? They must understand that without active participation in the organization and without making organizational effort they cannot create powerful literature and lively art. This does not mean to undermine the importance of agitation and propaganda. This is to emphasise that the essence and life necessary for revolutionary propaganda through meetings and other forums is obtained from organizational work. Those who created marvelous literature and art in

the world have been closely in touch with the people's movements. The inspiration and enthusiasm from those have helped to an extent in fulfilling the interests of revolution. Anyhow the actual thing is that without organizational work in the cultural field revolutions were not successful and will not be successful. Where such work is lacking we can make out the gap. For example, in our country today the revolutionary movement is going on in a broad area. Guerilla war is going on in a severe level in the central and east India. People's War is building the state power of the people. It is working among the people in the primary level. The destruction created by the Salwa judums, Sendras, Shanthiyathras and Harmadvahinis is nothing less. But the people and the people's armed forces defeated them with their heroic struggles. With this the exploitive state was shocked and is unleashing Operation Green Hunt with the aim of wiping out the revolutionary movement for the past five years with protracted schemes. This destructive operation is going on with the aim of total destruction or total war. The exploitive state security forces are indulging in many brutalities. People's victories too are in a unique level. All those are not being written to the necessary extent! They are not being molded widely into art forms. We have such bitter experiences in the Andhra Pradesh revolutionary movement and the Bihar-Jharkhand revolutionary movement that have stood in the forefront of Indian Revolution. Whatever the reasons might be, the good effort in the initial days of the movements has lacked later. The people have to gain the experiences of these movements to a much more extent. The little literature and art that the revolutionary movements are creating are nothing in terms of quantity in the multipronged offensive of the enemy. We cannot expect literature and art to the extent of fulfilling the necessities of the revolutionary movement from the pens that are constantly involved in war. Moreover the Protracted People's War going on in a semi-feudal country has to depend mainly on the worker and the peasant forces. They are the motive forces. Coming specifically to our country, in the conditions where lakhs of adivasi people are involved in war in the vast forest areas, the help from writers, artists, journalists,

doctors, engineers, agricultural scientists, intellectuals and others is very much needed.

Since we are specifically talking about literary and cultural field, the 'cultural army' as Mao said, without their total identity with the people's movements there would be a gap in the revolutionary movement. For this purpose they will have to first be organized in the revolutionary people's organisations and a direct part of the people's movements. In the situation when the revolutionary movement is facing a difficult condition, the necessity of more perfection in the organisational strength of the revolutionary cultural army has increased more manifold than in the past. If the army is not consolidated in a big way the movement would lag behind in fulfilling the necessities of the revolutionary movement, in the forms, literature with standards and art to the world. 'All the soldiers' of the cultural field must be prepared to fulfill this gap. The elite and advanced forces must be prepared first. The present conditions demand this. On this occasion let us see what the world famous poet Lu Shun suggested literati and artists about whom Com. Mao said, 'great daring, correct, highly steady, most reliable, committed national warrior in the cultural field' and 'he is a great unparalleled warrior in our history' –

“Though you do not identify with the ongoing struggles in the society and study and write residing in glass buildings, it is very easy for you to become great transformers or terrorists. One more thing is that if you do not understand the actual character of revolution you will easily become rightists. If you cannot see the revolution in difficult conditions much more closely, the beautiful dreams about revolution shall shatter in no time”.

We must apply what Lu Shun said in difficult conditions. It is a good tradition to visit the areas of revolutionary movement to know their experiences occasionally. It is also the present necessity to totally identify with those movements organizationally.

Coming to the second thing, though we formed propaganda teams in the cultural field, the work of building it as a mass organization began only after the AP State Committee formulated the Cultural Perspective in

1995. We understand that the Andhra Pradesh State Committee though late, realized the necessity of forming propaganda squads and decided through the JNM perspective.

In 1972-75 when the Party was mainly limited to the student and the intellectual fields, JNM could enthuse the student, youth, intellectual, employee, middle class and the peasantry to think about revolution through its cultural programs. During the time when the Srikakulam Armed Peasant struggle was suppressed in a severe way, JNM efficiently conducted its role in propaganda. It widely propagated the history of Srikakulam Tribal peasant struggle that was limited to North Andhra, especially Srikakulam, the Naxalbari and other armed peasant struggles in Telangana and other Andhra towns and the rural areas of Rayalaseema. Through its cultural programs in the colleges, towns and villages JNM created an optimistic understanding towards the future struggles and revolution among the oppressed masses. During those days the extempore drama 'Beedalapaatlu' (plight of the poor), 'Rytu Coolie Vijayam' (the success of agricultural labor), dappu (drum) dance, kawali and other such songs galvanized many. JNM went around for months staying in one village each day and performed basing on the people. This work not only helped to mobilise the people and attract them towards the movement but also as an efficient organization of propaganda as a preparation for mobilizing the student, youth and intellectual fields and to revive the movement.

A few days before imposing emergency in 1975 repression initially began on JNM. The proposed RYL conference in Guntur was disturbed, the JNM artists were arrested and tortured. In emergency the Party was banned. Since there was no special program for the JNM artists as a part of the secret party, the comrades who until then were part of activities in the name of JNM became scattered. In a period they were caught, tortured and jailed. During the dark days of emergency JNM could not take up any activities.

When emergency was lifted there were new conditions in the country and as a part of the Party tasks to 'form JNM in each and every place and

develop them as powerful instruments of propaganda for the propaganda of People's Democratic Revolution', JNM units were formed in many villages and colonies. The songs of JNM went from village to village as a part of the campaign 'go to villages'. JNM song was like a weapon in the struggles where the peasantry was mobilized in the anti-landlord struggle. The villages marched in struggles with resounding songs. JNM song became a beat in the mouths of the people. A tradition came into existence where the people's activists created songs orally in the people's tunes then and there. JNM became an inseparable part of the then peasant struggles, created enthusiasm among the people, faced the exploitation and oppression on them and enthused so that they go in the path of struggle to change their lives. JNM brought 'Naxalbari biddalu (Children of Naxalbari)', 'Oggukatha' as a new people's art form. The people's art form was revolutionized in the peasant struggles and changed into a revolutionary people's art form. Many JNM units were formed in the struggle areas and worked actively. JNM was entwined as a cultural movement in the peasant struggles that rose in Karimnagar, Adilabad and Warangal districts. Later the struggle areas of Telangana were announced as disturbed areas and the government put its iron heel on the peasantry. Then JNM conducted its cultural activities among the people against the repression like fish in the water. It conducted cultural programs in the towns and mobilized the urban people. It performed giving a call to boycott fake elections. It propagated exposing the cruel repression during emergency. In 1981 when tribals were brutally killed by the police in Indravelli, JNM participated in the open demonstrations in the urban areas condemning this massacre and prepared a ballet 'Ragaljenda' (Red flag) on the tribal life and performed all over the state. During the same time JNM performed 'Bhumi Bhagotham' (the story of land), 'Sikkoluyuddham' (the war of Sikkolu (Srikakulam)) and propagated the fakeness of the government land reforms and the story of the struggle of the Srikakulam Tribal peasants in North Andhra. Along with this it conducted district, region and state level cultural classes. In this period JNM teams were formed in many districts and involved in agitation and propaganda

activities. JNM enthused the people of the struggle and non-struggle areas in the campaign in solidarity to the Adilabad-Karimnagar struggle. Thus JNM became part of the peasant struggles and the student and the youth movements. Through the performances of JNM at the time of Seminar on Nationality Question under the auspices of RSU in Chennai, intellectuals of other states too were enlightened. JNM participated actively in the second conference of the Agricultural labor organization in Karimnagar that was conducted to coordinate the peasant struggles and advance them as an organized force. It prepared a drama 'Nagetichallallo...' (in the fields). Thus JNM activities continued until the government unleashed severe repression on the people's movements and mass organisations in 1985. In a situation where RSU and RYL could not take up open activities JNM too faced the same. JNM comrades played an active role in the country wide propaganda campaign exposing this situation in 1985.

Open performances of JNM stopped since the end of 1985. JNM activities totally came to a stop in Telangana area. It could take up its propaganda activities in the rural areas of South Coastal and Rayalaseema until 1989. In Telangana except for singing songs and making small performances as a part of the RYL and RCS activities, JNM could not perform as an organization. Though we had experiences of emergency, party could not guide JNM to take up open and secret activities during the period of repression that started since 1985. Few videos were prepared, few Telugu songs were translated into Hindi and the cultural art forms in some states were studied. We failed to work in a creative manner during the period of repression. We had considerable experiences in the cultural field in 1972-85 but the Party could not formulate a proper plan regarding the cultural squads in the struggle areas, about the secret activities in areas of repression or about proper activities in Coastal Andhra where there were more opportunities. By then songs were coming in the tribal languages in the tribal areas of struggle. Though there was no separate cultural unit in the squads, the cultural field too was a part of the functioning of the squads. The cultural movement to rectify the

backward ideas in the cultural life of the Gond tribal people too became a part of the Tribal peasant struggle. Few leaders of JNM did not bend to repression and became part of the secret life. But Party could not utilize the organization of cultural movement during this period of repression.

Again in 1990 there was the condition to conduct open performances. We knew this legal period would exist for a very little time but party did not try in a serious manner to deal with the problems of organization in JNM, about the shortcomings in the cultural performances and about the message to be given to the people. With the affection of the people towards the JNM artists who came into the open after a secret life during the repression, word and song became an art form in the place of cultural performances. JNM could not prepare creative new art forms according to the cruel repression, the struggle spirit of the people's retaliation and the level of consciousness of the people during 1985-89. There were some new songs during this time but the cultural performances could not reach the level of people's mobilization and to raise the struggle consciousness of the people. The oppressed masses under severe repression since 1985 mobilised in lakhs like a flood. The rallies brought all together and it helped to enhance the morale and self-confidence of the people in the struggles. In fact if JNM had worked much more creatively during this period it would have contributed more to enhance the cultural level of the people. JNM had little time to create such new cultural art forms but if attempted it would have been able to reach that objective to a little extent. During that period JNM comrades tried to bring forth new art forms but could not perform them successfully. People had so much interest in the cultural performances and the art forms that the JNM songs books and audio cassettes were sold in lakhs, creating new chapter in the state of Andhra Pradesh. The movement developed quantitatively and qualitatively but JNM could not perform Ragaljenda of 1981 as much artistically as earlier. The songs and dances of the 1970s found place in the performances again and it could not reach the level of people's movement and people's consciousness. JNM had an advanced role in the movement in the 1970s

but it could not develop in the 1990s. In 1991 government repression started and JNM could not give open cultural performances. We gained a lot of experience in forming propaganda units and in taking up legal and illegal activities but we could not reach to an understanding about forming Jananatyamandali as a mass organization until 1995. We reached the understanding that JNM too should be a mass organization in the Perspective APSC wrote in 1995. We could not make it a mass organization in the repression that immediately broke and also we could not continue the propaganda teams. However the mass organisations continued in the cultural field in cover.

The tasks of the cultural field – revolutionary mass organization – revolutionary propaganda – these tasks must be consolidated in the direction of the people, people’s army and state power. Only the people consolidated as people’s army can protect the various people’s organisations and the organisations of cultural (literary, art) field. We must understand that there is a dialectical relation between these two organizations in the revolutionary movement. If one of it is not strong it would have a negative impact on the other. Mainly, if the people’s army is not formed in proper time and cannot protect the revolutionary people’s organisations those revolutionary organisations will face a loss. In such conditions we have to change our tactics. There were organizational changes in the cultural field, especially the art field in AP (the present AP and Telangana states) in this direction. Since counter revolutionary war was gaining the upper hand in AP, Jananatyamandali that was until then working openly started taking up its tasks in an armed manner. At this juncture we formed ‘X’ cover organization. It took up the task to mold the activities and tasks of People’s War as art forms and perform. In a process it spread as a statewide mass organization. It took up wide propaganda with the aim of New Democratic Revolution through various art forms. Even now it is continuing this task successfully.

The Armed JNM took up revolutionary propaganda for a decade. Since the revolutionary movement faced a severe loss in AP and Telangana JNM

too was dissolved along with all the secret organizations. 'X' is continuing successfully.

In the later stage of the movement in Telangana, Telangana Kala Samithi was formed and it took cultural art forms reflecting the aspirations of the people and contributing to the organization of the movement.

When the revolutionary peasant guerilla squads initially spread to strategic areas (forests) they took up political, military, organizational and cultural tasks, i.e., multipronged tasks. The initial guerilla squads took up these multipronged tasks for more than a decade. Later first the military tasks and four years later cultural tasks were separated. In this process Chetana Natya Manch was recognized as revolutionary mass organization in 2002 and then the efforts for its development intensified.

Chetana Natya Manch achieved considerable development as a mass organization. It registered membership in thousands. It could form leadership in three layers. CNM could also form squads with full time revolutionaries. These squads mainly held the task of revolutionary propaganda in various forms. Along with this Chetana Natya Manch is also taking up the tasks of training activists, creating new literary and art forms, revolutionizing people's arts, recording and protecting them, and other such things. To that extent it is contributing to revolutionary movement. It is helpful to enlighten the people. Anyhow there are no enough cultural squads is another problem is that where there are no separate cultural squads, the squads taking up political and organizational tasks of the party do not show the necessary interest towards the cultural field. The activities of CNM as a mass organization are naturally very limited. They cannot fulfill the necessity of taking the revolutionary message to the people among the enemy attacks, the revolutionary political propaganda and about the people's problems in the level of the cultural squads. We can understand some more things if we think about the intensity of the problem in a deeper manner. Then we can be comprehensive about the tasks before us.

Primary organisations in the military field (Local Guerilla Squads, Platoons) are almost unable to fulfill the tasks of the cultural field. Though

they have mainly military tasks, they are not taking up the task of propaganda as written in the PLGA manifesto. Though a few enthusiastic persons are trying to do something it is clear that they cannot do anything as individuals. Another serious problem is that except for the activists of the cultural field others are not interested in these programs. This is a negative trend. At least one third of the recruited in a year into the revolutionary movement are active members in CNM in their villages. However immediately after recruitment they are gradually distancing from those activities. In fact this is the result of the failure of understanding the importance of the propaganda of revolutionary politics and cultural activities. This unwanted consequence in the youth who in fact actually went among the masses when in the villages and performed, ultimately harms the revolutionary movement. It is a fact that the cultural activities give a lot of enthusiasm necessary for a combat unit. If there are no cultural activities at least to a minimum extent, as Mao said the combat units would become dull.

In the present difficult conditions of the revolutionary movement there is a strong need to widely propagate the victories of the past three and a half decades with the aim of strengthening mass base. In order to defeat the present fascist Operation Green Hunt, the experiences of defeating several enemy repressive campaigns, the armed goonda army like the salwa judum, the success of wiping the infamous leader of it, Mahendra Karma, the role of the people and people's militia in the military successes in Mukaram, Battum, Gollagudem, Kongera, Laheri, Manpur and others must be taken to the people. Today there is a dire need to prepare the people politically to boycott the fake reforms of the government and the large scale Civic Action Programs of the 'security forces' in the name of filling up their distance with the people. Unable to understand the difficult conditions, some people lose confidence in the historic truth that people are the makers of history, cannot know the prominence of MLM and leave the revolutionary movement out of despair. Answers need to be given to the thoughts and discussion arising out of

these among the people. So there are many tasks. All of them are the problems of the cultural teams taking the message through their cultural and art programs to the people. Where there are no such teams, all the revolutionary squads including the military units going among the people must take the message in cultural forms so that the people can understand in an easy manner. There is no other way in the present conditions.

Strong coordination is necessary between the revolutionary people's committees and the cultural teams. This coordination is necessary among all the revolutionary mass organisations. We understood this necessity and prominence and formed Public relations department in the Revolutionary People's Committees. Later by 2011 we made changes in the work division of the Executive Committees of the mass organisations in the direction of achieving more coordination with the RPCs. With the formation of the RPCs there was confusion in the functioning of the revolutionary mass organisations in some places that gained great confidence of the people and we formulated the necessary guidelines regarding the functioning of RPCs and the Revolutionary MOs to clear it. In fact party had been making decisions developing its understanding in accordance to the conditions to interlink the organized people with their organs of power much closely. But due to shortcoming in the functioning all of them gradually became foggy. The RPCs are not conducting their meetings and also those of the departments as per their policy program. There are a lot of works in the daily lives of the people with the government and the various departments. They will have to solve the problems. Necessary decisions must be made by the RPCs as and when the time arises to protect the people from the cruel and brutal attacks of the exploitive state and to resist these attacks. Since these are not going on properly the decisions and messages of the RPCs are not going to the people. As a result the education-culture-propaganda department is unable to work like earlier. The cultural artists provided relief to the people who do agricultural works the day long and are suffocated with the attacks through their cultural performances and maintained a political

atmosphere. They worked to enlighten the people on many issues with their performances. Now there is more need to bring such an atmosphere. Where the RPCs are active they have to efficiently utilize the education-culture-propaganda department. Where it is inactive, weak and faced loss, the cultural activists must enthusiastically participate in the work going on in the direction of making them active again. It is not an ordinary job to educate the people. Much illiteracy, blind beliefs, poverty, diseases, outside world-bourgeois world-here too the task of enlightening people would be testing. This task is very tough in the revolutionary strategic areas. Special efforts must be made to take up this task. For this purpose firstly there must be strong coordination between the revolutionary people's committees being formed in the primary level and the cultural activists. On this occasion let us remember what Com. Mao said in 1944, in the meeting of the activists of the education-cultural department in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border area. There are more than ten lakh illiterates out of the 15 lakh population in this area. There are two thousand magicians. In such an area he said to the activists –

“More than working against the Japan imperialism it is difficult to fight against the enemy in the minds of the people. We must give a call to the people to fight against their illiteracy, blind beliefs and untidy habits. Broad United Front is necessary for this struggle”. As I read these sentences I remember the incident of how the revolutionary people, activists of revolutionary mass organisations and revolutionary people's committees died out of cholera in South Region of Dandakaranya in the rainy season of 2013 without proper medical care, lack of sanitation and at least boiled water. Before educating our people first our revolutionary activists and cultural activists must develop the understanding about these things.

Lastly another important task needs to be given a thought. That is study. Maoism teaches that ‘we have to consider the actual necessities of the people and not those we imagine’. This is a very important issue. If we have to know what the people need without any subjectivity we need to go to them! We have to work among them, gain their confidence and

know their real needs. Here class line and mass line too are embedded. We can know the problems of the people if we understand the revolutionary truth that we have to learn from the masses and go to the masses and that people are our teachers. This applies to all the revolutionaries and more to the activists of the cultural field. It is because our strategy-tactics says that 'educating the workers, peasants and the toiling masses about the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal agrarian revolution and the protracted people's war is one of the tasks of the cultural field'. We need to go to the people, know their problems and tell them that revolutionary movement is the solution in practice. Going to the people means to bring out the problems of the people. Seeing the lightning in the sky and hearing the sound of thunder does not mean having a sensitive look and hearing. Lower level activists too can know the glaring problems of the people. But the leadership must catch the vital factors that are creating loss to the movements and that are a nucleus to many developments in a village or an area. Though the people strongly feel to express their problems some 'illusory power' stops them and distances them from the people's movements. Then the leadership must expose such forces. It must explain to the people the deception and loss in the temporary benefits that affect the people's protracted interests. It has to explain the task of taking up problems in time so as to make the solution of other problems easier. Thus it has to go into the people to know the main problems, discuss with the people for proper solutions and keep them firmly for their sake. But they should not carry away with a right trend of tailing the people. They should not know the problems superficially. If so they will not be able to know anything about the problems and more over would fall into the danger of new confusions.

The cultural activists must go into the people and deeply study their traditions, their festivals, mode of production, their customs and habits, their literary work for the past generations, art, appreciation of art, instruments, their education-cultural level and the blind beliefs. They must especially study the language of the areas. We have to more specifically

study about the castes and religions, the difference between the tribes. Caste is a distinct problem of our country. It needs deeper study. The ruling classes are widely spreading imperialist and feudal culture. The Brahmanical Hindu fascist forces in power in the centre in our country are intensifying attacks on religious minorities and adivasis. We do not consider in a serious manner the conspiracies going on openly for a long time to hinduise the adivasi children in the relatively strong areas of revolutionary movement. The children in the residential schools must make a Hindu prayer before meals. When the people lack the level of stopping such things the revolutionary movement must definitely enlighten them. The cultural activists must expose the poisonous teachings and impart scientific knowledge to the children and their parents. Many such things have been happening. All these must be studied, presented before the people and we must bring the people in the forefront of the path of liberation.

Intellectuals and writers took up propaganda against the Brahmanical Hindu fascist state that is intensifying its offensives with the evil intention to eliminate the Revolutionary People's Committees, and in support to the Janathana Sarkars. On the other hand proletarian parties, groups, democratic forces and organisations from many countries of the world are unprecedentedly coming forth in support of our revolutionary movement. It is our responsibility to inform them about the people's struggles, successes, the work of the RPCs, the attacks of the police and Para-military forces, the martyrdoms, the literature and art of the people and any such slightest thing. For this we need to have a more specific study, analysis and synthesis. This would help make the bolshevization campaign successful in various ways. There are a lot of activists moving among the people. It is not important as to how many days we stayed in an area. The extent to which we bring out the opinions of the people in that area, how we can mold them for the advancement of the revolutionary movement would be the criterion of the practice of the activists. In the tenth anniversary message our Central Committee

reminded all the party members that ‘in every vital turn the task of enhancing not only our political level but also the political level of the people in a deep manner comes forward once more in a new way’. Study mainly contributes to this. The message also showed the way that ‘whatever the conditions might be, we have the proper weapon to face them and that is our theory of MLM. Let us realize it deeply and take up firmly’.

Lastly to summarise the tasks of the cultural movement –

1. Revolutionary writers and artists must absolutely identify themselves with the revolutionary movement.
2. We must form cultural squads and in their absence none should hesitate to fulfill the cultural tasks.
3. Cultural activists must achieve strong coordination with the Revolutionary People’s Committees.
4. Cultural activists must pay special attention to study.

Conclusion

Since the BJP came to power in the leadership of Sangh gang in the leadership of Narendra Modi, Brahmanical Hindu fascists are intensifying planned ideological spread and attacks. On the other hand the Prime Minister and the Chief Ministers of the states are shamelessly inviting the foreign rich and Multi-National Corporations to invest in India and to ‘Make in India’. While one says ‘Bangaru (golden) Telangana’ the other says ‘Swarna (golden) Andhra Pradesh’ throwing the people in illusions. The Prime Minister said Digital India. While one says they would make our country as Singapore another says they would make it Shanghai. But the people say they want ‘Jal, Jungle, Zameen, Ijjath and Adhikar’. They wish democracy and self-reliance. The birth of Hitlers and Mussolinis when the diehard religious forces are encouraged by capital is nothing new to history. There is nothing surprising that Modis come forth in this process. But these developments show the weaknesses of the revolutionary movement much more clearly. Brahmanical Hindu fascists are ruling in

places like Delhi University and Jawaharlal Nehru University that are known for left politics. The rights of the workers are mercilessly violated. The exploitive state does not condone writers and artists. Many repressive measures for suppressing the revolutionary movement have been taken up even before Modi but now they are going to intensify these much more intentionally and with class hatred. World famous revolutionary intellectual Yan Mirdal, Booker prize awardee and famous writer Arundhati Roy and other such people commented that Green Hunt reached the towns from the forests. This reveals the seriousness of the future situation. In such conditions there is an increasing need much more than in the last six decades, for all the revolutionary forces in the respective fields to integrate with the broad masses and fight united against the horribly degrading conditions. The people and the revolutionary forces have enormous experience to do this. Earlier when the Gujarat pogrom (2002) took place revolutionary writers and artists together with many friendly organisations formed 'Secular democratic literary, cultural forum' and made serious effort to heal the 'Gujarat wound'. It is more than a decade now. Gujarat of that time became the model for the country now. The country is going to face wounds. If we do not rise and start treatment conditions might become critical. People are in struggle. It is our duty to provide them the proper direction, politics and tactics.

Pay attention to develop Revolutionary Women's Movement in Jharkhand

Hema

We all know that nearly 70-75 years earlier Jharkhand movement began with the demand for separate autonomous state in the leadership of Jaypal Singh Munda. Anyhow since then, apart from a few militant slogans, due to the limitations in the program of the movement and the class limitations of the leadership, they turned to be opportunists and luxurious and due to their irresponsibility the movement failed. All the leaders were bogged down in the electoral mire and in the greed to live a happy life. We also know that women had a role in this movement that started with the demand of separate state for Jharkhand in that opportunist-compromising leadership many decades earlier. Women felt that if Jharkhand is formed it would be theirs. This is clear from the Siddhu-Kanhu-Chand-Bhairav struggle too. We can take a good lesson about the role of women from this struggle. It is because Siddhu-Kanhu led the movement for the liberation of the people of Jharkhand in a proper manner.

Adivasi leader Sibhu Soren took up a large scale movement in 1973-74 with the slogan 'The state of Jharkhand shall be ours'. He said, 'Chase out Jotdars, Zamindars, Money-lenders-Mahajans, eliminate Darogas, let us turn Jharkhand into Lalkhand, we shall achieve Jharkhand through struggle, not through votes'. It means worker-peasant state would be formed in Jharkhand.

But Sibhu Soren left this struggle after a few days. He happily sat in the chair of a post. He first became an MP and later the Chief Minister of Jharkhand.

But what did the women gain out of this struggle? The old patriarchal exploitative rule remained as it is. Those who opposed faced imprisonment and police repression from the government. Moreover the volunteers

the leaders formed too, sexually suppressed and humiliated the women, some also removed the saris of some women. They propagated that Adivasi women should not wear red saris or beautiful saris. Using bra is a great crime. There were many kinds of punishments too for this. In fact except for patriarchal rule and atrocities the leaders or the government did not do anything for women.

Since the time of elections the MPs and the Ministers provided more opportunities for the domestic and the foreign capitalists to loot the boundless property, which is the most valuable natural property of Jharkhand. They gave more chances to exploit the labor of women and also for sexual exploitation. There were opportunities to widely loot the labor power of the rest of the toiling masses.

All the governments in Jharkhand until now have been speaking about the strengthening-empowerment-development of women. Narendra Modi, the Prime Minister of the country gives the slogan 'Beti bachao-Beti padao' and in fact totally concentrates on implementing the rules and regulations of Manu (women as a girl should be in the control of the father, of the husband after marriage and of the son in old age and has to bear the responsibility of only household work, giving birth to and rearing children) in the leadership of Hindutwa RSS. Police forces and goonda gangs are unleashing mass atrocities in a big way. Lakhs of girls from Jharkhand were and are being shifted to Delhi-Mumbai and even out of the country.

Presently in the name of welfare and development of women the central government is boasting that it is giving thousands of crores of rupees. In fact in the past three years of Modi rule the situation of women is as like it was earlier. Perhaps there is nominal expenditure on development or the strengthening-development. We cannot say into which pocket the rest of the money is going. The actual aim in collecting money in the banks in the name of girls and women is to fulfill the interest of the Capitalists.

They took up many kinds of deceitful policies to divert the women's liberation struggle. The Adivasi women or the dalit women are elected

presidents, ward members or members of the zilla parishat (district council) in the name of the development of panchayats. They are chosen as servants in the Anganvadi centres. Money is taken in their name for this work. But in fact there is no development of women or people. Here and there bathrooms were constructed but they are of no use. Here and there colonies were established and bore wells were constructed. In fact ponds must be laid for drinking water. Dams are needed. But none of these are constructed. Small pools are being dug. Even cattle cannot drink water from these. Children fall and die in these pools. Animals too die. Police camps are established in areas of rivers, streams, forest and hillocks. The women here cannot go freely to the forest, hillocks, river or streams. If they go they are sexually harassed or assaulted. They must say yes to whatever the police say. Otherwise they would be branded Maoist and foisted with cases, they would be jailed or killed in the name of encounter. Hundreds of such examples are seen in Jharkhand. They are seen in other places too. The daily papers are filled with news about atrocities of various gangs, of the police and various kinds of sexual repression on women. Not only the Adivasis-Moolvasis, dalits and the poor, but the situation of the middle class women too is very horrible.

In fact in the name of people the state is indulging in loot and atrocities. The government top officials and police officers have a state that can threaten and gain. With this there are severe exploitation and atrocities on our poor people. Many poor people are dying too. The situation of our mothers, sisters, daughters and daughters-in-law is clear.

We hear that recently 28 Adivasi women were raped and tortured by the police in Bastar district of Chhattisgarh. When 14 year old women went to the market to buy clothes for new born, both of them were picked up and killed by the police in the name of Maoists. People proved with evidences that the two women are not Maoists.

BJP's Raghuvardhan Das government announced it would amend the CNT-SPT Act in Jharkhand. It forced the Assembly to pass it on the dictates of the Capitalists without taking the opinion of the people or women in the

state. It claims it is doing all this for the sake of people. But it is not for the people. It is forcibly acquiring land for the big capitalists and corporate giant companies. Thus the Jal-Jungle-Zameen of the Adivasis-Moolvasis is seized. They loot valuable mineral sources like iron, coal and copper from here. We lose our land and become poor. Our problem intensifies. Bringing up children would become very difficult.

In order to unleash all this they would deploy large number of police forces in addition to thousands of police forces. They harass the people. They loot hens, goats, fruits, money or any valuable articles by force. So the Adivasi women find it difficult to go to the forest or river. The women are sexually assaulted. Making obscene comments is a normal affair for them. All the above mentioned things prove this.

So we need to build a strong revolutionary woman's organization in the state. We need to advance the women's liberation struggle. Only thus the people and the women would be able to sustain their self-respect and have Jal-Jungle-Zameen in their control.

Demonetization made the situation of women much more serious. Poor women preserved 500 and 1000 rupee notes earned through selling vegetables, working as contract labor, selling hens and goats for the studies or marriages of their children. After the demonetization on 8th November 2016 these notes have gone waste. They will have to change their old notes before the time limit the government fixed. Thus all the old notes have been accumulated in the banks. Later when they went to take them back they could not get them on time. Since they could not pay school fees many women committed suicide. Running the family became very difficult for the women.

Narendra Modi said he would get back black money, eradicate poverty, end corruption and control fake notes. But now he exploited the whole money from the poor. He is giving this money to the Capitalists. These capitalists are investing in our Jharkhand and gaining profits. They are also intensifying sexual exploitation on women.

Raghuvar Das government introduced the state budget and said they aimed to double the income of farmers in three years. The government allotted 8,026 crore rupees for Adivasis. The Vidya guarantee Runa Yojana (Education Guarantee Loan Scheme) is going to start with 50 crore rupees ('Prabhath Khabar', daily, 2017 January 24th). The government propagates that there is a guarantee for the ST students to get loan to go for higher studies.

As per this daily, 7,684.51 crore rupees would be spent for the Adivasi women. 213 schemes and new schemes too would start for the welfare of women. Buildings for looking after the children for the facility of working women would be constructed in villages and towns.

They said they would give 107 crore rupees for women of religious minorities, appoint 16,968 teachers for education and distribute pump sets for 25 thousand farmers for agriculture. In fact all this is deceit and nothing else. In the name of providing facilities to the farmers and the adivasi women, their pockets would be filled.

In fact since 1947 until the formation of separate state of Jharkhand one lakh people of Jharkhand alone among the nearly 60 lakh people were displaced. At present the Raghuvar Das government is aggressively planning to implement few MoUs. This indicates the displacement of lakhs of people. The number of displaced people in the other states will be higher. They were not rehabilitated. Though a few were given it is only waste land. On one hand the government says it will provide development and welfare for women. But it is stopping mid-way and not completing any works.

The government also says 'Beti bachao, beti padao'. Primary schools to Middle schools are being built in a few villages. In fact they are built nominally. Studies do not go well in these. They receive money for students, for food and school dresses. But they do not give anything to the people. Only a few compradors and few masters eat the money. They do not even teach properly. They do not give proper food. Few students expend their own money and have tuition. They go to Delhi or Mumbai

to work as servants. There too they cannot live with self-respect. In addition to the labor exploitation they are also sexually exploited. The women do not have security.

Women are exploited in the name of caste and religion too. For example, the Bhumihaar and Rajput women cannot remarry after the death of their husbands. They cannot remarry even in case when the husband dies the next day of the marriage. How would the women lead their lives? They do not gain any respect in the society too.

Our party must unite all the toiling women including the adivasi women to liberate them from this kind of exploitation and atrocities. We have to intensify the struggle against all kinds of exploitation and atrocities regarding patriarchy and make them part of the revolutionary movement.

The targets of New Democratic Revolution, the imperialists, big landlords and Comprador Bureaucratic Capitalists are the cause of class exploitation and oppression on women and patriarchal oppression. So the women's liberation struggle against class exploitation and oppression and patriarchy is integrated in the struggle against these classes and against the state. There is a constant, lively and dialectical relation between these two. New Democratic Revolution grants the liberation of the Indian oppressed masses and it is the certain path for achieving the liberation of women.

Women's liberation movement is one main stream of New Democratic Revolution. It is a part of it. It strengthens the revolution. In return it gains strength through revolution. Our party very clearly said about the tasks of our party in the women's field in New Democratic Revolution in the documents, 'Party Program' and 'Women's perspective'. We can advance the revolutionary women's movement in the proper direction only by working to fulfill these tasks. Ultimately we can achieve women's liberation through establishing Socialism-Communism.

Come! Let us organise worker-peasant, middle class women, adivasi-moolvasi-dalits-poor-religious minority women-toiling women,

progressive women, women social activists, woman teachers, students, intellectuals-doctors-lawyers and of the laboring masses! Let us build strong revolutionary woman's organisations in all levels. Let us build struggles on various problems along with the class struggle for proper women's liberation! Let us ultimately make these struggles part of the New Democratic Revolution going on in the country! Welfare of all the toiling women and liberation from exploitation is possible only in this path. They can achieve the right to live like human beings. Come! Let us organize the toiling women so as to make them part of this struggle in a big way and to prepare them in all ways! For this purpose there is a need for women's movement in Jharkhand and the whole of the country. Without the participation of women in the struggle for any kind of social change it cannot be successful.

Come! We shall build a strong women's movement for Jal-Jungle-Zameen-Ijjath-Adhikar!

Let us advance the women's liberation struggle in the proper direction!

Let us build and continue a strong revolutionary women's movement with the aim of eliminating patriarchy for all kinds of rights and to eradicate all kinds of discrimination on women!

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Naxalbari lives and will live. This is because it is based on invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We know that as we move forward we shall face many obstacles, many difficulties, many acts of betrayal and there will be many setbacks. But Naxalbari will not die

- Com Charu Mazumdar

CC
CPI (Maoist) 2017 April 22
